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Asymmetrical Portrayal of Gender in Magazines for Men with Particular Reference to Sexuality

Asymetryczny obraz płci w magazynach dla mężczyzn ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem seksualności

Praca doktorska

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TYPOGRAPHIC CONVENTIONS

▪ **Capitals are used for:** names of conceptual categories (e.g. at the lexical concept of BACHELOR) and names of conceptual metaphors and domains (e.g. SEX IS WAR, FOOD domain)

▪ **Bold capitals are used for:** names of ICMs (e.g. **WOMAN ICM**)

▪ **Bold small capitals are used for:** names of submodels (e.g. **PSYCHOLOGICAL FEATURES AND PROCESSES** submodel)

▪ **Bold is used for:** names of the most significant concepts and key terms (e.g. **prototypes** and **stereotypes**)

▪ **Bold italics are used for:** lexemes and names of lexical units (e.g. it focuses on lexemes ***woman*** and ***man***)

▪ **Double quotation marks are used for:** quotations (e.g. "The integration of women into the public sphere […]")

▪ **Single quotation marks are used for:** meanings/senses of lexical categories, explanations (e.g. *profesorka* 'female professor')

▪ **Italics are used for:** titles of books, examples (e.g. *Metaphors We Live By*)

▪ **Angle bracketed capitals are used for:** metonymic patterns (e.g. <PART FOR WHOLE> and <WHOLE FOR PART> metonymies)

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Introduction

Woody Allen once said: "Love is the answer, but while you are waiting for the answer, sex raises some pretty good questions."[1] Metaphorical as it is, the statement addresses an issue of the importance of sex in the human existence. In fact, sex appears to be of interest to both women and men, but given its controversial nature, we may believe that much remains unexplored on this linguistic terrain. To a great extent, it is also a sphere of life that is often tabooed, sometimes demonised, and sometimes quite the opposite – very idealised. What is more, it is omnipresent in magazines for men, many of which place sex and women at the core of their interests. It has to be remarked at this point that the perception of femininity and masculinity in the consciousness of men and the role and position of women and men in Western culture are shaped not only by individual experiences or centuries of collective practices, but also by magazines (both those published in a traditional way and those offered in a digital format), which may determine positive or negative evaluation of women and men. Moreover, taking into consideration the fact that some of the popular magazines for men contain pornographic content with an unfavourable image of women, this dissertation focuses on the importance of stereotypes in American magazines for men and their allegedly harmful effects.

With all this in mind, the main research goal of the thesis is to investigate and present gender relations in selected popular magazines for men, ranging from lifestyle to pornographic ones. One of the aims, in particular, is to trace what kind of allusions and stereotypes regarding gender roles, especially in relation to sexuality, are created and conveyed on the basis of metaphorical conceptualisations. To be more precise, the dissertation touches upon three major problems. Firstly, demonstrating the role of present-day media, which, objectively speaking, should involve informing about and questioning moral conventions regarding sexuality, but they seem to intensify long-term gender stereotypes and prejudices associated with it (see Holmes 1997). Secondly, showing the influence of the language of the media on the sense of obligation to adapt to traditional ideologies. Readers, usually unconsciously and automatically, model themselves on the style of language ubiquitous in the media to be considered a woman or

[1]https://www.goodreads.com/quotes/16118-love-is-the-answer-but-while-you-are-waiting-for.

a man and thus, they are able to connect with specific social groups to which they belong (see Williams 2012). Thirdly, presenting the systematisation of the language of sexuality in the magazines for men, especially in terms of gender inequality and discrimination, i.e. its asymmetrical image. The choice of topic is dictated by the fact that popular magazines seem to define reality, legitimise power and attribute it to individuals with high social status. By acquiring a specific title, both women and men purchase an entire 'set of identities' that often includes advice on how to be a 'real woman' and a 'real man'. In this way, some of the magazines are part of a wider web of power and ideology, at the same time perpetuating the deprecating attitudes towards women. The nature of the work is interdisciplinary, as it applies approaches and theories from various fields of research: linguistics, sociolinguistics, psychology and media discourse. Although numerous accounts[2] of sex-related metaphors have been published so far, the task undertaken here seems to be a worthy enterprise, as little has been said about metaphors that occur in the magazines for men and their influence on the readers' conceptualisation of sexuality.

The thesis consists of four parts. Chapter One is theoretical in nature and concerns the linguistic aspects with the main focus on the concepts such as: **Cognitive Linguistics**, **categorisation**, **prototype**, **stereotype**, **ICM**, **metaphor** and **metonymy**. Thus, it introduces the reader to the world of concepts related to Cognitive Linguistics and shows that human language is not only a brilliant mechanism for creating words and sentences, but also the quintessence of our earthly existence. In short, on the first pages one can find a brief review of the aforementioned concepts with respect to their origins and the impact they have on the conceptualisation of reality.

The second part is also theoretical, but it concerns different notions connected with sociolinguistics, such as: **woman**, **man**, **sex**, **taboo**, **euphemism**, or even **linguistic relativism**. It is fitting to add that most of these terms also belong to the field of the so-called gender studies. In many respects, some socially constructed categories, such as gender, are closely related to the attitudes and social values that often underlie social stereotypes. On the other hand, stereotypical beliefs influence the processes of identity and self-confidence, which, in turn, determine emotional development and further professional success of people. What is particularly striking is the fact that although the work is of a linguistic nature, the socio-cultural issues cannot be ignored in the undertaken

[2]See Kövecses (1986), Hines (1996, 1999), among others.

considerations, as some of the questions formulated above obviously reach beyond language.

The third chapter is largely analytical and provides a brief introduction to the language of the media, its meaning and manipulative function. Moreover, it uses magazines for men as the research material under investigation. Although the press offers not only articles but also advertisements and photos, language is an aspect of particular interest to the researcher as it has a fundamental role in perpetuating cultural stereotypes and norms[3]. Using the examples of lexemes extracted from magazines published in the American lifestyle and pornographic press for men, the analysis takes into account the androcentrism reproduced in the texts. More specifically, the material comes from four titles: "Men's Health", "Maxim", "Playboy" and "Penthouse". Due to the type of audience, which is the modern reader, the magazines contain current expressions used in English, and the fact that they are aimed primarily at men provides a substantial number of different associations, mostly stereotypical, related to the topic of the dissertation. Hence, the analysis places the concepts such as **ICM**, **stereotype**, **prototype** or **metonymy** within the context of the media discourse, providing examples of the stereotypical representation of women and men determined and contained in magazines available on the publishing market.

The dissertation also aims to investigate the special role metaphors play in perpetuating views related to erotic life. Journalists and editors of contemporary magazines are inclined to use conceptual metaphors, and they influence the way readers think about matters related to sexuality and the position of women. Thus, Chapter Four focuses on the study of metaphors and metonymies employed in the magazines for men, as well as sex-related euphemistic expressions. An attempt to investigate the figurative meaning of the lexicon, however, requires discovering what images of a woman and a man in the sexual sphere are promoted by the press, which domains are used in relation to both sexes and what the possible causes and social consequences of such a state of affair are.

Next, it is important to draw attention to the fact that the nature of this work requires the use of a wide variety of techniques and research methods. In the third chapter, the applied investigation procedure consists in a detailed analysis of the source texts in

[3]Indeed, the choice might be motivated by the fact that a large portion of the magazines' content is occupied by articles on eroticism and sex.

order to isolate the lexemes of a ***woman*** and a ***man***. The strategy is based on cognitive methodology, the analytical tools of which enable the use of the concept of the idealised cognitive model postulated by George Lakoff (1987). In particular, Chapter Three focuses on the assumption that **WOMAN ICM** and **MAN ICM** are metonymic models covering a number of sub-models. The fourth chapter is inextricably linked to the theory of the conceptual framework of conceptual metaphor and metonymy originally proposed by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson and developed and modified by other researchers (see, among others, Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 1999; Lakoff 1987, 1993; Kövecses 2002, 2015, 2020; Grady 2007), therefore Conceptual Metaphor Theory and the notion of idealised cognitive models provide the backbone of the present study.

To conclude, this dissertation is by no means intended as a comprehensive analysis of the notion of sexuality, neither its intention is to fully describe the problem of gender stereotyping and linguistic asymmetries. Rather, it is envisioned as a small contribution within the field of Cognitive Linguistics, as well as gender studies. It draws attention to the remarkably useful devices of metaphor and metonymy that media apply while referring to sexual life and practices. After all, sex is indissolubly connected with the discourses of female-male relationships that are constantly changing in time and are subject to numerous modifications, which are constantly present in public space and penetrate the world of mass media, at the same time contributing to crossing some relatively rigid interpretation schemes which are so ubiquitous in the consciousness of the average language users. Undoubtedly, the media play the role of an intermediary in transmitting, preserving and probably also (co-) creating stereotypes. I make an attempt to argue that although it is clear enough that many aspects linked with conceptual metaphors and concerning sexuality cannot be examined and described here with such accuracy and details they deserve, it may be possibly sufficient to understand why metaphors play such a crucial role in perpetuating harmful stereotypes. In many situations in which we find ourselves, language permits swift and effective expression of thoughts, and provides a well-developed means of encoding and transmitting multifaceted and subtle ideas. What is more, every metaphor can be considered as a part of our conventional thought and it can be characterised by other essential features, such as: omnipresence, accessibility and capacity of allowing us to understand the world effectively, thus it constitutes an enormously valuable tool to verbalise our thoughts. For this reason, the analysis of the contemporary magazines yields insight into the way the notions of women and men are understood and it allows to gain access to value

judgements, emotions, attitudes that are implicitly communicated by means of figurative language, and hopefully, it also countenances to point to language discrimination of women and their semantic derogation, especially in the sexual sphere.

The very topic of gender inequality automatically entails a negative evaluation of this linguistic phenomenon, which, to some extent, might result in allegations of research bias. Everyone needs to be aware that it is natural that where language is perceived as an instrument of social domination, there appears a subjectively marked assessment of factors attesting to this domination. Even though this work is by no means a feminist treatise, the conducted research and its interpretations may be a source of some controversy and different opinions, especially if we take into account that the whole study is embedded in the cognitive spirit, in which the concept of metaphor is viewed as a conceptual phenomenon, and the metaphorical associations reproduced on the pages of various magazines are no longer viewed as characteristic of language alone, but rather as a matter of thoughts or actions. In this regard, then, the final summary and the author's remarks might seem to be not entirely free from subjective evaluation.

Finally, I would like to acknowledge that selected aspects of this research enlarge on my earlier unpublished master's thesis (Kurowska 2016), as well as on the samples and preliminary analyses of the topic in question, which have been published elsewhere. In particular, section 3.7.7 elaborates on Kurowska (2019b); section 4.4, presenting the SEX IS WAR metaphor, on Kurowska (2021); whereas the structures of **WOMAN ICM** and **MAN ICM** were developed and applied in Kurowska (2020). What is more, the ideas behind the baseball metaphor were touched upon in Kurowska (2019a).

Chapter One: Cognitive Linguistics

1.1 Introduction

Tabakowska (1995: 5) states that human language is not only a brilliant mechanism for producing words and sentences, but also the quintessence of our humanity. It represents the uniqueness of personality, irreversibility of the reaction, originality of the world view, and everything else associated with individuals' everyday existence that in combination with cultural and social determinants governs the way in which people use language. It is by no means a genius tool that serves as a key to understand the nature of the processes of human cognition. For this reason, it seems that there is no better way to study language, then by the reference to the principles of Cognitive Linguistics – an all-embracing approach to the study of language, conceptual systems, human cognition and general meaning construction.

1.2 Nature of Cognitive Linguistics

Cognitive Linguistics can be generally defined as a contemporary school of linguistic thought. Its emergence in the early 1970s and the development of the major theoretical framework adopted by its followers, were mainly concerned with the dissatisfaction with formal approaches to language of the twentieth-century mainstream linguistics[4]. As Evans and Green (2006: 14) argue, it could be classified as one of the cognitive sciences that seeks to explain different (and frequently overlapping) aspects of human cognition.

First of all, it has to be stressed that it is extremely difficult to offer one comprehensive definition, and that various sources provide their own expanded explanations of the notion of Cognitive Linguistics[5]. Basically, as Grygiel and Kleparski

[4]The major differences between Cognitive Linguistics and other traditional theories of language of that time concerned, among others, linguistic vs. encyclopaedic knowledge, conceptual vs. linguistic structures, objective vs. subjective knowledge, and synchronic vs. diachronic approach (see Nerlich and Clarke 2007: 590).

[5]The stance adopted in this study follows a more recent convention employed by cognitive linguists (see, for instance, Geeraerts 2010), where **Cognitive Linguistics** is spelt with upper case initials. It will distinguish it, hence, from **cognitive linguistics**, a more encompassing term, that refers to all approaches in which natural language is studied as a mental phenomenon. Cognitive Linguistics can be seen as one form of linguistic research within the field of cognitive science. What is more, it needs to be stressed that

(2007: 47) point out, Cognitive Linguistics is a multifarious approach mainly characterised by the assumption that human language is grounded in cognition. Richards and Schmidt (2002: 83) claim that it is an approach to linguistics which stresses the interaction between language and cognition, focusing on the former as an instrument for organising, processing, and conveying information. A good case in point is presented by Evans and Green (2006: 3) who describe Cognitive Linguistics as: "(…) a 'movement' or an 'enterprise' because it is not a specific theory. Instead, it is an approach that has adopted a common set of guiding principles, assumptions and perspectives which have led to a diverse range of complementary, overlapping (and sometimes competing) theories." A similar view is also expressed by Geeraerts and Cuyckens (2007: 3) who claim that Cognitive Linguistics has emerged as a "cluster of broadly compatible approaches" rather than a single unified theory.

Taken together, it is frequently emphasised that cognitive linguists do not study language for its own sake, as every human language reflects patterns of thought and it offers a window into various patterns of conceptualisation. It also gives insights into the structure, nature, and organisation of ideas and thoughts. What distinguishes Cognitive Linguistics from other approaches to the study of language is the fact that "language is assumed to reflect certain fundamental properties and design features of the human mind" (Evans and Green 2006: 5). Such claims can be based on a number of basic assumptions. For one thing, as Tendahl (2009: 2) states, language is not an isolated system, which can be studied without considering the human body and mind. He believes that language is a cognitive ability that is intricately intertwined with general cognitive abilities which are deeply influenced by our cultural and bodily experiences of the world. Furthermore, he adds that the cognitive abilities of humans are not independent of our bodies, and thus, cognitive linguists pay attention to how our mind, body and language work together (Tendahl 2009: 113). The cognitive approach, in comparison to generative linguistics, seeks to mesh together aspects such as cultural linguistics, sign language, linguistic relativity, subjectivity, categorisation, metonymy, conceptual metaphor and conceptual blending, and turn them into one coherent whole that can be ruled by a unified system of processes.

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the contemporary cognitive scene is very diverse (see Kardela 1992: 9). It encompasses various strides, starting from computer sciences that investigate artificial intelligence and theories of processing information (Jackendoff 1983, 1987), proceeding to literary analysis (Lakoff and Turner 1989), philosophical explorations (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, Lakoff 1987, Johnson 1987) and more formal studies of language (e.g. Langacker 1987).

1.2.1 Cognitive Science and Interdisciplinarity

It is evident that Cognitive Linguistics is a broad and dynamic discipline and all of the most important levels of linguistic account[6], such as syntax, semantics, or morphology have been dealt with from a cognitive viewpoint and Cognitive Linguistics has become an influential theoretical framework to discover the subtle workings of language (Tendahl 2009: 112). Cognitive linguists are motivated to explore the aforementioned issues in order to understand how the human mind works and there is no better tool to explore this than the language itself, as it constitutes a unique human capacity. Cognitive Linguistics can be treated as a relatively new school of linguistics and, without the shadow of doubt, one of the most innovative approaches to the study of language and thought that have emerged within the modern field of interdisciplinary study known as cognitive science.

Cognitive science, whose emergence in the late 1950s might be seen as a noticeable token of the weariness of the previous paradigm (see Gardner 1987, D'Andrade 1995), is an interdisciplinary field that consists of areas such as psychology, sociology, anthropology, biology, neuroscience, linguistics, philosophy and computer science, all of which frequently overlap in many different contexts. Cognitive scientists work in collaboration with each other in the hope of understanding the human mind, its complicated processes and its interactions with the surrounding world. They try to examine mental faculties such as language, memory, perception, emotion and reasoning by numerous observations of human behaviour and intelligence. It is worth noticing that many scientists returned to the questions concerning the human mind and cognition, mostly absent in the mainstream early-twentieth-century research, based predominantly on the assumption that language is independent of other cognitive processes.

According to cognitive scientists, cognitive processes are conditioned not only by the natural cognitive abilities of the mind, but also by cultural and social factors. Researchers perceive language as a creation comparable to a living organism that is a subject to development processes. They also believe that biology is a more accurate model for linguistics and a better reference point than formal logic or mathematics (Tabakowska

[6]It must be emphasised that Cognitive Linguistics views language as a holistic structure, hence as one whole, which is not divisible and analysed separately. This contrasts with an atomistic approach to language, whose main attempt is to analyse language divided into individual parts (such as syntax, semantics, morphology).

1995: 12). Thanks to these very basic assumptions, therefore, it becomes clear that in the concept of cognitive science, human language (as the object of linguistic research) must be embedded in a broad psychological, sociological and cultural context. What is more, Cognitive Linguistics is said to have been firmly rooted in the emergence of modern cognitive science in the 1960s and 1970s, and many sources of inspiration contributed to its development, predominantly the findings of cognitive anthropologists and psychologists who studied human categorisation (see, e.g. Rosch 1978[7]). Early research in Cognitive Linguistics was dominated by a relatively low number of scholars, yet, by the early 1990s, there was a growing increase in research in this area, and more researchers started to identify themselves as 'cognitive linguists'.

1.2.2 Theory Development

The development of linguistics in the twentieth century, is usually characterised by a succession of two dominant approaches: the structuralist and the generativist. Remarkably however, thanks to the adaptation of some elements of both trends, Cognitive Linguistics hits directly into the undercurrent of contemporary developments. The first scholars who formally proposed a new approach of Cognitive Linguistics were Ronald Langacker and Charles Fillmore. Being disappointed with generative grammar and its failure to provide the explanation to many subtleties of language, Ronald Langacker, in the 1970s, began publishing his own ideas on linguistics, where language started to be treated as a reflection of the human mind, and the way it influences and conceptualises the world became the centre of scholarly interest. Langacker's publications were soon followed by those of Gilles Fauconnier, George Lakoff, Charles Fillmore, Leonard Talmy and others. Eventually, Langacker encapsulated his extraordinary ideas in the monumental work *Foundations of Cognitive Grammar* (Langacker 1987) that, together with the publication of Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) *Metaphors We Live By* and Lakoff's (1987) *Women, Fire and Dangerous Things,* inevitably helped to establish Cognitive Linguistics on a solid academic footing and gave impulse to further research and development.

Of course, it cannot go without any notice that Cognitive Linguistics arose from disappointment with generativism. Nevertheless, the language theory in Langacker's

[7]Her pioneering work on human categorisation suggested – among other things – that the subconscious human mind is able to create categories in previously unsuspected ways (see section 1.2.4.2.1).

works is based on solid structuralist foundations, and is a consistent continuation of the achievements of the classical structuralism originating from Ferdinand de Saussure (see Tabakowska 1995). Cognitive linguists oppose only the excessive formalism, characteristic of American linguistics, which for nearly 30 years remained strongly influenced by the theory of language created in the 1950s by Chomsky[8] (Tabakowska 1995: 6). In short, generative grammar led to a severe decontextualisation of the grammar, separating linguistics from the cognitive context of live individual experience. Compared to this, Cognitive Linguistics is very much a recontextualising approach that gives meaning a central position, and claims that the conceptualisations expressed in a natural language have an experiential basis, both culturally and physiologically.

1.2.2.1 Opposition to Chomsky

Despite the fact that Cognitive Linguistics in the contemporary linguistic research is considered to be an autonomous linguistic paradigm, its earliest assumptions are very often defined in terms of the comparison with various elements of Chomsky's theory. Generally speaking, one of the basic postulates of Chomsky's theory was the need to distinguish between language competence and performance. From this fundamental dichotomy (analogous to the langue-parole opposition in classical European structuralism), a demarcation line divides the subject of linguistic research from the subject of research of other disciplines – psychology and sociology. In Chomsky's theory, linguistics is an autonomous discipline, and the subject of linguist's interest is the language competence of the ideal language user[9] – free from all physical and psychological imperfections, always obedient to grammatical rules, guided by reason instead of emotions, consistent in his linguistic actions and resistant to non-linguistic influences (Tabakowska 1995: 8). Unfortunately, such postulates soon caused the disappointment of those followers of Chomsky, who wanted to see the linguistic phenomenon in a slightly wider perspective. Revolutionary confusion began in the ranks

[8]Since the first edition of the ground-breaking work by Chomsky – entitled *Syntactic Structures* (1957) – the theory commonly known as transformational-generative grammar he propagated has evolved greatly, undergoing a number of important modifications and residuals, gaining a leading position at that time in linguistics. Langacker's proposal, thus, stood in opposition to the so-called mainstream American linguistics (Tabakowska 1995: 6).

[9]This broadly understood human factor, which determines the individuality of each of us, is not, according to generativists, an element of linguistic competence, but an element of performance, and as such is not the object of the linguist's interest.

of the closest associates and students of Chomsky, and the first objection was directed at the weakest points of the theory: its position on metaphor[10].

For generativists metaphors were a troublesome issue from the very beginning. They were an obvious case of violation of grammatical rules and, as part of the created model, they could be treated as unusual and marginal phenomena. In addition, researchers of those times believed that metaphors go beyond the scope of interest of linguists. For this reason, generativists were accused of conveniently omitting the data that escaped generalisations, in their descriptions and analyses. Supposedly, as a subject of the analysis, they preferred to choose such language structures whose correctness did not raise any objections, that is, those which cognitivists would name prototype structures[11] (Tabakowska 1995: 10).

Proceeding further, the first version of generative grammar presented by Chomsky in 1957, which was a turning point in the history of linguistics (parallel to the emergence of the de Saussure's structural linguistics), did not take into account the semantic aspect. The novelty of Chomsky's idea was based mainly on the assumption that language, as a generative system, constitutes a model capable of creating an infinite set of sentences on the basis of a finite set of words and syntactic rules (Chomsky 1957). Hence, the description of language (grammar) allows us to create a model of speaking competences, i.e. speakers' communicative abilities are judged and established on the basis of their ability to create an unlimited number of new, never heard sentences, simply by putting together the words according to previously established procedures. Those rules and procedures were primarily of syntactic nature.

Such a way of thinking raised a number of further objections about the generativists' excessive attachment to theory. According to cognitivists, the creation of a formal apparatus of language is not equivalent to language knowledge and use. Clearly, every natural language eludes the strict rules of logic and is generally inconsistent in their treatment, which must be reflected in its description. Although Chomsky strongly believed that the structure of language is determined by an innate, autonomous formal

[10]While Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) work opened some new, fascinating research perspectives for linguists, the works of the leading theoretician of the Cognitive Linguistics, Langacker, went in a slightly different direction. As a student of Chomsky, Langacker soon noticed the shortcomings of his theory. He formulated his allegations as a starting point for his own theoretical proposal, which he presented in two monumental works: *Foundations of Cognitive Grammar, Theoretical Prerequisites* (1987) and *Foundations of Cognitive Grammar, Descriptive Application* (1991).

[11]It is worth underlying that in the conditions of real communication, such structures constitute only a small percentage of general expressions.

system of rules (referred to as **universal grammar**), and it is independent of any other cognitive processes simply because it is inherent within the human brain at birth, cognitive linguists repudiate such claims. For them, the structure of language constitutes a direct reflection of human cognitive processes, and although they do not entirely dismiss the idea that a part of the human linguistic ability is innate, they strongly advocate against and reject the existence of a separate language faculty. What is more, many researchers expressed the view that the formalisation of language cannot be seen as its explanation. For them, the desire to formalise a grammatical description is completely unreal. Tabakowska (1995: 20) emphasises the fact that the language phenomena are scalar: some structures are simply more correct or less correct than others, and the position on the scale is primarily determined by the adopted language convention.

All these allegations that were successively put forward by the advocates of Cognitive Linguistics boil down to one fundamental statement, which underlines the fact that the knowledge of language comes strictly from language use and that the human language might be learned only by observing, listening, imitating, etc. To put it differently, language is learned in very much the same way as anything else and there is no such thing as full autonomy of individual, traditionally distinguished components of language. All of them – phonology, lexicon, morphology and syntax – form a single continuum, therefore language should be studied as an integral aspect of the overall working of the human mind.

1.2.2.2 Different Centres of Cognitive Linguistics

Cognitive Linguistics, with its broad range of research, from the very beginning gained both enthusiastic supporters and intransigent opponents. Ideas that for some were absolutely fascinating, and for others considered as implausible and without any scientific foundations, quickly reached European centres of linguistics. In many of them they fell on fertile ground. Today, Cognitive Linguistics is practised according to the common paradigm in many scientific centres in the world. In Poland, the concepts of Cognitive Linguistics (without the use of this name) are developed by Lublin scholars, first of all Jerzy Bartmiński (the author of the *Dictionary of Stereotypes*) and Ryszard Tokarski. Cognitive Linguistics, related to the American version, is addressed, among others, by: Tomasz Krzeszowski, Roman Kalisz, Henryk Kardela, Elżbieta Tabakowska, Bogusław

Bierwiaczonek, Barbara Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk, Elżbieta Górska, Krzysztof Kosecki, to name but a few most renowned scholars.

1.2.2.2.1 Linguistic Image of the World

The problem of language, its attitude to the surrounding reality, and the way in which it interprets the world has preoccupied philosophers from the time immemorial. We learn about non-linguistic reality, that is the world, by means of language, and it is the language that helps to decide about a different understanding of the world by societies using different tongues (Bartmiński 2006). The concept of the linguistic image of the world has been variously defined throughout history (the view of the world, the internal form of language, a peculiar understanding of the world, or worldview) and it is generally defined by referring to the original theory formulated by Wilhelm von Humboldt, a theory developed by a pair of American ethnolinguists, Edward Sapir and Benjamin Lee Whorf[12] (the proponents of the well-known hypothesis of linguistic relativism), as well as recent research conceptions of Jerzy Bartmiński and Ryszard Tokarski, among others. The term **linguistic image of the world**, perceived by many researchers as one of the central concepts in Cognitive Linguistics, can be interpreted as a fixed conceptual structure in the system of a given language, and thus, its grammatical and lexical properties (meanings of words and their connectivity), realising itself like everything in language, in the use of texts (Grzegorczykowa 1999: 41).

As mentioned above, the issue of the linguistic image of the world was studied by various scholars as early as in the nineteenth century when the German linguist and philosopher Wilhelm von Humboldt (1836 [2001]) formulated the thesis about the existence of the so-called internal language form in terms of which language is an active structure. Humboldt believed that each nation created its own language in a distinct way. The scholar's concept was further developed by Leo Weisgerber and Helmut Gipper (Grzegorczykowa 2001). In Polish linguistics, the concept of the linguistic image of the world has been adopted and adapted by Jerzy Bartmiński and Ryszard Tokarski, who first used the term ***Językowy Obraz Świata*** 'The linguistic image of the world' (henceforth:

[12]American linguists, Edward Sapir and Benjamin Lee Whorf, studying Indian languages, found striking differences between these languages and Indo-European ones and postulated the language's dependence on culture and living conditions. For them, cultural and social conditions admittedly affect the shape of a particular native tongue, and then, the given system of communication determines the way the world is recognised. We see the world through 'glasses' imposed by the language (Grzegorczykowa 1999: 162).

JOŚ) in 1986[13]. Since then, the concept has become very popular in Polish linguistics in the cognitive linguistic circle[14]. Bartmiński (1990) sees JOŚ as an interpretation, not the reflection of reality that can be summarised in the form of judgments about the world, people, things and events. It is mainly a subjective portrait, yet, at the same time, anthropocentric and subject to socialisation which connects people in a given social circle.

At the basis of this way of thinking about language lies the conviction that language does not directly reflect the world, but it reflects the human interpretation of the world. The shape of the definition is unquestionably influenced by research in the field of sociolinguistics and psycholinguistics, because language, considered as the most perfect form of communication between people is determined by sociological and psychological phenomena occurring in the society. Hence, JOŚ is the consolidation of the set of relations contained in the linguistic shape of the text, and resulting from the knowledge of the non-linguistic world (Bartmiński and Tokarski 2006). Continuing these assumptions, research on JOŚ is carried out in the area of cultural linguistics. Language can be treated as a component of culture and what is even more important, culture is included in the language, so it can be studied via language[15].

To sum up, language is a treasury of knowledge about people and the whole world. It contains the experiences of previous generations of its users, the worldviews they represent, and the stereotypes of behaviour that have persisted over the centuries. Therefore, the language system may be treated as an indispensable tool for interpersonal communication, and, at the same time, the only tool we have to be able to interpret the reality in which we live. By using the language, one can "order the chaos" that surrounds us (Maćkiewicz 1990). Each language community has its own way of interpreting the world and it seems to be reflected in the language it uses. In other words, every community possesses its own linguistic image of the world.

[13]On this issue see Bartmiński and Tokarski (2006).
[14]JOŚ is tightly connected to the Ethnolinguistic School of Lublin, developed by Jerzy Bartmiński and Ryszard Tokarski, in the 1980s, when researchers from the Maria Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin, the University of Łódź, the University of Wrocław, and other Polish universities began to cooperate over the cognitive and anthropological aspects of language (see Zinken 2004, Bartmiński 2009: 16).
[15]The subject of research on the linguistic image of the world is also increasingly related to femininity. It is worth mentioning that numerous research papers have been devoted to the analysis of the linguistic image of a woman in colloquial texts, advertisements, or on the Internet (Jędrzejko 1994, Łobodzińska 1994, Anusiewicz and Handke 1994, Spychala-Reiss 2009).

1.2.3 Assumptions and Guiding Principles of Cognitive Semantics

Semantic problems became the field of interest of modern linguistics relatively late because only in the 1960s, however, they immediately took a significant place worldwide[16]. Up until then, semantic studies had been essentially removed outside of the research interests, as they had been considered as imprecise[17] (see Bloomfield 1933: 75) and without any solid methodological basis. The contemporary research oscillates around the approach to the study of mind and its relationship with embodied experience and culture. It employs language as a key methodological tool for uncovering conceptual organisation and structure (Evans Green 2006: 153).

The vocabulary research developed in the 1930s was inspired mainly by de Saussure's ideas on the one hand, and certain philosophical thoughts of Humboldt, on the other, and the exploration was reflected as a system of internally related conceptual structures known as semantic fields[18]. In the mid-1980s, a characteristic shift in linguistic research was made, a shift that strongly influenced the situation of semantics, which was moved from a marginal position to the centre of linguistic disputes. Interestingly, this upheaval has taken place independently at various scientific centres around the world. It consisted in the fact that the abstract language ceased to be the object of interest, as was demanded by structuralism, and the focus was on the use of language, and, above all, the language understood anthropologically as part of the human activity, both mental and social (see Grzegorczykowa 2001: 80). This was probably connected with the fact that the study of the system during the period of structuralism was brought to perfection, and even to a certain supremacy in the form of extensive formalisation, which resulted in the linguistic research being alienated and detached from linguistic empiricism. Leonard Talmy, one of the pioneers of Cognitive Linguistics, describes cognitive semantics in the following way: "Research on cognitive semantics is research on conceptual content and its organization in language" (Talmy 2000: 4). Such a view not only couches linguistic meaning in terms of a manifestation of conceptual structure, but it also acknowledges the nature of mental representation in all its assortment and richness.

[16]However, it cannot go unnoticed that many nineteenth-century scholars also dealt with the problem of meaning and the change of meaning (for more details see Grygiel and Kleparski 2007; Kiełtyka 2008: 23; Cymbalista and Kleparski 2013: 19).
[17]See also Kiełtyka (2008: 75).
[18]It is worth noticing that the theory of semantic fields has survived to this day and developed in the form of numerous studies on the semantic fields of individual languages. It also enriched various ethnolinguistics studies (Sapir 1949, Whorf 1956).

Unlike some formal approaches to linguistics that very frequently put emphasis on the role of grammar, Cognitive Linguistics stresses the role of meaning. Many researchers divide the interests of cognitive semantics into two main areas: **cognitive semantics** and **cognitive approaches to grammar**[19] (see Evans and Green 2006: 48-50). Cognitive grammar is undoubtedly dependent upon cognitive semantics because it cannot function as a separate meaningful system. Both share some important properties and can be seen as two sides of the same coin. If we want to study the units of language, we have to take a cognitive approach to grammar and, consequently, to study the language system itself. On the other hand, if we want to understand how this linguistic system relates to the conceptual system, we have to take a cognitive approach to semantics. The concerns of cognitive semantics and cognitive (approaches to) grammar are thus complementary. The reason for this lies in the fact that grammar is regarded as a significant system in itself, and therefore, it shares essential properties with the system of linguistic meaning, and what is even more important, it cannot be meaningfully detached from it.

All things considered, cognitive semantics is mostly concerned with investigating a conceptual structure and various processes of conceptualisation. It means that it is not concerned with studying linguistic meaning for its own sake, but rather, it focuses on what it can reveal about the nature of the human conceptual system. Meaning is perceived as not merely an objective reflection of the outside world, but as a way of modelling the world. It is changeable, dynamic and flexible – it construes the world in a certain way and shapes the perspective of looking at the world (see, for example, Geeraerts 2006: 4-5).

1.2.3.1 Embodiment and its Function

The concept of **embodiment** constitutes one of the central ideas in Cognitive Linguistics. The idea of mind/body dualism has been a prevailing assumption in philosophy and it reaches back the seventeenth-century, when a French philosopher René Descartes hammered out the view that body and mind are distinct entities. In modern linguistics these rationalist principles are evident mostly in formal approaches such as Generative Grammar (developed by Noam Chomsky – see section 1.2.2.1). Advocates of such approaches state that it is possible to study language as a formal system, without taking into consideration the nature of human bodies and human experience.

[19]The term ***cognitive (approaches to) grammar*** is used here as the general term for cognitively-oriented models of the language system, as opposed to ***Cognitive Grammar*** – the name of a specific theory.

Cognitive Linguistics, in contrast, is not rationalist in this sense. It takes its inspiration from various traditions in psychology and philosophy, which emphasise the centrality of the human body and the importance of human experience, both of which affect the nature of our existence. Such views, that are empiricist in nature, accentuate the fact that the human mind – and therefore human language – cannot be investigated in total isolation from human embodiment (Evans and Green 2006: 44). The very fact that human experience is structured by the nature of our bodies, hence embodied, has important consequences for cognition. As Evans and Green point out (2006: 46): "We can only talk about what we can perceive and conceive, and the things that we can perceive and conceive derive from embodied experience." All phenomena that people encounter on a daily basis, both physical and abstract, are construed by reference to the behaviour, the physiological reactions of our body and its interaction with the environment[20].

A significant consequence of viewing experience and conceptualisation as embodied, concerns the way it affects our view of reality. Formal semantics holds the assumption that the role of language is to define states of affairs in the world, and that the language simply reflects an objective world existing 'out there'. Nevertheless, cognitive linguists oppose this objectivist approach claiming that there cannot be an objective reality that the language reflects, simply because reality is not objectively given. Language does not unswervingly reflect the world but rather, it echoes the unique human construal of the world "as it appears to us through the lens of our embodiment" (Evans and Green 2006: 48). It can be best illustrated by the way in which our embodiment affects the nature of experience when the realm of colours is concerned. While some organisms often have several kinds of photoreceptors or colour channels[21], humans visual system possess only three. Having a dissimilar range of colour channels affects our perception of colour in terms of the range of colours that are accessible to humans along the colour spectrum. Of course, the examples of this kind are multiple and they seem rather obvious, but this kind of knowledge, which is mostly taken for granted, is acquired as a consequence of interaction with the physical environment. The indication that experience is embodied implies that we possess a species-specific interpretation of the world down

[20]For example, people talk about the future as 'something' that is positioned in front of us, which constitutes a metaphorical transfer from the more physical and tangible domain of a path to abstract concept of the future.

[21]The visual system of rabbits and squirrels, for instance, makes use of two-colour channels, while goldfish and pigeons have four.

to the unique nature of our physical bodies. To put it differently, our version of reality is likely to be mediated in great measure by our bodies' makeup.

1.2.3.2 Encyclopaedic View of Meaning

Lexicologists and lexicographers[22] have always been concerned with the theoretical distinction between dictionaries and encyclopaedias. Since the emergence of the mentalist approach to language in the 1960s, it has also been widely assumed that a distinction parallel to the dictionary/encyclopaedia distinction exists at the level of the mental representation of words. This view has been widely adopted, particularly by linguists who assume a componential view of word meaning. According to this theory, only the dictionary component is capable of proper investigation of lexical semantics (hence, the branch of semantics preoccupied with the study of meaning). Encyclopaedic knowledge, in turn, is external to linguistic knowledge and it inevitably falls within the domain of 'world knowledge'. Importantly, according to the dictionary view, the core and the most essential meaning of a word is the information enclosed in the definition (for example *spinster* means 'unmarried adult female'), and this constitutes the only proper domain of lexical semantics. Conversely, the encyclopaedic knowledge (e.g. some stereotypical connotations relating to age, appearance and behaviour) is treated as non-linguistic knowledge. In this manner, the dictionary view of meaning enables semanticists to restrict their scope of investigation to non-contextual word meaning, while all the aspects associated with the outside world interactions with linguistic meaning usually fall within the field of pragmatics (see Evans and Green 2006: 208).

Another dichotomy signalled above concerns the distinction between semantics and pragmatics. As it has been suggested so far, the dictionary view assumes a strong distinction between semantics – knowledge of word meaning, and pragmatics – knowledge about how contextual factors effect linguistic meaning. What is more, the dictionary model treats knowledge of word denotation as distinct from social, cultural and physical knowledge. As a consequence, semantic knowledge might be assumed autonomous from other kinds of information. More recently, however, linguists have begun to argue that the distinction traditionally drawn between **dictionary knowledge** (word meaning) and **encyclopaedic knowledge** (non-linguistic or 'world knowledge') is

[22]Lexicologists are best described as linguists who study word meaning, while lexicographers are perceived as dictionary writers.

artificial. One may even suggest an alternative view which claims that dictionary knowledge is a subset of more general encyclopaedic knowledge (see Evans and Green 2006: 207).

1.2.4 Categorisation and Idealised Cognitive Models

While continuing the exploration of the human conceptual system, one cannot overlook the importance of categorisation, that is human ability to identify perceived similarities and differences between objects and phenomena, and the ability of grouping them together. In brief, categorisation may be described as seeing "similarity in diversity" (Taylor 1992: viii). We always see the surrounding world in a certain way and from a distinctive perspective. However, it is difficult to capture the whole meaning and significance of this concept into one simple definition, as categorisation is a very complex and multifarious phenomenon. Lakoff (1987: 5-6) writes on this issue in the following way:

> "There is nothing more basic than categorization to our thought, perception, action and speech [...] Without the ability to categorize, we could not function at all, either in the physical world or in our social and intellectual lives. An understanding of how we categorize is central to any understanding of how we think and how we function, and therefore central to an understanding of what makes us human."

Because categorisation is central to the human conceptual system, it relies upon and gives rise to concepts; it also partially accounts for the organisation of concepts within the network of encyclopaedic knowledge. Furthermore, categorisation that takes place in language is observable on a verbal and, more importantly, on a conceptual level. The biggest number of differences in language conceptual systems can be observed within category boundaries. Different people divide the world in different ways, and this is conditioned by culture, religion, and simple functioning in everyday reality.

Concluding the above considerations, one might claim that categorisation seems to be of fundamental importance for cognitive semanticists, psychologists and sociologists, since all of these disciplines require a theory of categorisation so as to account for linguistic meaning and knowledge representation (Evans and Green 2006: 248). This particular fact finds its further confirmation in the unfading interest of other

scientists, not only from the fields of sociology and psychology, but also those representing philosophy and anthropology. It is not surprising then that this study will incorporate both language and some additional insights from other branches of science (mostly psychology and sociology).

1.2.4.1 Classical vs. Cognitive Theory

Aristotelian[23] classical theory of categorisation was the prevalent model treated as a reflection of the human mind's desire to organise the world around us. The objectivist view that conceptual and linguistic categories have a definitional structure gave people a reassurance that the subordination of the world, which takes place in the process of categorisation, is a reflection of the thought processing, running smoothly along the categories created by the human mind corresponding to the existing categories in the world (Tabakowska 1995: 39). Classical theory of categories assumes total immutability and sharpness of boundaries between individual categories in such a way that each entity can represent a category only by virtue of fulfilling a set of conditions for category membership. These conditions are referred to as 'necessary and sufficient' because they are independently necessary, but only collectively sufficient to delineate a category in question. A given object or phenomenon can therefore belong to a category only when possessing all the relevant, definitional features of this category, and what is more, the absence of one of these features excludes it from this category. The classical theory can be further defined by the following assumptions:

1) Categories are described analytically and they represent all-or-none phenomenon. It is generally assumed that the membership in a category is defined by an item's possession of a simple set of criterial features (Geeraerts 2006: 141).
2) Features have a binary character. It means that a given trait can take the value [+] or [-] depending on the category.
3) Categories have clear and strictly set boundaries, there are no transitional cases that might only to some extent belong to a given category.
4) All elements belonging to a given category are equivalent, and the category is not gradable (it does not have better or worse members).

[23]In fact, the views of Aristotle are probably more often cited by the opponents of his ideas, not the supporters.

The existence of such norms carries some vital consequences for the categories. First of all, once established, they remain largely unchanged, because they are defined by sets of distinctive features permanently attributable to components belonging to a given category. Secondly, categories are internally definable and there is no reference to the context. Lastly, the classical theory defines the logical principles of contradiction, which inevitably leads to the observation that all objects have the same status within category.

As demonstrated above, features characterising members of a particular category are taken to be binary, that is a feature is either present or absent; there is no alternative. That basic idea of binary values reaches back the times of antiquity, it was, however, not systematically used until it became adopted in structuralist semantics and further developed by Katz and Fodor (1963). To illustrate the workings of this mechanism, let us take a look at the lexical concept of BACHELOR. In order to belong to this category, an entity has to fulfil the following necessary conditions: [+MALE], [+ADULT], [-MARRIED]. It must be stressed here that according to the classic category rule, none of these features is individually sufficient, because [-MARRIED] could be easily applied to SPINSTER, while [+MALE] can equally work for HUSBAND. As a matter of fact, the necessary and sufficient conditions have later taken the form of semantic primitives or componential features, which has been very influential in semantic theories adopting the formal 'mentalist' view proposed by Chomsky (see Evans and Green 2006: 251).

Looking from a critical perspective, there are many difficulties faced by the classical model of logical categories. The classical view of categorisation might be understood as part of what Lakoff (1987: xii) refers to as the objectivist version of realism. It might be recapitulated by a simple statement that human thought is seen as disembodied, abstract and atomistic which entails that it can be divided into basic 'building blocks'[24]. There had also been a few shortcomings that in the later years, provided the major motivation for the development of alternative theories. The most famous argument against the classical model refers to the fact that for many, simple concepts, as Wittgenstein (1953[1978: 31]) points out, there are no adequate definitions available that would be perceived in terms of necessary and sufficient features. Although the classical theory acted as the only and the best approach to the problem of categorisation for many centuries, it eventually turned out to be insufficient. In the 1970s, a cognitive psychologist Eleanor Rosch and her colleagues conducted a series of

[24]For details see Lakoff (1987: 160-169) and Rohrer (2007: 25).

extensive pioneering experiments in the field of developmental psychology, and they soon presented a serious challenge to the classical view. Not surprisingly, the categorisation theory proposed by Rosch rejects the fundamental presumptions underlying the classical theory. It is focused around the assumption that all categories arise as a result of creating concepts; they fully recognise the sensual experiences and treat the categorisation process as inherently subjective.

1.2.4.1.1 Family Resemblance

The answer to the urgent question addressed by Rosch and Mervis (1975) and cognitive linguists like Geeraerts (2010) and Taylor (1992), as to how a category can remain coherent in the absence of essential features, was mainly inspired by the ideas of the philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein who launched one of the first serious attacks on the classical approach to categorisation. His refutation of the traditional approach rests on the observation that probably there is no set of features that would be common to all single members of a particular category. What is more, even if such a set were successfully established, it might turn out that it is so wide-ranging that it would not be able to help in isolating one category from others, even unrelated ones.

In accordance with the classical approach, categories have a definitional structure, yet, it would be remarkably difficult to identify a precise set of conditions that are necessary and sufficient to delineate a category. Such a venture would probably require the identification of all those characteristics that are shared by all members of a category and together they would have to be adequate enough to define that category (Evans and Green 2006: 252). For this reason, in one of Wittgenstein's most famous passages of his posthumously published *Philosophical Investigations* (1953 [1978]), he analyses the meaning of the concept of GAME and illustrates the difficulty inherent in the old approach along the following lines:

> "Consider for example the proceedings that we call 'games'. I mean board-games, card-games, ball-games, Olympic games and so on. What is common to them all? – Don't say: 'There must be something common, or they would not be called "games"' – but look and see whether there is anything common to all. – For if you look at them you will not see something that is common to all, but similarities, relationships, and a whole series of them at that. To repeat: don't think, but look! – For example at board-games, with their multifarious relationships. Now pass to card-games; here you find many correspondences with the first group, but many common features drop out, and others

> appear. […] Think now of games like ring-a-ring-a-roses; here is the element of amusement, but how many other characteristic features have disappeared! And we can go through the many, many other groups in the same way; we see how similarities crop up and disappear." (Wittgenstein 1953: 66)

The passage perfectly demonstrates Wittgenstein's stance on categorisation and conveys the idea that individual category members are linked to each other by a network of similarities called family resemblances[25]. The name is not accidental, since much like in a real human family, each member shares some common features with some of the other members, but it is almost impossible to offer a feature that would equally apply to all members. The passage about the games reveals that it is not possible to distinguish a single set of properties that is shared by every member of the category in question. While some games, like tiddlywinks are characterised by AMUSEMENT, others, like dice games are related by LUCK, still others, like chess demand SKILL and a huge amount of KNOWLEDGE. To put it differently, it seems to be impossible to detect a definitional structure that defines this category[26].

To conclude, categories not only exhibit typicality effects (they reveal asymmetries between category members), but their members also display family resemblance relations. While for most categories there are no features and attributes that could be common to all members (not all members in a family are identical), there is satisfactory similarity between members and it may be said that they resemble one another to varying degrees (each of the members possesses some, though not all, features in common).

[25]A commonly cited problem with Wittgenstein's theory concerns the fact that although it successfully criticises the classical approach and reveals its shortcomings, it does not seem to offer any workable alternative. Taylor (1992: 40) argues that it is far from a coherent theory of meaning whatsoever. Moreover, Givón (1986: 81) suggests that the supporters of the prototype theory should not express too enthusiastic attitude towards Wittgenstein, especially when it comes to considering him as the 'father of prototypes'.

[26]Another example that illustrates this problem in a more accessible way involves the category CAT. Basically, it may be defined as [+MAMMAL], [+ FOUR LEGS], [+TAIL], [+POINTY EARS]. However, on a daily basis, we can easily encounter some cats which, for instance, lost an ear or lost their fur. This inevitably leads to a question whether such an animal stops being a member of the category CAT. Of course, the answer seems to be obvious: a three-legged, one-eared hairless cat is still a cat. The definitional approach of sufficient and necessary conditions, therefore, suffers not only from the problem that the definitions are often impossible to identify in the first place, but also from the problem that the aforementioned method is often subject to exceptions. Taking everything into account, it might be stated that a category does not need to have any sets of common conditions in order to 'count' as a meaningful category. In other words, the human mind revolves around making such kinds of everyday judgements in the absence of some portion of scientific knowledge.

1.2.4.1.2 Fuzziness

The phenomenon of fuzziness was established as a response to the problem with the definitional structure adopted in the classical view which entails that categories have definite and distinct boundaries[27]. Nonetheless, the majority of categories are not so obviously defined but instead they have 'fuzzy' boundaries. Let us ponder on the category FURNITURE. While many people consider CHAIR and TABLE as unblemished instances of this category, it is less obvious whether CARPET or LAMP should be considered members as well. The same situation can be observed when we take a look at the category BIRD. While it is clear that birds like SPARROW belong to this category, it is less obvious with animals such as PENGUINS and OSTRICHES (probably because neither of them can fly). If the classical theory of categorisation were to be taken into consideration, this problem would never arise.

1.2.4.2 Prototypes

The analysis of the abovementioned examples allows us to draw an important conclusion. Generally speaking, the classical view of categories, in which all members have equal status, and in which membership is established by possessing all the essential features, proved to be inadequate. After all, in the experiment concerning the category BIRD, both a sparrow and a penguin might be componentially specified as [+ ANIMATE], [+ BIPEDAL], [+ BEAKED], [+ EGG-LAYING] and [+ FEATHERED], yet while robins and sparrows are usually among the most prototypical birds, ostriches and penguins are assigned to the periphery of the category (Rosch 1975). What makes the former more representative, hence more prototypical, is their ability to fly and to sing. The prototype constitutes the core to which typical specimens are more or less approaching. The specimens that are closest to the centre of the category are treated as prototypical birds, while those the furthest away from the centre belong to the peripheries of the category in question.

[27]In fact, this appears to be the case for many categories. It is enough to look at the category ODD NUMBER in which members of the category possess a common quality: they cannot be divided by 2 without leaving a remainder: 1, 3, 5, 7, 9 and so forth. It becomes clear, then that this category has clearly defined boundaries: a number can be either odd or even, there is no point in between (Evans and Green 2006: 253-254).

Before we proceed to the Prototype Theory initiated by Rosch, it needs to be reminded that the first main step towards dismantling the barrier between language and cognition was undertaken by American linguist-anthropologists, Brent Berlin and Paul Kay (1969), who decided to investigate colour terms in ninety-eight distinct languages. For a very long time, colour terms had been used as a main argument for the arbitrariness of language. The study of basic colour terms conducted by Berlin and Kay in 1969, however, generated some intriguing results. Although it was not possible to demarcate particular colours exactly on the basis of the informants' responses, it was possible to identify 'best examples' (hence prototypes). As a result, colour categorisation started to be perceived far from arbitrary and it became clear that it is shaped by human cognitive abilities.

The second crucial step towards the formulation of a prototype theory was made in the 1970s by Rosch herself. She conducted a series of empirical experiments on colour terms among the speakers of Dani (Heider 1972) and pre-school children (Heider 1971). The choice of the target groups eliminated the potential risk of a language-based bias and subjectivity, as the former group represented a culture with only two basic colour terms, whereas the latter did not have a fully lexicalised system of terms at all. Importantly, Rosch's findings confirmed the suitability of the prototype-based model of categorisation of colours, it did not, however, explain how, and to want extent this model could be applied to human categorisation in general. For this reason, Rosch designed another series of experiments among American college students, in which they were asked to judge the goodness of each category member on a seven-point scale (see Rosch 1975). The categories included in the study were as follows: BIRD, FRUIT, VEHICLE, SPORT, VEGETABLE, TOOL, FURNITURE, TOY, WEAPON, and CLOTHING, and each of them was divided into a set of about fifty words. Unsurprisingly, the results revealed substantial agreement among the informants, particularly as far as the prototypical members were concerned. Finally, the formal theory originated in the mid-1970s (see Heider 1972, Rosch 1973, 1975, 1977, 1978) and other cognitive researchers started developing her ideas further[28].

[28]See, for instance: Lakoff (1987), Langacker (1987) and Taylor (1992).

1.2.4.2.1 Prototype Theory

The Prototype Theory is usually considered as a series of findings that delivered some new insights into human categorisation, rather than an actual theory of knowledge representation. By her extensive research, Rosch (1975) proposed that human beings categorise the surrounding reality not by means of the necessary and sufficient conditions, as was assumed by the classical theory, but with reference to a relatively abstract mental representation – a prototype – that gathers the key attributes that best represent instances of a particular category. For this reason, the prototype was conceived as a schematic representation of the most central characteristics associated with members of a certain category.

Following the earlier implications of the theory, categories habitually exhibit typicality effects. It means that some members of the category can be judged as more representative examples of that category and thus, can be referred to as category prototypes. Other features concerning prototypes include:

1) The boundaries of categories are blurred, which stands in opposition to the classical model's postulations.
2) Every category has an internal prototypical structure, where specimens are arranged in a specific order, from the best examples to the least representative ones (Rosch 1975: 544).
3) Elements that belong to a given category do not possess all common properties. They are combined by the structure of family resemblance created by overlapping and cross-breeding.
4) Elements of a particular category are no longer equivalent, but their degree of representativeness corresponds to the degree of their category membership.

Prototype theory also suggests that there are two fundamental principles that direct the formation of categories in the human mind, namely the principle of cognitive economy, and the principle of perceived world structure. Taken together, they give rise to the human categorisation system. According to the first principle, people (and other living creatures) try to obtain a maximum amount of information with little cognitive effort[29]. Everyone can observe the workings of this principle on a daily basis, usually during the process of learning about other people or the environment, when we want to

[29]In fact, the conflicting nature of these two assumptions determines the formation of categories.

minimise our cognitive effort and resources. People tend to store pieces of separate information together, what maintains the cost-benefit balance and consequently the economy in cognitive representation. The other principle, in turn, states that the world around us has correlational structure and categories are organised in a way which reflects that structure. As an illustration, it is obvious for the majority of human beings that wings usually co-occur with feathers and, of course, with the ability to fly (rather than with the ability to breathe underwater or with fur). This way of thinking, which relies upon correlational structure, is responsible for the formation and organisation of categories.

1.2.4.2.2 Basic Level Categories

Finally, it is worth mentioning that Rosch and her colleagues not only focused on categories as a means of grouping similar entities together, but they also assumed that one of the equally important functions of categories is the ability to distinguish between one particular cluster and other groupings. In other words, by looking for the most inclusive/abstract level of a category, they insisted on finding the highest level of inclusiveness at which similarity would occur. Whereas the principle of cognitive economy, mentioned above, has implications for the level of detail (level of inclusiveness) with which different categories are formed, the principle of correlational structure influences the prototype structure of those categories (see Rosch 1977, 1978). This conjures up the fact that a categorisation system has basically two dimensions: horizontal and vertical. The vertical dimension identifies the notion of inclusiveness with what is subsumed within a particular category. For instance, the category FURNITURE is much more inclusive than the category CHAIR because it also comprises other entities like TABLE or DESK. In turn, CHAIR is regarded as more inclusive than ROCKING CHAIR[30] because, in addition to rocking chairs, it includes other types of chairs as well. The level of inclusiveness is called the basic or generic level, and categories ascribed to this level are called basic-level categories[31] (see Rosch *et al*. 1976). Apart from the basic level, the categories positioned higher up the vertical axis provide less detail and they are

[30]The category ROCKING CHAIR represents the least inclusive level of this category.
[31]According to Rosch *et al*. (1976), members of basic-level categories are perceived more easily than members of superordinate or subordinate categories. What is more, the mid-level of inclusiveness is optimal for human beings when it comes to providing optimum cognitive economy.

called superordinate level categories. Those lower down the vertical axis, are called subordinate categories and they provide more detail about the given group.

1.2.4.2.3 Implications of Rosch's Approach

Although the theory of prototypes has revolutionised the way of thinking about categorisation and initiated many publications on the subject in question, it needs to be mentioned that Rosch's views on categorisation and the role of prototypes were far from constant. As observed by Lakoff (1987: 42-45), Rosch's research evolved and proceeded through three phases. The first one (from late 1960s to early 1970s) was focused around an experimental work on perceptual salience. The second phase, from early to mid-1970s, resulted in her hypothesis concerning the possibility that prototypes indeed directly reflect the structure of categories. During the third phase (late 1970s), Rosch withdrew to a more neutral position and defined prototypes as surface phenomena which have their source somewhere else. Although it is now evident that prototypes should not be interpreted as mental representations of categories, the basic concept of the prototype theory was enthusiastically welcomed by all those scientists dissatisfied with the classical approach to categorisation, and, without a moment's doubt, it greatly contributed to new developments in linguistics (most notably to the emergence of Cognitive Linguistics).

All in all, linguistics owes Eleonor Rosch and her continuators a new approach to semantics where the concept of prototype becomes the nucleus of the semantic description and it becomes a well-established phenomenon recognised by speakers as typical (forming a centre of fuzzy boundary categories), while atypical and marginal phenomena are removed from the general view. First of all, it sheds some light on the way people understand and think about organising the world, and secondly, it influences the semantic description of linguistic expressions. The concept of the prototype was therefore accepted by linguists with great approval as a kind of salutary rescue in the semantic description of words, and it supressed the structuralist views on transient categories (see Grzegorczykowa 2001).

1.2.4.3 Idealised Cognitive Models[32]

The investigation of the concept of **Idealised Cognitive Model** (ICM) should be preceded by a short outline of the historical context against which Cognitive Linguistics emerged as a vital approach. In the 1970s, Charles Fillmore and George Lakoff were members of the same faculty at the University of California at Berkeley and it was at that place, where they first encountered Eleanor Rosch's research on prototype theory. They became greatly influenced by the new approach to categorisation (see Evans and Green 2006: 250). Lakoff, in particular, discovered that his own views about language shared some common properties with what Rosch referred to as 'fuzzy' boundaries. That revelation led Lakoff to apply some of her views about psychological categories to linguistic categories. Specifically, a central concern expressed in Lakoff's (1987) book was to address the problems of prototype deficiencies and to propose in its place a theory of cognitive models[33].

In his seminal book *Women, Fire and Dangerous Things: What Categories Reveal about the Mind*, George Lakoff (1987) foresaw some of the consequences of the observations made earlier by Rosch. The book applied a relatively new set of findings from cognitive psychology and pursued the development of a model of language that would be compatible with Rosch's findings. In an attempt to shape the principles of language in terms of the previous psychological findings, Lakoff devised and applied principles that were mutual both to linguistic and conceptual phenomena, which consequently laid crucial foundations for the Cognitive Linguistics approach. Notably, Lakoff (1987) argues that categories relate to Idealised Cognitive Models, which can be delineated as relatively stable mental representations that epitomise theories about the world. Additionally, ICMs relate to relatively multifarious knowledge structures and they themselves are rich in detail. What is even more significant, ICMs are 'idealised' because they elide across a range of experiences instead of representing particular instances of a

[32]The notion of Idealised Cognitive Models draws inspirations from several other important theories, among others: Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) theory of metaphor and metonymy, Fillmore's (1982) frame semantics, Fauconnier's (1985) theory of mental spaces, and Langacker's (1987) cognitive grammar. It constitutes a specific attempt at integrating the most important insights of a number of cognitive linguists.

[33]It needs to be emphasised that it was Lakoff's (1987) book that set the scene for the development of three significant strands of research within Cognitive Linguistics, namely: the Conceptual Metaphor Theory, a cognitive approach to grammar and cognitive semantics. What is more, Lakoff's theory of cognitive models avoids the problems connected with the assumption that Prototype Theory is a model of knowledge representation.

given experience which gives them a special role of guiding cognitive processes such as categorisation and reasoning.

Another important aspect connected with ICMs is their relation to the typicality effects. Lakoff (1987) maintains that typicality effects can arise in a range of diverse ways. The simplest type ascends as a result of mismatches between ICMs against which a particular concept is understood. By analysing the concept of BACHELOR, one has to refer to the **MARRIAGE ICM**, as this ICM is schematic enough to include the knowledge relating to a monogamous society, the institution of marriage and a typical marriageable age, where a bachelor is usually defined as an unmarried adult male. In other words, it is with respect to this ICM that the notion of BACHELOR is comprehended. The issue gets more complicated when we take into consideration the Pope, who is to be judged as a poor example of the category BACHELOR. The concept POPE is predominantly understood with respect to the **CATHOLIC CHURCH ICM** according to which, the members of clergy cannot marry. Indeed, there is a mismatch between these two cognitive models. Although within the **BACHELOR ICM** the Pope might be considered as a bachelor because he is unmarried, our knowledge relating to CATHOLICISM specifies that the Pope cannot marry. That mismatch causes the typicality effects to arise. As one can observe, the category BACHELOR exhibits typicality effects, since we can distinguish some 'better' and 'worse' members of this category. There are, of course, some more ways responsible for the creation of typicality effects and they will be analysed in some more detail below.

1.2.4.3.1 Radial Categories

Radial categories provide the second way in which typicality effects can arise and they are based on the assumption that every concept consists of a central case and its conventionalised variants that cannot be assumed using general principles (Lakoff 1987). In the radial structure the choice of a central element is a matter of convention, and there are certain connections between sub-categories and their conventional expressions. What follows is that distant representatives of a specific category do not need to possess any features of their prototype, but they still belong to it, simply on the basis of similarities to one of its other elements. Simultaneously, a representative may share an attribute with a member of some other category in the similarity chain, which inevitably leads to the blurring of the boundaries between categories.

A commonly cited example of a prototypical MOTHER draws upon information from several distinct categories such as: the **BIRTH MODEL**, the **NURTURE MODEL**, the **GENETIC MODEL**, the **GENEALOGICAL MODEL**, the **MARITAL MODEL**, and the **HOUSEWIFE MODEL**. Hence, according to Lakoff's (1987) approach, a prototypical mother is a female who gave birth to the child, who nurtured the child, who supplied 50 per cent of the genetic material, who is one generation older than the child, who is married to the child's father, and who stayed at home in order to fulfil the expected functions. This type of prototype provides schematic information and is a kind of idealisation. As a result, further models, such as **FOSTER MOTHER**, **ADOPTIVE MOTHER**, **BIRTH MOTHER** or **SURROGATE MOTHER** can be easily derived. Importantly, such variants are not generated from the central model by any general rules[34]. While we can imply that the subcategories are motivated in the sense that they are licensed by the prototype, this is predominantly a consequence of some cultural experiences. They are extended by convention, constitute cultural products, and must be learned one after the other.

1.2.4.3.2 Cluster Model

The **cluster model** can be treated as an extension of the concept of the radial category, since both refer to the observation that most conceptual categories cannot be reduced to a modest scheme with only one centre, from which different extensions spread like rays. Needless to say, the whole structure is considerably more complex, and resembles a complicated web of various interconnections[35]. To put it otherwise, the category MOTHER, which has a radial structure, consists of a cluster of interconnected and converging ICMs (Lakoff 1987: 91). Such converging models collectively give rise to a complex cluster, which "is psychologically more complex than the models taken individually" (Lakoff 1987: 74).

Coming back to the category of MOTHER, it can be suggested that it is structured by a cluster model consisting of a number of different submodels which, as stated by Lakoff (1987: 74-76), provide a slightly different definition of the word ***mother*** (see the information above). An important observation that emerges is that while the category

[34]The extensions are not random, as the central model determines the means for extensions (Lakoff 1987: 91).
[35]The process of expansion (both metaphorical and metonymic) can be seen as a long chain of semantic connections, where the existing concepts become the starting point for creating further extensions.

MOTHER comprises these distinct submodels, people tend to subjectively invoke the individual models that contribute to the larger cluster model[36] (see Lakoff 1987: 75). Undoubtedly, cluster models give rise to typicality effects when one of the ICMs is viewed as primary. Lakoff (1987: 75) writes: "When the cluster of models that jointly characterize a concept diverge, there is still a strong pull to view one as the most important." As a result, other submodels are being ranked as less important.

1.2.4.3.3 Metonymic Model

The last kind of typically effects, as argued by Lakoff, appears when an exemplar (an individual instance) stands for an entire category. Such a phenomenon, where one conceptual unit stands for another is referred to as metonymy (see section 1.4). In a nutshell, the process of metonymy can be explained on the following example: *You have to swear loyalty to the crown*, where the object (crown) stands for its owner (a royal person). A metonymic ICM can be a separate subcategory (e.g. one of the subcategories of a cluster model) or an individual member belonging to a particular category that comes to stand for the category as a whole. As a result, the metonymic model serves as a cognitive reference point because it stands for the whole category (see Langacker 1993). What is more, it establishes norms and various expectations against which other members of that category are evaluated and assessed. Consequently, other members are adjudicated as atypical relative to the metonymic model, and it is exactly in this way that the typicality effects are formed. Lastly, Lakoff (1987: 84-90) proposes a number of metonymic models such as **social stereotypes**, **typical examples**, **ideals**, **paragons**, **generators** and **salient examples** that are briefly characterised below.

1.2.4.3.3.1 Social Stereotypes

Generally speaking, social stereotypes emerge from public discussion and describe cultural expectations concerning a concrete category. As an example, when we think about someone as a ***bachelor***, we might imagine him as a macho and womaniser who lacks domestic skills, simply because they fit better the social stereotype of

[36]This may be observed in dictionary definitions, when one submodel is preferred over the others (see Lakoff 1987).

BACHELOR. Typicality effects, in this case, can arise when a particular bachelor diverges from this stereotype. For example, an unmarried individual who possesses only one sexual partner and who relishes staying at home and doing housework might be judged atypical with respect to the social stereotype for bachelors. This demonstrates how the social stereotype of BACHELOR can stand for the category as a whole.

1.2.4.3.3.2 Typical Examples

Unlike social stereotypes, typical examples are essentially unconscious and almost never subject to public discussion, therefore they are said to be unchangeable. Typicality effects can arise, when we consider a particular entity in relation to typical examples of the whole category to which it belongs. For instance, cases like *apples*, *robins*, *tables*, and *hammers* are usually perceived as typical examples of categories such as FRUITS, BIRDS, FURNITURE, and TOOLS, respectively. The main motivation that stands behind prototype effects in the case of these examples is an asymmetry between prototypical and peripheral cases.

1.2.4.3.3.3 Ideals

As Lakoff (1987) puts it, some categories can be understood in terms of ideals and their nature is significantly different from that of typical or stereotypical instances. Let us consider the category of POLITICIAN. One might suggest that an ideal politician is someone who is truly altruistic, hardworking, honest and community-minded. This stands sharply in contrast to the general stereotype of a politician functioning in many western societies, where such a person is conceived as mean, egotistical, power-hungry and generally insensitive. In this situation again, typicality effects occur when one example – the ideal – stands metonymically for the entire category[37].

[37]Notice that the utterance *He's a great politician* may be interpreted as a positive appraisal. However, the same sentence expressed with a tinge of irony and with respect to the ongoing social stereotype, might be seen as a negative evaluation.

1.2.4.3.3.4 Paragons

Paragons may be seen as actual instances of ideals; in other words, they are individual category members that represent the ideals. To illustrate the truth of this statement, let us consider the character of David Beckham. By and large, for a great number of people around the world, Beckham embodies a FOOTBALL paragon. He is perceived as the world's best-known and the most successful soccer star. Moreover, he is good-looking, glamorous, satisfied with his perfect marriage to a pop star and a happy and committed father. Because paragons stand metonymically for an entire category, they sometimes form different expectations and norms against which other members of the category are evaluated[38]. Similarly, Ferrari may represent a paragon in terms of CAR, tyrannosaurus rex in terms of DINOSAUR and Winston Churchill when it comes to WAR LEADER.

1.2.4.3.3.5 Generators

According to Lakoff (1987), in certain categories a group of central members, called generators, might serve as a basis from which other members are 'generated'. As a result, these generators are judged as more prototypical than the further category members that they generate. In the category NATURAL NUMBERS, for instance, the natural numbers are epitomised by the set of integers between zero and nine, which can be subsequently combined in various ways to produce higher natural numbers (consider the number 10 which consists of the integers 1 and 0 etc.). Accordingly, the whole category NATURAL NUMBERS is generated from a small group of single-digit integers, which leads to the conclusion that the numbers from 1 to 9 are considered to be prototypical members of that category (rather than the higher numbers).

1.2.4.3.3.6 Salient examples

Lastly, **salient examples** can also produce a type of a metonymic ICM. An example provided by Lakoff (1987: 89) demonstrates that Oxford University can be

[38]Evans and Green (2006) notice that sometimes, especially in cases which involve human beings, certain expectations are extended from the area of specialisation to life in general. For this reason, some people may be shocked when their favourite actors or sportsmen do something against their perfect image.

perceived as a salient example of a university. Many people, above all in the UK, tend to rely on Oxford as a point of comparison for other institutions of higher education in the world. Simply speaking, typicality effects arise when Oxford works as a means to establish a set of evaluating and assessing principles that could be applied to any other university. To put it differently, salient examples act as some cognitive reference points. These kinds of ideas metonymically structure a given category, and, what is more important, they can influence the decisions people make while deciding which university to choose (the decision very often relies on its similarity to a salient example like Oxford[39]).

1.2.4.3.4 Significance of ICMs

As it has been suggested and underlined so far, ICMs are complex, idealised and structured systems of knowledge, because they present a simplified version of reality, which consequently gives human beings a deceptive advantage of having straightforward answers to complicated questions. In addition to that, Lakoff (1987: 287) claims that ICMs "are one of the most important structuring devices we have for making sense of what we experience." In a way, they are also formed and maintained by culture what is confirmed by Ungerer and Schmid (1996: 51) in the following way: "cognitive models for particular domains depend on so-called cultural models." Thus, ICMs involve psychological, sociolinguistic and anthropological aspects of the phenomenon in question.

In conclusion, language is probably the most essential and the most apparent way in which stereotypes manifest their existence. It always accompanies all forms of non-verbal forms of expressing stereotypes and for this simple reason stereotypes are being investigated not only by psychologists, but their linguistic aspect is also widely analysed by linguists. The following part of the thesis will be devoted to a discussion of the concept of **stereotype** and its different dimensions, in which it plays a crucial role.

[39]The enormous prestige and significance of Oxford is due to its long history, structure of the institution and architecture, and most importantly, due to the valuation given to teaching and scholarship.

1.2.4.4 Stereotypes

The concept of a **stereotype** appears in cognitive semantics as a concept parallel to that of a prototype. While the prototype is understood as the best example of a given category, the stereotype contains a set of features corresponding to the prototype[40]. In a similar manner, Lakoff (1987: 85-86) claims that cognitive models picture a social stereotype as one type of a metonymic ICM. Nevertheless, Lakoff is obviously not the first researcher who employs this notion of stereotype in his research. In fact, the term occupies a special place in all cognitive sciences and it has already appeared in an abundant literature on the subject.

To start with, stereotype danger is one of the most extensively studied socio-psychological concepts in recent times (see e.g. Schneider 2004, Nelson 2009). Stereotypes constitute an integral part of human life and they may be found everywhere; sometimes we are not even aware of their existence. What is more, we succumb to them unconsciously. They can be both negative and positive, however, the negative ones are much more common. Not realising what a stereotype is and how it functions may lead to a range of surprising and often outright conflicting situations. Moreover, as it is commonly agreed among researchers, the concrete and unanimous definition of a stereotype is difficult to provide[41]. There are many dissimilar concepts and theories that supply their own expanded classifications. Nelson (2009: 2) states that stereotypes "represent the traits that we view as characteristic of social groups, or of individual members of those groups, and particularly those that differentiate groups from each other." In other words, "they are the traits that come to mind quickly when we think about the groups" (Nelson 2009: 2). Kashima, Fiedler and Freytag (2008: 29) argue that people who use stereotypes "have a definite idea of which personality characteristics to expect when they are confronted with their specific members." Thus, stereotypes constitute certain patterns of thinking, which are reflected in stereotypical verbal connections.

[40]The difference between the prototype and the stereotype can be easily observed in the names of animals: a prototypical dog is a barking animal with typical features that are best represented on children's drawings (paws, tail, etc.), while the dog's stereotype includes numerous attributes assigned to dogs by people, for example, wickedness or servility (see Grzegorczykowa 1999: 114).

[41]Hogg and Vaughan (2002: 652) deal with the important distinction between stereotypes, discrimination and prejudices. According to the researchers, a stereotype is a "widely shared and simplified evaluative image of a social group and its members." It may be distinguished from prejudice since it is interpreted "as an unfavourable and sometimes hostile attitude towards a social group and its members" (Hogg and Vaughan 2010: 356). Consequently, discrimination differs because it constitutes "behavioural expression of prejudice" (Hogg and Vaughan 2002: 641). Obviously, there is a relation between these three notions, but they cannot be seen as equivalent.

Stereotypes are nowadays of interest to scholars in various branches of science, yet their complex nature is studied mostly in sociology, psychology and anthropology. However, regardless of the motivation (whether psychological or philosophical), the notion of stereotype has soon transferred from sociology and psychology into linguistics, bringing with it certain socially persisted imaginations and beliefs associated with specific phenomena.

1.2.4.4.1 Linguistic Perspective on Stereotypes

To start with, language is a device in which stereotypes manifest themselves. Firstly, they constitute an element of the linguistic image of the world (see section 1.2.2.2.1) as they allow us to discover the images captured in the language of a particular community. Secondly, they belong to the realm of common knowledge of a specific culture group and its language. Thirdly, they are a source of knowledge people need to talk about values and the behavioural patterns of a given culture[42]. Particular exponents of stereotyping in language may be found during the process of analysing proverbs and other phraseological units.

Apart from consolidation of certain values and attitudes, language is also responsible for stereotypes transmission and, in this way, it greatly contributes to the process of encoding stereotypic content in various linguistic forms, especially in idioms, ordinary vocabulary items, proverbs or wide-ranging communicative contexts (see Maass and Arcuri 1996: 194-196). Because language is the most obvious, and the most important means of communication, the transmission through verbal channels can concern many different means, particularly spreading the content from generation to generation, from peers to peers, via mass media, and other, more or less complex communicative settings. This might be a dangerous phenomenon though, as stereotypes are fairly resistant to change. The stereotypical and inconsistent information is more difficult to handle, sometimes prone to simple ignorance, so stereotypes very often remain intact[43].

Drawing conclusions from the above statements, it is not an easy task to propose a precise definition of a stereotype that would include all its important dimensions. The

[42]Undoubtedly, this is a common phenomenon, because all humans possess the tendency to rely on clichés and stereotypes when processing different (also gender-related) information.
[43]According to Maass and Arcuri (1996: 196), such understanding presents the cognitive dimension of stereotypes. Once the category labels become acquired, they act as cues responsible for the activation of concepts associated with a particular category.

standard understanding of the concept very often refers to an oversimplified, evaluative image of a social group, and it is the social aspects that will receive some attention in the following section.

1.2.4.4.2 Social Perspective on Stereotypes

The notion of a stereotype is frequently associated with the discipline of sociology, where it refers to schematic, unambiguous, socially consolidated ideas and beliefs used by members of a certain speech community and is associated with specific events, objects, and, above all, with people. This phenomenon is the result of a simplified, schematic way of thinking, which sometimes works as a diagram, and makes human life easier by navigating them in social reality. At the same time, however, it usually falsifies the image of that reality (Grzegorczykowa 1999: 113). According to the views adopted in Stangor and Schaller (1996), within social psychology stereotypes can be perceived as social for two different reasons. The first one strongly advocates the fact that they are cognitive constructs, meaningful to the extent that they are consensual and shared by the society[44]. The second refers to the simple observation that they predominantly describe humans (not animals or plants).

Coates and Cameron (2014: 8) express a similar view claiming that people usually organise their knowledge about the surrounding world by simplifying and then sorting out the received information. In this way, they construct cognitive schemas understood as "certain representations of the reality displaying its most typical and fundamental elements and properties" (Coates and Cameron 2014: 8). Such constructions are not only accountable for defining the core of our worldview, but they also have an enormous influence on social cognition, hence our understanding and dealing with difficult emotions (Coates and Cameron 2014: 8). Schemas, as one may easily observe, can be equated with stereotypes in the way that they represent the opinions shared with one group about the members of another group – "they are internalized during the socialization" (Coates and Cameron 2014: 8) – hence, they can be derived from our own observation of the relatives, who usually have the biggest impact on our lives[45].

[44]They are transmitted culturally through the media, the family, education or folk wisdom (on this issue see Lippmann 1922).

[45]Some sources maintain that evolution could be perceived as one of the main sources of stereotypes: "We like those who we see as similar and thus more likely to be helpful and benign, stigmatizing and avoiding

Coming to an end of our discussion, let us emphasise the fact that stereotypes rely mainly on many simplifications and generalisations that they produce, therefore they usually present an incomplete, subjective and distorted image of the reality. Although some may argue that they can have both negative and positive undertones, the former is probably much more common. People would rather treat such positively loaded cases as an exception that proves the rule, than alter their way of thinking.

1.2.4.4.3 Psychological Perspective on Stereotypes

As mentioned above, stereotypes provide people with one enormous downside – they have the power to reinforce unjust prejudices and make people prone to noticing only what they want and expect to see. For this reason, the main focus of psychologists who study the interconnection of language and stereotypes is on the various roles (and frequently tricks) they play on humans using language[46]. Following this direction, it might be assumed that what makes stereotypes so problematic is their apparent ambiguity. As Schneider (2004: 1) suggests, they "are the common colds of social interaction – ubiquitous, infectious, irritating, and hard to get rid of." They occur without any genuine intention or our awareness. In turn, Nelson (2009: 61) argues that stereotype is a spontaneous, effortless and automatic response, and its application is sometimes considered unacceptable. One of their negative aspects is that "when using stereotypes, people make the blanket assumption that a specific member of a group is like any other member" (Kashima, Fiedler and Freytag 2008: 30). This issue has been extensively studied in social psychology from the perspective of social identity. Because the outside world is full of conflicting signals of which people are struggling to make sense, stereotypes (and ICMs in general) can be helpful in performing this task by lending a structure, sense of order, and coherence to a social world that would be otherwise unpredictable and highly complicated (Hogg and Vaughan 2002: 60). What is more, Ford and Stangor (1992) claim (as cited in Nelson 2009: 3) that "categorization is driven by desires for simplicity". People want to see others within maximally similar categories. They are more liable to categorise individuals whom they do not know well or those with whom they are not interested to establish closer relationships.

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those who appear to be poor partners for social exchange, who may be likely to be diseased, or who threaten important group values" (Nelson 2009: 9).

[46]See Maass and Arcuri (1996).

Another function of stereotypes that is worth mentioning is their ability to "fill the gaps" (Stangor and Schaller 1996: 21), especially when we need a quick judgment in an information-scarce environment. Because language constitutes a relevant dimension of classification (Omoniyi and White 2006), sometimes on hearing that somebody is labelled as a bachelor, it quickly brings to our mind the behaviour and attitudes stereotypically associated with unmarried men, such as macho, disorganised, untidy or dating many women, etc. (see Lakoff 1987: 85). Such categorisation also occurs on the basis of somebody's race, age, sex or physical attractiveness, simply because those features are the first things that we are able to asses when meeting a person (see Nelson 2009).

1.3 Metaphor

Throughout history, the function and significance of metaphor has changed. At first it was regarded as a tool for poets and writers to evoke some colourful images and associations. Nowadays, however, metaphor is no longer viewed as a decorative element of language alone, but rather as a matter of thoughts or actions (Kurowska 2016). Generally, people use metaphors for a variety of reasons. An interesting metaphor can attract attention and make the speech sound more interesting. That is why, as Kövecses (2010: ix) informs us, "[t]he word is used metaphorically in order to achieve some artistic and rhetorical effect, since we speak and write metaphorically to communicate eloquently, to impress others with 'beautiful', aesthetically pleasing words, or to express some deep emotion". Richards and Schmidt (2002: 201) present a similar view claiming that metaphor is a figure of speech in which words or phrases are used for special effect and do not possess their usual meaning. Moreover, Todd (2006: 76) notices that they can allow us "to talk about complex or new concepts in accessible ways". It is worth mentioning that the term ***metaphor*** first appeared in English in 1533. Grothe (2008: 9) maintains that "it derives from two Greek roots: ***meta***, meaning 'over, beyond' and ***pheiren***, meaning 'to carry, transfer[47]'".

As has already been mentioned, metaphor has been dealt with from the very beginnings of philosophical reflection on language. Over the centuries, the literature on this subject focused on theories that perceived it as a text and stylistic phenomenon, whose main aim was to express an individual vision of the reality created by the artist.

[47]It should be noted in this connection that metaphors transfer both cultural and semantic meanings (Richards and Schmidt 2002: 201).

Everything changed with the rise of Cognitive Linguistics. The discovery that metaphor is a basic cognitive mechanism used to conceptualise some unknown areas of experience is due to two important scholars, that is George Lakoff and Mark Johnson[48] (see mostly Lakoff and Johnson 1980, Lakoff 1987), who by publishing the phenomenal and ground-breaking book *Metaphors We Live By*[49], have permanently changed the human perception of the world. Their most famous claim: "Our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature" (Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 4), allowed people to apply metaphors to express various aspects of their lives. Metaphor became an instrument that one can use to make sense of new and sophisticated concepts and also to describe experiences and attitudes that would be too embarrassing or simply too complicated to refer to in a non-metaphorical way.

It is undisputable then that metaphors play a significant role in our lives. They are the essential tools for "trying to comprehend partially what cannot be comprehended totally: our feelings, aesthetic experiences, moral practices, and spiritual awareness" (Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 194). By the same token, they constitute a useful and accommodating device conducive to a better understanding of the surrounding reality and they provide better opportunities to express our thoughts.

1.3.1 Classical View

The phenomenon of metaphor has been recognised since the time immemorial, and as such it dates as far back as to the ancient Greek philosophers. However, as it is usually the case, it was formerly perceived in a different light and from an entirely different angle (Kurowska 2016). For more than 2,000 years, metaphors were studied within the discipline of rhetoric, first recognised in ancient Greece, and the main focus was to propose some practical instructions of how to persuade others into a particular point of view by using certain linguistic devices[50] (Evans and Green 2006: 291). The

[48]One has to bear in mind that before the publication of Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) ground-breaking work *Metaphors We Live By*, the importance of the research on metaphorical language (see Grady 2007, Nerlich and Clarke 2007, Geeraerts 2010) has been recognised not only by Aristotle but also be the more contemporary scholars, such as Richards (1936) and Black (1962).

[49]Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) study, which introduced metaphor into mainstream linguistics, can be perceived as an eye-opener for a new generation of linguists (see Geeraerts 2010: 204).

[50]As mentioned in Grady (2007), metaphor was considered as one of these devices, and due to its central importance it was referred to as the master trope. What is more, this kind of approach characterised metaphor as a schematic form: A is B, as in *Achilles is a lion*, hence it was identified with implicit comparison.

primary function of metaphors was the ornamentation one (Ortony 1993: 3). What is more, as rhetorical devices, they were used mostly for practical purposes in a wide array of persuasion methods used in the political discourse.

Considering the classical view of metaphor, the achievements of Aristotle cannot be ignored. As Ortony (1993: 3) postulates, "[b]ecause rhetoric has been a field of human enquiry for over two millennia, it is not surprising that any serious study of metaphor is almost obliged to start with the works of Aristotle". A similar view is shared by Dobrovol'skij and Piirainen (2005: 11) who maintain that Aristotle can be regarded as "the first to outline a theory of metaphor and as responsible for initiating a Western tradition that treats metaphors not only in terms of similarity but also in terms of deviation from literal language". Aristotle believed that describing the rational material world, and learning about it is possible by means of language, and that metaphor meant transferring the name of one thing to another.

The main assumption of the classical theory of metaphor was the statement that metaphor is "a matter of language, not thought" (Lakoff 1993: 202). What is even more important is that the metaphorical expressions were supposed to be reciprocally exclusive when it comes to ordinary everyday language: "Everyday language had no metaphor, and metaphor used mechanisms outside the realm of everyday conventional language" (Lakoff 1993: 202). As a result, for a long period of time, metaphor was defined as a poetic linguistic expression "where one or more words for a concept are used outside of their normal conventional meaning to express a 'similar' concept" (Lakoff 1993: 202). These assumptions can be best characterised in the following way: firstly, metaphor is a trail; secondly, it does not bring any new details and information about reality; thirdly, it elaborates on the meaning by means of a departure from the meaning of the literal word; and lastly, it is based on a similarity between objects that are being compared.

The classical assumptions have been disproven with the development of Cognitive Linguistics. Kövecses (2010: x) observes that George Lakoff and Mark Johnson were the first who challenged the aspects of traditional theory. Their main postulates granted that metaphor was not a merely linguistic ornament applied for artistic and aesthetic purposes, but it was a significant property of concepts, practised effortlessly by ordinary people in everyday life (Kövecses 2010: x). It is a kind of process that constantly influences our thinking and reasoning and that structures the world around us. Kövecses (2015: ix) further explains that "[m]etaphors are part and parcel of everyday language and thought. Both everyday language and the conceptual system we use for everyday purposes make

use of linguistic metaphors and the corresponding conceptual metaphors that underline them". A similar view is shared by many other linguists and writers. For example, Todd (2006: 78) reports that "much of our thinking is organised along metaphorical lines".

1.3.2 Cognitive View

The cognitive view perceives metaphor as a primarily conceptual and conventional phenomenon that constitutes a part of the ordinary system of thought and language. When analysed within the framework of **Conceptual Metaphor Theory**[51], metaphors display a number of common characteristics which boil down to several major tenets (see Lakoff 1993, Lakoff and Johnson 1999, Kövecses 2002, Evans and Green 2006, Kardela 2006, Grady 2007, Geeraerts 2010 etc.). First of all, metaphor is seen as a property of thought, rather than language and the metaphorical language is just a surface manifestation of metaphor, whose nature is conceptual. Next, a considerable part of human conceptual system is not metaphorical, but embodied, thus grounded in reactions of human body to external stimuli and our perception of everyday social and physical experiences. Finally, each metaphor may be studied in terms of a mapping of elements from the source domain to the target domain, thus people are able to describe abstract concepts by referring to experience of concrete things.

Summing up, metaphors allow us to understand moderately abstract or unstructured phenomena in terms of a more concrete (or at least more highly structured) subject matter. Much of our day-to-day experiences, starting from the most mundane ones, to the political and business involvements, and even to the most perplexing scientific theories, can only be understood via metaphor[52]. The locus of metaphor is certainly not, as it has been suggested for centuries, in language at all, but in the way humans conceptualise one mental domain in terms of another. Hence, "metaphor is fundamentally conceptual, not linguistic, in nature" (Geeraerts 2006: 232).

[51]See section 1.3.2.1 below.
[52]One of the central claims in the works of Lakoff and Johnson (1980), Lakoff (1987), Kövecses (1986, 1990), and many others.

1.3.2.1 Conceptual Metaphor Theory[53]

The notion of conceptual metaphor is probably one of the most acknowledged aspects of Cognitive Linguistics and it definitely occupies a major place in the cognitive linguistic research program[54]. It may be considered as the most essential theory of figurative language and as such it has been developed mainly by Lakoff, Johnson and several other researchers (Dobrovol'skij and Piirainen 2005: 121). **The Conceptual Metaphor Theory**[55] has been highly influential both within Cognitive Linguistics and within other social sciences, particularly in neighbouring disciplines like cognitive psychology and anthropology[56].

According to Lakoff and Johnson (2003), what makes metaphors conceptual rather than purely linguistic, is the fact that the motivation for metaphor exists in the level of conceptual domains. It means that people not only speak metaphorically, but they also think in metaphorical terms. As a result, "[l]inguistic expressions that are metaphorical in nature are simply reflections of an underlying conceptual association" (Evans and Green 2006: 295). Many linguists also claim that the Conceptual Metaphor Theory is based on three essential propositions. Geeraerts (2010) lists the following:

> "(…) first, the view that metaphor is a cognitive phenomenon, rather than a purely lexical one; second, the view that metaphor should be analysed as a mapping between two domains; and three, the notion that linguistic semantics is experientially grounded."

Thus, conceptual metaphor applies one idea and links it to another in order to better understand something. Since metaphor is primarily a phenomenon of thought, it could be added that we use metaphors in order to make sense of our everyday experiences. Many complex concepts that we encounter on a daily basis, like time, love or changes, cannot be understood directly, and in such cases people use "knowledge of one tangible and well-understood conceptual domain in order to conceptualize another domain" (Tendahl 2009:

[53]Henceforth **CMT**.
[54]Some other publications, for instance: Gibbs (1994), also begun to emphasise the importance of a conceptual metonymy, another significant cognitive operation. Since the early 1990s various researchers have started to suggest that this process may be at least as important as conceptual metaphor (see Kövecses and Radden 1998).
[55]This thesis focuses on the Conceptual Metaphor Theory initially proposed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and developed by other researchers, such as Lakoff (1987, 1993), Kövecses (1986, 2002, 2005, 2010, 2015) and Grady (2007).
[56]Especially: Berlin and Kay (1969), Rosch (1975, 1978), Rosch and Mervis (1975).

3). An enormous advantage that the Conceptual Metaphor Theory possesses, in comparison with other similar theories, is its focus on the motivation for metaphors. Tendahl (2009: 121) explains that only this particular theory has made an attempt to "provide answers to the question of why we have the metaphors we have."

To conclude, the Conceptual Metaphor Theory was one of the earliest theoretical frameworks identified in the cognitive semantics enterprise and it definitely delivered much of the early theoretical impetus for the cognitive approach. The basic assumption of CMT is that metaphor is not just a stylistic feature of language, but a fundamental property of thought. According to this observation, the conceptual structure of metaphor is organised according to correspondences or cross-domain mappings between two conceptual domains, and the notion of domains and mappings will be dealt with in the following parts of this chapter.

1.3.2.2 Conceptual Domains

A vital generalisation that emerges from the cognitive theory of metaphor is that conceptual metaphors typically employ two different domains, in which one is more abstract and the second more concrete and physical. Kövecses (2010: 4) asserts that the domains participating in the creation of conceptual metaphor have special names: "The conceptual domain from which we draw metaphorical expressions to understand another conceptual domain is called source domain, while the conceptual domain that is understood this way is the target domain. The target domain is the domain that we try to understand through the use of the source domain". It is clear then that the source domain is the one that is usually more physical and better known. Conversely, the target domain is normally considered as more abstract, lacking physical characteristics, and less directly experienced (see e.g. Kövecses 2015). These observations make intuitive sense. If one wants to understand an abstract concept, it is fully advisable to use another concept that is more physical and tangible. Kövecses (2010: 7) further explains: "Our experiences with the physical world serve as a natural and logical foundation for the comprehension of more abstract domains". This unquestionably relates to the distinction between abstract and basic domains, which rests upon the notion of embodiment and experiential grounding. While some basic domains like FIRE or CONTAINER derive directly from the nature of our embodied experience, other domains like LOVE or TIME are more abstract and not easily comprehended.

Another important aspect concerns the complexity of metaphorical domains. Ronald Langacker observes that domains are the entities that vary in terms of complexity and display different levels of organisation. According to him: "Domains are necessarily cognitive entities: mental experiences, representational spaces, concepts, or conceptual complexes" (Langacker 1987: 147). They are also motivated by different patterns. Kövecses (2002), for instance, in his elaborated survey, discovered that the most common source domains include domains relating to the HUMAN BODY, PLANTS, ANIMALS, FOOD and FORCES. Conversely, the most common target domains include categories such as EMOTION, TIME, THOUGHT and HUMAN RELATIONSHIPS. The motivation behind these outcomes allows one to say that the target concepts, in comparison to the more basic ones, relate to more complex and abstract experiential knowledge structures.

Finally, the observation that only certain aspects of either source or target domains participate in metaphors[57] should be brought to the fore. The issue of why certain features are activated and others remain in the background was investigated by Grady (1997), who suggested the existence of primary and complex metaphors. Another feature of source and target domains is that one source domain (e.g. BUILDING) may apply to several target domains, the phenomenon frequently referred to as ***a scope of the source*** (by the source domain of BUILDINGS we can understand THEORY, RELATIONSHIPS etc.). The other way round is also possible. One target domain may apply to several source domains and can be described as ***a range of the target*** (e.g. the conceptual domain of LOVE can be described in terms of WAR, JOURNEY, GAME, FIRE and many others).

1.3.2.3 Metaphorical Mappings

Investigating the Conceptual Theory of Metaphor from a different perspective, one can observe that "metaphor is a set of correspondences, or mappings, between the elements of two mental frames"[58] (Kövecses 2015: 2). It is important to state that many elements of target concepts derive from source domains and the "meaning of a particular metaphorical expression realizing an underlying conceptual metaphor is based on such correspondences" (Kövecses 2015: ix). What is more, to know a conceptual metaphor is

[57]Technically speaking, they become utilised (activated/highlighted) in a given metaphor.
[58]By mental frames we should understand the domains taking part in the creation of conceptual metaphor.

to know the set of mappings that applies to a given source and target[59]. The human conceptual system encompasses thousands of metaphorical mappings which form a vastly elaborated structure. When those complicated, yet fixed, correspondences are activated, mappings have the immense power to project the source domain inference patterns onto the target domain. What is more, mappings are not arbitrary, but grounded in the body and in everyday knowledge and experience.

Proceeding further, one may notice that metaphorical mappings obey the **Invariance Principle**, a term coined by Lakoff (1993: 215), which refers to the situation when the image-schema structure of the source domain is neatly projected onto the target domain in such a way that it is consistent with inherent target domain structure. To put it differently, metaphorical mappings preserve the cognitive topology of the source domain. Therefore, the Invariance Principle guarantees that image-schematic organisation does not change across metaphoric mappings. This means that the general structure of the source domain must be preserved by the conceptual mapping in a way consistent with the target domain. This decisively constrains the occurrence of potentially incompatible mappings.

Another important characteristic specifies that metaphorical mappings are not random; there must be some similarity between the two domains in order for a mapping to take place. Yet, although theoretically anything can be compared with anything, in reality, the majority of metaphors are unidirectional and it is more or less possible to identify a number of source domains that can be applied to a given target (Grady 2007: 197). For this reason, the simple statement that metaphor is based on similarity is not enough and it cannot be treated as an explanation for the use of a particular metaphor in a particular context. Certain metaphors map structure from a source domain to a target domain but not vice versa. For example, while it is common to conceptualise LIFE in terms of JOURNEY, it is not probable to structure JOURNEY in terms of LIFE. That aspect of undirectionality[60], not only gives rise to the important question whether there is a single pattern responsible for deciding which conceptual domains typically function as source domains and which function as targets, but also draws attention to another

[59]Goatly (2007: 17) surprisingly adds that "in many cases, metaphorical mapping is more like the maps of Middlearth provided in Tolkien's *Lord of the Rings* in which the map constitutes or invents a reality rather than describing it". Thus, not only do the metaphorical mappings reflect the reality and indicate the grounds of various metaphors, but they also structure that reality.

[60]However, in the case of humans and animals it may be different, consider, for instance HUMANS ARE ANIMALS vs. ANIMALS ARE HUMANS (see Kiełtyka and Kleparski 2007a, 2007b; Kiełtyka 2008).

important property of metaphorical mappings, namely to their partial, rather than total character.

Developing the previous statement, one may add that there is no source domain that would be capable of covering all aspects of a given target domain. Only some aspects, which are the most suitable for a particular conceptualisation, will be highlighted, while other features will be hidden (see Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 10-13). This has some very important practical consequences: those concepts which display a high level of complexity or abstraction will be conventionally paired with a number of different source domains.

1.3.2.4 Entailments

Another point worth consideration is the existence of **metaphorical entailments**. Kövecses (2005: 14-26) claims that it is widely recognised that besides the mappings that every conceptual metaphor helps to establish, also some detailed additional knowledge may be transferred. This supplementary information constitutes a part of our conceptual system. Lakoff (1987: 384) additionally postulates that the metaphorical entailments should be treated as "elaborations of conceptual metaphors". This occurs simply because there are certain aspects of the source domain that are not explicitly expressed in the mappings and they are unconsciously mapped onto a target domain (Evans and Green 2006: 298). In this way it may be concluded that the richer our knowledge about a particular source domain is, the larger number of entailments can be derived and carried over to a target (see Kövecses 2005: 23).

1.3.2.5 Types of Metaphors

Metaphors can be classified along diverse dimensions. Traditionally, researchers[61] following the CMT methodology distinguish and group them according to the following, sometimes overlapping, criteria:

1) the degree of conventionality – informs us about the extent to which a particular metaphor (either linguistic or conceptual) has become entrenched during the course of its usage,

[61]Consult, for instance, Lakoff and Johnson (1980), Lakoff (1987), Lakoff and Turner (1989), Ungerer and Schmid (1996), Kövecses (2002).

2) the cognitive function – this trails Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) division of metaphors into structural, ontological and orientational[62],
3) the level of generality – some metaphors are perceived at a specific level, whereas others at a generic. Those more general might serve as generalisations of the specific-level metaphors, and contrariwise, the specific-level metaphors might be regarded as examples of the higher-level ones. Let us now take a closer look at each one of them.

1.3.2.5.1 Degree of Conventionality

Kövecses (2002: 29) notices that the very notion of conventionality concerns the scope to which a particular metaphor or a specific metaphorical linguistic expression is recognised and activated in a given speech community. Basically, depending on their degree of conventionality, two major groups of metaphors can be identified: highly conventionalised metaphors and novel metaphors (Kövecses 2002: 29-32). The novel metaphors are not well established and they are frequently regarded as a response to novel situations and experiences, sometimes they are created in order to impress the hearer by the eloquence or impressive imagination of the speaker; moreover, they can be created to shed some new light on an old problem. In addition to that, many of them are connected with poetry.

While some linguists prefer to focus more on inventive and expressive metaphors devised by poets, others meticulously analyse figurative language in everyday life, which very frequently ceases to be recognised by ordinary language users as being metaphorical at all. In the extensive literature on the subject (see, for instance, Kövecses 2002; Guttenplan 2005) the latter type is referred to as a lexicalised, conventionalised, or even 'dead[63]' metaphor. These kinds of labels highlight the fact that the figurative meaning of a given expression or word, with the passage of time may become so deeply entrenched in a particular speech community that it begins to function in the general lexicon as an inseparable sense of the word in its own right. Metaphors normally appear on an everyday basis in the speech of people[64]. It needs to be stressed, however, that their conventionality

[62]According to Lakoff and Johnson (2003), this division does not have sharp boundaries, as it would be impossible to describe some conceptual metaphors that are transient in their nature.
[63]A **dead metaphor** is a figure of speech that has lost its original imagery of meaning due to constant repetition and popularity of usage.
[64]Examples in English include, for instance: *the time is running out*, *to fall in love* or *to kick the bucket*.

is a scalar concept, and except for the two extremes described above, there are numerous examples which display varying degrees of entrenchment. Actually, the same is true for metaphorical linguistic expressions which also vary in the degree of conventionality.

1.3.2.5.2 Cognitive Function

Depending on their function, metaphors can be divided into **structural**, **orientational** and **ontological**[65]. The basic function of the structural metaphor is to provide a solid structure for a given concept by means of another concept. They frequently enable a very detailed study of a given concept, moreover, they are useful when one wants to find a way to emphasise some aspects of this concept or to hide some others. In fact, the transmission of the metaphorical structure only in a partial way is one of their characteristic features (Lakoff and Johnson 1980). In contrast to ontological and orientational metaphors, they allow us to orient concepts, to talk about them, and what is more important, to use one concept of a highly organised structure to give structure to another one (Kövecses 2002: 32-36). The phenomena referred to by means of these metaphors are conceptualised via more comprehensible terms, which seems to be a very useful property, especially with reference to abstract concepts. A well-known example of a structural metaphor is ARGUMENT IS WAR, where the concepts from the source domain of WAR are transferred to the target domain of ARGUMENT, as physical conflict is ubiquitous in human life and therefore quite well-structured and more readily understandable. It can be perfectly illustrated by the following linguistic expressions: *Your claims are indefensible, He attacked every weak point in my argument, I demolished his argument, If you use that strategy, he'll wipe you out* (see Lakoff and Johnson 1980).

Another kind of conceptual metaphor, where the whole system of concepts lends structure to another system of terms, is called an orientation metaphor. The term comes from the observation that the majority of those metaphors are related to spatial orientation and such metaphors have their basis in physical and cultural experiences. Orientational metaphors, as has already been underlined above, perform a different function: they offer coherence to a set of target concepts, typically by conducting a corresponding set of oppositions. They are deeply grounded in human bodily experiences and thus, they

[65]Following Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and Kövecses (2002: 32-36).

frequently employ the use of spatial relations as their source domains (Kövecses 2002: 35-36), including such rudimentary image schemas as UP/DOWN, FRONT/BACK or IN/OUT. The UP/DOWN opposition is present in the metaphors HAPPY IS UP and SAD IS DOWN which help to comprehend concepts such as LIFE/DEATH or HEALTH/SICKNESS (cf. Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 15-16). For instance, the metaphors ALIVE IS UP and DEAD IS DOWN can be realised by means of the following linguistic expressions: *Lazarus rose from the dead*, *He dropped dead*. Similarly, the metaphors HAPPY IS UP and SAD IS DOWN are represented by the syntagmas: *She's on cloud nine*, *He's in the depths of despair*. It seems to be obvious and rational that positive notions are usually associated with upward movement/position, while notions carrying some negative load and passivity are linked to downward movement/position.

Finally, the ontological metaphors allow one to understand the experiences in terms of things and substances. People acquire certain knowledge of substances and physical objects and through the process of metaphorisation, they give artificial boundaries to conceptions such as feelings, events, imaginations or activities, that would be too difficult, or sometimes even impossible to understand without it (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 25). By perceiving concepts difficult to comprehend in normal circumstances as containers, things or machines, people are able to describe their properties in a more clear and accessible way. An example that would best illustrate this type of metaphor is a well-established concept of IDEA in English. Some ideas and theories demand conscious mental effort to form, and solid foundations to withstand even the sharpest criticism, hence the metaphor IDEAS ARE CONSTRUCTED OBJECTS; some seem to grow and bear fruit, which inevitably evokes the image of plants: IDEAS ARE PLANTS; others resemble food, as they stimulate human thought and provide energy to act: IDEAS ARE FOOD. What is worth noticing in this connection is that each of these conceptual metaphors highlights a slightly different feature of the target concept, yet they share the fact that the source concepts are well-defined, concrete entities.

1.3.2.5.3 Level of Generality

Conceptual metaphors may display basically two different levels of generality. The first one is referred to as the **generic level** and it contains very general metaphors that provide a sketchy and schematic picture of the concept expressed in a target domain. Examples of such metaphors include, among other things, MIND IS A MACHINE or

EVENTS ARE ACTIONS. The second type of metaphor carries the name of **basic level** and it is characterised by rich mappings between the source and target concepts. This phenomenon can be perfectly illustrated on the examples such as MIND IS A COMPUTER and AN ARGUMENT IS WAR metaphors (see Kövecses 2002, Kiełtyka 2005).

1.3.2.6 Embodiment

The last vital factor worth considering[66] is the existence and role of embodiment. As has been pointed out on many different occasions, especially by Kövecses (2005: 14-26), metaphor may be either based on similarity, or on a correlation in bodily experience, for this reason a human body plays a crucial role in the creation of meaning and its understanding. The implication seems to be that our bodies, with their numerous experiences and functions, could be perceived as "potentially universal source domain for metaphorical mappings from bodily experiences onto more abstract and subjective domains" (Yu 2008: 250). Specifically, it is because humans, despite their different races, all have the same indispensable body structure, and they all share a set of bodily experiences, which as Yu (2008: 250) suggests, "[f]undamentally define us as being human". It is indisputable, then that people gain their knowledge about the world and they build various concepts on the basis of their bodily experiences. To illustrate the truth of this claim, Kövecses (2010: 18) defines the significance of embodiment in the following way:

> "The 'embodiment' of meaning is perhaps the central idea of the cognitive linguistic view of metaphor and, indeed, of the cognitive linguistic view of meaning. As can be expected, the human body plays a key role in the emergence of metaphorical meaning in English and other 'Western' languages and cultures."

Hence, the concept of embodiment seems to constitute the central idea in Cognitive Linguistics. It stresses the enormous importance of human experience and the centrality of the human body, which influences the nature of human understanding. According to Evans and Green (2006: 44), "[t]he human mind – and therefore language – cannot be

[66]For a comprehensive overview of the Conceptual Theory of Metaphor see, for instance, Lakoff and Johnson (1980), Ortony (1993) or Kövecses (2002).

investigated in isolation from human embodiment." Kövecses (2015: 21) adds that embodiment is a powerful device, since it "works automatically and unconsciously". However, all of the live experiences in our bodies motivate and confine the way we conceive many different situations. The fact that our experience is embodied has some vital restrictions and consequences for cognition. Evans and Green (2006: 46) maintain that we can only talk about things which we can perceive and conceive and they must derive from the personified experience. One has to remember that also the metaphorical cognition is grounded not only in the human body, but also "in the situations in which people act and lead their lives, the discourses in which they are engaged at any time in communicating and interacting with each other, and the conceptual knowledge they have accumulated about the world on the course of their experience of it" (Kövecses 2015: 200).

Eventually, it becomes very clear that metaphors are used on a daily basis and they are common in every act of communication. The fact that people usually do not pay attention to their omnipresence is the result of their immense ingraining into our memory system. We use metaphors in a natural way, without even realising it. In the cognitive view, the human body is a source domain par excellence because the experiential basis of metaphor plays probably the most significant role in the human way of conceptualising the surrounding reality.

1.3.3 The Great Chain of Being

The system of **The Great Chain of Being**[67] accounts for a great portion of human conceptualisation of the surrounding world (see Lakoff and Turner 1989: 160-180). The concept can be defined as a cultural model, which comprises a hierarchy of entities, as illustrated below in Figure 1, proceeding upwards from INORGANIC THINGS to PLANTS, ANIMALS, HUMANS, and eventually to GOD (cf. Lakoff and Turner 1989: 167, Krzeszowski 1997: 64). The hierarchy of entities presented by Lakoff and Turner

[67]One should, however, be aware of and distinguish between **The Great Chain of Being** itself and the metaphors built on its basis. The Great Chain of Being is a hierarchical structure of all life, thought in medieval Christianity to have been decreed by God. The chain begins with God and progresses downward to angels and demons, then moon, stars, kings, through nobles and commoners, wild animals, domesticated animals, to trees, other plants and finally to precious stones, metals and other minerals. The very concept derives from Plato and Aristotle and plays a significant role in metaphorical considerations.

(1989) and Krzeszowski (1997) is not new and revealing; it merely orders and sums up the ideas and beliefs which belong to the cultural heritage of Western civilisation[68].

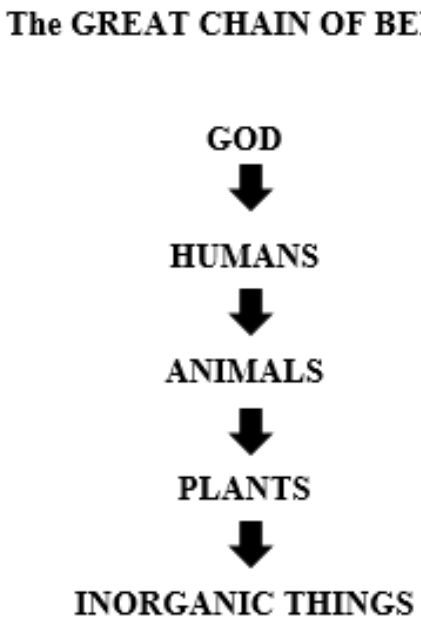


Figure 1: A schematic diagram of the Great Chain of Being[69]

In general, there are twenty possible combinations involved within The Great Chain of Being metaphor, however, as demonstrated by Krzeszowski (1997: 161), not all of them are equally productive. We may assume that people tend to perceive many entities from other levels in terms of the human level, which is confirmed by Krzeszowski (1997: 72), who writes: "experientially, the central level of the Chain is the human level." Furthermore, as argued by Lakoff and Turner (1989: 172), the usefulness of the GREAT CHAIN metaphor lies in the fact that: "[...] it allows us to comprehend general human character traits in terms of well-understood nonhuman attributes; and, conversely, it allows us to comprehend less well-understood aspects of the nature of animals and objects in terms of better-understood human characteristics."

Many works dealing with The Great Chain of Being metaphor are seen as part of a research programme which is sometimes referred to as the **Rzeszów School of Diachronic Semantics** (**RSDS**), which was initiated with Kleparski's (1990) study of

[68]As mentioned above, the belief that the universe is organised into a hierarchical structure goes back to ancient philosophers Plato and Aristotle and constitutes "a great tool of power and scope" (Lakoff and Turner 1989: 172), with the highest place occupied by God, followed by human beings, animals, down to plants and inanimate objects.
[69]Adopted from Krzeszowski (1997: 68).

evaluative changes in the macro-category of HUMAN BEING and was subsequently developed by the same author in a wide and extensive analysis of synonyms of *girl/young woman* (Kleparski 1997). Other researchers followed suit and the RSDS program includes, among others, works of: Kiełtyka (2008), Kochman-Haładyj and Kleparski (2010), Kopecka (2011), Górecka-Smolińska and Kleparski (2012), Grząśko (2016), Kudła (2016). It is fitting to add that two cognitive mechanisms, that of **zoosemy**[70] (see section 1.3.3.1) and **foodsemy**[71] (see section 1.3.3.2) gained particular attention among members of Rzeszów School of Diachronic Semantics. Both mechanisms illustrate the complicated way in which human beings and their behaviour are perceived and analysed. Consequently, foodsemy and animal metaphors seem to possess a special role in helping language users understand themselves and their environment. Nevertheless, the mechanism of zoosemy, as observed by Kiełtyka (2005: 68), often evokes negative overtones when applied to humans, which would be otherwise absent from their literal reading[72]. To put it differently, the metaphorical or metonymic extensions of a specific axiologically neutral lexical item that has originally referred to an entity from a non-human level of the chain, often results in moving away from the centre of the axiological scale towards the bottom pole. The mechanism of foodsemy, in turn, involves the perception of humans in terms of foodstuffs via metaphor and metonymy. It is usually investigated from a few different perspectives, yet, the mainstream research also seems to be focused on the evaluative aspects of food-related terms, particularly those which describe sexually attractive people – women in particular[73].

1.3.3.1 Zoosemy

As evidenced so far, the process of zoosemy is responsible for the change of meaning of a number of lexical items frequently employed with reference to human beings. We tend to resort to the vocabulary connected with the realm of animals, especially when we want to ridicule or libel somebody, as they possess many features that

[70]The term **zoosemy**, which is the '**animal metaphor**' was first used by Rayevska (1979). It was further developed by researchers from RSDS incorporating Kleparski (1988, 1990), Kiełtyka (2005, 2008, 2009a, 2009b, 2010, 2016), Kiełtyka and Kleparski (2005a, 2005b, 2007a, 2007b).
[71]The term **foodsemy**, was coined by Kleparski (2008).
[72]It seems to support the observations of Krzeszowski's (1990: 150) who claims that: "Words have a tendency to be axiologically loaded with 'good' or 'bad' connotations in proportion to their degree of the human factor associated with them."
[73]See Kleparski (2008a, 2008b), Cymbalista (2009), Cymbalista and Kleparski (2013).

could also be attributed to people. The vast usefulness of the GREAT CHAIN metaphor, as underlined by Lakoff and Turner (1989: 172), lies in the simple fact that: "[...] it allows us to comprehend general human character traits in terms of well understood nonhuman attributes; and, conversely, it allows us to comprehend less well-understood aspects of the nature of animals and objects in terms of better-understood human characteristics." In order to illustrate the truth of the abovementioned statements, it is worth mentioning the animal metaphor analysed thoroughly in Kiełtyka (2005). Through extensive research on the subject, the author has found that numerous aspects of human character and behaviour are understood and expressed in terms of lexical items whose literal meaning pertains to members of the EQUIDAE family, and he has distinguished and formulated the following metaphors: A YOUNG LIVELY GIRL IS A FILLY, AN ILL-FAVOURED WOMAN IS A HARRIDAN, A BOY WORKING IN A COAL MINE IS A FOAL, A PERSON ASSUMING THE POSITION OF A GENTLEMAN, BUT DEFICIENT IN THOROUGH GENTLEMANLY BREEDING IS A COCKTAIL, A DISRESPECTED AND DESPISED WOMAN IS A MARE and many others (Kiełtyka 2005)[74].

1.3.3.2 Foodsemy

Similarly to animal metaphor, also foodsemic terms may be regarded as one of the most extensive group of expressions used to describe human beings and it mainly results from the fact that in the creation of figurative language, we often resort to those conceptual categories that we are most familiar with. Cymbalista (2009: 13) argues that the names of food products frequently contain some distinguishing components which allow for metaphorical modifications of their meaning. Undoubtedly, there is a special relationship between people and food and the significance of the concept of FOOD for the conceptualisation of human attributes has not escaped the attention of cognitive linguists, who very quickly discovered that the transformations in the domain of FOOD are induced by various metaphorical and metonymic extensions. Kövecses (2002: 5-6), for example, provides the following examples of food-related metaphors: *I can't swallow that claim, I can't digest all these ideas*.

In order to understand the role of food in metaphorical conceptualisation better, let us investigate its role for humanity. The most compelling argument stressing its

[74]Of course, it is only a small portion of the formulated metaphors. See Kiełtyka (2008) for further negatively and positively loaded examples of zoosemy.

enormous importance is related to the most obvious fact that it is indispensable for survival. Another, less apparent connection between food and human beings is that not only foodstuffs, but also people, under certain circumstances, can become food for predators or – in some cultures – for other human beings[75]. The importance of food for humanity, however, does not only refer to the mere act of consumption and the physical sphere, but it affects both psychological and social aspects of human life. A meal is very often perceived as an important social event, where both preparation and consumption constitute a perfect occasion to cultivate social and family bonds. What is more, a number of cultures and religions possess the rules concerning the permission and prohibition of certain foodstuffs, as well as rules regulating various meal-related activities, like preparing and serving food or the proper and improper behaviour at the table (see Allan and Burridge 2006: 176).

As a final point, taking into account the life-sustaining qualities of food, one must admit that it is omnipresent in our life and – as a consequence – in our personal experience. It is also tangible and can be experienced through almost all human senses: taste, sight, smell and touch. Bearing this in mind, it might be suggested that all of these properties make the concept of FOOD an accessible and particularly useful means of conceptualising abstract and complicated concepts related to human life and social characteristics.

1.3.3.3 Axiological Aspect

The mechanisms of **foodsemy** and **zoosemy** are closely associated with the notion of axiology that also constitutes an important element of ICMs. As argued by Krzeszowski (1997: 48): "Valuation is a cognitive event akin to categorization and […] it has the same ontological and epistemological status." All lexical items, regardless of their metaphorical associations, are axiologically loaded and "the amount of the axiological load is semantically relevant" (Krzeszowski 1990: 138). In order to explain the workings of foodsemy and zoosemy from the axiological perspective, it is worth mentioning Krzeszowski's (1997) theory which employs the SCALE schema. The theory, also known as axiological semantics, involves the process of assigning axiological load

[75]The notion of people as food is not only limited to the world of predators and preys. In some religions, particularly in Christianity, GOD may also become food. This obviously metaphorical reflection can be demonstrated schematically as: GOD IS FOOD.

to a concept which further entails the specification on a scale ranging from the positive pole, through the neutral area, to the negative one (Krzeszowski 1997: 74-76). The vertical dimension of the scale is formed and represented by a hierarchy of values derived from the Great Chain of Being.

Last but not least, a number of interesting observations can be drawn from the domains of animals and food with respect to their axiological dimension. At first sight both sources appear to be positively or neutrally loaded, at least when it comes to the literal meaning of names applied to fauna and various foodstuffs. A moment of reflection, though, reveals that the matter is much more complicated. The properties of certain foodstuffs are, by and large, reflected and transferred in foodsemy. However, it seems that sometimes a convention plays a more significant role than individual preferences. The extensive linguistic data suggests that the negative pole of the scale is more deeply exploited than the positive one, and this fact will also find confirmation in the further part of this study.

1.4 Metonymy

The starting point for further considerations should be the fact that like metaphor, **metonymy** has traditionally been treated as a purely linguistic device – a trope, created merely for some artistic purposes. In recent years, however, a considerable amount of research has been devoted to metonymy[76]. The earliest approach to conceptual metonymy, from the Cognitive Linguistics point of view, was developed by Lakoff and Johnson[77] (1980), who argue that metonymy, like metaphor, is conceptual in nature. In this way, the character of metonymy is similar to that of metaphor, as both of them are not just a matter of language, but also part of our ordinary, everyday thinking, acting and

[76]Nowadays, many authors emphasise that metonymy, just like metaphor, constitutes an interesting and important cognitive process. The real impetus to full-scale research on metonymy was given by Lakoff (1987), Lakoff and Turner (1989), and later by Langacker (1993). In the next years, a number of important publications followed, many of them were devoted entirely to the phenomenon of metonymy (see, for instance: Panther and Radden 1999, Geeraerts 2006, Geeraerts and Cuyckens 2007, Bierwiaczonek 2013). The phenomenon of cognitive metonymy has been also undertaken by Barcelona (2000), Dirven and Pörings (2002), and what is more, some researchers treat conceptual metaphor and metonymy jointly, referring to the cognitive theory of metaphor and metonymy (see Kopecka 2011: 28).

[77]Even though Lakoff and Johnson (1980) stress that metonymy is a cognitive instrument on a par with metaphor, the greater part of their book is focused on the latter. In fact, their ideas concerning metaphor proved so novel that other cognitive researchers soon followed suit, at first overlooking the existence of metonymy.

speaking. In other words, metonymies not only organise human language, but also thoughts, attitudes and activities, and they are mostly based on human experience[78].

In the simplest possible terms, Kövecses (2005: 28) defines metonymy as a cognitive process in which "a conceptual element, or entity […] provides mental access to another conceptual entity […] within the same frame". Hence, metonymy, like metaphor, is a conceptual phenomenon, but has quite distinct basis and it functions differently. It may be understood as such an association of two entities in which one entity stands for the other. By considering the example: *The ham sandwich has wandering hands*, (obviously, everyone can imagine that such a sentence could be uttered by a waitress in a restaurant or a café) it is possible to notice that two entities are related so that one entity (the item of food the customer ordered) stands for the other (the customer). The possibility of using two quite different concepts in this way results from the fact that they are associated with each other in the sphere of experience (Croft and Cruse 2004: 7). As this sample demonstrates, conceptual metonymy is referential in nature and the conceptual relation can be presented as **X stands for Y**[79].

Another defining feature of metonymy indicated by Lakoff and Johnson is its motivation by physical or causal associations. In the literature on the subject, it is expressed in terms of contiguity understood as a close or direct relationship between two entities (Evans and Green 2006: 311). This might explain why the waitress from the example above can use the expression *the ham sandwich* to refer to the customer: there seems to be a direct experiential relationship between the foodstuff and the person who ordered it. Lastly, it has to be emphasised that as in the case of metaphor, many linguists acknowledge the fact that metonymy is commonly used in our day-to-day communication, since, as Kopecka (2011: 21) puts it, by means of metonymy people strive at minimising the linguistic effort needed for functioning in a society. It is employed as a device of abbreviation which enables people to say things quicker. In other words, it shortens conceptual distances (Nerlich and Clarke 1999: 362) and since it is often conventionalised, we use it, and at the same time perceive it automatically, unconsciously and effortlessly.

[78]Metonymical concepts are systematic and are generally more obvious than metaphorical ones, because they are usually associated with an immediate physical or causal association.
[79]Compare the conceptual relation of metaphor: **X understood in terms of Y**.

1.4.1 Contiguity

A great number of cognitive linguists (see Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Radden and Kövecses 1999 etc.) accentuate the fact that metonymy should not be reduced to an unpretentious mechanism of substitution. Instead, they frequently point out that metonymy, unlike metaphor, is not a cross-domain mapping, but permits one entity to stand for another because both notions coexist within the same domain. Such a metonymic relationship, based on conceptual proximity constitutes the reason why *ham sandwich* from the example above represents the example of a metonymic pattern. Both the target (the customer) and the vehicle (the ham sandwich) belong to the same RESTAURANT domain. Kövecses and Radden recapitulate this view of metonymy in the following way: "Metonymy is a cognitive process in which one conceptual entity, the vehicle, provides mental access to another conceptual entity, the target, within the same domain, or ICM" (Kövecses and Radden 1998: 39).

1.4.2 Metonymic Domains

When it comes to the notion of domains, metonymy involves talking about a salient reference point (see Langacker 1993) that allows us to access another conceptual entity, namely the target. In view of this, certain lexical categories acquire their meaning by means of highlighting (or using a different term – foregrounding) a particular location within the attributive path of a conceptual domain. Geeraerts (2010: 285) notices that highlighting constitutes a necessary, though not sufficient condition for the occurrence of metonymy. By the way of example, the sentence: *The Crown never rejects a bill approved by Parliament* belongs to <PART FOR WHOLE> metonymy, where the processing of its meaning focuses on that fact that we mentally access a monarch via a salient part of a crown. The reverse situation of <WHOLE FOR PART>[80] metonymy is also observable. *Our school won the cup* serves as an example where a whole (school) serves as a reference point for accessing one of its parts (a particular group of students). Therefore, school is conceptually salient.

Metonymic concepts are clearly systematic and one can distinguish several well-established metonymic models: <THE PART FOR THE WHOLE> e.g. *She is just a*

[80]Both <PART FOR WHOLE> and <WHOLE FOR PART> metonymies are conceptual in nature.

pretty face, <PRODUCER FOR PRODUCT> e.g. *He's got a Picasso on the wall*, <AN OBJECT FOR THE USER> e.g. *The flute is late again*, <CONTROLLER FOR CONTROLLED> e.g. *Nixon bombed Hanoi*, <THE PLACE FOR THE INSTITUTION> e.g. *The White House isn't saying anything*, <THE PLACE FOR THE EVENT> e.g. *Remember the Alamo* (see Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 37-39). What must be stressed in this place is the fact that while examples realising <THE PART FOR THE WHOLE> metonymy operate within the same domain (to be more specific – both the vehicle and the target belong to the same domain), the other metonymic patterns mentioned above involve distinct domains. For this reason, though one can see the connection between Picasso and his paintings, the flute and the musician, Nixon and the army he was responsible for, or The White House and the politicians working there, the claim that the vehicle and target in each of these examples belong to the same domain would not be genuine. In fact, many linguists have tried to solve this complicated matter by proposing their own theories. Barcelona (2003: 229), for instance, notices that the metonymic vehicle and target "have an intricate conceptual structure and as such constitute domains themselves". Croft (1993: 348), in turn, proposes the observation that metonymy occurs "within a single domain matrix" (as opposed to conceptual metaphor, where the source and target domains belong to different matrices). Finally, Radden and Kövecses (1999: 21) regard metonymy as one of the cognitive processes which takes place "within the same cognitive model".

1.4.3 Metonymic Mappings

A different, however, important aspect that functions in a great number of metonymy definitions[81], is related to the notion of mapping whose occurrence within a single domain or, as it has been suggested earlier, within a domain matrix, gives rise to metonymy. Metonymic mappings, nonetheless, are understood differently from those appearing in metaphors: metaphorical mappings rely on a set of correspondences between a source domain and a target domain and they are seen to be ***symmetrical***, reflecting the correspondences between the elements of the source and the target domains. Conversely,

[81]Admittedly, due to the limited scope of this thesis and their relatively low relevance in its context, a number of aspects of the phenomenon of **metonymy**, which undoubtedly deserve attention have been omitted or just given a superficial description (for more information about metonymy see, among others: Kövecses and Radden 1998; Radden and Kövecses 1999; Barcelona 2003; Panther and Thornburg 2004; Kopecka 2011; Bierwiaczonek 2013).

metonymic mappings constitute a projection or superimposition of one conceptual structure onto another, in such a way that the projected structure inflicts, to some extent, its internal elements, properties and features onto their counterparts in the other structure (see Barcelona 2003). Thus, they are viewed as ***asymmetrical***, since they result in the ***foregrounding*** of the source (or vehicle) and the ***backgrounding*** of the target.

Under certain circumstances, metonymy does not seem to consist of a structure of systematic mappings, therefore some linguists refrain from considering it as a mapping process whatsoever, and often suggest a 'reference point approach'[82]. Another controversial view expressed but many authors concerns the issue of whether metonymy involves the process of mapping at all. Some researchers, such as Lakoff and Turner (1989) and Barcelona (2003) strongly advocate in favour, others, like Radden and Kövecses (1999) and Panther and Thornburg (2007) generally avoid the term; some, however, argue explicitly against it (see Croft 1993). The arguments of the latter, in particular, are centred on the simple statement that the conceptual effect of metonymy can only be achieved through the process of domain highlighting (Croft 1993: 348)[83]. The process, however, does not necessarily mean that the notions of **mapping** and **highlighting** must be seen as mutually exclusive. In fact, Barcelona (2003: 234) argues that the latter frequently involves the former by virtue of the fact that "the choice of the source constrains the way in which the target is activated".

Similarly to metaphorical mappings, the metonymic ones also impose the frequency and the productivity of certain associations, and there are several principles, that govern the creation of metonymic patterns[84]. The purpose of such principles is to provide generalisations that account for the vehicles that provide a basis for metonymy in language. In general, it might be observed that one of the most recurrent principles is that of HUMAN OVER NON-HUMAN, which holds the view that human vehicles are

[82]In addition to that, Barcelona (2000: 33) is not altogether sure whether metonymic mappings take place between domains or rather between conceptual entities.

[83]By the way of explanation that a secondary domain is highlighted at the expense of a domain which is primary in the literal reading of a particular item, let us consider the sentence: *The White House isn't saying anything*, which constitutes the linguistic manifestation of the conceptual metonymy <THE PLACE FOR THE INSTITUTION>. Although the American president himself is not responsible for all the decisions made by the government, the use of metonymy highlights his role as the decision-maker, who usually voices the decisions of all politicians. Thus, in the aforementioned example, the general place is mapped on a leader who is considered to be in charge of The White House.

[84]Kövecses and Radden (1998) distinguish a number of other cognitive and communicative principles enabling the formulation of metonymic patterns, for example: CENTRAL OVER PERIPHERAL, IMMEDIATE OVER NON-IMMEDIATE, STEREOTYPICAL OVER NON-STEREOTYPICAL, or BOUNDED OVER UNBOUNDED.

preferred over non-human ones. Instances of this phenomenon that illustrate the principle are as follows: <AUTHOR FOR HIS WORK> e.g. *He's reading Shakespeare*, and <CONTROLLER FOR CONTROLLED> e.g. *Schwarzkopf defeated Iraq*. Another commonly encountered principle is that of CONCRETE OVER ABSTRACT which holds that concrete vehicles are preferred over abstract vehicles. It is best illustrated by metonymic relationships such as: <BODILY FOR EMOTIONAL> e.g. *He's heartless* (*heart* for 'kindness') or <VISIBLE OVER INVISIBLE> e.g. *to save one's skin* (for 'to save one's life').

1.5 Metaphor–Metonymy Interaction

Provided that metaphor and metonymy are both conceptual phenomena, the interactions between them seem to be inevitable. The opinion is shared by many linguists, like Goossens (2003: 350) who states that "although in principle metaphor and metonymy are distinct cognitive processes, it appears to be the case that the two are not mutually exclusive. They may be found in combination in actual natural language expressions". Consequently, since it is obvious that metaphors and metonymies frequently interact in particular linguistic expressions, the considerable attention was directed to this phenomenon.

As has been pointed out throughout the pages of this chapter, metaphor and metonymy are viewed by cognitive linguists as conceptual processes whose unquestionable advantage is the fact that they provide structure to the human conceptual system, as they appear in language as reflections of the underlying conceptual organisation. Given that metaphor and metonymy may in principle both relate to the same conceptual domains, questions arise concerning the interaction of metaphor and metonymy within the conceptual system (Evans and Green 2006: 318). On the basis of his important study, Goossens (1990) presented the way in which metaphor and metonymy interact and called this phenomenon **metaphtonymy**. By identifying a number of logically conceivable ways in which metaphor and metonymy can potentially interact, he soon discovered that only two of these logically possible interactions may be commonly attested: **metaphor within metonymy** and **metonymy within metaphor**. The former assumes that metaphor is grounded in a metonymic relationship. The latter, on the other hand, involves a simultaneous, parallel type of interaction (see section 1.5.2 below).

1.5.1 Metaphor–Metonymy: Similarities and Differences

Before going further, it is necessary to sum up the distinguishing features of metaphor and metonymy. As Gibbs (1994: 13) writes: "Metaphor and metonymy are two of the major figurative modes whereby people conceptualize their experience". Many other authors[85] express a similar view by claiming that similarly to metaphor, metonymy is primarily a cognitive process, rather than a linguistic one, yet, despite the undeniable similarities, there are significant differences between the two mechanisms.

According to Lakoff (1987: 77), "[m]etonymy is one of the basic characteristics of cognition". It is typically described as "something that 'stands for' another thing, e.g. a glove standing for 'a baseball player'" (Dobrovol'skij and Piirainen 2005: 23). It allows people to conceptualise one thing or phenomenon by its relation to something else. Grygiel and Kleparski (2007: 105) claim that "the working of the mechanism of metonymy rests on physical contiguity". While metaphors constitute a practical device for conceiving of one thing in terms of another (they are based on similarity), in metonymy the referential function plays the constitutive role and it allows us to use one entity to stand for another[86] (Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 37). When people use metonymy, they do not want to transmit any qualities from one referent to another as they do in the case of a metaphor (see Kövecses 2010: 192). The conceptual connection between these entities is that "one entity is mentally activated by or through another entity" (Kövecses 2015: 19). Strictly speaking, it could be stated that metonymy is a conceptual mechanism in which a particular concept is not called by its own, specific name, but rather by the designation of something that is associated in meaning with that concept.

For another point, metonymy is perceived as a cognitive mechanism which involves just one domain (it takes place within a single ICM) and one of its elements (or sometimes the whole ICM) is highlighted and serves as a vehicle which provides mental access to the target by mapping its inherent properties. Conversely, metaphor involves two distinct domains (or two ICMs). Moreover, metaphors are said to operate on the whole systems of concepts. Owing to this, when using metonymy, we do not have to

[85]For instance: Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 37), Radden and Kövecses (1999: 17-19), Kövecses (2002: 145), Panther and Thornburg (2007: 236), and a number of others.

[86]Because of the fact that occasionally it may be difficult to distinguish between contiguity and similarity, Gibbs (1999: 62) proposes an 'is like' test which is supposed to work on the assumption that only metaphorical expressions form meaningful utterances when they are paraphrased with the use of the 'is like' schema. As a result, the test provides a useful means of determining whether a given linguistic expression is metaphorical or metonymic (see Kopecka 2011: 50).

mention the second entity directly; what we can do is to "provide mental access to it through another entity" (Kövecses 2010: 172).

1.5.2 Metaphtonymy

Metaphtonymy, the term coined by Goossens (1990), is intended as an umbrella term for various types of interaction between metaphor and metonymy[87]. The first type of interaction, metaphor from metonymy[88], could be very well illustrated by the verb *giggle*. Geeraerts (2010: 220) shows that the verb's primary meaning is "'to laugh in a nervous way', but this meaning can be used metonymically in a context like 'Oh dear', she giggled, 'I'd quite forgotten', in which giggle comes to mean 'say while giggling'". Advancing further towards "to say as if giggling" leads to a metaphor from metonymy. Therefore, the formation of metaphor from metonymy entails that some figurative expressions can function as mappings between the elements in two separate domains. In other words, Goossens (2003: 368) implies that "the perception of 'similarity' is established on the basis of our awareness that A and B are often 'contiguous' within the same domain"[89].

The second type, called sometimes **integrated metaphtonymy,** can be divided into metaphor within metonymy and metonymy within metaphor[90]. An instance of metaphor within metonymy is provided by Goossens (1990: 335) with the expression *be/get up on one's hind legs*, meaning 'stand up in order to say or argue something, especially in public'. It might be suggested that if we omit *hind*, the expression will be interpreted as a metonymy. However, the addition of this particular word evokes the image of an animal standing on its hind legs and therefore imposes a metaphorical interpretation (which is embedded in metonymy). The metonymy within metaphor interaction, in turn, occurs quite frequently and involves a complex mapping that is inserted into a metaphoric one (Goossens 2003: 368). The most relevant assumption of

[87]The metonymic origin of many metaphors is also discussed, among others, by Barcelona (2000), and Ruiz de Mendoza (2000). It must be noted, however, that although the phenomenon of the interaction between metaphor and metonymy has become enormously influential and inspirational, it is not unanimously accepted by all cognitive linguists.
[88]Often referred to as **cumulative metaphtonymy**.
[89]What is important to realise is that very often the metaphorical interpretation is only possible if one is able to grasp the metonymic connection (see Goossens 1990: 332-333, Evans and Green 2006: 319-320, Geeraerts 2010: 220).
[90]For the comprehensive discussion of the metonymic origins of a number of metaphors consult: Köveces (1986, 1990), Lakoff (1987), Taylor (1992), Barcelona (2000), Benczes (2006), and Panther and Thornburg (2007).

this phenomenon seems to be the fact that the "metonymy is integrated into the metaphor, but the metaphor maintains itself, it is not 'destroyed' by the integrated metonymy" (Goossens 2003: 369). This, of course, stands in opposition to the metaphor within metonymy interaction, whose primary postulation is the statement that "metaphor becomes an ingredient in a metonymic expression" (Goossens 2003: 368). This type of relation is rather rare but it results in an important outcome. The process of inserting some elements from a metaphor into a metonymy tends to metaphorise the whole linguistic expression.

These patterns of interactions mentioned above were firstly addressed in Goossens' (1990) pioneering work. Notwithstanding, more recent studies have delivered more systematic and refined configurations of interactions between metaphor and metonymy. They usually involve combinations of metonymies (Ruiz de Mendoza 2000, Ruiz de Mendoza and Pérez 2001) and of metaphors (Ruiz de Mendoza and Galera-Masegosa 2014). It is essential to observe that it was Ruiz de Mendoza, who first noticed that Goossens' account is in great need of improvement, as the interactions proposed by scholars are just the cases of **metonymic expansion of the metaphoric source domain** (see Ruiz de Mendoza 2002). He further identified and proposed other patterns of interaction: **metonymic expansion of the metaphoric target**, **metonymic reduction of the metaphoric source**, and **metaphoric reduction of one of the correspondences of the metaphoric target** (see Ruiz de Mendoza and Galera-Masegosa 2014).

1.5.3 Metonymic Complexes

The combination of lexical metonymies has been the object of discussion and research of several scholars (see, for instance, Ruiz de Mendoza 2000, and Barcelona 2005). Yet, it was Francisco Jose Ruiz de Mendoza (2000) who initially proposed the phenomenon of **metonymic chains**, which became further developed by Ruiz de Mendoza and Perez (2001). Metonymic complexes can be defined, then, as the chained combinations of at least two metonymies "in which the expanded or reduced domain that results from a first metonymic operation constitutes the point of departure for another metonymic shift" (Ruiz de Mendoza and Galera-Masegosa 2014: 117).

By way of illustration, the metonymic expression *Wall Street is in panic* constitutes a double metonymy: <A PLACE FOR AN INSTITUTION FOR PEOPLE> which can be further interpreted as a metonymic chain. In the example provided, the target

domain PEOPLE is first reduced to the institution, which itself is condensed to its location. In other words, alongside the process of domain reductions, the metonymic process takes place at the lexical layer – <PLACE FOR INSTITUTION> and <INSTITUTION FOR PLACE ASSOCIATED WITH THE INSTITUTION> (Ruiz de Mendoza and Galera-Masegosa 2014).

To conclude, metaphor and metonymy intermingle and interact with each other at the conceptual level which is visible in particular linguistic situations. It has been discovered that there are two patterns for the interplay between them. Therefore, both appear to be worthy of interest which is why they attract the attention of many researchers. Moreover, taking into account the importance and all the possible functions of metaphor and metonymy, it is hard to imagine human life without them (Kurowska 2016).

1.6 Mental Space Theory

The starting point of these considerations should be the notion of **mental space**, namely a theoretical construct proposed by Gilles Fauconnier. The researcher belongs to the leading proponents of **Mental Space Theory** which can be understood as a highly prominent cognitive theory of meaning construction, developed in two books *Mental Spaces* (Fauconnier 1985) and *Mappings in Thought and Language* (Fauconnier 1997). Fauconnier defines mental spaces[91] as "partial structures that proliferate when we think and talk, allowing a fine-grained partitioning of our discourse and knowledge structures" (Fauconnier 1997: 11).

Mental spaces, sometimes referred to as temporary domains, are linked in diverse ways and meaning emerges from a dynamic process of meaning construction, hence conceptualisation[92]. As Evans and Green notice (2006: 396): "sentences cannot be analysed in isolation from ongoing discourse, and semantic meaning, while qualitatively distinct, cannot be meaningfully separated from pragmatic meaning". It is obvious, then, that meaning construction is a dynamic procedure, and it is inseparable from the context. The speakers avail themselves of the mental spaces constructed earlier in the ongoing lingual exchange and the sentences they produce cannot be analysed in isolation from the

[91]The major difference between a reality space and a mental space is that a mental space does not include a precise representation of reality, but rather an idealised cognitive model.
[92]Because meaning construction is viewed as a fundamentally conceptual process, it can be stated that it relies on the mechanisms of conceptual projection such as metaphor and metonymy (Evans and Green 2006).

continuing discourse. What is more, Fauconnier reveals that much of what takes place in the construction of meaning befalls "behind the scenes" (see Fauconnier 1994: xvii). He claims that language itself does not encode thought in its elaborated whole, but rather codes some fundamental instruction for the creation of rich ideas. Moreover, the strategies and principles that guide the process of conceptualisation are mostly invisible[93].

Shortly thereafter, Fauconnier has extended his theory in which the building of mental spaces and establishment of mappings between them became the basic component of a new framework called **Conceptual Blending Theory**.

1.7 Conceptual Blending

In brief, **Conceptual Blending** is a theory developed by Gilles Fauconnier and Mark Turner and its origins lie in the extended research programmes of the two prominent researchers. Fauconnier and Turner's (2002) studies converged on a range of linguistic phenomena that seemed to share remarkable similarities and that repelled straightforward explanation by their previous frameworks and developments[94]. Among the basic assumption, one should observe that some vital elements and relations from particular scenarios are 'blended' in a subconscious process, omnipresent in everyday thought and language[95]. The crucial view of Blending Theory is that "meaning construction typically involves integration of structure that gives rise to more than the sum of its parts" (Evans and Green 2006: 400). It is often argued that the process of blending is a basic and general cognitive operation – central to the way human beings think and reason.

In fact, the theory emerged from the attempt to account for the observation that in many cases meaning construction seems to derive from structure that is unavailable in the conceptual or linguistic structure that functions as the input to the meaning construction process. Blending Theory assumes the existence of a structure which contains at least four elements: **generic space**, two or more **input spaces** and a **blended space**. The generic

[93]These invisible conceptualisation processes that are involved in meaning construction are called "backstage cognition" (Evans and Green 2006: 193).

[94]Fauconnier developed Mental Spaces Theory in order to explain a number of traditional problems in meaning construction; Turner, on the other hand, approached meaning construction from the perspective of his studies of metaphor in literary language. In terms of the architecture of Conceptual Blending and in terms of its central concerns, it is most closely related to Mental Spaces Theory, and some linguists plainly refer to it as a way of extension of this particular approach. Nevertheless, the theory is a distinct phenomenon that has been unwound to account for issues that both Mental Spaces Theory and Conceptual Metaphor Theory cannot adequately explain.

[95]It should be stressed that Conceptual Blending Theory applies to both linguistic and non-linguistic phenomena. It is often used in the field of computer studies pursuing researches in artificial intelligence.

space offers information that is abstract enough to be shared by both the inputs. Blended space, in turn, contains new or emergent structure, hence the information that is not contained in either of the inputs. The blend not only draws elements from both inputs, but also goes further in delivering additional structure which differentiates the blend from either of its inputs. Evans and Green (2006: 439) point out that "[c]ounterparts between input spaces are connected by virtue of a matching operation, compressed and selectively projected to the blended space. Emergent meaning is derived via three constitutive processes called composition, completion and elaboration[96]." By way of illustration let us consider the sentence: *That surgeon is a butcher*, which is metaphorical in nature, but cannot be straightforwardly dealt with by means of Conceptual Metaphor Theory. Even though butchery is considered as a highly skilled profession, a surgeon conceptualised as a butcher is evaluated negatively, which raises the question concerning the conceptual origin of the unfavourable assessment emerging from this example. In order to elucidate this issue, one needs to adopt the view that meaning is more than the sum of its component parts. For this reason, conceptual blending is maintained to be a fundamental cognitive operation which is central to wide-ranging properties of human imagination and thought.

1.8 Summary

To conclude, it has to be clearly indicated at this point that the above account does not exhaust the discussion of the issues pertaining to the approach called Cognitive Linguistics and a more detailed treatment of several related concepts, such as the primary metaphor theory or the link between metaphors and conceptual blending can be found, for example, in Kövecses (2002), Evans and Green (2006) and Geeraerts (2010). What is more, some aspects raised above clearly reach beyond the level of language. For this reason, it should not come as a surprise that this work, while embracing language as its principal object of research, will attempt to incorporate some other phenomena which are predominantly associated with other disciplines, such as psychology, philosophy, anthropology and sociology.

Proceeding further, as Evans and Green (2006: 6) suggest: "We take language for granted, yet we rely upon it throughout our lives in order to perform a range of functions." Whatever we learn about language we also learn about human nature. Indeed, it seems

[96]For more details see Fauconnier and Turner (2002), Evans and Green (2006: 439-440).

that one of the most important achievements of recent years in linguistics was that from the level of theoretical digressions, linguistics, as such, has largely passed to the level of considerations about human nature. The major theoretical framework adopted in the present study – Cognitive Linguistics – gives a fresh impetus to semantic research. It emerged out of the ideas of many renowned linguists (George Lakoff, Mark Johnson, Mark Turner, Charles Fillmore, Leonard Talmy and Ronald Langacker, to name but a few) who were dissatisfied with different approaches and methods of the twentieth-century mainstream linguistics. Some of the problematic areas deliberately avoided in traditional theories of linguistics were put to question and carefully reconsidered by cognitive linguists.

Finally, in almost all situations, figurative language allows effective, quick expression of thought and provides us with a well-developed means of transmitting delicate and complex ideas. Since metaphor can be considered as a part of our conventional thought and it can be characterised by other essential features, such as: omnipresence, accessibility and capacity of allowing to understand the world effectively, it constitutes an enormously valuable tool to verbalise our thoughts. For this reason, the analysis of the contemporary magazines for men will yield insight into the way the notions of ***women*** and ***men*** are understood and it will enable us to value judgements, emotions, attitudes that are implicitly communicated by means of figurative language, and hopefully, it will also allow us to point to language discrimination of women and their semantic derogation.

Chapter Two: Woman, Man, Sex and Language

2.1 Introduction

The somewhat controversial idea that language portrays women and men differently is by no means new. Linguists, especially from the feminist circles, have long voiced their concerns about the ways in which females are represented and characterised in language. It is not only about sexism and being symbolically invisible[97], but the verbal aspect is mostly a social and political issue, which reflects women's position. As Weatherall (2002: 97) argues: "Language does not merely mirror social beliefs about gender and reflect the nature of gender identity. Rather, it is through language (and discourse) that gender is produced and gains its significance as a social category. Thus, the study of texts and talk in interaction become prime sites for examining gender." To tackle this problem, language should be viewed as a socially constructed category, in which gender cannot be beheld as a separate, but rather related phenomenon.

In many respects, some socially constructed categories, such as gender, are closely related to social attitudes and values that frequently underlie social stereotypes. Stereotypical beliefs, in turn, have an influence on identity processes and self-confidence, which consequently affects professional success. How, and to what extent inequality and social stereotypes are communicated, has been an important concern for sociolinguists, who have approached language and gender from a range of different angles. These perspectives can be labelled the ***difference approach***, ***deficit approach***, the ***social constructionist approach***, the ***dominance approach***, or the ***dynamic approach*** (see Coates 2013: 6), all of which will lead into a discussion in the following parts of this chapter.

2.2 Gender Studies

At the beginning, I put forward a claim that, to a considerable extent, gender studies concern gender stereotypes, which play a fundamental role in building the social

[97]Coates (2013: 5) accounts that "until relatively recently, men were automatically seen as at the heart of society, with women being peripheral or even invisible."

image of sexes. Most of stereotypes are characterised by universalism and timelessness; they are passed down from generation to generation, through religion, tradition, language and – increasingly – the media. The classic misogynist arguments, very persistent in our culture, emphasise the fact that the differences in gender imply inferiority and this is a natural pheonomenon. For a misogynist, biology or anatomy are a human destiny, and a woman's body, considered unique due to its reproductive potential, is perceived as inferior in every respect. What is interesting, however, is that sociolinguistics is ever-changing. The temporal dimension must be taken into account when studying disparities between women and men. Indeed, the differences which existed twenty years ago might not be the same as today's, and observations which were made a few decades ago may not necessarily be still relevant. The problem of subjectivity of women, however, is deeply rooted in human subconsciousness, because in addition to biological factors, it results from historical and cultural heritage and is reproduced in the process of upbringing and education (see the following sections).

2.2.1 Gender Distinction

The basic and the oldest way of identifying a human being is through gender distinction, and in all known cultures of the world, the roles of women and men, though historically changeable, have never been (and are not) equal[98]. The very terms ***sex*** and ***gender*** have been the source of a continuing and heated discussion. The sex versus gender debate often involves assumptions of causality, with **gender** being used for socially-based characteristics, and **sex** being employed for biologically based characteristics[99]. If one takes into account the former, the postulation made by Peisert (1994) has to be mentioned, as she claims that two main sources of our culture – the Bible and Greek mythology – depict women as causes of all human suffering[100]. Yet, the subordinate status of a woman

[98]Even Aristotle stated that the only slave whom the common man of the populace could claim was his wife (see Peisert 1994).

[99]In 1968 Robert J. Stoller made a distinction between biological ***sex*** – related to differences in the anatomy and physiology of the body, and the cultural ***gender*** – determined by certain acquired features, ascribed by culture and society (see Stoller 1968, Łozowski 2012). Thanks to such a distinction, it is possible to separate what is biologically conditioned in people from what is culturally determined. Coates (2013: 4) maintains a similar view claiming that ***sex*** refers to a biological distinction, while ***gender*** is the term that describes socially constructed categories based on sex, adding that "societies operate in terms of two genders, **masculine** and **feminine**, and it is tempting to treat the category of gender as a simple binary opposition."

[100]In the Bible, Eve not only broke God's command by eating a forbidden apple, but she also persuaded Adam to do the same. In mythology, in turn, Pandora, driven by an unrestrained desire to know the content

is a universal cultural fact arising not only from patriarchal religion models, but also from the belief in the biological domination of the male sex. What is more, various judgments about women, especially the way in which they are perceived by the society, can also be found on the pages of history, in literature, folklore and in magazines or newspapers. In this way, common thinking about a woman has been shaped (and continues to be) and coded in language, which includes, among others, clichéd proverbs, aphorisms, quotes or anecdotes, as well as ordinary colloquialisms.

Finally, the increased interest in the gender-related issues, which appeared along with the increased activity of feminist movements[101] (in the second half of the twentieth century in the United States and Western Europe, and after the political transformation in the early 1990s also in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe), resulted in the creation of an interdisciplinary research area, the so-called **gender studies** which allowed scientific research to delve into the subject of discrimination, and, consequently, to discover and describe numerous reasons for such a state of affairs.

2.2.2 Perception of Women and Men

The phenomenon of hierarchical dependence and relations between women and men has been a characteristic feature of anthropology from the very beginning of its existence. By the persistent analysis of gender symbols and stereotypes, researchers struggle to explain the observable diversity of cultural understandings of what the categories WOMAN and MAN mean.

For many people, women and men are equal, but they are biologically conditioned and assigned different roles. From this perspective, the fact of possessing the reproductive organs is associated not only with mental features, but also with lifestyle, daily activities and moral obligations. By this token, a man is created for some higher purposes, that is, those which are of public character and are connected with prestige and wage (see Środa 2009). Even Aristotle's division into the private and public spheres excluded women from the participation in culture, and up to this day, the attitude towards women, especially those restricted to the domestic domain, remains negative (they do not have access to such

of the can offered to her by the gods, persuaded her husband to open it. It gave rise to all misfortunes that started harassing mankind.

[101]See, for instance, Cameron (1998), Mills and Mullany (2011).

values as prestige, merit, justice). A similar view is expressed by Paechter (2002: 8) who writes:

> "Woman has most particularly been positioned as Other because of the dualistic tradition of Western philosophical thought. This tradition looks at the world through a series of dichotomous pairs: mind/body, reason/emotion, public/private (...). The terms in these pairs are, however, not equivalent; one is given priority over the other and, in some cases, as in the distinction between reason and emotion, one is defined simply as the negative of the other."

In this regard, almost every feature that distinguishes women from men finds its confirmation in society. Of course, one might point to more than a few reasons for this situation, above all the deeply rooted social stereotypes and prejudices. The Romans and Greeks[102], for instance, were convinced of the inherent inferiority of women, and hence female weakness, uncertainty and shyness. In many cases it is difficult to argue with such claims, as male physiology seems to define the principles of most sports; their socially shaped biographies define expectations in the workplace and patterns of successful careers; their interests determine the assessment criteria in many areas of science; their experiences and visions of life define art; their military service defines citizenship; their presence defines a family; their inability to come to terms shapes the governments and wars; and their genitals and needs define sex (see MacKinnon 1987). Every attribute that differentiates women from men, however, can also be the subject of affirmative action[103], and this, as I strongly believe, makes it possible to recognise gender equality as unnatural and absolutely unrealistic in theory and practice.

2.2.2.1 Different Perspectives

In popular consciousness, there is an established conviction that women and men differ in all areas: behavioural, emotional, cognitive, linguistic and communicative. Perhaps the main reasons for the differences result from the innate dissimilarity of women and men (their emotionality, sensitivity, attitudes towards others), yet, the differences can

[102]Looking at the principles of Roman jurisdiction, women were not considered as a legal entity and they were deprived of the majority of liberties and denied most of the privileges. A similar view was observable in Athenian democracy, where a father had unlimited power over his daughter and a woman was not considered a full citizen at all (see MacKinnon 1987).

[103]Affirmative action refers to the practise of favouring individuals belonging to groups that were previously discriminated against.

also exhibit the cultural character and might be influenced by dissimilar types of socialisation of girls and boys reproduced for hundreds of years, strongly strengthened by the free market economy, which expects rivalry and constant success of men, whereas women are required to care for children and prepare themselves for strictly assigned roles[104]. The process of upbringing plays a crucial role in creating such expectations, and it is worth starting the discussion with this particular aspect.

2.2.2.1.1 Upbringing

It is important to acknowledge that every person is brought up in a certain environment, family and language, and all of these three elements shape us as human beings, as we inherit some features and characteristic ways of acting that are difficult to change later in life. We also acquire certain habits because both language and people that surround us on a daily basis, tell us who we are, how we are supposed to think, talk, behave, and most importantly, what we should think about ourselves. Such views are shared by many scholars. Bielak (2015), for instance, claims that the first patterns of behaviour are shaped precisely in the family which constitutes the basic socialisation unit. Many parents in the process of girls' upbringing replicate the stereotypes which make them become submissive, compromising, charming and caring. The phrases[105] that are constantly repeated in the childhood: *do not shout*, *do not hit the boys*, *be polite*, *a girl cannot get dirty*, *remember that you are a lady*, from the very beginning, make the upbringing of a little girl focused on making her an involuntary, fragile and caring creature. Środa (2009) adds that girls, under the watchful eye of mothers, work on voice modulation, as a rule they do not fight with each other or with boys, and set a good example of correct, polite behaviour. When it comes to communication, fathers are more directive than mothers, and they also use more directive language with their sons than with daughters (see Coates 2013). Even children's toys are divided into female and male. The research shows that parents – apart from buying stereotypical toys for children – also condemn the use of those that are 'sexually inadequate' (see Środa 2009).

[104]Środa (2009) argues that even if one ignores various lexical items that God has invented for different sexes, we must agree with the fact that women have been differently socialised for hundreds of years, and therefore, they have different interests, needs and value structures.

[105]Compare, for instance – *sugar and spice and everything nice*, *tomboy*, *sissy*, *hysterical*, *effeminate*, *woman driver*, *boys don't cry*, *smile pretty* – which indirectly impose on girls and boys appropriate or inappropriate behaviours expected of them by the society.

2.2.2.1.2 Social Roles and Culture vs. Biology[106]

The most obvious biological differences between sexually different individuals concern body composition and reproductive behaviours. Many dissimilarities between women and men are explained by referring only to the biological equipment of each sex, and the place of females and males in society results from biological predispositions of individuals. As a consequence, the social conviction that a woman is by nature prepared to take care of her home and offspring, restricts her activity to the private field, while a man is by nature adapted to activity, hence the field of his activity should be the public sphere. Biological factors seem to be the strongest determinant of sex distinction (see Środa 2009).

When the society and culture are concerned, the concept of gender consists in various relations that have developed over time to define the properties of womanhood and manhood, as well as concepts of femininity and masculinity, simultaneously structuring and regulating individuals' relation to society. Gender seems to be deeply embedded in every aspect of society, starting from public institutions, art, and ending up with the fashion industry. Gender norms encompass such aspects of people's existence as appearance and personality, dictating, in this way, how women and men should behave, think and move, what clothes to wear, what shoes to buy, what perfumes to use, what attitudes to take and so on. Hence, there are particular things that men are expected to do, and some other things that women are supposed to do, yet they are only attributed to a specific gender. If there is any deviation from the norm, such behaviours and approaches are immediately stigmatised.

As mentioned earlier, central to an investigation of social roles is also children's toys preference that is shaped by cognitive factors. By possessing the knowledge of how to play with the same-sex toys, it is highly likely that children will choose these toys, which consequently increases their understanding of them. In the same way, the belief about who likes to play with particular toys is also significant and influential. Children would even avoid toys that the other sex prefers as they are already aware of the gender labels associated with these objects (see Martin and Halverson 1981).

Another valuable observation is formulated by Mills (2008: 20) in the following words: "The integration of women into the public sphere has not been achieved without

[106]It needs to be stressed that equality between women and men cannot deny gender differences resulting from their biology and the cultural role attributed to them.

conflict and resistance from men. It is clear that women are not treated equally even now (…)". The very fact that a woman manages to reach one of the highest positions in the social hierarchy, which is dominated by men, does not mean an equal pay. Bielak (2015) notices that in Polish culture **woman** and **career**[107] are not the two corresponding concepts. Where there are money and prestige, femininity is still poorly perceived. This problem does not seem to exist in relation to professions such as actresses, dancers or models, yet terms such as *profesorka* 'female professor' or *psycholożka* 'female psychologist' raise some objections. What is more, women are still often discriminated against in terms of access to selected professions (especially the managerial positions), where employers prefer male workers and they tend to set lower wages for women at the very beginning of their professional career. Although in many modern societies the employment situation of women is gradually improving, a lot still needs to be done to bring gender equality into the field of work. Finally, to this day, housework – performed mainly by women – is not only unappreciated, but also invisible – unlike some other more productive types of work, it leaves no trace and does not produce durable and palpable goods, whose temporary utility is expressed in monetary value (Desperak 2013: 45).

Last but not least, Ortner (1982) notices that women must be associated with something that every culture depreciates – with **nature**. All known cultures of the world recognise the existence of a certain form of human society on the one hand, and the world of nature on the other; and they are capable of distinguishing them from each other. Hence, if we assume that **culture** is symbolically more closely associated with men, and nature with women, we can obtain a whole set of interesting observations. First of all, culture always tries to control and surpass nature in order to use it for its own purposes. Secondly, culture can be defined as something superior to the world of nature, it socialises or marks nature so as to maintain relationships between society and the environment. Thirdly, as culture tries to control and transgress nature, it is apparent that females, due to their strong relationship with natural surroundings, should also be subjected to control and some restrictions (see Ortner 1982). Interestingly, Cameron and Scanlon (2009: 19) state: "Men oppress women, but not because of their (…) biology, not because men are physically stronger, nor because men have phalluses and women may bear children and

[107]An obvious example could be the fact that even women who have achieved professional success are reluctant to use phrases marked with gender distinction, and although sometimes there are feminine equivalents of certain professions, these names, in the opinion of many people, lack some prestige and seriousness (see Bielak 2015, Wtorkowska 2019).

breast feed, nor because men are innately more aggressive. We consider men oppress women because they benefit from doing so. All men, even those at the very bottom of male hierarchies, have advantages which flow from belonging to the category male." Thus, the contemporary gender distinction and the problems and controversies associated with it also have, and perhaps first and foremost have, a cultural dimension, as it is a specific criterion of generic division.

2.2.2.1.3 Psychology

Adopting a psychological perspective, the traditionally feminine roles[108] (motherhood, house-keeping) require having some peculiar traits, such as caring and emotionality, other than in the case of a professional role that requires aggressiveness, rationality and independence. Obviously, women who are successful in a professional field should not have to make the choice and transfer traits from one role (selected) to another (assigned). However, as Desperak (2013: 17) claims, the attribution theory indicates that such generalisations are made. As a result, based on a successful professional career, it is concluded that in the workplace women are aggressive and overbearing.

Stereotypes are also shaped in the process of education. According to Peisert (1994), in addition to knowledge, the teaching system should equip pupils and students with certain life and social attitudes. Unfortunately, most of the recurrent messages carry some discriminatory content that unfairly differentiates the skills of both genders, starting from primary school. The research conducted by Karwatowska and Szpyra-Kozłowska (2010) suggests that in school textbooks, the roles played by girls are often subordinate, subservient, and even primitive. The images presented suggest that girls ask stupid questions, clean up, and use a computer only to buy something in an online store. Given the prominence of the educational system and the long time spent in the school environment, it is worthwhile examining the negative influence such images may have on young, not fully formed people.

[108]Every society has its own theory of feminine nature. The previously mentioned stereotype of the *Matka-Polka* ('Mother-Pole') is typical for Polish, although it contains elements common to the stereotype of femininity found in other areas of Western European culture. The Perfect *Matka-Polka* is a parent and a teacher of future generations, a guardian of morality, full of goodness and sacrifice, bringing to life the love and virtue of Christian purity of heart.

In addition to stereotypes shaped and consolidated at home and in the educational process, there are neurosexual stereotypes in society that delineate intellectual differences between women and men (see Moir and Jessel 1993). Although sex should not be perceived as a predictor of academic skills, interests and emotional features, women still are considered more empathic, while men are naturally better leaders. Such convictions mean that women tend to occupy worse-paid and less prestigious positions. Indeed, the contemporary society has a patriarchal character. The traditional patriarchalism, characteristic of most historical communities, gave power over women in the family to their male relatives. Today patriarchalism is the privilege of values associated with masculinity over femininity and the privileged position of men in the social structure, inherited from previous generations (see Desperak 2013: 48). The patriarchal society is characterised by sexism, or even androcentrism, and thus the privilege of male experience with the simultaneous recognition of women's experience as different and less significant. Consequently, men and everything associated with the concept of maleness are treated as a neutral norm for culture and for the human species as a whole; women and female-related concepts – as a gender-marked deviation from this universally binding standard. Bearing this in mind, it appears logical to assume that many topics and linguistic features have generally been attributed either to women or men, and that everyday interactions regularly remind us that certain speech acts are not expected to be the same when dealing with representatives of the opposite sex.

2.2.2.2 Stereotypical Images

As mentioned previously (see section 1.2.4.4), the term ***stereotype*** appears in many scientific disciplines, in the media[109], and in everyday, colloquial language. In psychology, it is currently understood as a simplified and rigid concept concerning the communities of people in which everyone is assigned the so-called group characteristics, and the human individual uniqueness is omitted. In other words, the diversity and complexity are reduced to several categories, whereas the simplified image is frequently pejorative (see Hogg and Vaughan 2010). Moreover, stereotypes can be considered as living organisms and languages – they are born and die, they grow and change with the passage of time. The same applies to gender stereotypes.

[109]It is my claim here that one of the most prolific sources of stereotypes today are the media.

It is argued that there are several levels of gender stereotypes, as it is a multidimensional concept, and culture and the surrounding human reality can possibly shape many categories for women and men. We can distinguish stereotypes of psychological and personality traits, attitudes and behaviours (e.g. the feminine warmth and expressiveness vs. male rationality[110]); stereotypes of physical characteristics (the opposition: male wisdom and feminine beauty), stereotypes of gender roles (e.g. a man is the head of the family who earns money, a woman takes care of children and runs the house); and stereotypes associated with professional life and career (see Mandal 2004: 15). Unquestionably, the most significant problem with stereotypes concerns the fact that, on the one hand, sex is not a space in which you can move in a completely unrecognised and independent way. It is a corset of certain rules, from which sooner or later stereotypes emerge. On the other hand, the cultural gender identity today seems to be fluid, changeable, modified and negotiated on the basis of individual experience. In turn, all these components generate a very strong connection to language and this particular dependence will be analysed in the next subsections.

2.2.2.2.1 Notions of Femininity and Masculinity

Obviously, it is not an easy enterprise to identify the notions of **femininity** and **masculinity**, and to undertake a substantive discussion of whether the shape of the definition would be affected mostly by nature, nurture or the media influence[111]. Miller (2009: 114), for instance, claims that "categorization labels certain physical and behavioural norms as male or female in terms of either nature or society." As a result, masculinity is supposed to involve qualities such as practicality, violence, competitiveness and a light approach to emotions and feelings. Femininity, being greatly influenced by social practices through socialisation, upbringing, ideological training and media contradictions, is often viewed in respect of gentleness and modesty. As mentioned before, a similar suggestion is put forward by Peisert (1994: 98) who claims that culture calls for combining femininity with what is expressive and private, and masculinity with

[110]A man is also frequently depicted as active, independent, effective, brave, energetic and reasonable. A woman, on the other hand, is passive, dependent, weak, emotional, sensitive, receptive and intuitive. On the basis of these characteristics, it can be concluded that masculinity for femininity is like activity for passivity (see Środa 2009: 42).

[111]The undeniable biological and psychological differences do not constitute the main interest for linguists. It is crucial to focus on the reflection of gender in language, predominantly on its desirable and undesirable qualities (see section 2.3).

what is intellectual and public. Even if a woman and a man perform the same social roles, they are expected to behave in a different manner.

2.2.2.2.2 A Stereotypical Woman

The image of a woman, her role and place in the society and culture is shaped by the collective experience developed throughout centuries[112] (see Peisert 1994), and many judgements and stereotypes concerning the way in which they are perceived by society, can be found in literature, folklore and on the pages of various magazines. It is worth noting, however, that the general image of an ideal woman has only slightly changed. Females have always been expected to be beautiful, loyal, caring and fertile (see Karwatowska 2009, Środa 2009), and to possess mental traits such as sensitivity and submissiveness, as well as physical characteristics associated with the way of moving and the tone of voice. If a woman is distinguished by masculine features, she is still mostly perceived in a negative way[113] (see Pajdzińska 2001). Indeed, the research on stereotypes reveals a considerable amount of hostility towards strong women. In contrast, more traditional types of women are not considered as direct competitors for economic status with men. They are ascribed with subordinate roles, frequently devoid of social value and prestige. Even now, they are primarily perceived as domestic beings, subjugated to the so-called 'natural order'[114] (see Środa 2009: 336), and notably, as signalled by Bielak (2015: 108), a woman is also subject to numerous demands and limitations. The most perpetuated stereotypes include the role of a mother, a housewife, or an inferior employee[115].

[112]In this way, the common way of thinking about women has been created and coded in a language and has its reflection in lexis and phraseology. Such records are included, among others, in proverbs, aphorisms, quotes or anecdotes, as well as ordinary colloquialisms (on this issue see, e.g. Jędrzejko 1994, Kochman-Haładyj 2008, Karwatowska and Szpyra-Kozłowska 2010).

[113]Similarly, if a man is assigned some typically feminine features, he is immediately considered as shy and weak (Pajdzińska 2001). As a matter of fact, Jędrzejko (1994) expresses a similar opinion, claiming that assigning feminine features to men has clearly negative connotations and can depreciate their value. What is interesting, however, assigning masculine features to a woman might be considered, by some, as a source of admiration.

[114]'Natural order' can be interpreted as a dependence of women on biological conditions, fathers, husbands, but also on religious conventions (see Jędrzejko 1994). Firstly, by equipping a woman with the ability to give birth and to care for her offspring, her basic function is determined from the very beginning. Secondly, over time she becomes subjected to the domination of a man. Thirdly, some further cultural and social consequences emerge from this natural dependency.

[115]As Kwiatkowska (2014: 90) claims, in the professional field, the differences between women and men are so strongly outlined that we can talk about the existence of professional segregation, and even about the gender of the professions. According to the premises of gender stereotypes, women's professional roles correspond to a set of soft, community features, and not to competences and abilities. For this reason,

Given how strong certain stereotypes are, the first point worth considering is the belief that women are less strict and more emphatic and emotional, which means they are predestined for the caring roles that do not require careful thinking, making difficult decisions and managing the team. The stereotype of a mother is strongly embedded in many societies and it involves maintaining the conviction that the woman's basic vocation is motherhood. This ascertainment is supported not only by men, but also by women themselves, especially those who have already become mothers, who sometimes unconsciously create the social pressure that forces women to implement this particular model (Sczesny *et al.* 2008). It is also closely related to the stereotype of a housewife, limited to the domestic sphere. Both the aforementioned social roles constitute a full-time job in which there is no place to undertake other types of work, especially in the professional field.

The next significant component of gender stereotypes is the one related to the performance of professional roles – society grants different status to people who fulfil different tasks, and thus – they value typically feminine and typically masculine occupations differently. It seems to be the case that the entrance of women into the job market has been much faster than the change in stereotypes, according to which they were and are treated as sexual objects and obedient and subordinate beings. Generally speaking, women are treated as second-class employees who are to perform only auxiliary roles, and, therefore, it is easier for them to occupy some uninteresting professions, and it is extremely difficult to reach the most prestigious ones. The fulfilment of women in the traditional male jobs also proves that they start to exhibit less feminine, and more masculine qualities which, in turn, leads to the generalised assumption that such women cease to be 'real'.[116]. Additionally, what impedes the professional work of women is the need to reconcile two roles: professional and the one connected to the process of raising offspring. What is more, a lot of women struggle with solidarity and the fight for their rights. They do not seem to be able to organise themselves into a political entity in order to articulate their own economic interest (see Środa 2009: 331). It is also claimed that women are worse employees because they are sometimes chimerical, hysterical, emotional, unstable and quarrelsome (see Glick and Fiske 1999). Hence, the number of

women are employed in less attractive areas of the economy. They work in professions characterised by lower prestige, status, economy or power, than those dominated by men.

[116]As Środa (2009: 329) emphasises – men work, women raise children, and the job markets are built on this particular assumption.

stereotypes that are associated with women is equal to the number of prejudices that the community imposes on them.

Summing up, gender stereotypes rooted in the belief system of the general public are manifested in almost every sphere of social functioning – from everyday practices and customs, through legal regulations, norms, cultural values, to professional functioning. Thus, gender becomes the basic category of describing the surrounding professional reality, with which most judgments, opinions and expectations are associated. Although the realities of life have undergone significant changes, the ideals of femininity are still determined by traditional patterns (see Mandal 2004). What seems to be worrying the most, though, is the fact that stereotypes are often used against women. To my mind, the allegedly positive image of a mother should be devoid of negative social expectations and conventions. Yet, it is still a common conviction that a woman taking care of home and a child will not have time to work, and therefore will be a worse and less creative employee. Conversely, those women who defend their opinions and fight for their rights, lose their femininity. Women therefore, have to constantly prove their worth and struggle for being seen on a par with men, even though this type of stereotypes, in my opinion, should no longer be valid and taken into consideration.

2.2.2.2.3 A Stereotypical Man

Masculinity has often been assumed as a direct opposition to femininity. As Mills (2008: 130-131) declares: "One of the defining features of masculinity is seen to be aggression, which is often considered to be a biological part of being male (caused by testosterone), rather than as a set of characteristics which are acquired in a complex negotiation between the individual and what they hypothesise to be the values of their communities of practice and the wider society." Hence, a stereotypical man possesses features such as strength, courage, heroism in battle, but also sexual initiative (see Sczesny *et al.* 2008). It can be assumed that the image of a man is predominantly based on the well-established Christian cultural image, where a man is perceived as a rock, the symbol of fidelity, endurance and strength with unchanging attitudes and beliefs towards life. Other stereotypical characteristics[117] of men include, among others: greater spatial imagination, or the ability to associate and synthesise (see Glick and Fiske 1999). It is

[117]Cf. Karwatowska (2010).

also widely repeated in the literature that men are much less affectionate than women. Moreover, Benwell and Stokoe (2006) describe the content of men's magazines in which they are represented as individuals focused on partying, drinking, watching sports events, as well as addressing women only as sexual objects.

Proceeding further, men are frequently described in terms of warfare and battle (Mills 2008). Stereotypically they are seen as direct and forceful, whereas the language[118] they use on a daily basis can be referred to as "cut and thrust" (see Coates 2003). The model of the alleged physical strength also seems to fit sport's ideological apparatus where bodily force, aggression and competition are the primarily virtues proving maleness. Some sport disciplines are even elevated to mythical status, and it is often presumed that they testify to the undeniable fact that men are indeed superior to women.

Despite what has been said so far, many researchers observe the crisis of masculinity. As Miller (2009: 115) points out:

> "(…) masculinity has been profoundly destabilized by a combination of socio-economic and cultural change, such that even these super-symbols of conventional maleness evidence major ongoing shifts in what counts as masculinity. These are signs of hope in a world that continues to be dominated by men, all the way from the sphere of governmental politics to the repertoire of sexual desire available to women."

Men were once considered as the alleged centre of most political, intellectual and social discourse, whereas their achievements and milestones were historical markers of human nature and endeavour. Nowadays, however, they are subject to specific attention on the part of linguists, psychologists, governments, and, most of all, on the part of feminists. The main reason for this state of affairs is probably the idea of feminist emancipation. Miller (2009: 135) suggests that: "Men begin to show problems with the integration of identity in a confrontation with equal and often contradictory versions of the masculinity." Other factors that inevitably contribute to the crisis are: the blurring of some social standards and roles, the elimination of gender stereotypes about women and the increasing criticism of men's traits and weaknesses.

To conclude, in the general consciousness of many cultures, men are still often presented as having an advantage over women, but such assumptions systematically fade and lose strength, as the asymmetry between women and men is slowly disappearing.

[118]Tannen (1990) also emphasises that the masculine speech style is aimed at establishing a position in the hierarchy (see section 2.3).

Traits that once were the starting point for men's argument of domination are increasingly abandoned and become another pretext to fight for equal rights. One has to remember that being male is not the opposite but complementary to the state of being a woman, and equality can appear without losing their distinctness. To know someone's sex might tell us a lot about their biological features, but very little about other aspects of their existence. Although gender roles have an impact on life trajectories and they shape our personal and social identities, the socialisation process should not influence people's expectations and values.

2.2.3 Previous Research and Main Representatives in the Field of Gender Studies

Signs of the relationship between language and gender are present on many different dimensions; actually, they can be reflected at every level of the language system, also in the realm of pragmatics. Such diverse aspects have already been extensively discussed in the linguistic literature of recent years, because the theme is thought-provoking and media-carrying. One of the first researchers in this field was Peter Trudgill, who claimed that women are believed to be closer to a prestige norm than men. In particular, studies by Trudgill (1972, 1978, 1998) provided some insights and support for this position. Trudgill (1972) speculates that women might be generally more status conscious than men, not only because society sets higher standards for female behaviour (due to the upbringing process women were expected to act and talk like 'ladies') but also because women's lifestyle confers little status in itself[119]. Such sensitivity to linguistic norms is associated with their presumptive insecurity associated with social position.

More recent studies on language and gender have been greatly influenced by feminist theories. The year 1975 can be regarded as the starting point of the field of gender and language. That particular year saw the publication of *Language and Woman's Place* – a book written by one of the most influential figures from the field of sociolinguistics – Robin Lakoff (1973, 1975, 2004) who is believed to be the mother of feminist linguistics[120]. She started the modern discussion of how language supports the male

[119]By which Trudgill (1972) means domestic labour, hence: housework, children and family, rather than waged work.

[120]Lakoff's views on linguistic discrimination even nowadays evoke certain controversies. They have many supporters but, at the same time, many opponents. Uchida (1992) and Tannen (2001), for instance, support a completely different theory called the 'difference theory', which clearly explains female's and male's different ways of speaking as a result of a biological distinction. Because women and men establish different kinds of relations within a given society, those differences are consequently reflected in their languages.

dominance over women, and she attempted to explore why women seem to be more polite than men. Her primary belief was that gender differences in speaking come from the inequality of power between women and men, where power must be treated as a male patriarchal order (Lakoff 1973). She suggested, among many other things, that the frequent appearance of indirect requests, euphemisms and other polite forms in women's language, frames them as uncertain and less powerful (Lakoff 2004: 78-81). According to Lakoff, the common language patterns, used by females on a daily basis point to insecurity, weakness, indirectness, deviousness, politeness, and hypercorrection, all of which constitute an indication of a feeling of inferiority related to their own way of speaking. In her seminal publications, Lakoff (1973, 1975) proposed a great number of claims that the differential use of language has to be elucidated on the basis of women's subordinate social status and the consequent social insecurity. She observed that the women's usage of colour terms, tag-questions and weak expletives differs radically from male use, and such differences should definitely be taken into general account.

The bulk of work in this field can be found in many collections of readings on language and gender which are compilations of research already written and published. Some consist of papers which can be best described as classic (e.g. Tannen 1993, Cameron 1998, Coates 1998), some of them provide fresh insights into this significant discipline. Browsing the most important of them, a similar view to that of Lakoff's was expressed by Spender (1980) who claims that men construct their myth of male superiority on the basis of dominant, direct and forceful language. Additionally, Cameron (1998: 9) suggests that "on the one hand, language depends on innate cognitive faculties which constrain the form a human language can take. On the other hand, and perhaps even more significantly, from a feminist viewpoint, language-using is a *social* practice, grounded in history and in the conditions of its users' lives." It means that one cannot speak in isolation from the culture and environment in which she or he lives. Language constitutes an essential component of every human culture. It is inevitable then that it encodes the preoccupations and values of a given group. What is more, Cameron (1998: 14) further notices that "a deficit framework suggests that women's ways of speaking are, whether by nature or nurture, deficient in comparison to men's." The problems associated with the nurture perspective allow us to conceive assertiveness as something women lack and that shortage is perceived as disadvantageous. The nature standpoint, on the other hand, advocates that women's way of speaking is the result of their gender per se.

In later years, also Ljung (2007) acknowledged the existence of gender inequality. By analysing swear words, he discovered that: "Women seem to strive towards using the standard variety" (Ljung 2007: 93), and they use milder and fewer expletives than men. At first sight, such viewpoints seem to be completely irrelevant and untenable in the contemporary world and modern society. The 21st century is believed to be a unique period in history for women. Comparing the current situation of females to what it was 100 or even 50 years ago, it is hard to disagree. In many ways and spheres of life, such as politics, business and education, women are becoming more and more powerful and they are gradually destroying the barriers in every field. They are financially independent and fulfilled, holding positions of the government members such as ministers, business leaders or successful entrepreneurs. The traditional views of mothers and unhappy housewives are being abandoned. However, certain stereotypes are so deeply rooted that it is very challenging to overcome their immense power. For this reason, the feminist linguistic movement seems to flourish and expand in many different directions, affecting and influencing a variety of scientific disciplines.

Finally, it is useful to draw attention to the fact that feminist linguistics is not interested in formalities of language, such as words used to describe women and female concepts[121], but focuses on their social and cultural aspects. The feminist movement seeks some wide-ranging changes in the culture dominated by patriarchal values[122], while perceiving the extremely important role that language plays in the transmission of this culture. As Cameron (1992: 1) claims: "Clearly feminists do not consider language a side-issue or a luxury, but an essential part of the struggle for liberation." Many of Lakoff's suggestions about the linguistic situation of women have been verified in experimental studies[123], thus confirming the belief that women and men talk differently. The perception of this fact, however, takes place in specific situational contexts. The development of multidisciplinary studies, and most of all, sociolinguistics provides mechanisms for the scientific investigation of language variation on the basis of gender factors. As mentioned

[121]It should be signalled at this point that the majority of words denoting women, at some point of their history, were likely to decline on the evaluative scale (see the analysis of the historical development of words and expressions related to the category **FEMALE HUMAN BEING** conducted by Mills 1989; Kleparski 1990; Schulz 2000; Kiełtyka 2005; Kochman-Haładyj 2007a, 2007b). What is more, as Grygiel and Kleparski (2007: 114) notice that most of such cases of semantic evolution of words might mirror extra-linguistic social changes, especially the increasingly low status of women.

[122]"On the whole, feminists have concluded that our languages are sexist. They represent or 'name' the world from a masculine viewpoint and in accordance with stereotyped beliefs about women, men and the relationship between them" (Cameron 1998: 9).

[123]The Polish literature on the subject includes, among others, Handke (1994), Nowosad-Bakalarczyk (2009), Karwatowska and Szpyra-Kozłowska (2010), Rejter (2013).

before, the topic of gender disproportion and inequality in the field of linguistics has been approached by many researchers and across many different dimensions, such as language socialisation in young children, pronunciation and phonological variability, intonation, lexicon and syntax[124] (e.g. gender stereotypes hidden in language), discourse strategies and language used to refer to women and men. The most vital differences between female and male ways of communication will be investigated in the next sections of the thesis.

2.3 Characteristics of the Language of Women and Men

The language of women and men differs and this is an undeniable fact. Bolinger (2014: 102-103) presumes that very frequently women are the 'marked' and the 'different sex', and their language is described against men's standard variety as inferior, subordinate and weaker. She notices that this is not just a whim of linguists when they carry out their theoretical research, but rather it is a fact inherent and deeply entrenched in linguistic structures. One can display various pieces of evidence for this state of affair, for instance, the usual pronoun[125] *he*, not *she*, when sex is unknown; the fact that women are *objects* (or property) rather than *subjects* (or the possessors) in nearly all metaphorical discourse; the common occurrence where the human race is generally referred to as *mankind*; the point that in the act of the Creation, a woman came from a man, and many other similar cases (see Bolinger 2014). Given a vast range of examples, it can easily be suggested that linguistic gender asymmetry is everywhere.

To begin with, women have long been taught to talk like ladies and they were not supposed to use any ***inappropriate*** expressions, especially those denoting the erotic sphere. The early analysis of female and male speeches indicated that women were much more refined in their conversations and they used fewer coarse expressions. According to Jespersen (1922: 246), women interpose "a great and universal influence on linguistic development through their instinctive shrinking from coarse and gross expressions and their preference for refined and veiled and indirect expressions". Such a trend continued for many years and people gained valuable insight into gender-specific language. A great

[124]The examinations mainly focus on: differences in grammatical structures (Brown 1980), deviation from the standard language (Cheshire 1982), the usage of vulgarisms and swear words (Ljung 2007).
[125]The sexist use of the pronouns goes far beyond straightforward male-female reference. It may dilate to the personification of some inanimate things, e.g. ships which are frequently called *she*. Bolinger (2014: 96) comments on this issue: "The imagery is fairly obvious: sea captains, sailors, and shipping clerks are traditionally men, and the ship is pictured as something alive that works for them and toward which they feel a certain affection."

number of linguists and social psychologists referred in their research to the dilemma women faced in social interactions. If a woman used a straightforward, assertive style, expletives or taboo words, she tended to be perceived as overly aggressive and unfeminine. However, if she used a 'typically feminine style', she would be immediately treated as weak and ineffective. Such discriminating factors were also taken into consideration in later years. Several linguists (see, for instance, Trudgill 1972) hold a strong view that the expressions used by women are very often vague and metaphorical in nature, while the language of men is associated with toughness, roughness and swearing. Additionally, Eble (1977) claims that: "Terms of hostility and abuse such as curses and obscenities are generally associated with masculinity, whereas euphemistic and superlative terms are associated with femininity; neutral terms are associated with neither sex" (Eble 1977: 295).

In relation to the aforementioned statement, language secondarily models specific social behaviours, and differences in gender-related styles of language are the result of learning, socialising or preparing women and men to perform specific roles. Bolinger (2014: 103-104) implies that: "The inertial mass of language is like the inertial mass of society. Women inherit their place as speakers inherit their words." Thus, girls are taught to speak in a certain way, because the standard communication patterns are determined by the masculine style. Consequently, women can be discriminated linguistically in two ways: firstly, they learn 'inferior' varieties of language (feminine and neutral), secondly, they are criticised for using learned variants, as such a way reduces them to the role of sexual objects or servants. Lakoff (2004) argues that the differences in language can be noticed at its every level which entails some serious consequences for a woman: "If she refuses to talk like a lady, she is ridiculed and subjected to criticism as unfeminine; if she does not learn, she is ridiculed as unable to think clearly, unable to take part in a serious discussion: in some sense, as less than fully human. These two choices which a woman has – to be less than a woman or less than a person – are highly painful" (Lakoff 2004: 41). Having explained why language is central to the phenomenon of gender inequality, I will now outline the differences found at the level of communication.

2.3.1 Different Styles of Communication

Women and men often use different communication strategies, which is reflected in the ways of communication, in their stylistics and pragmatics. According to Tannen[126] (1990), in addition to the syntactic and lexical determinants, the strategies also involve such components of expression as the pace of speaking, the tendency to ask questions, and the use of pauses. What is more, Tannen (1990) emphasises that women speak the language of intimacy and community[127]. Men, on the other hand, speak and react to the language of status and independence. It can be suggested, then, that the two sexes use different **genderlects**, that is communication styles or speech varieties associated with one particular sex.

Fundamentally, most of the previous research on gender differences demonstrates that women are collaborative in conversation, whereas men are competitive. Coates (2013: 143) maintains that different ways of talking help to create group identity. Women choose to be more collaborative as they want to keep the conversation going and they wish move smoothly from one topic to another; men, impacted by the hierarchical system, have a tendency to be more competitive to uphold their power and attain masculinity.

The feminine style is also much more polite than masculine which manifests itself in the use of diverse forms of politeness (e.g. *Won't you close the door* instead of *Close the door*), phrases that weaken the statements (e.g. *I guess*, *maybe*) or question tags. Holmes (1995) maintains this view by emphasising the fact that women tend to speak more politely and formally, since they regard themselves as being a subordinate group in society. Lakoff (1975), in turn, suggests that men employ direct questions in speech, while women frequently use tag questions demonstrating in this way greater uncertainty and timidity. Accordingly, Finegan (2004) states that men differ from women even in the way they pronounce certain words and the choice of expressions they use in conversation. He further notices that there are certain linguistic terms that can be associated only with

[126]Deborah Tannen has published many books on women's communicative strategies, including *Talking from 9 to 5: Women and Men at Work* (1994) – a book analysing the work environment. Her views raise a considerable amount of controversy, and are based on the assumption that men often use **contest** strategies, while women **community** strategies. By accepting this dichotomy, one can offer an easy explanation for women's lack of advancement in the workplace. Instead of climbing the career ladder by being competitive; what is, by the way, a successful strategy in organisations founded on the hierarchy, they are too busy establishing good relationships with everyone.

[127]Despite the positive associations, Coates (1998: 413) notices that in a great number of studies, women's language is described as weak, tentative, unassertive and women themselves are presented as losers or victims.

feminist speech. In the same regard, Edlund (2007) implies that the difference between females and males often lies in the use of apologies – women apologise to show their consideration, whereas men treat apologising as a way of putting themselves in a lower status.

Research pertaining to genderlects appears to suggest that linguistic sex differentiation seems to be a reflection of a much wider tendency for men to be regarded as tough, rough and the ones who break the rules. Women, on the other hand, are to a much greater extent encouraged to be correct, discreet, quiet and polite. Furthermore, Jay (2000: 181) notices that women hardly ever use taboo expressions since they "are expected to exhibit control over their thoughts, when men are more free to exhibit hostile and aggressive speech habits". Thus, the main differences in the communication styles mentioned so far can be summarised in the following way:

- women possess wider intonational contours,
- women use more diminutives and euphemisms,
- women use more expressive forms (adjectives expressing emotional rather than intellectual evaluation, e.g. *lovely*, not nouns or verbs),
- women use more hedges,
- women use intonation patterns that bear resemblance to questions, indicating in this way uncertainty or need for constant approval,
- women are generally more indirect and polite than men,
- women's communicative style is collaborative rather than competitive,
- much of women's communication is expressed non verbally,
- women use better grammar and less colloquial terms (they tend to be more careful to be correct when they speak).

Another obvious strategy of achieving the goal of dominance is the use of interruptions. Their application is normally explained by the relative power of the contributors which derives from their social status. The higher rate of interruptions, therefore, is observable in the relatively high economic and social status of men. Women, on the other hand, are considered powerless regarding their public position and it is reflected in fewer interruptions in the cross-sex conversations, as a result, they are less likely to introduce successful topics. Likewise, Lakoff (1975)[128] and Trudgill (1978) point out that the low

[128]Lakoff (1975) further explains that females tend to employ more polite forms in their conversations and, as a result, they are relatively powerless in their relationship.

social status is often characterised by passivity, what, in turn, results in the wish to be accepted by the dominating group[129].

In conclusion, language and communication seem to matter more to women than to men and women display a greater tendency to talk more (in fact, the research confirms that men talk more about facts, women more about relationships and feelings); they are also more verbally skilled than men. The primary goal of men's usage of language tends to be getting things done, whereas women are focused on establishing connections to other people. In addition, the masculine way of using language is competitive, reflecting in this way their predominant interest in acquiring and maintaining status, whereas women's use of language is cooperative, imitating their preference for equality and overall harmony. These differences routinely lead to miscommunication between the sexes, with each sex misinterpreting the intentions of the other. This causes problems in situations where women and men regularly interact. It should have become clear that as Cameron and Shaw (2016: 6) notice: "Gender differences in language use are not treated as arbitrary or superficial, but are taken to index deeper differences in ways of thinking, feeling, and relating to others." In this way, the linguistic discrimination of women, which will be analysed in the next section, is not only a linguistic phenomenon, but it touches upon some social and psychological factors as well[130].

2.3.2 Linguistic Discrimination of Women

There is no doubt that the problem of mutual relations between language and gender has aroused a worldwide interest not only among the ranks of linguists, psychologists, cultural researchers, sociologists or even journalists, but also among many other people who are unrelated to any of these fields. As many scholars[131] prove, a great

[129]It is not surprising then that many public comments on women's different ways of speaking either say or imply that it is less preferable to men's (see Cameron 1992).

[130]In fact, the linguistic patterns displayed by both sexes are related to the society's attitudes and beliefs, since each social group delineates some rules and standards according to which the members are supposed to behave. It is observable yet that women still exert a greater and more universal influence on linguistic development through their somehow instinctive shrinking from gross expressions, and their preference for veiled, refined, and indirect forms.

[131]The topic of different asymmetries in the language of women and men is also discussed in numerous Polish publications, such as, among others, Handke (1986, 1989, 1990, 1992, 1994), Herbert and Nykiel-Herbert (1986), Jaworski (1986, 1989), Miemietz (1993), Anusiewicz and Handke (1994), Krawczyk-Tyrpa (1999), Pajdzińska (2001), Koniuszaniec and Błaszkowska (2003), Szpyra-Kozłowska and Karwatowska (2004, 2005), Dąbrowska (2008), Rejter (2013), Wtorkowska (2019), Skudrzyk (2020) and Szpyra-Kozłowska (2020).

number of studied languages of the world exhibit some inequality in the image of both sexes, with a definitely worse, unfavourable image of women, encoded on various levels of language: its lexis, word formation, phraseology and grammar (see, e.g. Pauwels 1998, Weatherall 2002, Hellinger and Bussmann 2001-2003, Karwatowska and Szpyra-Kozłowska 2012, Szpyra-Kozłowska 2020). In many societies with patriarchal traditions, women and men are subject to quite different standards of behaviour in the sphere of morality and sexuality, and it is very often reflected in language itself.

Mills (1989) and other sociolinguists, especially those associated with feminist linguistics, over the course of the last few decades have arrived at the conclusion that women are habitually discriminated against in the English-speaking society. Having conducted the analysis of the history of verbal derogation (see section 2.3.2.2 for more details) they indicate words which relate to women and which are slanted towards the advantage of males, causing at the same time women's oppression. Cameron (1998: 3) also points to another essential issue, namely an absence of women's voices from high culture. She concludes:

> "If we look at a society's most valued linguistic registers – religious ceremonial, political rhetoric, legal discourse, science, poetry – we find women for the most part silent and in many cases silenced: it is not just that women do not speak, they may actually be prevented from speaking, whether by explicit taboos and restrictions or by the more genteel tyrannies of customs and practice. Even where it seems women could participate if they chose to, the conditions under which they are obliged to live their lives may make this a difficult or dangerous choice. Silence can also mean censoring yourself for fear of being ridiculed, attacked or ignored".

Miller and Swift (1976: 50) provide further evidence by referring to the childhood and emphasising that when teachers or parents "tell a boy not to cry because it is far from being ***manly*** or praise a girl for her ***feminine*** way of dressing, they are simply using the words ***manly*** and ***feminine*** to reinforce the categories our culture has assigned to males and females." In those kinds of situations, language inevitably becomes the manifestation of current societal values. Bosmajian (1979: 90) goes even further by saying that "(…) the language of sexism relegates women to the status of children, servants, and idiots, to being the 'second sex' and to virtual invisibility." Many words used to describe women are systematically degraded and – therefore – they may be said to function as an instrument used by feminist sociolinguists to denote an inherent language discrimination in the English language.

I shall argue that one of the most obvious linguistic expressions of discrimination[132] of women is the sphere of naming and ways of addressing people of different sexes. This phenomenon concerns, for instance, giving names and surnames to children, women's names, as well as official and unofficial ways of referring to women and men (see section 2.3.2.2). Likewise, some profession labels are still more likely to be associated with one sex rather than the other (though less automatically than in the past): e.g. *nurse*, *model* and *prostitute* are mostly associated with women; *surgeon* or *jet pilot* with men. The researchers studying gender-language relations are also interested in the phenomenon of inequality in utility texts, which contain numerous elements of androcentric character (particularly textbooks, encyclopaedias, dictionaries, legal and religious texts, press articles, to mention just a few), where the unequal treatment of gender manifests itself not only on the linguistic but also cultural level, because such texts often refer to social stereotypes regarding features and behaviours commonly attributed to women and men (see Karwatowska and Szpyra-Kozłowska 2010, Szpyra-Kozłowska 2019.).

All things considered, **androcentrism** or **linguistic sexism**, refers to the differential treatment of both sexes encoded in the contemporary language, with particular emphasis put on the numerous asymmetries concerning women and men, which indicate the unequal status of both sexes. As has been repeatedly demonstrated, one of the most valuable sources of language data for the analysis is phraseology, especially sayings and proverbs. Very often, they present an unfavourable image of women and a neutral or much more positive picture of men. They seem to express the traditional beliefs about the characteristics of both sexes, their social roles and mutual relations, and, because they are deeply entrenched and firmly established in language, it is worth commenting briefly on this issue.

2.3.2.1 Proverbs

Proverbs are expressions preserved in the oral tradition, directly or metaphorically expressing a general thought, but referring to a specific life situation. They take the form of a statement or instruction, and very often concern women, however, as Mieder states (1985: 273) "(…) almost every proverb that touches upon women contains a severe

[132]This section does not aspire to a detailed analysis of the problems signalled here. Rather, its aim is to determine the extent of the phenomenon in question and presenting its most characteristic elements.

negation of the value of women in society." Even a superficial reading of female-specific sayings and proverbs, in a great number of different societies, seems to endorse and mirror the negative picture of women, and a great number of proverbs which are used both consciously and subconsciously embody pejorative values. Only sporadically females are portrayed as angels, more often however, they are viewed as evil and having numerous defects and shortcomings. Unfortunately, such proverbial injustice prevails in many natural languages; it is passed through the centuries and reproduced in a variety of forms, confirming in this way that the proverbs and sayings were mostly coined by men in male dominated societies[133].

In order to get a closer look at this phenomenon, one can refer to numerous works by Kochman-Haładyj (e.g. 2007a, 2007b, 2009, 2014), who in her research was able to create the proverbial image of a woman, drawing from different languages of the world. According to the author, the category of WOMAN, in general, can be frequently portrayed as the weaker sex, preoccupied with beauty (e.g. *Every woman would rather be beautiful than good* – German) and material things (e.g. *A beautiful woman smiling, bespeaks a purse weeping* – Italian). She is presented as selfish and the one that thinks about her own benefits (e.g. *No woman marries an old man for God's sake* – German). What is more, a woman is frequently perceived as changeable (e.g. *Women are as changeable as the wind* – Romanian), unintelligent (e.g. *The gold disappears but the foolish woman remains* – Irish), with a tendency towards constant gossiping (e.g. *A gossiping woman talks of everybody, and everybody of her* – Portuguese). Additionally, women can be portrayed as tearful (e.g. *A woman's weapons are her tears* – French), vain (e.g. *The fox loves cunning, the wolf covets the lamb, and a woman longs for praise* – Roman), ill-natured (e.g. *You get a woman mad and her blood good and hot, better let her blood cool for she'll sho' hurt you*; *It is safer to irritate a dog than an old woman* – Roman), untrustworthy (e.g. *He who trusts a woman and leads an ass will never be free from plague* – French), but also jealous and unscrupulous (e.g. *The jealousy of a woman sets a whole house aflame* – Roman)[134].

[133]Kochman-Haładyj (2008) expresses a similar view by claiming that negative and sarcastic images of a woman are numerous both in English and Polish literature of the subject, as a result of the fact that men are considered to be creators of language, since, for centuries, they have played a dominant position in almost every field of life. Owing to this, proverbs might demonstrate a great deal of knowledge about the prejudices and fears men hold about women.

[134]For more examples see Kochman-Haładyj (2009).

Apart from those general characteristics, the majority of cultures provide a substantial collection of proverbs in which women are expected to be engaged and, in this way, largely restricted to the realm of home and family, hence acquiring the features of being subservient to their husbands, obedient and quiet. Kochman-Haładaj (2009) explores this topic and claims that such sayings constitute an important indication of traditional expectations about women's place, and she mentions the following examples: *A woman is to be from her house three times: when she is christened, married and buried* (Italian), *Let women stay at home and hold their peace* (Greek), *Empty and cold is a house without a woman* (Irish), *Kobiecie bez fartucha jak krowie bez ogona* – 'A woman without an apron is like a cow without a tail' (Polish). Furthermore, women are presented as subservient to their husbands: *Rule a wife and have a wife* (American), *A mule and a woman do what is expected of them* (Spanish), *A virtuous woman commands her husband by obeying him* (American), and fully obedient: *A chaste wife influences her husband by obeying him* (Roman). What is even more surprising is that many women-related proverbs point to the fact that a man has a right to beat his wife[135]: *A woman, a dog, and a walnut tree, the more you beat them the better they may be* (German), and treat her as a property: *He that lends his wife to dance, or his horse to bullfight, has no complaint to make* (American), *A carpenter may lend his wife but not his tools* (Korean), *For a wife and a horse go to your neighbour* (Italian)[136].

In a similar manner, the image of women framed in various domestic roles and social situations operates predominantly in a negative way. Consider, for instance, the picture of a wife, widow, prostitute, mother-in-law, daughter-in-law, beautiful and intelligent person – all of them are formed and maintained by means of certain constitutive negative elements that conceptually protrude as labels in proverbial expressions[137]. In such contexts women are depicted as unfaithful (e.g. *A faithless wife is the shipwreck of the home* – American, *If a man is unfaithful to his wife, it's like spitting from a house into the street; but if a woman is unfaithful to her husband, it's like spitting from the street into the house* – American), troublesome (e.g. *To marry a widow with a daughter is to ruin your home in a year's time* – Arabic, Lebanon) and unreliable (e.g.

[135]In this way, proverbs may justify the domestic violence directed towards women.

[136]In some cultures, a woman might be treated as a subhuman servant counted with the rest of the inventory (e.g. *Never pick women or horses by candlelight* – American), *My farm troubles me, for a farm and a wife soon run wild if left alone long* – American), *A goose, a woman, and a goat, are bad things lean* – Portuguese).

[137]One category that portrays women in a positive manner is that of a mother: *Mother is God number two*; *God couldn't be everywhere, therefore, He made mothers* (see Kochman-Haładyj 2014).

Who counts on his mother-in-law's soup, will go to sleep without dinner – Creole, Dominican Republic).

Finally, the analysis of the lexical material featuring female-related proverbs allows many individuals to delineate a particular generalised portrayal of a woman, but, at the same time, gives insight into the way women are traditionally perceived in many cultures of the world[138]. In this way, it may lead to the formulation of some sexist stereotypes of who a woman is and should be, which, in turn, contributes to the proverbial oppression of the feminine gender, underscoring their malevolent effects on the ongoing struggle for gender equality. However, as Kochman-Haładyj (2012: 320) notices: "Studying female-related proverbs seems to provide a promising path to inquire how women have been perceived through the ages – mostly embodying negative values, as it seems – but also proves the slowly progressing change for better in stereotyping females."

2.3.2.2 Sexism in the Language

It is usually assumed that the phenomenon of sexism contributes to the male domination over the female gender. Wojciszke (2002: 260) states that sexism refers to prejudice and discrimination towards women as members of a social group and distinguishes between individual, social and cultural sexism. Bańko (2000: 561), in turn, defines the concept as follows: "Sexism is the view according to which representatives of one sex, usually feminine, are less capable or less intelligent than representatives of the other sex[139]." An elaborated view on sexism is also offered by Mills (2008: 1-2) who writes:

> "(…) sexism, just like racism and other discriminatory forms of language, stems from larger societal forces, wider institutionalised inequalities of power and ultimately, therefore, conflict over who has rights to certain positions and resources. Instead of seeing language as a neutral vehicle which represents reality, I will rather describe language as a tool which is drawn on strategically by both sexists and feminist campaigners, and as a site of struggle over word-meaning, which is also often a struggle over who has the right to be in certain environments, speak in certain ways and hold certain jobs."

[138]See also Karwatowska *et al*. (2014).
[139]Translation mine.

In the view of other researchers, such as Spender (1980), Pauwels (1998), Weatherall (2002), Hellinger and Bussmann (2001-2003), Cameron and Kulick (2003), all the world's languages studied so far, demonstrate an uneven image of both sexes, with the negative depiction of women encoded in the language – especially in lexis, word-formation, proverbs or even etymology (Karwatowska and Szpyra-Kozłowska 2010). In Polish literature on the subject, the term defining this phenomenon is often referred to as **linguistic asymmetry**[140] (Anusiewicz and Handke 1994). What is more, sexism can manifest itself in the language system in three general ways: 1) through linguistic asymmetry, 2) through the use of so-called marked and unmarked terms, and 3) through semantic sexism (Dąbrowska 2008), all of which will be shortly discussed below.

Among other things, one of the most obvious instances of linguistic gender asymmetry is the realm of first names[141], surnames and titles. Firstly, in many cultures of the world, women getting married take the surname of the husband, and the children take the surname of their father. Inverse cases are rather rare. Secondly, in some languages, it is still a common practice to put in front of women's first and last names words that indicate their marital status, e.g. *Miss/Mrs* or French *Mademoiselle/Madame*. Thirdly, a lot of feminine nouns are created from the masculine ones, not the other way round. Mills (2008: 61) comments on this issue in the following way: "The first names which are given to women tend to have diminutive forms (for example, *Debbie*, *Nikki*, *Maggie*, *Mandy*), whereas male names tend not to be seen as diminutive"[142]. Moreover, some female names constitute shortened, more informal forms of male names, for example *Charlie* and *Jamie*, formed by using the diminutive ending *-ie*. This occurrence is closely related to the so-called marked and unmarked words, originating from the common word-formation phenomenon, where men's forms are often considered primary and unmotivated, while female counterparts are morphologically secondary and marked. This applies not only to names (e.g. *Patrick – Patricia*, *Joseph – Josephine*), but also to common nouns. In

[140]However, it should be noted that the terms **linguistic asymmetry** and **sexism/androcentrism** are not exact synonyms, because: "(...) the first of them suggests differences in linguistic creation of gender, while the others suggest that these differences are harmful and unfair, and, therefore, contain a valuation element" (Karwatowska and Szpyra-Kozłowska 2010: 14; translation mine).
[141]Naming a child in some cultures has a symbolic or even magical dimension (see Pauwels 1998). The names for girls very often express beauty, while those used for boys constitute symbols of strength.
[142]For more examples see Mills (2008: 61-68).

English[143], one can create a feminine noun from the masculine form by adding the suffix *–ess*[144], such as *waiter – waitress*, *heir – heiress*.

Another very important feature is the transitivity, hence the issue of 'who does what to whom' in various texts. Burton (1980) explains that there is an overall tendency for female characters to be depicted as 'acted upon' by other, more active characters. Women are, therefore, presented as recipients of others' actions, in the object position rather than the subject position[145] (see Wareing 1994, Mills 1995). Burton (1980) also suggests that certain patterns and tendencies that appear in the texts, cast women into places of objects, which may influence how they represent themselves in real-life interactions. This is particularly clear when we take into account the identification of women with some stereotypical views that present them in terms of *a concept of a helpless victim*, and the language they operate abounds in "disenabling metaphors, disenabling lexis, and disenabling syntactic structures" (Burton 1980: 201). In this way, many women create verbal habits of putting themselves into a subordinate position by using statements such as: *You'll never guess what happened to me*, instead of *You'll never guess what I've just done* (see Mills 2008).

The next point worth considering is the linguistic asymmetry which consists in using the male form both to identify male individuals, and as a generic form. In other words, masculine nouns have a dual function: on the one hand, they refer to men, on the other hand, they have a more general meaning, including both women and men. Female nouns do not display such an ambiguity, because they can only refer to women's names. This phenomenon can be illustrated by the word *actor* and the plural form of *actors*, which are the definitions of both the entire professional group (e.g. in the sentence: *the actor's work requires certain predispositions*) and men performing this profession (e.g. in the sentence: *the actor who played in this show was very handsome*). *Actress* and

[143]At this point, it should be added that the asymmetries concerning common nouns, especially the lack of feminine equivalents of names of many professions and functions, are one of the most frequently discussed problems in the field of gender studies in Poland (see, for instance, Karwatowska and Szpyra-Kozłowska 2010: 32-34).

[144]In Polish, there is a group of feminine nouns that are created by adding the suffix *-ka* to a masculine noun, e.g. *lekarz – lekarka* 'doctor', *nauczyciel – nauczycielka* 'teacher'. It is worth mentioning here that feminine forms created from masculine nouns are often pejorative, because they express a contemptuous and disrespectful attitude towards people defined in this way, e.g. *profesor* – profesorka 'professor'. A particularly striking example is the semantically asymmetric pair: *sekretarz – sekretarka* 'secretary', because the Polish word *sekretarz* refers to a serious, honourable function, additionally reinforced by words such as *sekretarz stanu* 'the secretary of state', *sekretarz generalny* 'secretary general', while *sekretarka* is the term applied to describe the subordinate, servant role that women perform for their supervisor.

[145]Interestingly enough, Wareing (1999) observes that in the majority of sexual scenes women are passive and acted upon, even in women's literature.

actresses are names for only women (e.g. in the sentence: *many girls dream of becoming an actress*) that cannot be applied to men[146].

Proceeding further, according to Dąbrowska (2008: 67), semantic sexism refers to a situation in which "the meaning of a given form, most often a form of feminine gender, in addition to or instead of the meaning parallel to a masculine form, also expresses content that is ridiculing, contemptuous, indecent"[147]. We are dealing here with another determinant of linguistic inequality and thus a common phenomenon of pejoration of feminine nouns (see Karwatowska and Szpyra-Kozłowska 2010: 47). Originally neutral and even positive definitions of women may gradually adopt negative overtones, and over time acquire sexual connotations[148]. In her research, Mills (1989) concentrates on the semantic histories of certain words related to women and trails the semantic changes they undergo mostly due to cultural and social determinants. She makes an attempt to highlight these claims by declaring that "(…) the term for the female is likely to become pejorative, likely to acquire negative sexual connotations, and once it is attached to the female is unlikely to be transferable to a male (unless to express contempt)" (Mills 1989: xiv). In this way, we are able to examine the balance of power between the genders. To make sense of this assertion and to illustrate the process of pejoration, let us pay attention to the English word *mistress*, which originally meant the 'lady of the house' and was parallel to the word *master*. Over time, this meaning has become blurred in favour of the new *mistress*, as in the expression *a kept mistress* 'a woman having an extramarital sexual relationship'. Other words that have undergone the process of semantic derogation and have become synonyms of prostitutes include, among others, *wench*, *whore*, *harlot*, *girl* (e.g. in the expression *a girl about/of the town*)[149]. It should be noted, however, that this phenomenon applies almost exclusively to feminine and not masculine nouns. By the same token, *lord* is still earmarked as a title for men of noble rank and deities, but any

[146]As another example one can take into account the ambiguity of the word *man*, which, in general, refers to the male part of the society, whereby *businessman*, *sportsmen*, and *policeman* are the terms of male executors of certain professions. However, the *Museum of Man* is a museum not of males, but of all the human beings, and *mankind* is a human race, that is, all people. In contrast, the word *woman* is used only as a term for women – a *businesswoman* is a woman working in a business environment, a *sportswoman* is a woman practicing sports, and a *policewoman* is a woman working in the police. Thus, in the general sense, the word *man* includes both women and men, and *woman* only women.

[147]Translation mine.

[148]As mentioned in the previous sections, the semantic derogation of women's terms is an increasingly frequent phenomenon, among others, in the publications of such authors as Schulz (1975), Mills (1989), Kleparski (1990), Kochman-Haładyj (2007a, 2007b, 2008).

[149]A detailed analysis of the historical synonyms of *girl*/*young woman* and *woman* which underwent the pejoration process is presented in Kochman-Haładyj and Kleparski (2010).

woman referring to herself as *lady* immediately evokes associations such as *cleaning lady* or even *lady of the night*, even though, in the past, the term *lady* denoted 'a woman of higher position and noble manners' or 'a woman whose manners are characteristic of higher society' and it carried the same axiological value as *lord*.

Last but not least, Mills (2008) suggests that nowadays sexism can be seen as a response to feminism. She argues that: "For many males (and females as well), feminism is seen as disrupting the status quo and overturning the conventional views of how women and men should behave. Thus, sexist comments may well be a way of asserting an older set of values which do not seem to have common currency" (Mills 2008: 41). Accordingly, having at our disposal a lot of different alternatives, our lexical choice signals the views we hold about the position of women in society. The contemporary sexism is motivated by some specific aspects and it serves various discursive purposes, influencing in this way not only those who use sexist language, but also those to whom it is directed. A similar perspective is offered by Pauwels (1998: xii) who maintains that the changes in language constitute the key to changing women's subordination in society. She strongly advocates the belief that language can be treated as the main force in shaping people's perception of reality, and that a lot of individuals are greatly affected by the fact that language is androcentric, and in this way, there seems to be a direct link between women's subordinate status in society and the androcentrism in language.

What emerges from these brief deliberations on the numerous linguistic asymmetries in the treatment of women and men is the fact that the examples of the linguistic sexism provided above constitute a mere signal of the complexity of the problem of gender inequality[150]. At the same time, it is important to bear in mind that the causes of the phenomenon discussed here are deeply rooted in the patriarchal system[151] and various social roles that have been attributed to women and men for centuries. Conversely, the changes that have undoubtedly occurred and took place in many societies, find a gradual and slight reflection in language. The linguistic image of a woman is not always negative, because there are also traces of a very positive one (e.g. a mother's stereotype in Polish). However, they belong to the rarity in comparison to the decidedly

[150]An extensive analysis of androcentric elements occurring in many languages of the world can be found in the publications by Karwatowska and Szpyra-Kozłowska (2010, 2012).

[151]Such an understanding was particularly emphasised by the previous generation of researchers, for instance Spender (1980), who on many occasions argued that sexist language is a result and a simple reflection of a patriarchal social system. In recent years, however, it has become clear that individual men do not necessarily control and shape the language, despite the fact that certain components of language may seem to benefit from them more.

superior language material with clearly sexist overtones. Yet, by drawing attention to the way language is applied to epitomise women, we also draw attention to the overall discrimination against them. The scrupulous analysis of words and expressions and their possibilities of changes in usage, provides a glimmer of hope that people can start applying different patterns of thinking and behaviour. The study of language is therefore essential, since, as Talbot (1998: 150) puts it: "looking at language critically is a way of denaturalising it".

2.3.3 Vulgar Language and Swearing

This section will explore the way in which swearing[152] constitutes an inseparable part of human everyday speech and is present in every language. Similarly to numerous taboo topics, it possesses a provocative nature and might be considered as an act of power, therefore it has always been an appealing topic for many scholars. It is important to draw attention to the notion of power, as it might explain why women have been denied profanity for a very long time. In the Victorian Era the fact of being a woman and, in particular, being a lady was tightly linked to speaking properly. Swear words were reserved to men only, because females, in the social sphere, were not supposed to express any kind of control outside of the domestic realm[153].

The perception of these phenomena has not changed much and Lakoff (1975: 57) observes that when swearing is concerned, "the decisive factor is less purely gender than power in the real world". It means that the whole point of profanity (and some other characteristics normally associated with men) does not mean that it is reserved for men because of genetics, but rather, it is earmarked for people who wield power, so incidentally, it is predominantly directed at men as they are, by and large, the ones who can have access to authority. A similar view is expressed by Wajnryb (2005: 149) in the following way: "Common sense suggests that men would swear more than women, as swearing has to do with power, and men generally have more power. Women are expected to have the capacity for self-restraint, while men can lose control with great impunity." In this way, female language reflects powerlessness and this might explain why a

[152]Profanity may take several forms. Andersson and Trudgill (1990) mention that the most common category of blasphemy consists of words relating to sexuality (e.g. *fuck*, *shit*, *ass*, *cunt*).
[153]Again, it can be associated with a common misconception that men possess power in everything concerning the public domain, whereas the female power is exerted on the private sphere.

swearing woman is more stigmatised than a man doing exactly the same thing. Swear words are commonly applied to express frustration, anger, hate or pain, hence, all feelings which were once attributed to men.

Undoubtedly, the strong language used by males contributes to the maintenance of male domination in mixed-sex interactions (see, e.g. Lakoff 1973), yet it has also another significant function. Gary Selnow (1985) argues that swearing facilitates male ties, and may function as a tool of excluding females from traditionally male settings. Therefore, men use profanity to strengthen their own social status by exhibiting an authoritative language. Such a way of understanding the problem could conform to the unconcealed competitiveness that is frequently attributed to men. Conversely, women seem to use profanity in a milder way to reinforce their relationships with other women, and create a stronger feeling of intimacy. It also corresponds to the aforementioned supposedly cooperative nature of women[154]. The research, however, demonstrates that there is a greater tolerance displayed towards males using profanity than females. The study of De Klerk (1991) revealed great consistency of the results in sex-based groups regardless of age and gender, where: "most groups had lower tolerance towards women and children who swore" (De Klerk 1991: 164). Hence, as Coates (2013) notices, swearing is an integral element of contemporary masculinity and expletives have become symbolically associated with men, not women.

The findings of the research about swearing carry some important consequences for human cognition. As Mills (2008: 18) declares: "Language is neither simply a reflection of or vehicle for social values, nor solely a catalyst for social change, but because of its role in the construction of identity and roles for both individuals and groups within society, it should be seen as a resource which informs the way that people think about their positions in society." For this reason, it seems to be clear that ideologies of language and gender influence the way we speak and behave. Because women are expected to be lady-like, they do not normally use strong language and assertiveness, frequently applying other tools and mechanisms to conceal their feelings and emotions.

[154]Interestingly, a typical expression that a woman uses – *fudge* instead of *fuck* is traditionally most likely to be regarded as standard, whereas a man using the same euphemism might be considered as effeminate. It can be assumed, then, that the masculine form of communication is more direct, while the feminine one is indirect and more vague.

2.3.4 Women – Experts at Euphemisms

An interesting point to notice is that not only language is a complex system, but also the social setting in which we make our linguistic choices is full of complexities. For this reason, the female and male styles of communication inevitably lead to the question of politeness and impoliteness, and their interaction with euphemisms. Obviously, the language of women and men, whether spoken or written, has its own unique features that are shaped by many different factors. Researchers[155] have been studying euphemisms for years, and many theories about gender dissimilarities and inequality have been proposed in those studies[156].

2.3.4.1 Towards the Definition of *Euphemism*

The term ***euphemism*** derives from Greek and, simply speaking, euphemisms constitute "a pleasanter ways of talking about less than pleasant things" (Todd 2006: 61). In turn, *Oxford English Dictionary* defines ***euphemism*** as "a figure of speech which consists in the substitution of a word or expression of comparatively favourable implication or less unpleasant associations, instead of the harsher or more offensive one that would more precisely designate what is intended" (*OED*). In this connection, Grygiel and Kleparski (2007: 89) add that very frequently, euphemisms are also employed to avoid a wide range of disagreeable connotations.

Many euphemisms exist to make our lives easier. "They serve human interests by avoiding the things which threaten to cause distress and offence" (Burridge 2002: 231). By using some positively connoted words instead of the negatively charged ones, people have the opportunity to save their faces in various social situations. By way of example, it is worth mentioning the terms *public woman*, *working girl*, *lady of pleasure* employed euphemistically for the axiologically negative *whore* 'a woman who engages in sexual intercourse for money' (see Geeraerts 2010: 29). In addition, euphemisms can be prompted by many different things, and can be used for specific reasons. Not only such

[155]See, for example, Chamizo Dominguez (2005), Allan and Burridge (2006), Todd (2006).

[156]Given that the process of euphemisation is considered to be one of the most prolific linguistic devices that many individuals use to cope with the existing taboos, it is hardly surprising that modern magazines for women and men also make wide use of them. Because colourful magazines, next to the Internet, are perceived by many as one of the primary sources used to maintain and validate human identities, many euphemisms perpetuate gender stereotypes about women's frailty and their constant politeness (see Kurowska 2018).

expressions are motivated by the desire not to offend, but as Allan and Burridge (2006: 96) explain, they are also motivated "by the wish to display in-group identity markers, the wish to upgrade whatever they denote, and even the display of wit". Moreover, they can blur the reality with the aim of deceiving someone. Apart from that, Chamizo Dominguez (2005) lists several other features and functions of euphemisms[157]. Firstly, he claims that they are used in order to be respectful and to convey dignity. Secondly, they may be applied in order to respect the dignity of a person who suffers from an illness or to mitigate a painful topic. Thirdly, Chamizo Dominguez (2005: 14) mentions the avoidance of "ethnic or sexual slurs". Euphemisms could also be useful when one wants to refer to a taboo[158] object or action.

Beyond doubt, the phenomenon of euphemisms has numerous positive dimensions and it significantly improves and facilitates our daily existence. However, the inescapable conclusion which emerges is that language is neither perfect, nor logical or consistent. For many people, euphemisms constitute "the pejorative label attaching to any deodorizing language; the sort of doublespeak that turns dying into terminal living, killing into the unlawful deprivation of life and potholes into pavement deficiencies" (Allan and Burridge 2006: 98). Such people believe that those kinds of euphemistic words and expressions are deliberately intended to confuse the hearer. Moreover, many euphemisms "are not simply 'linguistic fig-leaves'; many artful euphemisms conceal only as little as to be all the more titillating" (Allan and Burridge 2006: 97). They can be wrongfully applied and, at the same time, deliberately provoking. Logan (1997: 42) emphasises that "using euphemisms does not change facts or make them go away; not talking at all about facts doesn't make them change or go away either. If we have the direct, blunt words, we can choose not to use euphemisms so that we can think more accurately and realistically."

With regard to this, because impoliteness is more quickly determined than politeness, the term ***dysphemism***[159] was coined with the intention of using "a more negatively connoted, harsher, more offensive word, like calling a cemetery a boneyard" (Geeraerts 2010: 29). An excellent explanation of the term is offered by Allan and Burridge (2006: 31) who state: "Roughly speaking, dysphemism is the opposite of

[157]For more examples see Chamizo Dominguez (2005: 13-15).
[158]Taboo is understood here as a prohibition of certain behaviours and objects, as well as some words and expressions, because of their sacred or vulgar character.
[159]Barber and Berdan (1998: 106) define this phenomenon in the following way: "If a *euphemism* is a shield to protect our sensibilities, a *dysphemism* is a sword to wound them."

euphemism[160] and, by and large, it is tabooed. Like euphemism, it is sometimes motivated by fear and distaste, but also by hatred and contempt. Speakers resort to dysphemism to talk about people and things that frustrate and annoy them, that they disapprove of and wish to disparage, humiliate and degrade." Dysphemistic expressions include, therefore, name-calling, various curses, and any sorts of derogatory remarks directed towards other people in order to insult them, like in the case of calling a psychiatrist – a *shrink*. They are frequently employed to shock and offend, but also to release frustration and anger.

To conclude, it seems that both euphemisms and dysphemisms are frequently and wilfully applied by people in various social contexts. The community background plays a significant role in dealing with certain taboos and importantly, as Allan and Burridge (2006: 54) notice: "one person's euphemism is another's dysphemism". There are alternative points of view in different societies and these points of view may as well vary among the minds of single individuals.

2.3.4.2 Psychological Perspective

Before embarking on an explanation, one may hypothesise that every now and again everybody experiences the feeling of unwillingness to talk directly about things and situations that might frighten and embarrass, or that are for some reason simply complicated. In order to cope with those strange and frightening facts of life, humans can apply the euphemistic linguistic expressions. In this respect, Burridge (2002: 199) argues that euphemisms should be defined as "avoidance or evasive language – a deodorant language that disguises stinking reality". Most euphemisms involve "a special kind of human mental dishonesty", since we are able to talk about something that is tabooed by using the euphemistic expressions, but not the tabooed ones (Burridge 2002: 199). It should be noted in this connection, however, that not all euphemisms are used in response to taboo. Very often euphemisms are merely alternatives for statements that some speakers prefer not to use in a given context.

What is more, euphemisms epitomise human flight to comfort; they often represent a way to reduce tension arising during various conversations. As Keyes (2010) notices, they are comfort words and the euphemistic discourse often softens the harsh

[160]Nevertheless, to treat the two as precise antonyms would not be entirely accurate, as the differences between the two can be sometimes blurred, and in some cases (take, for instance, *Negro*) one can become the other (see Allan and Burridge 1991, Chamizo Dominguez 2005).

discussions, smooths the rough remarks, and makes what is negative sound positive. Additionally, the euphemistic expressions add vagueness and nuance to a conversation. The contemporary civilised discourse would be impossible without retrogression to indirection. Euphemisms constitute a valuable tool used to discuss touchy subjects without the necessity to spell out the forbidden and tabooed concept.

2.3.4.3 Euphemistic Language of Women

Obviously, studies on language and gender have been greatly influenced by feminist theories. One of the most influential figures from the field of sociolinguistics is probably Robin Lakoff (1973, 1975, 2004). As mentioned in previous sections, she started the modern discussion on how language exhibits the male dominance over women, and she attempted to explore why women seem to be more polite than men. Her primary belief was that gender differences in speaking come from the inequality of power between women and men, where power is inseparably linked to a male patriarchal order (Lakoff 1973). According to her research, the common language patterns, used by females on a daily basis, point to insecurity, weakness, indirectness, deviousness, politeness, and hypercorrection, all of which constitute an indication of a feeling of inferiority with their own way of speaking. Moreover, she firmly stated that "women are experts at euphemisms (…) while men carelessly blurt out whatever they are thinking" (Lakoff 2004: 80). Again, a similar view was expressed by Spender (1980) who claimed that men constructed their myth of male superiority on the basis of dominant, direct and forceful language. Almost three decades later also Ljung (2007: 93) acknowledged the existence of gender inequality. By analysing swear words, he discovered that: "women seem to strive towards using the standard variety", and they use milder and fewer expletives than men.

Even now, Lakoff's (1975) idea that women are experts at euphemisms may potentially have negative implications for females, regardless of their age and social status, because their euphemistic language may serve to maintain gender differences and stigmas. What is more, the proposal made by Lakoff upholds the power of men over women, especially in the erotic sphere. Following Lakoff's (1975) views, speaking patterns and gender ideologies are so closely related that the modern world seems to put women in the position of facing two different, or even contradictory, dogmas. On the one hand, glamorous magazines for women like "Cosmopolitan", encourage them to celebrate

their womanliness and to use proper, euphemistic language. On the other hand, feminist movements want them to be equal to men by demonstrating their incorporation of some stereotypically masculine qualities such as assertiveness, powerfulness or strength. What is more, the cultural expectations about different gender roles and behaviours persisting in the literature of the subject, still serve as standards against which many people judge themselves and others. Trying to be more self-contained and, at the same time, trying to follow the advice from magazines leads to confusion, tension, and consequently to the low self-esteem. Furthermore, gender-specific language influences the way men perceive their relationships with women, and the way women all around the globe perceive and define themselves. The constant exposure to euphemisms, especially to those related to sexual behaviour, teaches young women that they should always be 'appropriate', 'correct' and 'polite'.

The modern media play a vital role in the duplication of gender stereotypes. Magazine articles, in particular, constitute an ideal medium for their spreading. They are directly aimed at women as a group, so the content of articles can influence only women, their lifestyle, ideas, behaviours, and their language as well. Magazines have immense power to teach the young generations about the notion of femininity and they shape their ideas about life and the erotic sphere. What is more important, however, there seems to be an enormous disproportion in the usage of euphemistic expressions in magazines for women and men (see, among others, Kurowska 2018). There are some unspoken, yet universally acknowledged norms of what is 'polite' and 'appropriate' for women to say and read; and the media, especially the publications for women generate unrelenting social pressure when it comes to the language of sex. Through straightforward remarks about erotic lifestyles, one could provoke misapprehension, disapproval or even in certain cases, social exclusion. Women who dare to express themselves too directly are usually perceived as rude feminists or men-like creatures. Because of this, they constantly create new, poetic expressions, whose aim is to mask the existing taboos and sometimes to censor their speech.

2.4 The Notion of Sex

Particularly relevant to the topic of this thesis is the finding that sex undeniably constitutes the most basic and perhaps one of the most significant aspects of human nature (Kurowska 2019a). There are at least three different meanings of the notion of sex. The

first one is strongly associated with the division of people into female and male on the basis of their reproduction functions. The second most common understanding of the term is connected with erotic preference (see Cameron and Kulick 2003: 7). However, this and the remaining part of the thesis will be based on the third essential comprehension of sex which *Oxford English Dictionary* defines as "physical contact between individuals involving sexual stimulation; sexual activity or behaviour" (*OED*). Obviously, people need sex to survive and to ensure the multiplication of species, although in modern times, sexual activities are rather associated with hedonistic pleasures and other kinds of social purposes. Western culture seems to be obsessed with sex, and various types of media are saturated with sexual content (see del-Teso-Craviotto 2006).

A closer examination of sexuality might suggest that in addition to sexual intercourse itself, also other sexual behaviours, for instance, foreplay, seduction and masturbation are essential to people, as all of them are aimed at arousing and achieving excitement. It is evident that sex not only propels the human species forwards, but it also helps to establish a bond with a partner, constitutes a great way to relieve stress and to pass the time in the enjoyable way (see Hyde and DeLamater 2017). Nevertheless, sex can also be a source of insecurity and anxiety (see Lehmiller 2014), it might be perceived as an embarrassing topic of discussion, and, in some cases, may lead to some diseases. This duality is possibly associated with the fact that sex is a discourse, which, on the one hand, articulates our private and intimate voices and desires, but on the other hand, is overwhelmingly ideological and dependent on historical complexities, changeable morality and social values (see Foucault 1978).

2.4.1 Biological Perspective

Explorations of sex have always been complex, yet one thing is certain, sex is predominantly a survival tool. From a biological point of view, the primary goal of sexual behaviour is procreation, leading to the creation of a new, individual offspring. All individuals must protect themselves and their species to survive, and sex is necessary for the gene transfer.

Such a basic role was widely supported by the Catholic Church, whose teaching explains the purpose of sex and matches it with procreation only. However, with the passage of time, the authoritative voice on sexual matters steered away from the spiritual arena, and gradually, sex started to be equated with biology. Sexuality became perceived

as an objective fact, not a mystical demon, and it started to be seen as being governed by the laws of biology, not religion (Lehmiller 2014). It must be emphasised, however, that human sex drive is the motivating force of many social behaviours. People, but also many animal species, also exhibit sexual behaviour outside of fertility periods, for the pleasure or maintenance of close relationships with a regular partner, hence, sexuality cannot be reduced to biological or strictly anatomical constraints. The social aspect has to be taken into consideration, and indeed, this is what makes the study of human sexuality so captivating.

2.4.2 Social Aspect

Humans have created specific cultures around sex, as it is an integral and overwhelmingly present aspect of our existence. Sex-related concepts can be found everywhere: in our words, symbolic projections, media accounts and various texts. We use sex references to desribe bodies, presribe some medical treatments, arouse thousands of readers in all book genres and in numerous discursive situations. It is no longer a private matter, since we can discover its existence in academic grounds, articles published by psychologists, books written by sexologists, speeches made by politicians, religious leaders, teachers and parents. It fills the pages of women's and men's magazines and newspapers, constitutes a catchy topic in the plethora of self-help books and can be found on abundant websites dedicated to sexual matters.

Despite its omnipresence, however, it is still considered a taboo topic. Crespo-Fernández (2015: 3) writes on this issue in the following words:

> "Among those subjects traditionally banned from the public domain, sex has usually met the strongest interdiction. Whether owing to modesty, shame, social impositions or on account of the guilt that most religions have associated with sexual pleasure, sex has traditionally been considered taboo. Although every historical period develops its own taboos and taboo subjects can vary widely and change along with our sexual attitudes and beliefs, the fact remains that sex has shown remarkable staying power."

Besides, one can also notice that sexual behaviour is stereotypically gendered. In many texts, but also in everyday life, we can observe the masculinisation of sex, by which Kimmell (2000: 221) means: "the pursuit of pleasure for its own sake, the increase of attention to orgasm, the multiplication of sexual partners, the universal interest in sexual

experimentation, and the separation of sexual behaviour from love". At the same time, we can also witness the phenomenon of feminisation of love and friendship (see Kimmell 2000). The stereotypical sexual behaviour of women and men signifies adopting a more active role by men, and more passive by women. This leads to the conclusion that sexuality and gender are tightly intertwined, and, since studies of language and gender are so inevitably linked, it can be suggested that language constitutes an essential element in our conceptualisation of sexuality.

Truly enough, sex creates words, registers, discourses, traditions, ideological paradigms and even attitudes, which are passed from generation to generation. As Santaemilia (2005: 15) notices: "The language of sex reveals and reinforces important (underlying) cultural and ideological assumptions, and is probably the most powerful textualising device there is." It constitutes one of the most prolific sources of metaphors, narratives and identity constructions and touches upon many different levels – social, cultural, textual, historical, and most of all, personal, which strongly determines language and attitudes, since "sex is possibly the discourse which most profoundly constructs us as human and ideological beings" (Santaemilia 2005: 16).

2.4.3 Language of Sex

For many years, different researchers have attempted to capture, describe, and systematise the language of sexuality[161]. Attempting to compile all the words related to the erotic sphere has been a popular task among many of them. Sánchez Benedito (1998, 2004), for instance, analyses thousands of erotic euphemisms and dysphemisms in English together with their Spanish counterparts. Allan and Burridge (1991: 96), in turn, accumulate numerous English synonyms for vagina, penis and copulation[162]. This amounts to saying that although in the past, the talk about sex was not permitted in a polite society and was confined mostly to intimate diaries or to the physician's office, sex

[161]See, for instance, Foucault (1978), Cameron and Kulick (2003), Burridge (2002, 2004, 2012), Karwatowska *et al*. (2014), to name but a few.

[162]Similarly, Cameron (1995) conducted an interesting experiment in which he approached American students with a request to list terms for penis. The words revealed deep-rooted ideological and cultural assumptions about the relations between sexuality and gender. There were some differences between the words chosen by women and men: male students metaphorised penis as a person (*your Majesty*, *his Excellency*, *Dick*, *Mr. Happy*), an animal (*King Kong*, *snake*, *python*), a tool (*screwdriver*, *drill*), a weapon (*destroyer*, *passion rifle*) and food (*vienna sausage*, *love popsicle*); women, in turn, described penis by means of: nonsense terms (*dickhead*, *tallywacker*), animals (*visions of horses*), useless things (*pencil*, *third leg*), food (*biscuit*) or weapons (*atlas rocket*).

is no longer a secret. The sacred, sinful and unspeakable[163] is nowadays speakable, and most importantly, widely spoken. It is hardly surprising that sex is an important part of life, and certainly, it requires bluntness. It should be treated honestly, without repression. Euphemisms and metaphorical expressions should be abandoned and should give space to more open and explicit expressions. Sex is a very human activity, and we cannot conceal it. In other words, it is an indispensable human right to talk and write about sex candidly.

Looking from a different angle, Santaemilia (2005: 11) claims that "the language of sex would be a prototypical example of a language which is likely to embarrass, degrade or humiliate the listener or reader." It belongs to face threatening speech acts, next to insults, complaints, criticism and disagreements. In this manner, Schultz (1975) suggests that men always think about women sexually, and therefore, looking at the etymology of certain terms used to refer to women, most of them have acquired some sexual connotations[164]. What is more, the feminist Catharine MacKinnon (1982: 541) implies: "Man fucks woman. Subject, verb, object". These kinds of observations capture the persistent and pervasive piece of common sense about the notions of sexuality and gender, where only men have the right to be sexually active, whereas women's role is to be passive objects of male craving. Cameron and Kulick (2003: 29) comment on this issue:

> "This common sense has negative consequences for women: on one hand it restricts their freedom to behave as actively desiring subjects themselves, while on the other it can make them vulnerable to sexual exploitation and abuse by men who treat them as objects rather than equal human subjects."

This quotation seeks to clarify our understanding that women are put in the position of not being able to have the kind of sexual intercourse they want. Cameron and Kulick (2003: 30) continue by saying: "Men are said to fuck/screw /make love to women far more often than the other way round. When women were the subject of the verb 'make love' it was more likely to be followed by the preposition 'with'; when men were the subject it was more likely to be followed by 'to'." It should be emphasised that such views

[163]Santaemilia (2005: 11), for instance, draws our attention to the fact that the way we talk about sexual health is a really serious matter: "it may be a major source of unease and an impediment to the necessary medical treatment."

[164]Interestingly, Schultz (1975) found more than a thousand words referring to females in sexually derogatory ways, but very few for males.

pertain to the popularly understood double sexual morality, where men are symbolically allowed to be more adventurous in their sexual behaviour, while women are allowed to do little. Therefore, sex, although mostly desired, can be perceived as a dominating act, something which is frequently performed upon a weaker recipient. This is quite clearly linked to male dominance and aggression, whereas females are evidently cast in a submissive role.

What emerges is the fact that sex has many names: it can serve procreation, meet physiological needs, give pleasure, and also be a way to show affection. The range of possibilities that we can use to talk about sex is unlimited, starting from some tenderly, lyrically and beautifully formed expressions; ending with tough, lascivious and brutal structures. Sex can undoubtedly evoke many emotions and moods, hence it requires some distinct vocabularies. As Santaemilia (2005: 16) explains: "It is very difficult to think of sexual language without being aware of an endless string of implications. It goes beyond the purely verbal (sex-related) choices and includes the whole field of desire, obscenity, the unsaid, pleasure, taboo, etc." It serves to metaphorise politics, ideologies, culture, morality but also humans' anxieties and fears.

2.4.4 Taboo

The fact that words are a powerful prime mover is undeniable. They direct people's actions and even their whole lives. Although there is an implicit assumption that language is "a monolith, with a fixed set of approved meanings and values" (Allan and Burridge 2006: 98), the entire issue seems to be much more sophisticated. Different societies and cultures possess different conventions and they influence greatly figurative units in a range of diverse ways. As Dobrovol'skij and Piirainen (2005: 218) put it: "There are various situations where saying a word openly is felt to offend common decency or violate behavioural norms." For this reason, before embarking on the analysis of the language of sex, the notion of taboo should be clearly defined, and devoted due attention.

2.4.4.1 Towards the Definition of *Taboo*

Certain prohibitions have accompanied people from the very beginnings of human history. Even now, they constitute an important aspect of our existence and life without them would probably be impossible. Interdicts are closely associated with the notion of

taboo. The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines ***taboo*** as "the putting of a person or thing under prohibition or interdict, perpetual or temporary" (*OED*). The word itself derives from the Tongan ***tabu***, which first appeared towards the end of the eighteenth century[165] (Allan and Burridge 2006: 2). In linguistic terms, McArthur (1992: 1019) defines taboo as something "not to be mentioned, because it is ineffably holy or unspeakably vulgar. The taboo is enforced by religious or social convention rather than by statute: it may be illegal to reveal official secrets, but it is not taboo to do so."

Proceeding further, Allan and Burridge (2006: 1) point out that taboo "is a proscription of behaviour that affects everyday life." They further claim that there is a substantial array of behaviours and phenomena that are considered as taboos: the human body and its effluvia, the act of sex, diseases, death, addressing sacred beings or food consumption, just to name a few. This point of view goes hand in hand with Grygiel and Kleparski's (2007: 89) comments. They argue, for instance, that the family relations and "everything that violates broadly understood moral principles, general aesthetic code and commonly accepted standards of behaviour" could also be regarded as taboo. Besides, McArthur (1992: 1020) adds that "politics and religion may be taboo subjects in certain places; death, money, and details of one's personal life in others." Another point is that most taboos arise out of social limitations on the individual's behaviour, especially if such a behaviour may cause discomfort or injury. From the logical point of view, certain constraints serve human interests and have a rational basis[166]: "Infractions of taboos can lead to illness or death, as well as to the lesser penalties of corporal punishment, incarceration, social ostracism or mere disapproval" (Allan and Burridge 2006: 1). Without a doubt, taboo is a concept that is not indifferent to human beings (see Crespo-Fernandez 2015), and it may constitute a sufficient deterrent for people to avoid certain behaviours.

Looking from a different angle, taboo is more than just a ritual prohibition and avoidance; it is closely associated with particular societies in which particular people live[167]. Taboos arise in cases where certain acts performed by individuals can cause some detriment to him/her and to others. All humans are social beings and everyone is a

[165]The word was first introduced into European languages by Captain Cook in one of his voyage descriptions, when he visited Polynesia (see Insoll 2011).
[166]The rationality of taboo may be found in such examples as the prohibitions against incest that help to prevent weakened progeny or some sensible explanations in food preferences and avoidance.
[167]A similar view is expressed by Akmajian *et al*. (2001) who claim that taboo language is strictly defined by culture, and not by anything inherent within the language itself.

member of a group, like a family, a generation and other recreational and occupational assemblies. In Allan and Burridge's view (2006: 8): "An individual's behaviour is subject to sanction within these groups and by the larger community." Some groups, like families, have unwritten principles governing behavioural standards, while others, for example governments, have written laws or regulations. What is worth mentioning is that societies differ among themselves with respect to the degree of tolerance that is shown towards the behaviour of taboo violation. "Tolerance depends on their current values and belief systems" (Allan and Burridge 2006: 105), and, what is more, the topics placed under taboo may change with the passage of time[168]. On account of the above statement, Duda (2014: 18) claims that: "What seems to be the greatest taboo for one generation may be simply a standard word or phrasing for another". A similar opinion is expressed by Allan and Burridge (2006: 9), who claim that "nothing is taboo for all people, under all circumstances, for all time." The criterion for what is appropriate, pleasant or moral, and what is not, varies according to different periods of history and various geographical locations (see Grygiel and Kleparski 2007: 89). Consequently, every taboo must be "specified for a particular community of people, for a specified context, at a given place and time. There is no such thing as an absolute taboo" (Allan and Burridge 2006: 11).

To sum up, it is very often the case that what is tabooed is frequently judged as revolting, filthy, dangerous and disturbing. Nonetheless, no one would deny that it is, at the same time, powerful. As Allan and Burridge (2006: 2) put it: "Language is used as a shield against malign fate and the disapprobation of fellow human beings; it is used as a weapon against enemies and as a release valve when we are angry, frustrated or hurt." The immense power of taboo is reflected in language. Because of this, people constantly create new, poetic expressions, whose aim is to mask the existing anathema and sometimes to censor the speech they use. Finally, Burridge (2004: 2012) observes that taboo possesses an ambivalent nature, as it "provides a fertile seedbed for words to flourish – and the more potent the taboo, the richer the growth".

[168]The words themselves do not carry the 'dirty', or 'profane' associations. Many expressions which are currently considered inappropriate in public settings were once neutral and normal terms (see, e.g. Kochman-Haładyj and Kleparski 2011).

2.4.4.2 Sex-related Taboos

Taking into consideration the social constraints, one has to acknowledge the fact that sexual behaviour is a cross-cultural universal, however, different communities perceive different aspects of sexuality in dissimilar ways. Broude (2003: 177) states that:

> "[…] across time and place, the vast majority of human beings engage in sexual relations. The biologically ubiquitous drive to engage in sexual activity is also transparently related to reproduction in our own and other species. Among human beings, however, different cultures also elaborate and interpret sexuality in different ways."

The observation emphasises the fact that people inherit their customs and beliefs about sex from members of the society in which they grow up and live. Throughout the globe, there are some distinct cultures which possess special sex-related taboos. They generally concern the issue of having sex in the wrong place, at the wrong time, or using the incorrect technique. What is more, sex can be treated as an unsuitable act for particular categories of people, like in the case of priests or unmarried individuals (Broude 2003: 178). As an illustration, the concept of virginity is of, at least, some concern in most cultures around the world. As Broude (2003: 179) claim, "[…] of a crosscultural sample of 134 societies, only 25% place no value at all on virginity." Among certain South African tribes, for instance, the idea of virginity is virtually absent (Brown 2003: 167). However, most of the remaining ones strongly disapprove of and condemn the premarital sex, especially when it concerns young girls. In some places of the world, where the honour of a family depends upon the virtue of its women, death is the most common punishment for dishonouring the family by engaging in sexual activity before marriage (Brown 2003: 167). Taking another example, in some communities, sexual activity is prohibited during certain times of the day. Broude (2003: 182) provides many interesting illustrations of this point, including The Cuna of Panama who consent to sexual relations only at night; The Semang of Malaysia who trust that "sex during the day will cause thunderstorms and deadly lightning, leading to the drowning not only of the offending couple but also of other innocent people"; and finally the West African Bambara who strongly advocate the belief that a couple who engage in sexual intercourse during the day will have an albino child. By the same token, sex may be prohibited in particular places and the taboo associated with copulation can also apply to certain activities like

war or economic pursuits, which might be negatively affected if a particular person decides to engage in a sexual act.[169]

The approach to sex in most European countries is slightly different. There are, of course, various very well-known taboos, however, failure to comply with them does not lead to any serious consequences. Among others, McArthur (1992: 924) mentions the following areas of taboos: body parts, menstruation, pregnancy and prostitution. Apart from them, there is also another group that could be classified as forbidden and prone to be censored. In this respect, Allan and Burridge (2006: 145) mention homosexuality, unfaithful spouses and the sexual intercourse between people and animals. Orgasm may be considered as another taboo. Yet still, the act of masturbation seems to be the most strongly banned activity. Although many experts nowadays claim that it is a normal part of healthy sexual development of a human being (see, for example, Cameron and Kulick 2003: 24), for a long time in the past, onanism was treated as something filthy and dangerous. Allan and Burridge (2006: 145) provide several reasons why masturbation was so stigmatised. The main motive is probably linked with acting against God's plan for procreation. The stimulation of the genitals just for pure pleasure was seen as an unnatural act. Apart from that, masturbation was supposed to be addictive and the spillage of seminal fluid in men and its counterpart in women was treated as a harmful misuse. Allan and Burridge (2006: 145) comment that it "was supposedly even more debilitating than loss of blood." These characteristics inevitably helped the church to consider masturbation as a mortal sin and they also influenced the views of parents teachers and guardians.

For the most part, the issue of sex-correlated taboos is, beyond any conceivable doubt, a captivating phenomenon. It continuously reminds humans of the fundamentally assumed and core animal nature they possess. For this reason, many individuals still prefer to keep their sexual desires hidden and unsatisfied, and it seems that there will always be certain taboos associated with sex. Nonetheless, as Chamizo Dominguez claims (2005: 11), sometimes words are not taboo at all, but they can become inconvenient or problematic in some contexts. In such cases a euphemism is needed.

[169]On this issue see Broude (2003: 182).

2.4.4.3 Euphemistic Realisation of Taboos

Tabooed concepts keep language users from evading the forbidden ideas and oblige them to create an endless series of verbalisation of forbidden phenomena. The number of alternative terms for most taboo expressions can be surprising. “A rich vocabulary on a given subject reveals an area of concern of the society whose language is being studied” (Schulz 2000: 82). People are afraid of taboos, and that is why euphemisms “are the product of a human mind confronting the problem of how to talk about something for which there is a dispreferred expression they wish to avoid” (Allan and Burridge 2006: 239). Remembering the original conception of taboo, which is referred to as the prohibited behaviour, in the past, all violations of taboos were expected to “have dire consequences and euphemism could literally be a matter of life or death” (Burridge 2002: 200). Nowadays though, the taboo topics are frequently avoided not because we believe that any physical harm will come to us, but because “their use might be regarded as distasteful in a given social situation” (Burridge 2002: 201).

Roughly speaking, social interaction is oriented towards appropriate behaviour, that is: courteous and respectful. Participants of such interactions have to consider whether their words “will maintain, enhance or damage their own face, as well as be considerate of, and care for, the face needs of others” (Allan and Burridge 2006: 238). It should be noted in this connection, however, that not all euphemisms are in response to taboo. Sometimes they are merely alternatives for statements that some speakers prefer not to apply in a given context.

On the other hand, people frequently cease to care about how they express their feelings and attitudes. As far as emotions are concerned, they sometimes contentedly challenge taboos and their purifying force. Allan and Burridge (2006: 252) summarise the issue in the following way:

> “We have seen socio-cultural and psychological benefits in using forbidden words and phrases. For a start, there is the thrill of transgression: it is liberating to defy prohibition by violating linguistic taboos. There is a psychological gain in letting off steam and expressing extreme emotion through cascading expletives and forbidden words.”

In a case like that, one has to thoroughly consider whether the use of a particular euphemism will be an appropriate choice, or maybe it will have more negative consequences and effects.

Ultimately, Schulz (2000: 82) remarks that the "analysis of a language tells us a great deal about the interests, achievements, obsessions, hopes, fears, and prejudices of the people who created the language." Despite this, the inescapable conclusion which emerges from what has been said so far is that language is neither perfect, nor logical or consistent. Various social and linguistic taboos existing in different cultures of the world make this phenomenon even more complex and problematic. Euphemisms were mostly created to make the surrounding human reality easier and more enjoyable, though, on many occasions, they might be more confusing than helpful.

2.4.5 Euphemistic and Metaphorical Construal of Sex

The research into euphemistic and metaphorical language of sex undoubtedly occupies a central place in a more general inquiry into cultural and linguistic forms employed in the process of encoding different taboos. Many people, despite the changing times and more liberal views adopted by the younger generations, still feel ashamed when talking and even thinking about sex. They frequently conceal their fantasies and desires for fear of being morally and socially rejected. As a result, the language of sexual intercourse gives rise to a significantly vast amount of verbal play and figurative use, which, as Crespo-Fernández (2015: 4) concludes: "performs a twofold (euphemistic and dysphemistic) purpose."

2.4.5.1 Sex-related Euphemisms

The starting point for examination in this area is a view adopted by Crespo-Fernández (2015: 4), who claims that "sex is an area of interdiction particularly fruitful in lexical generation"[170]. As a result, sex-related phenomena are reflected in the enormously high degree of synonymy in English vocabulary, especially when it comes to the act of copulation, orgasm and genitalia. The words related to the topic of sex have been stigmatised "as bad language, foul language, or four-letter words" (McArthur 1992:

[170]It also demonstrates the human ambivalence towards the sex-related taboos.

1019). In the past, they were frequently banned from writing, especially in print, and even now, in many places, the usage of the informal, slang and taboo terms is forbidden.

Perhaps, the first thing worth analysing are the so called four-letter words. The vocabulary items like *arse*, *cock*, *cunt*, *dick* and *fuck*, form a fragment of the English lexicon that is considered vulgar or obscene. McArthur (1992: 414) informs us that such words are sometimes called ***Anglo-Saxon*** since they go back to the Old English period. He further declares that it is hard to trace the origins of that kind of linguistic units as for a long period of time they were banned from dictionaries. The phrase ***four-letter word*** was first attested in print in 1934 and since then, such words have usually been listed in general glossaries.

Secondly, in English and in many different languages, there is no neutral terminology available for the things connected with sexual activities. One of the most successful techniques used to avoid the tabooed expressions is called substitution. To make sense of this claim, McArthur (1992: 1020) defines the process as replacing taboo terms "with other words through euphemism, as with make love for 'have sex', and through the use of elevated technical terms, such as coitus/coition and sexual intercourse." However, those allegedly learned words, like ***penis*** or ***vagina***, may themselves turn into socially awkward, especially "when its referent remains taboo: intercourse is avoided by some people in any of its other uses because of its sexual use" (McArthur 1992: 1020).

Similarly, on television, some terms are not used at all and other phrases are employed only when children are presumed not to be watching. The indirect, non-specific, and euphemistic language is found everywhere, in almost every area of human life. Duda (2014: 46) notices that: "Whichever tabooed part of the body is taken into consideration there are at least a few, if not many, euphemistic or dysphemistic single-form equivalents"[171]. The same applies to other aspects of sex. Allan and Burridge (2006: 151), for example, describe the state of orgasm as "climax, spend oneself, the big O (euphemisms), coming, seminal discharge, come or cum", to mention but a few. What is even more interesting is that some of the taboo-avoiding euphemistic expressions are actually very picturesque and amusing. Todd (2006) mentions one of the Monty Python's sketches that contained 13 euphemisms for penis. Among them, there were such expressions as "tadger, John Thomas and one-eyed trouser snake" (Todd 2006: 62).

[171]For some examples and their Polish equivalents see Duda (2014: 56-59).

Moving further, on the one hand, the sphere of sexual activity always arouses emotions and not infrequently real controversy. Duda (2014: 20) writes that: "Rather than talking bluntly about it with the use of four-letter words, though very common nowadays, most people prefer employing a whole range of words and expressions based on such conceptual metaphors as, for instance, SEX IS CONSUMPTION". Metaphors, next to euphemisms[172] comprise an excellent choice for those who feel ashamed talking about sexual matters in a clear and straightforward way. It seems relatively easy to understand the reasons for people's immense prudery, suffice it to mention the overwhelming feeling of embarrassment which people undergo when talking about sex (see Duda 2014: 20). However, all human inhibitions result predominantly from the past experiences and cultivation of old traditions and standards, when sex was perceived and treated as something sinful and dirty.

On the other hand, it becomes commonplace of the modern discourse about sex that talking about it openly is "intrinsically a good and liberating thing" (Cameron and Kulick 2003: 18). In spite of the fact that in the past there was a widespread belief that the subject of sex was so veiled in shame and ignorance that it should not be mentioned in public at all, currently there is a noticeable trend towards 'breaking that silence'. Cameron and Kulick (2003: 18) view this matter in the following way:

> "We are apt to congratulate ourselves on our openness to sex-talk, contrasting our modern, enlightened attitudes favourably with the prudishness of previous eras when such talk was taboo – censored in public discourse, and repressed even in private. This account of recent history recognizes the significance of language and discourse in relation to sexuality, but from the perspective of most contemporary theorists it also misrepresents that relationship."

The abovementioned opinion is also shared by other researchers. Duda (2014: 70) refers to the far-reaching transformation of humankind in their attitudes to sex and sexuality. Allan and Burridge (2002: 107) mention that sex and bodily functions are no longer tabooed as they used to be in the earlier periods. In addition to that, some of the tabooed

[172]As mentioned in previous sections, a euphemism is a word or phrase that is often defined as a device whose function is to remove the negative characterisations of a taboo, while a dysphemism is a word or phrase applied in order to emphasise the pejorative characterisations associated with a taboo topic. Both may have some social consequences: the former upholds the social values, whereas the latter provokes moral rejection. Consequently, Crespo-Fernández (2015) treats conceptual metaphors as a euphemistic or dysphemistic instrument, where the source domain determines whether the metaphor is euphemistic or dysphemistic. However, as Santaemilia (2005: 11) suggests: "This is only in theory: explicit sexual (and offensive) terms may constitute either an offence or an erotic booster, a token of close friendship or a challenge to one's self-esteem."

expressions underwent a "natural bleaching process – abuse terms wear out over time" (Burridge 2002: 204).

All things considered, certain straightforward remarks are regarded by certain people as offensive, vulgar or at least inappropriate[173]. By avoiding the risk of being perceived as ill-mannered and primitive, language users apply various concealing mechanisms. Duda (2014: 20) notices that "[t]he omnipresence of euphemisms seems to be mirrored in the range of tabooed topics we face in our everyday communication". Obviously, if there were no taboos, the need to use euphemisms would not exist. It is important to bear in mind that it does not matter whether we are thinking about the cultural or religious taboos, about the secrecy, shame, guilt or the segregation of the sexes in many cultures, in all those cases, it is clearly visible that the subject of sexual issues always evokes some feeling of embarrassment and the need to apply the sequestered expressions.

2.4.5.2 Metaphorical Associations[174]

One of the most accessible devices to disguise the impure thoughts and respond to them in a tactful way is **metaphor**. It seems to play a crucial role in the manipulation of taboo concepts, by either presenting their concealing or degrading overtones. Although there are numerous phrases available, Lakoff (1987: 415) observes that the English language has no metaphors for healthy sexual relations. The most frequently used domains for comprehending sexual activities are HUNGER, ANIMALS, GAMES, WAR, to name just a few, and unfortunately, using them, people create many expressions with negative overtones (see Kurowska 2016, 2019a, 2021). Nevertheless, before embarking on an explanation of how we might understand the sex-related phenomena by means of the aforementioned conceptual systems, it will be useful to explore the general perception of orgasm, love-making and human sexual organs first.

[173]Santaemilia (2005) argues that sexual language is, at a stereotypical layer, catalogued as impolite and constantly demands some apologies and justifications; it is also considered as gender-specific.
[174]This subsection is only meant to signal the problem in hand. A deeper and detailed analysis of metaphorical expressions associated with the realm of sex, the perception of women and men in the erotic sphere, and domains to which they have been assigned can be found in Chapter Four.

2.4.5.2.1 Terms for Orgasm and Sexual Intercourse

At the beginning, it is worth considering the view expressed by Morton (2003: 155) according to which: "Sex is less about bodies than bodies in motion. It's not the static organs that make sex, but rather the things that are done with them (or to them). To put it another way, sex is more about verbs than nouns". For the majority of population, one of the main verbs denoting sexual activity is ***fuck***, although not at all neutral. According to Sheidlower (2009: xi), the word is of Germanic origin and it is related to some other words possessing sexual meaning in other languages such as Dutch, German and Swedish. A different vocabulary item with the old origins is the word ***copulation*** that first appeared in Middle English (Morton 2003: 178). In addition to that, the phrase *make love* stands as another example that is often applied to talk about sex, despite the fact that it possessed entirely different connotation up until the mid-twentieth century (Morton 2003: 174). Lastly, one of the most commonly used expressions to describe sexual intercourse are the two idioms, namely *go to bed* and *sleep with*. Although they are intentionally vague in their reference, and as Morton (2003: 173) claims "they imply sexual activity without clearly articulating the precise nature of that activity – they don't reveal who put what where", every adult is undoubtedly able to understand its figurative connotation.

Eventually, sexual experience, like many other human experiences, is communicated and made meaningful by certain codes and conventions (Cameron and Kulick 2003: 16). The act of orgasm may be indisputably considered as one of those codes. It constitutes an indispensable element of good sex and is treated seriously by both women and men. In literature, one can find a number of surprising terms for orgasm: Shakespeare calls it *the momentary trick,* John Cleland uses the phrase *that sweet fury,* D.H. Lawrence refers to it as *her crisis,* just to mention a few (see Morton 2003: 227). The everyday life also proves that the creativity associated with forming metaphorical expressions is unlimited. Morton (2003: 227) lists the following examples: "the physiological pinnacle, the crescendo of pleasure, the zenith of delight, the few seconds of bliss". Another word that is very frequently applied to describe orgasm is the verb ***die***. Although at first sight, the two concepts have little in common, it perfectly "eroticises the notion of the orgasm by associating it with the most intense, mysterious and ultimate human experience: death" (Morton 2003: 228). Like *die*, the words *come* and *climax* are

further examples that have signified an orgasm for many centuries and are still very popular and widely used.

2.4.5.2.2 Figurative Description of Sexual Organs

Human sexual organs constitute a very controversial topic and are habitually ignored and avoided in general discussions. Men, in particular, seem to be extremely sensitive when it comes to their genitals, and as many authors observe (see Morton 2003), the way of how they perceive their penises evokes mostly negative associations. Morton (2003: 99), for instance, claims that a number of terms denoting the penis are taken from the battlefield. Not infrequently, however, penis is described by means of words that simply represent items that are phallic in shape. What is more, not only size but also the stiffness is used as a factor distinguishing penises. Among the many expressions, the following deserve special attention: *dead soldier*, *Mr. Softy*, *half a cob*, *we noodle* and *Sleeping Beauty*, just to name a few (see Morton 2003).

To properly address the problem of naming female sexual organs, it might be worth mentioning that due to religion, various traditions and the role of females in the past, the whole concept of women's sexuality is frequently overlooked and forgotten. Moreover, as Allan and Burridge (2006: 52) notice: "It is generally accepted that cunt is the most tabooed word in English." The main reason for this may be the fact that for centuries women's genitals were perceived as something dangerous, a kind of trap that can cause injury or at least discomfort[175]. Morton (2003: 142) writes on this issue in the following way:

> "The image of being seized is embodied in the terms grabber and gristle-gripper, and the fear of being captured is conveyed in venus fly trap, penis fly trap, mouse trap and even claptrap, all of which have been used in the twentieth century to refer to a woman's genitalia. (…) Likewise, the sense of being swallowed up is evoked by black hole, dark hole, hole of no return, the deep and even vacuum, which was first equated with the female pudendum in the nineteenth century."

[175]Many metaphors of this type are intrinsically dysphemistic, as they reduce human beings to the status of sexual objects and contribute to pejorative overtones. A good case in point is a fishy metaphor denoting *vagina* (on this issue see Sánches Benedito 2004, Allan and Burridge 2006: 195).

Nowadays, there is obviously a plethora of new terms denoting vagina, nevertheless, almost all of them contain a figurative meaning[176], and people still avoid talking about it directly. Even gynaecologists' clinical vocabulary that is supposed to be very specific, has its roots in metaphors.

Finally, breasts, as a symbol of female sexuality[177], cannot be ignored. The term itself has been in use for a long time and its origins can be traced back to Old English (Morton 2003: 149). As Armstrong and Rudúlph (2013: 39) suggest, "[o]ur society is boob obsessed", no wonder then that hundreds of different slang terms for breasts have been invented and are commonly used today. Most of those expressions fall into a handful of categories. The most productive is possibly the one that interprets breasts in terms of food items that could be consumed, in particular: *apples, coconuts*, *grapefruits*, *peaches, mangoes*, *melons*, *oranges*, *cupcakes*, *sweet rolls*, to give only a few (see Morton 2003: 153). Among other categories, the one that compares breasts with weapons of mass destruction should also be mentioned. Morton (2003) enumerates the following expressions connected with it: *atom bombs*, *flesh bombs*, *torpedoes*, *cannons*, *howitzers*, *scuds*, *warheads* and *bazookas*. In addition, a particularly interesting group represent terms that convey the idea of doubleness: "by anthropomorphizing the breasts into well-known duos from popular culture: *the Bobsey twins*, *Mickey and Minnie*, *Laverne and Shirley*, *Thelma and Louise*, *Wilma and Betty*, *Lucy and Ethel*, *the Pointer Sisters*"[178] (Morton 2003: 153). Here, it seems clear that the richness of these terms amounts to saying that the taboo associated with sexual organs undoubtedly exists in the public opinion.

Bearing everything in mind, it seems that it is difficult to think of sexual language without the awareness of an infinite string of possibly negative implications. It touches upon not only the purely verbal choices, but also concerns the whole field of pleasure, taboo, desire, and obscenity. As Santaemilia (2005: 16) elucidates:

[176]Another problem associated with such terminology concerns the details of women's sexual anatomy. It has to be stressed that female genitals are not a single undifferentiated entity, yet most of the euphemistic and dysphemistic terms are completely unspecific (consider, for instance, *down there* and *front bottom*).
[177]It is worth mentioning that in the present-day discourse about female sexuality, there are numerous references to flowers, blooms, and blossoms. To illustrate the point, Frownfelter (2010: 21) draws some thought-provoking parallels between certain aspects of female sexual anatomy and flowers. Furthermore, she claims that: "female puberty, menstruation, first sexual experience, fertility, pregnancy, motherhood, and menopause can be described with floral terminology, from enclosed buds and ripe blossoms to mature plants and wilted flowers" (Frownfelter 2010: 21). Those kinds of allusions not only refer to the encyclopaedic knowledge, but also to everyday life, where everybody can find many examples of their usage.
[178]Italics mine.

> "It is revealing to find out that most of our institutions and our social norms, of our irrational behaviours and our capacity of transgression are articulated around the discourse of sex. Sex (and sexual language) seems to encode one's strategic vantage point on ideology, politics, history, culture, freedom, immorality, respect, etc. The language of sex serves to metaphorize our fears and anxieties."

It seems to be obvious that sex constructs us as humans and ideological beings, and although it is not a novel observation, the attitudes and the representation of both sexes in the erotic sphere, is still entangled in some myths that function in the society. It is especially visible in the diversity of metaphorical expressions people use to talk about sex. Not only do they shape our communication, but also the way we think and behave. However, making sense of the surrounding world cannot take place without metaphor. Dobrovol'skij and Piirainen (2005: 142) point out that "[t]he metaphor is (…) not just a means of naming, but an instrument of conceptualising the world. It also stands out as the principal device in cultural constructions." For this reason, it would be advisable now, to take a closer look at the relation between language and culture and how they can influence each other.

2.5 Role of Language in Shaping Reality

According to Ożóg (2008), relations between language and culture have always been strong and mutual. On the one hand, language constitutes a solid foundation of each culture, but on the other hand, each culture through its tendencies, systems of values and current trends exerts a strong influence on the linguistic system. An alternative perspective is offered by Bynon (1977: 63), who expresses his viewpoint in the following words:

> "[…] the lexicon is the part of a language which has the most direct links with the spiritual and material culture of its speakers and […] semantic developments may only be comprehensible by reference to the cultural background."

Generations of linguists have incessantly argued about the precise nature of the interaction between language, thought and the cultural background, however, it seems evident that language – as a mirror of societal dispositions – both reflects and helps to perpetuate deeply held cultural attitudes. As a carrier of cultural values and other codes,

language constitutes the vast part of psychological equipment of every human being, shaping our identity as members of a specific group. To support this claim, Tokarski (2014: 12) maintains that "[l]anguage does not only create culture, but it is culture, seen as an entirety of human achievements, experiences and knowledge, that creates language[179]." Such a framework is frequently adopted by feminist theorists as a means of identifying and theorising about the existence of a subordinate relationship between women and men. However, the idea was not created by feminist circles and it is by no means new. The question of whether language reflects and determines culture is closely associated with two American linguists – Edward Sapir and Benjamin Lee Whorf, who outlined some of the key concepts in the field of linguistics.

2.5.1 Concept of Language Relativism and Determinism

Even though the nature of the relationship between language and thought has intrigued and inspired people since the ancient times, within modern linguistics this idea is predominantly associated with the works of Edward Sapir[180] and Benjamin Lee Whorf[181], and is referred to as the **Sapir-Whorf hypothesis**[182]. According to the theory, the language system has a direct impact on human consciousness and it shapes the image of reality. On its basis, the users of a particular language create and categorise the surrounding reality (see Lakoff 1987). The hypothesis basically consists of two parts: **linguistic determinism** and **linguistic relativity**. The linguistic determinism relates to the idea that language determines non-linguistic thoughts, whereas relativity is associated with the concept that speakers of different languages think and perceive the world in different categories (see Evans and Green 2006).

One of the most revealing aspects of the theory in question concerns the fact that there is a strong and weak version of the hypothesis[183]. Going into details, the former holds that language entirely determines thought. Evans and Green (2006: 96) comment

[179]Translation mine.
[180]Edward Sapir was an American linguist, the ideologist of the so-called linguistic relativism.
[181]Benjamin Lee Whorf is considered as the most famous proponent of the linguistic determinism. He studied American Indian languages at Yale University and was a staunch student of Edward Sapir.
[182]The tradition of perceiving language as providing a different worldview might be traced back to the linguistic anthropologist Franz Boas (1858-1942), and before that to the German philosopher and linguist Wilhelm Von Humboldt (1767-1835).
[183]An overview of its most important assumptions with some invaluable comments and remarks in modern semantic literature can be found in Anusiewicz (1995), Muszyński (2004) and Piekarczyk (2010), just to mention a few publications.

on this issue in the following way: "[a] speaker of language X will understand the world in a fundamentally different way from a speaker of language Y, particularly if those two languages have significantly different grammatical systems. In other words, a speaker will only have access to cognitive categories that correspond to the linguistic categories of his or her language." The latter version, on the other hand, assumes that the structure of a language might influence certain speakers' cognitive processes, yet, it does not determine them. Every language is a key to understanding the whole world; it is also a product of a given speech community. As a powerful tool of thinking, it shapes the perception of the world in its own specific way. It also categorises the surrounding reality.

Therefore, it seems impossible to think without the help of language as it broadens the horizons, enriches the worldview and helps in observing and understanding the way of thinking of other communities. As Maćkiewicz (1990) notices, certain expressions of one language will never be the same as the expressions of another; they will not be synonymous, because they are imposed on reality by a given social group. These specific ideas are the realisation of their distinct, individual perception of the world, where language might be perceived as a means of representing and reproducing culture. In other words, culture could be presumed to be in some way implemented into the content of various linguistic expressions and reproduced and transmitted from one generation to another through certain linguistic and cultural norms of usage. While most contemporary linguists would probably agree that the strong version of the hypothesis is untenable[184], a number of thought-provoking findings have emerged in the theory of Cognitive Linguistics. The phraseology, in particular, seems to be a crucial mechanism contributing to both the formation and reinforcement of human cultural identity.

2.5.2 Metaphorical Thought Processing

As mentioned so far, in most general terms, the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis presumes that through language human culture affects the way we think. The existence of particular structures in a given language increases our tendency to think in a certain way, whereas

[184]This evidence originated from the research on colour categorisation (see Rosch 1975, 1977, 1978), yet it is also worthwhile considering experiments by Boroditsky (2001) on the lexical concepts for TIME in English and Mandarin. As Boroditsky puts it, "it appears that habits in language encourage habits in thought. Since Mandarin speakers showed vertical bias even when thinking for English, it appears that language-encouraged habits in thought can operate regardless of the language that one is currently thinking for" (Boroditsky 2001: 12).

mental images created by people on the basis of received information will always depend on the cultural and social context. However, it is important to draw attention to the fact that since the time Sapir and Whorf hypothesis was formulated, its fate has been turbulent. Bold conclusions put forward by early researchers, and not very precise wording, made it possible to apply it in significantly many contexts, and the compatibility with the common knowledge of language users has led to its extremely rapid popularisation.

The situation changed with the publication of George Lakoff's (1987) research, which did not focus on the influence of language on thinking in general, but postulated the existence of limited theoretical models distinguishing elements of language that could potentially influence some of the processes of thinking. This was of fundamental importance, since such dependencies, unlike the broad generalisations of early relativist researchers, could be empirically tested. Clearly, Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) claim that many metaphors people apply in everyday conversations are not just linguistic, but conceptual in nature, and they can essentially shape[185] cultural, social and psychological realities. Therefore, one is tempted to argue that some metaphors have a capacity to create reality, in which the position and role of women is depicted from the secondary and subordinate perspective (see Chapter Three and Chapter Four).

2.5.3 Relativism and the Discrimination against Women

In the study of such sensitive issues as sex and discrimination of women, one should remember that metaphor is a conceptual tool, but it also allows us to interpret different phenomena in a subjective way. It is acquired and used in communication through discourse interaction and cultural factors which inevitably affect every communicative act. In order to understand how it is possible, Cameron (1998: 10) claims that "[m]any languages have an underlying pattern whereby 'male' is positive and 'female' negative, and because this is part of the code it also becomes part of what users of the language take for granted as reality."

The prevalent problem associated with such a way of thinking is that a number of critics of the feminist linguistic theories consider some of them to be absurd. Feminists,

[185]Note, however, that a different view is proposed by Quinn (1991), who, having examined the language people use to talk about marriage, reached the conclusion that the cultural model of love and marriage exists independently of the metaphors we use, and it is the cultural model that directs speakers' choices of metaphorical expressions, not the other way round.

on the other hand, reject critics' arguments treating them as attacks from the perspective of some conservative values, rather than manifestations of criticism of feminist research methods. This leads the potential debates to a dead end that can rarely be overcome. My claim, however, is that one has to be careful when formulating conclusions, as sympathisers of the feminist movement very enthusiastically draw general conclusions about the relationship between individual language forms and the socio-cultural position of women in the society. The straightforward statement that one or another element of the language structure 'suggests' patriarchal stereotypes to users, completely ignores the problematic nature of such assumptions.

The final and most fundamental claim is that language is definitely not devoid of some ideological associations. The form of expression might not determine its interpretation – yet it may enable it. Lakoff (2001: 21) observes that "[l]anguage is just air after all – it is not a gun, it has no power on its own. Yet it changes reality." Looking from the perspective of feminists, it seems likely that many western languages were shaped in a patriarchal society, their structures are much easier to interpret as expressing patriarchal values. However, the social reality of such interpretations depends on whether there are adequately many groups of people who share them. Only by taking into account the social dimension of these interpretations is it possible to assess their significance. However, the current state of affairs is not conducive to scientific understanding of the extremely complex problem that we are dealing with, nor does it facilitate public debate on the subject. Hence, spreading human awareness in this area is tremendously significant.

2.6 Summary

On the basis of what has been presented so far, one may venture a claim that language constitutes an integral part of the socialisation process and it possesses a pervasive influence on how humans perform their social identities, and how they perceive the behaviour of others since "[w]e view people through social spectacles and gender is one very important and unavoidable component of the lens" (Holmes 2014: 446). Language rules are also deeply ideological (see Weatherall 2002). On the one hand, women are the objects of stereotypical expectations about the roles they have to pursue, which negatively affects their life chances and generates discriminatory practices. On the other hand, women themselves operate with stereotypical expectations towards sex,

accept their existence and do not question them. The process starts in the early childhood and continues throughout the later stages of life because as Coates (2013: 169) notices: “Learning to perform masculinity or femininity in our society means among other things learning to use gender-appropriate language.” Hence, it takes more than just being born female or male, it is mostly a cultural achievement that has to be learnt.

Chapter Three: The Media and Their Content

3.1 Introduction

Along with the development of various forms of communication, there have also been changes in the field of language. Although a lot has already been written about the image of a woman and a man, and the stereotypes of femininity and masculinity are currently the subject of exploration in a number of branches of science, so far, as a whole, the subject has not been approached with the use of the mechanism of cognitive models built on the basis of a meticulous analysis of contemporary American press for men (also with pornographic content). Hence, the author will make an attempt to apply the notion of ICM in the examination of men's magazines.

3.2 Aim

This chapter is intended to provide an account of the representation of women and men in contemporary American magazines for men, to reconstruct the contemporary linguistic imageries of women and men in the press, and to investigate the role that stereotypes, prototypes and Idealized Cognitive Models play in determining how a woman and a man – both as words and concepts[186] – function in the press. The corpus consists of linguistic data obtained from four magazines "Men's Health", "Maxim", "Playboy" and "Penthouse"[187], which further puts the analysis of the aforementioned notions in the framework of media discourse. The methodology adopted here is that of Cognitive Linguistics (see, for example, Lakoff and Johnson 1980, Kövecses and Radden 1998, Kövecses 2005, Evans and Green 2006, Geeraerts and Cuyckens 2010), whose analytical tools make it possible to incorporate the notion of Lakoff's (1987) ICM (see also Taylor 1995, Radden and Kövecses 1999, Cienki 2010). In particular, the author concentrates on the assumption that the ICM of a woman and the ICM of a man are metonymic models comprising several submodels. As a matter of fact, the ICMs

[186]Without the physical properties of the text and the complex interaction with image.
[187]Selecting different titles as the research material, the focus was not only on the description of individual magazines, but on capturing more general propagated tendencies regarding the system of values in which sex, women and men are inscribed.

presented in the analysed material, actually do not have a complex structure. We can assume that the analysed magazines clearly popularise one kind of a woman based mostly on the submodels such as love[188] and sex, body, physical traits and psychological features and processes which take dominance over the others and lead to discriminatory assumptions and generalisations. The model of a man is also clearly stereotypical and it is likewise intended to show that many images of the masculine gender propagated by the media perpetuate unrealistic and limiting perceptions (cf. Coates and Cameron 2014). Although the concept of an ICM is not new (see Taylor 1995, Croft and Cruse 2004), what the author hopes to contribute to this picture is to shed some light on the interaction between social and cognitive factors related to the perception of women and men in the press and pornographic industry. The notions of metonymy and Idealized Cognitive Models have been fundamental to various methods of analysis in Cognitive Linguistics. Since both derive from an approach that considers language[189] as a system reflecting the world, they constitute an invaluable tool capable of describing some social stereotypes functioning in modern, western societies.

3.3 The Media

The contemporary media are central to the formation of public opinion in many Western societies and, for this reason, it is barely surprising that language and gender researchers have dedicated a lot of attention to different forms of the media, also to newspapers and magazines[190] (see, among others, Morrison 1996, del-Teso-Craviotto 2002, Litosseliti 2002, Karwatowska *et al*. 2014, Kurowska 2020, 2021). To a considerable extent, the media can be treated as a reflection of reality, yet, they play a key role in the process of its construction[191]. They do not only spread stereotypes (see section 3.3.2.1), but being an integral part of today's society, they have the immense power to guide the perception and influence the opinions of mass audience. It is also evident that the portrayal of women and men is very often stereotypical and the presented sex-based division of different roles reinforces gender standards and norms. The image of both sexes

[188]It must be noted that the results presented in this study finally divide this particular submodel, as pornography relates only to sex.
[189]That is the main reason why language of men's magazines is so significant, as it reflects the target group, and can change opinions and make people act.
[190]The meticulous attention of researchers, writers and feminists is paid to women's magazines (see section 3.5.1.1)
[191]I am more inclined towards the second perspective.

concerning fashion, health and behaviour places strong pressure on readers to attain the outward, traditional concepts towards gender roles (see Davies *et al*. 1987: 64-65).

3.3.1 The Media and Ideology

The ideology associated with gender is modelled, determined and reinforced through society, not only by individual members of the family, but also through social institutions and the media. Although cultures might differ in what behaviours are expected of women and men, the process of acquiring such values is extremely significant, as individuals act in expected ways to fit in the culture. According to Williams (2012: 10), the notions of femininity and masculinity are "culturally-based descriptions of traits, characteristics, and habits that women and men 'should' develop through a social process[192]." People very often draw those features from the media discourses which recognise and understand not only the lexicon and syntax, but also rhetorical devices, and most of all, various social connotations. In this regard, one can suggest that "discourse is socially constituted, as well as socially conditioned" (Wodak 1996: 17). The associations are decipherable because speakers draw upon acquainted linguistic choices, which seem to point to the underlying ideology. A similar view is shared by del-Teso-Craviotto (2006: 2005), who claims that "the relationship between language and ideology is, undoubtedly, dialectical." Certain linguistic practices of the contemporary magazines are influenced by the overall ideology of the publishing house, and likewise, language contributes to the representation of those ideologies (see del-Teso-Craviotto 2006)

3.3.2 Language of the Media

Proceeding further, there is a common agreement among researchers that language is a powerful tool that offers a means to study underlying ideologies, as it both reflects the systems of values and reinforces them through their expression[193] (see, e.g. Williams

[192]In this manner: "a person is male not only because he is born with male genitalia but also because he dresses, speaks, or acts in certain ways that are socially recognized as befitting a man" (Williams 2012: 10).

[193]In this way, studying the subtle and overt messages in a given language allows us to get access to the rules, behaviours and standards of how we should act, what we should strive towards, and according to which principles we should judge ourselves and other people; all of which can be identified in the acts such as explicit instructions to children, discussions with peers and supervisors, gossips among friends etc. (see Williams 2012).

2012: 3). What is more, Gee (1999: 10) notices that "language has a magical property: when we speak or write, we design what we have to say to fit the situation in which we are communicating. But, at the same time, how we speak or write creates that very situation." It is evident that through language we are able to connect with others who agree with our ideologies, creating in this way mutually reinforced standards. What is also particularly striking is that we are constantly inundated with different signals in order to fit into societal groups, regardless of whether we recognise the impact of such messages or not.

Focusing on language, del-Teso-Craviotto (2006: 2010) observes that the use of colloquial and very often tabooed expressions in men's magazines constitutes the publishing norm and it mirrors the social acceptance of this kind of vocabulary for men. Magazines for women, on the other hand, avoid in their content such tabooed words, and the whole 'feminine' discourse of the magazines is maintained in a neutral narrative. Del-Teso-Craviotto (2006: 2010) comments on this issue:

> "The gendered character of the most frequent vocabulary in women's magazines can furthermore be observed in what this vocabulary lacks. Positive key words in men's magazines, include *wine*, *ass*, *fuck*, *beer*, *bastard*, *booty*, *balls* (with the meaning 'testicles'), and other words related to alcohol and human (often male) sexuality. The list of positive keywords in men's magazines suggests that men's magazines try to reproduce the casualness and closeness of conversations among friends (as do women's magazines), but that this effort proceeds along gender lines."

Furthermore, this division echoes the contemporary research on femininity and language[194], where the usage of language by women reflects the so-called **double bind** – an idea suggested by a group of feminist linguists and social psychologists (see Cameron and Kulick 2003). Their proposal concerns the dilemma that a lot of women face in everyday interaction and the tension involved when they try to combine power and femininity: if a woman uses an assertive style, she can be automatically perceived as overly aggressive and unfeminine; but if she applies the typically feminine style, she is allegedly weak and ineffective (see Coats 1996). These insights are highly relevant since as Williams (2012: 5) notices: "dichotomizing gender stereotypes (communal versus

[194]In the field of feminist linguistics, researchers investigate the markers of gender on many different layers of language, such as lexicon, syntax, intonation and pronunciation. It is commonly agreed that gender identity is constructed through language, and people continually form a great deal of gender identities in everyday social interactions, in this way, reinforcing the norm (see Williams 2012: 11).

instrumental/agentive, cooperative versus competitive, connected versus autonomous) may focus on female versus male characteristics", in this way, pressurising the contemporary women to behave in conventionally and stereotypically feminine ways[195].

3.3.2.1 Role of the Media in Stereotyping

As mentioned above, women and men actively use linguistic strategies and devices that are associated with certain stereotypes of feminine and masculine behaviour (see Holmes 1997). Such stereotypical styles are, at the same time, reinforced as norms ascribed to the right gender. To put it differently, the images of tentative and supportive women and aggressive men which are omnipresent in the media contribute to the habitual association with a particular social group. Speakers choose to use either feminine of masculine format in order to be seen as a woman or a man, respectively.

3.3.2.2 Manipulating Role of the Media

It might seem that the differences between female and male roles are nowadays smaller, yet the media still perpetuate various gender stereotypes. As a tool with a significant power, the media can easily manipulate the messages and create a certain image of reality that could be consistent with the policy of the dominant group. By this means, the reflection of the real world can be totally distorted, or, at best, incomplete. A similar opinion is expressed by Byerly and Ross (2006: 18) who write: "Popular media such as film, television, newspapers, and magazines continue to frame (in every sense of the word) women within a narrow repertoire of types that bear little or no relation to how real women live their real lives." With the large audience in the whole world, and their great acceptance, different types of media have become universal and understandable for diverse recipients. By filling the social life with unrealistic and harmful gender stereotypes, they not only convey information, but they also evoke certain associations and affect people's lives by shaping their beliefs, opinions and attitudes.

[195]Women are frequently forced to believe that they should appreciate their unique feminine characteristics and qualities and should emphasise them in their behaviour, speech and values they are identified with.

3.4 Pornography

Generally speaking, pornography[196] is typically perceived as a separate and unique form of the media. It is deeply embedded in western culture and in the recent years, it has become synonymous with the act of sex. What is more, it is treated not only as a genre and multimillion-dollar industry, but it is, simultaneously, perceived as an ideology and a certain subculture (see Dines 2010). The word ***pornography***[197] refers predominantly to sexually explicit images and words whose exclusive purpose is sexual arousal. Although criticised by various social circles, the development of technology in the last several years has upgraded pornography to a powerful and pervasive form of entertainment. It is no longer associated with dirty magazines, but rather with glossy and glamorous publications[198] filling store shelves. The apparent mechanism of reception of such kind of magazines assumes that the male readers acknowledge the linguistic image of women encountered in the magazine and start to create their own picture in order to avoid the inconsistency between reality and what is presented in the contemporary pornographic press. In this way, the role of the media, which in the era of the information society still have an important share in shaping all social norms and values, is emphasised. They create and model reality as intended by the publisher. Additionally, "The combination of 'babes' and booze is an unbeatable moneymaker" (Cheney 2004: 4), which makes the pornographic market continuously lucrative.

What differentiates pornography from erotic content is its aim, focused mainly on sexual arousal. It addresses the human body from the perspective of pleasure and physical sexual desire. Moreover, pornography sells human bodies as commodities[199], without taking into account the aesthetic concerns, cultural limitations, and various prohibitions. Conversely, the erotic part is definitely less commercial, and less daring. In its content, it

[196]The term ***pornography*** is almost always applied to the realm of photographs, films, and written forms.
[197]It is worth noting at the very beginning that the term ***pornography*** no longer conjures up images of a beautiful housewife engaged in a romantic relationship with a lonely neighbour. The Internet has significantly changed the content and perception of pornography. Now, a great deal of the most easily accessible and popular forms of pornography contain meaningful amounts of humiliation, violence, and degradation of women. They are short, dynamic and predominantly focused on genitalia.
[198]One interesting thing about popular culture is that men's magazines and women's magazines often follow the same general formula. Men's magazines are mostly based on heavily eroticised images of women. Interestingly, women's magazines are sometimes centred around heavily eroticised images of women as well.
[199]It can be assumed that pornography is produced with the sole intention of human sexual arousal which implies that it is done for purely financial gain. It manipulates the opinion and attitudes of readers (see section 3.4.2) and rarely exceeds the aesthetic or expressive purposes.

points to art that is supposed to reach beyond commodification, always fluctuating within the rational limits of good taste.

3.4.1 Men in Pornography

The portrayal of men in the pornographic context is rather simple. They are typically depicted as unfeeling, soulless and amoral, entitled to use women in any way they want. It is vital to mention that pornography can sometimes dominate heterosexual men's sexual encounters with women. Frequent exposure to pornographic content might be associated with greater reliance on and preference for the pornographic script during interpersonal intimate encounters. In other words, pornography is not merely a fantasy for men; it frequently shapes how they engage in intimate behaviours. For this reason, such men demonstrate zero respect, love or empathy for the females they have sex with, no matter how uncomfortable or in pain these women look to be (see Dines 2010).

3.4.2 Negative Aspects of Pornographic Content

As mentioned on several occasions so far, for many, pornography is not an artistic act or erotic message, but rather it is completely devoid of aesthetic and cognitive value, and also devoid of any intimacy. Its essence depends on the main function, which is sexual stimulation. The feelings and emotions which are normally associated with the act of lovemaking, such as connection, tenderness and affection, are usually replaced by those of fear, disgust, loathing and contempt. Dines (2010) explicitly comments on this issue:

> "In porn the man makes hate to the woman, as each sex act is designed to deliver the maximum amount of degradation. Whether the man is choking her with a penis or pounding away at her anus until it is red raw, the goal of porn sex is to illustrate how much power he has over her. It is what he wants when, where, and how he wants it, because he controls the pace, the timing, and the nature of the acts."

Furthermore, the language used in pornography is entirely commercialised, and constitutes a further step towards the objectification and trivialisation of human sexuality. Its main features concern the profusion of terms applied to refer to the female body in a way to arouse men sexually. Another distinctive characteristic regards the aggressiveness

that may serve to destroy women's intimacy and defeat the potential expectations of politeness.

Taking this into account, pornography is widely criticised, in particular, by feminist circles. Their conception of pornography is very broad[200], yet very often it concerns some sexual situations in which the image of a woman is based on subordination and instrumentalisation. Środa (2009: 250-251) points out that it builds and strengthens the stereotype of a woman as a servant towards men; it gives permission to oppress women and to promote violence against them. The whole issue is not merely a linguistic quibble, on the contrary, it constitutes the crux of women's existence in the patriarchal world. Kappeler (1994: 105) further notices: "Women in our culture have been seen primarily as bodies – sexual bodies designed for sex and reproduction (though very useful in productive labour too)." For this reason, male magazines, especially erotic ones, can pejoratively shape the image of a woman.

3.4.2.1 Exploitation of Women

Admittedly, from the feminist perspective, the working concept of pornography and its understanding is intended to invalidate women (see, for instance, McNair 1996, Gill 2009, Rossi 2007), and it gives permission to oppression, propagates violence against women and sadomachism"[201] (Środa 2009: 250-251). By the same token, pornographic videos, with their soft-core scenes shooting naked women, and many pornographic magazines may teach men that women exist to be looked at, used, objectified and, most of all, delayed until the next time. The omnipresent messages that pornography disseminates about female gender might consist in several indispensable features, which focus mainly on the fact that they are always ready for sexual intercourse and enthusiastic to follow all men's desires, irrespective of how humiliating, painful and harmful the act in question may be[202].

[200]It might refer to many different aspects, from 'soft core' celebrity pictures, where a famous person chooses to have some nude pictures, all the way to hard core videos of violent and illegal acts.
[201]Translation mine.
[202]The word ***no*** is blatantly absent from women's vocabulary in pornography.

3.4.2.2 Objectification of Body

The contemporary magazines, advertisements, TV and videos provide receivers with images which a decade ago, could be defined as soft-core pornography. In this way, both women and men are being raised and socialised in a hypersexualised culture, where at the centre one may find images of tanned, young women in seductive poses with a sultry gaze. What is more, pornographic magazines are often seen as a means of sexual expression, especially because female bodies have historically been rigidly controlled by restrictive sexual norms and practices. The contemporary media offer an accessible way to seemingly resist and challenge such restrictions. However, as the pornography market is dominated by an industry with economic interests in the control of women's bodies, it seems that its main role is simple exploitation of other women's bodies for male pleasure and profit. In a similar way, Kappeler (1994: 107) comments: "Pornography has been the site of male culture's repression of the body – its relegation to the very bottom of the cultural trash can." Because it can be treated as a specific medium that spotlights the body and often utilises women that conform to cultural appearance ideals, pornography is also considered a potential source of appearance-related pressure. It continuously disseminate images of bodies adhering to inflexible and unrealistic appearance standards, and individuals cannot overlook these images due to their omnipresence[203].

3.4.3 Rapist Language

Another important aspect of the influence of pornography relates to the fact that the image of an always sexually available woman causes some concerns and might contribute to mistaken perception among men of female sexuality and their allegedly daring attitudes in their intimate contacts. It might also lead to unwanted, unusual, and sometimes even abnormal sexual activities[204]. By the same token, according to a study[205] conducted by The University of Surrey, many people cannot tell the difference between

[203]Media images of perfect bodies not only inform women how they are supposed to look like but also what kind of girlfriends and wives they are supposed to be (see Gunter 2002).
[204]Such content may contribute to difficulties in saying no in real life, and lead to rapes, as pornography fuels some criminal behaviour (see Gunter 2002).
[205]Researchers provided a group of women and men with some quotes from the British magazines for men, as well as excerpts from interviews with actual convicted rapists. The participants of the study were not able to reliably identify which sentences actually came from magazines and which from rapists. In addition to that, some statements from the magazines were rated as slightly more derogatory than the ones produced by men serving time for raping women (see North 2011).

quotations taken from British magazines for men and interviews with convicted rapists. What is even more worrying is that men would actually agree with the rapists if they were given the choice (see North 2011). Such results clearly demonstrate the fundamental concern that the content of such magazines, which, by the way, are all-pervading and can be bought everywhere without any particular limitations, normalises the aforementioned treatment of women as sexual objects.

3.5 Research Material

As such, this chapter uses men's magazines as the material for analysis. Although the press offers not only articles, but also advertisements and photographs, the language is of particular interest to the researcher, as it has a fundamental role in perpetuating stereotypes and cultural norms. On the example of lexemes extracted from magazines published in the American lifestyle press for men, the analysis considers the structure and gender order reproduced in the texts. To be more specific, the material is obtained from four magazines: "Men's Health", "Maxim", "Playboy" and "Penthouse"[206]. Due to the choice of the recipient, who is a modern reader, the magazines contain current expressions and phrases used in the English language, and the fact that they are addressed primarily to men provides a number of different connotations, mostly stereotypical, related to the topic in question. For the purpose of the study, 75 issues (20 – "Men's Health", 18 – "Maxim", 16 – "Playboy", 21 – "Penthouse") of the magazines published from January 2016 to December 2017 were collected and thoroughly examined. The research procedure is simplified, and the focus is on tracking semantic connotations in the lexical layer. The collected linguistic material was limited to the lexemes ***woman*** and ***man*** (in the singular and plural forms) omitting all their synonyms like ***girl***, ***female*** or ***lady*** and ***male, boy*** or ***gentleman,*** which can also be detected in various modern magazines. Importantly, it is believed here that the precise notion of an Idealised Cognitive Model, as proposed by Lakoff (1987), provides the best framework for a comprehensive description of the concept of WOMAN and MAN respectively (see section 3.7).

[206]I treat the content of these magazines as a relatively uniform material, despite the differences between them at the level of number of pages, content and alleged ideology.

3.5.1 Magazines as a Form of the Media

In most general terms, magazines can be defined as a popular cultural form that belongs to mass culture. They all share some essential characteristics, like the fact that their popularity is seen in circulation figures, and the main purpose of their existence is to bring profit. Moreover, they are read be people from diverse backgrounds and everyone has an easy access to them in public areas. They typically have an easy format, one does not have to read them from cover to cover. The most important factor, however, concerns the fact that they may distort the image of both sexes, as women and men are portrayed there in certain specific, very often stereotypical[207] ways.

It is inevitable that mass media contribute to the dissemination of harmful stereotypes in many modern societies. The information enclosed in the articles reaches millions of people. Because gender is a social construct from birth, women and men learn from various sources how they should behave, and what features, interests, plans, etc. are appropriate for women, and which are appropriate for men; what is feminine, and what is masculine. They are surrounded by people whom they can easily imitate, and the media also provide them with appropriate patterns[208] (see Łysak 2010). Also, the press attracts and directs public attention, uses different methods to persuade people to change their views and influence their behaviour. Popular magazines seem to define reality, legitimise power, and assign the social status. By buying a specific title, both women and men buy the entire 'identity set', which often conveys advice on how to be a 'real woman' and a 'real man'. In this way, magazines are part of a broader network of power and ideology. According to the principle of social proof of equity, if the messages about femininity and masculinity that come from home, from school, from friends, from various media, are frequently repeated, they must be seen as true (cf. Cialdini 2001, Łysak 2010).

The press and its content constitutes the foundation of social behaviour of their recipients. For this reason, it takes part in the process of propagating communal norms and values and thus, might be perceived as part of the socialisation of the individual (it is evident in the selection of thematic sections of the articles). It is also a carrier of information responsible for shaping needs and emotions. It promotes ways of thinking

[207]The stereotype is regarded here as biased, generalising, evaluative and one-sided.
[208]Thus, people remember these patterns as relatively persistent schemes (i.e. stereotypical representations) and they use them on a daily basis when thinking or reacting to individuals, regardless of their unique personal features.

and acting, while its content allows the recipient to identify with the facts they receive, which are depicted as 'normality'. Due to the significant influence of the press, the set of attributes assigned and expected from modern women and men takes on the dimension of the current canon.

Finally, although mass media were once treated as a mirror reflecting social reality, currently, it is suggested that the reality can be determined by the external reflections of this mirror (see Łysak 2010). The contemporary societies are becoming closely linked to mass culture. The aforementioned metaphor of the mirror, although inadequate and often questioned, is still invoked by many individuals, as the press, both for females and males, willingly uses certain mechanisms, mainly to convince readers that it does not interfere with the image of the 'female or male world' presented to them, but that it simply reflects it as it is – and according to the messages it is a world in which gender difference is the most important.

3.5.1.1 Magazines for Women

Magazines for women reach a wide audience and demonstrate the ubiquity of a complicated ideology, providing, at the same time, an ideal medium to study discourses of femininity. They are available across the world and extensively read by millions of women. Despite the various functions they perform and the diverse roles they play in our lives, it is worth mentioning the words by Williams (2012: 6), who claims that:

> "Identity theory maintains that gender identity is an individual's most significant social identity, and that media are primary resources used by individuals to maintain and validate their identity. Magazines in particular are a powerful medium for both reflecting and shaping women's ideas about femininity, for many reasons. […] women's magazines create a connection or bond with readers which gives the images, doctrines, and norms within the magazine validity to readers. Magazines do so by using language to a personal, friendly relationship of an admirable older sister, or friend giving advice to the reader. Women's magazines make women believe they are both an autonomous individual and a member of an elite community of beautiful and successful women. As such, women's magazines serve as a source of information about how to be feminine and how to live one's life as a woman by creating a personal relationship with the reader."

It becomes obvious that while magazines make the readers believe they are fully independent individuals who have the power to address their own problems, they also

encourage them to identify themselves with the feminine community, perpetuating in this way a certain norm. The women's press gives their readers information about femininity (the joys, frustrations and problems), advises on how they should look and behave, what they should feel, but also warns against behaviours that are not feminine enough, by recommending others, in accordance with the established 'standard' (Łysak 2010). Femininity patterns presented in magazines are consistent with those that appear in other media, as well as in various social situations, because they all grow from the same traditions. What is more, such magazines are aimed directly at women as a group, hence their content can be construed and, consequently, treated as representative of feminine ideals. A contemporary reader of magazines for women, one does not have to do anything, just leave her fate to the magazine and it will automatically 'work' on creating the desirable image, beginning with how to dye and comb hair to look like the biggest Hollywood stars, following with the information about the latest trends, addresses of shops where women can buy the most fashionable clothes[209]; ending with some advice on how to meet a handsome man and how to charm him with the tricks and knowledge that the magazine provides in every issue.

Lastly, since magazines change over time, they can be used to reflect and shape contemporary ideals, and although they seem to change with females' realities, certain researchers claim that the magazines for women "are the fifth columnist of the patriarchy and the most effective tool for reproducing women's enslavement (although in a soft version)"[210] (Środa 2009: 341). In such a situation, on the one hand, they became a guide in contemporary reality, but on the other hand, they determine the stereotypical and harmful hegemony of female beliefs, values and behaviours.

3.5.1.2 Sex in Magazines for Women

It may seem that sex constitutes the foundation of men's magazines, but it is also featured in women's press. This fact is confirmed by researches, who frequently claim that sex became "a core feature of women's magazines" (Moran 2018: 319). The feminist movement marked a noteworthy shift in depictions of women as sexual beings, and it

[209]Furthermore, as Karwatowska and Jarosz (2012: 70) imply: "[...] men's outfits are created with them in mind and for them, and women's clothes are made with a man in mind and for him. On the other hand, a man dresses for himself, a woman – for a man, but also (it must be added) for other women" – translation mine.
[210]Translation mine.

seems that sexual content has risen in recent years (see McRobbie 2009). The liberation gave females greater control over their sexuality (see, for instance, Paglia 2011, McNair 2013), yet, in certain ways, it also defined them according to the masculine model (see Gill 2012).

It is certain that there is substantial variability in representations of sex, depending on the type of a magazine. On the one hand, the sexual revolution cannot go any further, because there is nowhere to go – it has virtually broken all possible taboos. However, despite the all-encompassing content in female lifestyle magazines that relates to sex, still, there is obviously little focus – textually or visually – on the appearance of men (see Moran 2018). Significant phenomena affecting the modern state of consciousness and ways of thinking about human sexuality and a male naked body are – appearing in various spheres of culture – manifestations of infatuation with the ubiquity of sex, reluctance to hypersexualism of the media addressed to females, perception of sexoholism and other dark sides of moral changes. An interesting perspective on this topic is offered by Moran (2018: 320) who writes:

> "Contrasts are also evident between women's and men's lifestyle magazines, in a number of regards. For example, while the focus on women's bodies and bodily improvement in women's magazines is typically vis-a`-vis a male gaze, where male bodies are depicted or discussed in men's magazines there is no corresponding female gaze. Further, there is a disjuncture in how sex is represented in each – as the work of femininity and relational issues in women's magazines, with sex going hand in hand with relationships, romantic love and intimacy, but as hedonistic, episodic and recreational in men's magazines, with sex as a marker of individualism."

It can be suggested, then, that women's bodies are notoriously used to embody sex in both women's and men's magazines, and essentially, there is an absence of men's bodies in both genres (cf. Benwell 2003, Attwood 2005).

Paradoxically, we have more social acceptance of a lack of knowledge about sex, specifically male knowledge. Investigating magazines for women, one may encounter entire sections on sexuality. Almost every women's newspaper contains articles with diverse advice on how to please men and what to do to fulfil their erotic fantasies. Conversely, magazines for men are generally packed with sections on things and products that should be owned, and with one predominant message that if you have a car and the right gadgets, all women will succumb to you. Alternatively, from time to time, somewhere in between all this, there is an advertisement for some paramedical for

erection – probably to remind men of the stereotype that sex is strengthening one's own manhood (see the section below 3.5.1.3). This is how the contemporary man is culturally raised – the purpose of sex is primarily to prove his masculinity. In this regard, Moran (2018: 324) writes: "This works to position men and women in competing terms: sex is positioned as the priority for the man, while the woman needs to 'find her libido' because it may result in her losing the thing that is most important to her – her relationship. Men are also positioned as naturally more sexually adventurous than women." Hence, men are immediately perceived as more naturally sexual, and sexual activities are treated as the man's domain. Women, on the other hand, are encouraged to participate in the erotic sphere on male terms, instead of exploring their own desires.

3.5.1.3 Magazines for Men

Magazines for men not only define social reality in a different way, but they also have a strong influence on identity and masculinity itself. It is worth emphasising that today one can encounter a gentle, feminised man, but also the type based on the traditional male dominance pattern. In the past, the masculinity pattern was obvious, but since expectations concerning what it means to be a 'real man' have started to change, there are no longer unequivocal signposts in this respect (see Melosik 2002). It seems that men constantly try to find their place in the changing world and one of the areas that construct and suggest certain patterns is the press[211]. Undoubtedly, the magazines for men become a guide around the complicated present-day reality. To a considerable extent, they determine the new hegemony of male beliefs, values and behaviours (Rutherford 2003), constituting one of the main references to discourses of male identity. Although one may argue whether they are just a reflection of reality, its reproduction, or a simple manipulation and a tool responsible for the creation of reality, I personally assume that male press constitutes a source of social masculinity. For this reason, it is worth analysing such magazines, treating them as an area of defining social reality and male identity.

Men's magazines attempt to capture the construct of masculinity as a form of fundamental certainty. In a great number of men's magazines, men and women are treated

[211]It needs to be emphasised that the discourses devoted to building masculinity in the media are therefore never complete, they are temporary, because the contemporary man is constantly redefined and read again. Although some patterns exist, they are constantly changing, and, for this reason, they are often variable and transitional.

as individuals located on opposite poles of sexual identity and desires (a man might be perceived as the one who wants to brutally possess a woman, while she dreams of bathing by candlelight and a romantic evening). Women are often overlooked, unless they are a sexual object – but even in this case, they do not hold the equal status. In this regard, various magazines offer the picture, where the only value in the masculine world is to release sexual tension, and what is more important, only the man counts here. A woman (even as a wife) is completely objectified, reduced to the role of a tool. There is no room here even for emotions, let alone a mystery. Sex is actually just physiology, the rest is an addition. Taking all this into account, a great part of men's magazines, in particular those which are subject to this examination, try to maintain the old patriarchal model of masculinity.

Another significant aspect pertains to the tone of men's magazines, that is predominantly cynical, ironic (although sometimes irony is not subtle, but intrusive), playful, anti-heroic. They are distinguished mainly by sarcastic humour, swearing, gossip, advice and letters to the editor, the occurrence of sexism, sport, problems of a man's body and health and the ubiquitous consumer attitude. It should be noted, however, that in direct interaction irony can be shown by means of paralingual, non-verbal signals, such as intonation or gesturing, or the form of a question, while in the written text it is sometimes more difficult to detect the ironic content (ridiculous claims, hyperboles). However, one can see that irony in the magazines for men is often reserved for articles about relationships and competition between men in the workplace. Analysing individual magazines, one can come to the conclusion that they are often an area of identity changes, the development of consumer society, and they touch upon current gender problems. On the one hand, they can be considered as an area enabling radical changes, on the other hand, one can indicate the possibility of distancing oneself from any significant involvement in these changes.

Eventually, considering the socio-cultural studies and my own knowledge of the magazines, I selected four titles that represent four dissimilar positions in the ideological spectrum, especially when it comes to the sphere of sex: "Men's Health" can be regarded as a neutral magazine, "Maxim" as progressive, "Playboy" as a 'soft-porn' magazine, and "Penthouse" as one with elements of 'hard-porn'[212]. However, I would argue that the

[212]Of course, one has to bear in mind that due to the specificity of different kinds of magazines, in the pornographic ones the easiest way to attract recipients is through intriguing nudity, subtle or more promiscuous eroticism.

division of magazines into those that shape lifestyle, and those containing mainly pornographic content is unnecessary. This approach seems to be fully justified due to the interweaving of the topics of these types of press. Magazines that create a lifestyle very often raise the subject of sexual life. It can be said that the boundaries between these types of magazines have become blurred, because magazines for men are unifying – those that concern female bodies and sex, frequently contain articles about lifestyle, and those that are at first sight perceived as lifestyle, contain some sex-related content. What is more, an important reinforcement of all the messages they convey is guaranteed by the fact that the magazines also have their websites on which the above-mentioned values are promoted. The use of two media, such as the press and the Internet, facilitates the dissemination of the magazines' philosophy and also makes it easier to reach a larger group of potential recipients.

3.5.1.3.1 "Men's Health[213]"

The "Men's Health" periodical is an international magazine. It belongs to lifestyle magazines that promote a specific way of living, recommending healthy alternatives for modern active male representatives. The readers of this magazine are men aged 18-49, for whom success, professional activity, physical and intellectual attractiveness, as well as satisfying erotic relationships are particularly important[214]. The thematic content revolves mainly around sport, healthy eating and movement in general[215]. The goal of the magazine is to promote healthy routines, but also usually to emphasise the fact that the main symbols of masculinity are strong shoulders and a muscular, fit body that is always well dressed.

In "Men's Health" one can find a vast amount of information about diets and exercises, the analysis of symptoms and descriptions of diseases, advice, suggestions and recommendations on how to stay fit and live long. Men's magazines are one of the areas where social reality, identity and masculinity are constructed by providing the images of ideal model bodies. They present the contemporary men with immediate ways to dispose

[213]The choice of the source was also based on the fact that the magazine contains the lexeme ***men*** in its title, which might suggest that it should contain specific connotations of a man referring both to his ideal and stereotypical characteristics.
[214]https://www.menshealth.com/about/a29134632/about-mens-health/.
[215]Bear in mind, however, that the issue of health and body is addressed in men's magazines in two ways. Sometimes it concerns the ironic approach to health and a healthy lifestyle, emphasising that it is better to drink beer and watch a match than to take part in it.

of signs of fatigue after yesterday's party and suggestions on the impact of the man's condition and physical fitness on the possibility of sexual satisfaction of his partner. Nevertheless, the message is ambiguous. The issues of the man's body and health, are only seemingly connected with the issue of sport in men's magazines. Sport is not only a way to maintain good health, but rather to maintain a dominant role in sexual relations.

3.5.1.3.2 "Maxim"

"Maxim" is an international monthly magazine aimed at men, one of the most popular magazines in the USA with over 2.5 million people buying it every month, founded in 1995 in the UK, with 28 language editions. It is known for publishing stripped photos and articles about popular actresses, singers and models. It is directed at men with a sense of humour and who are curious about the world. There are, among others, numerous interesting interviews, unique columns, reports and, of course, beautiful women. In addition, the magazine contains automotive and fashion sections – both shown in a dynamic and interesting way, adapted to the lifestyle of modern readers.

Magazines such as "Maxim" are often referred to as 'lad mags' because of their obtuse and adolescent-type content. As mentioned earlier, on their pages one can find articles on sex, sport, alcohol, various images of the pinup-type women, all of which construct a world of male fantasy where attractive women exist exclusively as sex objects. Also, the tone of the magazine is very specific and can be best summarised by the statement of the founding member of "Maxim" – Sean Thomas (Dines 2010: 33), who claims:

> "Magazines like *Maxim* are not in the business of news reporting – there are papers and TV stations for that. No, the purpose of the lad mag is to tell guys that it is OK to be guys – to drink beer, play darts, and look at girls. When we started *Maxim* we consciously felt that we were leading a fight-back against the excesses of sneering feminism. I believe we succeeded."

This apparent opposition to feminism frequently features masculinity as aggressive and predatory, as a considerable number of articles treats "on how to please her, not for her sake, but as a way for him to manipulate her into having more sex" (Dines 2010: 34). Sex is almost always casual and men-oriented, whereas the intimacy and relationship building are rarely discussed. Undoubtedly, such magazines constitute another source that offers

stereotypical and harmful perceptions of sex as predominantly androcentric, and men's sexuality as concentrated on conquest and variety.

3.5.1.3.3 "Playboy"

"Playboy" is a 'soft-core[216]' magazine that was started in 1953 by a 26-year-old young journalist Hugh M. Hefner, who decided to launch an elegant and completely apolitical men's journal. America was waiting for such a liberal magazine that would promote pleasure, sex and style. It is often perceived as a luxury monthly magazine, aimed at the modern, wealthy and educated reader, who comes from a big city, quickly overcomes the next levels of career advancement and enjoys the wide range of pleasures. He is a man who loves the beauty of the female body, endowed with good taste, who values high quality of life, willingly travels even to distant corners of the world, is open to all kinds of novelties and closely following trends in art, technology, science, fashion[217] and automotive. The magazine attracts the potential customers also with its high quality of paper and print, beautiful photos, modern content and humour.

"Playboy" was an immediate success story, with circulation growing rapidly from 53,991 in its first month to almost 175,000 by the first anniversary issue (see Dines 2010). It owes its success to the continuation of the rich American tradition of pin-up girls, featured instead of highly stylised, almost unreal projections of men's fantasies. Glamorous girls and movie stars were replaced with the girls from everyday life, posing naturally in their real-life sceneries. In addition, as Bell and Hollows (2016: 84) notice "[p]layboy was […] very self-consciously a lifestyle magazine that did not address an audience of mass consumers but consumers who yearned for distinction."

However, despite its generally progressive inclination, some articles containing the definitively misogynist messages[218] were published, particularly in the 1950s and

[216]It can be positioned on the fuzzy boundary of the PORNOGRAPHY category and can be treated as the central member of the category SOFT PORNOGRAPHY (see Crespo-Fernández 2015), as in centrefold of the magazine one may find a beautiful young woman, in an implicitly sexually inviting pose, where the aesthetic considerations are important. This stands in opposition to hard pornography that is typically perceived as more offensive and violating some moral standards.

[217]It is worth mentioning that men's magazines exist and develop due to interrelated factors, among others, moderate evolution that took place in the minds of men, and the constantly growing market of consumer goods. The current standard of a real man who only deals with work, but is not interested in his own appearance, is slowly disappearing. The cheeky national macho is slowly giving way to a man who knows and wants to take care of his own style, appearance and health.

[218]On the other hand, Pitzulo (2008) also writes about "Playboy"'s progressive stance on women's rights, with its particularly vocal support of abortion.

early 1960s (see Pitzulo 2008). Reynolds (2017: 5) accounts for this problem in a similar way, by claiming: "Beyond its centerfolds, Playboy encouraged the capitalist consumption of women's bodies as objects and sexual experience as conquest." Many recipients argue that "Playboy" promotes a hedonistic and easy-going lifestyle which is characterised by the general sexual abandon, yet couched in a predominantly traditional depictions of feminine beauty, often animalised and objectified, and masculine desire (see Dines 2010). Such 'dehumanisation of women' might have some serious social consequences, since as Reynolds (2017: 6) notices: "Young men looked to Playboy for advice on many aspects of masculinity, including the sexual roles they should play with women and the way they should enact sexuality within groups of other men", and magazines for men can still constitute a socialising agent for teenagers, who explore their sexuality and learn how to act in a manly manner.

3.5.1.3.4 "Penthouse"

"Penthouse" is an American erotic monthly magazine for men, founded in 1965 by Bob Guccione. While "Playboy" celebrated triumphs as an erotic magazine, which was nevertheless quite subtle in the message, there was a demand for more literal content. On the wave of popularity of the American original, a lot of similar magazines were created, among them "Penthouse" coming from Great Britain. It was aimed to compete with "Playboy" by copying its format of offering both lifestyle and erotic side, yet, it made the pictorials more sexually explicit. Indeed, unlike the soft-core "Playboy", the magazine presents highly erotic content, sometimes considered pornographic. It tends to be more explicit in its focus on simulated sexual intercourse, women's genitals, group sex and overall sexual violence.

To summarise, male magazines, such as those mentioned above, not only present masculinity patterns, but their very existence is the result of discussions on ideals and ideological change regarding the concepts of sex, femininity and masculinity in contemporary cultures. In this sense, men's magazines are particularly important for researching gender patterns. What is more, they cannot be seen – despite their numerous separatist declarations – as standing in complete opposition to women's magazines, because they have grown on their model and, in their own way, they duplicate their organisational structure and ideas. Like women's magazines, they introduce their readers

to a narrow and leading gender pattern, and provide clear information of what it means to be a man nowadays[219].

3.6 Research Procedure

The research undertaken in this chapter combines qualitative and quantitative analyses in the study of the lexemes ***woman*** and ***man*** in four American men's magazines in order to investigate the role of written language in creating and maintaining some of stereotypical perceptions that shape current gender ideologies. Precisely, it tries to investigate the relationship between the aforementioned lexemes and their most frequent context of use. The lexical analysis is based on issues from 2016 and 2017 of the magazines[220] mentioned in section 3.4. The quantitative results provide objective data, i.e. data that can be verified and which enables to respond to certain statements in a scientific manner; they also further allow a more detailed qualitative analysis. This, in turn, gives insights into the ideological weight of lexemes in their linguistic context, and allows to assess the impact of mass media on social life.

3.7 The Analysis of the WOMAN and MAN ICMs

Humans are categorised along diverse dimensions, yet nobody can deny the fact that sex is one of the most important factors, and that the very process of designating people to particular categories is performed at the conceptual level which is frequently manifested in language. Taking into account the social perspective, the categorisation of humans raises a number of problems as they are always subject to overgeneralisation, or stereotypical thinking. The following part of this section contains an outline of the most common aspects identified in the study which can be assigned to various submodels belonging to and creating the whole conceptual network of cognitive models of **WOMAN** and **MAN**, such as **BODY**, **FASHION AND CLOTHES**, **PHYSICAL TRAITS**, **PHYSICAL**

[219]It can be suggested, however, that sometimes they leave no choice whether to implement, modify or reject the promoted model.

[220]Also, some other magazines appear in the study, yet they were chosen solely as a point of reference, and therefore, claims about the magazines for women appearing in the following discussion should be interpreted as tentative hypotheses to be verified in further examinations. Nevertheless, they may provide some useful insights conducive to understanding the gender ideologies in the press for women. Particularly, they can demonstrate that similar topics can be portrayed in two different ways, depending on the recipient of the magazine (see Kurowska 2018).

PROCESSES AND ACTIVITIES, **PSYCHOLOGICAL FEATURES AND PROCESSES**, **WORK AND EDUCATION**, **LEISURE**, **SOCIAL LIFE**, **LOVE AND SEX**, and **FAMILY LIFE**[221].

As mentioned before, from the Cognitive Linguistics point of view, language seen as a general product of cognitive abilities is not an arbitrary structure. It is grounded and motivated in human bodily, social, physical and cultural experiences because, as Johnson (1992: 347) suggests, "we are beings of the flesh". Human categorisation constitutes one of the most significant issues in Cognitive Linguistics, simply because the ability to categorise different phenomena is an essential part of cognition. Lakoff's view of categorisation is focused on Idealised Cognitive Models, which can be understood as conventionalised patterns of belief used in the process of understanding (Lakoff 1987). His proposal concerning ICMs strongly implies that in many cases, when one has to deal with such complicated concepts as WOMAN and MAN, one simple ICM is not sufficient to define their meaning. Therefore, Lakoff coined the structure known as the **cluster model**, which involves combining several cognitive models into one complex cluster that is "psychologically more basic than the models taken individually" (Lakoff 1987: 74). As a result, the semantic categories of the concepts of WOMAN and MAN should be described not as one single ICM, but rather as a cluster consisting of many different aspects that best define the category in question. For example, a woman is not only a person who cares about external appearance, or one who stays at home as a housewife. Neither can the man be defined by just one single ICM. The understanding of the concepts of WOMAN and MAN undoubtedly requires reference to a cluster of several ICMs (see the sections below).

Finally, the image of gender is motivated by objective properties of objects as well as by subjective factors, e.g. the point of view of the editors of a given magazine. A set of such factors seems to create a stereotype that contains not only descriptive but also axiological properties, such as values, norms or personal patterns. Stereotypical perception of the world is, therefore, the result of the interpretation of reality within the framework of social cognitive models. Both the **WOMAN ICM** and the **MAN ICM** presented and analysed below can be perceived as a conceptual network (cluster) that consists of one general definer: woman and man respectively (Langacker's 'access

[221]As one might expect, the list of submodels discussed below cannot be seen as finite and complete. However, it is strongly believed here that this account covers the major areas describing modern women and men, at least within the Western civilisation.

node'[222]) and several related prototypical associations (the network built by submodels). Once the network of the concept WOMAN or MAN is activated, we obtain a whole set of propositions that are neatly arranged according to their degree of centrality. In this way, the source of prototype effects is created. To get a complete picture of this phenomenon, the examples excerpted from the magazines were divided into ten submodels[223], corresponding to the content of the magazine, and several dozen aspects that allow a more precise systematisation of the material.

3.7.1 Submodels and their Internal Division

The following part of the thesis contains an outline of the most common aspects identified during the investigation which can be assigned to various submodels belonging to and creating the whole cognitive model of **WOMAN** and **MAN**, such as **BODY**, **FASHION AND CLOTHES**, **PHYSICAL TRAITS**, **PHYSICAL PROCESSES AND ACTIVITIES**, **PSYCHOLOGICAL FEATURES AND PROCESSES**, **WORK AND EDUCATION**, **LEISURE**, **SOCIAL LIFE**, **LOVE AND SEX**, and **FAMILY LIFE**. As one might expect, the list of submodels discussed below cannot be seen as finite. Furthermore, one of the negative aspects of the theory of ICMs is that in the media discourse there is a predominant tendency towards strong idealisation and stereotyping of women and men in popular magazines (also those with pornographic content). This demonstrates the cognitive structuring of reality in the human mind – the submodels such as **LOVE AND SEX** and **PHYSICAL TRAITS** frequently form the idealised prototypes of the categories in question[224]. The positive aspect, on the other hand, allows the existence of many submodels which reflect the views of the society precisely and from a much wider perspective.

Number	Submodels of **WOMAN ICM** and **MAN ICM**
1.	**BODY**
2.	**FASHION AND CLOTHES**
3.	**PHYSICAL TRAITS**
4.	**PHYSICAL PROCESSES AND ACTIVITIES**

[222]On this issue see Langacker (1990).
[223]When determining the names of submodels and aspects constituting their further and more detailed developments, I mainly used the work of Spychała-Reiss (2009), although with some changes and new details selected for the purpose of the analysis.
[224]The most represented submodels of the complex cluster usually characterise the most typical representative of a category, that is the prototype.

5.	**PSYCHOLOGICAL FEATURES AND PROCESSES**
6.	**WORK AND EDUCATION**
7.	**LEISURE**
8.	**SOCIAL LIFE**
9.	**LOVE AND SEX**
10.	**FAMILY LIFE**

Table 1: Submodels of the **WOMAN** and **MAN ICM**s

3.7.2 Metonymic Model

As mentioned in Chapter One, metonymy is defined as "a cognitive process in which one conceptual entity, the vehicle, provides mental access to another conceptual entity, the target, within the same domain, or ICM" (Kövecses and Radden 1998: 39). This view suggests that humans acquire access to a mental activity via another mental activity. According to the methodological assumptions undertaken here, the stereotypes of WOMAN and MAN can be best described as metonymic ICMs in which the prototypical member of a given category stands for the whole category (hence <PART FOR WHOLE>) or a particular characteristic feature describes and stands for the whole category, in compliance with cultural expectations (Lakoff 1987: 85-86). The activation of a particular submodel provides access to the whole ICM. In other words, it can be stated that such a submodel serves as a vehicle through which the target (that is, the **WOMAN ICM** and **MAN ICM** respectively) can be accessed. For this reason, metonymy may constitute a typical cognitive mechanism involved in the formation of stereotypical models of a woman and man. Indeed, it seems logical to assume that the target concept is that of WOMAN and MAN. The vehicle, on the other hand, can be best characterised as a particular ATTRIBUTE or a PERSON possessing those attributes, which inevitably suggests the frequent metonymic patterns presented in the analysis:

- <ATTRIBUTE FOR WOMAN>
- <ATTRIBUTE FOR MAN>
- <ATTRIBUTE POSSESSOR FOR WOMAN>
- <ATTRIBUTE POSSESSOR FOR MAN>.

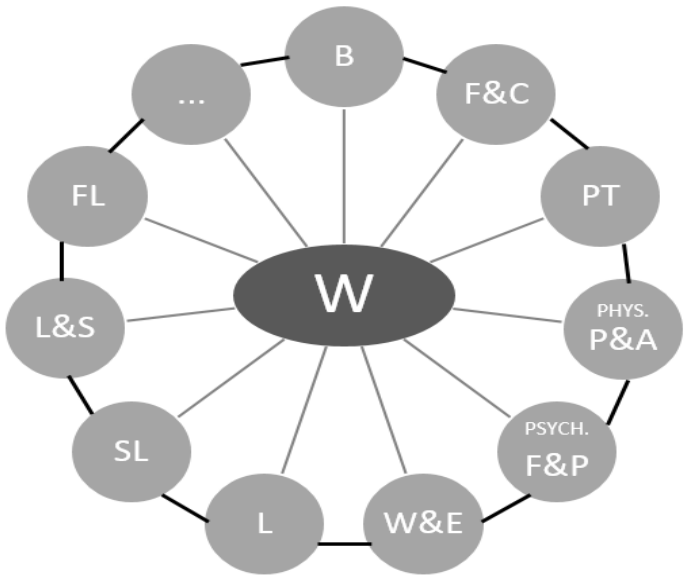
3.7.3 Concepts of the WOMAN and MAN as Idealised Cognitive Models

At the beginning, it must be emphasised that the models of WOMAN and MAN should be seen as stereotypical, or, to be more precise, idealised[225]. They do not correspond neatly to reality (Lakoff 1987:70) and include not only people's encyclopaedic knowledge of the domains in question but also the cultural models they are part of. As has been noted above, it is not possible to describe such complicated notions as ***womanhood*** and ***manhood*** with one single model. For more complex phenomena, one should expect to find a cluster of models, hence they can be best described as the **WOMAN ICM** and the **MAN ICM** which consist of a cluster of metonymic models.

3.7.3.1 The Structure of the WOMAN ICM

The phenomena and experiences involved in this cluster can be graphically presented as follows:

WOMAN ICM



WOMAN ICM
W – Woman

SUBMODELS of WOMAN ICM
B – Body
F&C - Fashion and clothes
PT - Physical traits
PHYS. P&A - Physical processes and activities
PSYCH. F&P - Psychological features and processes
W&E - Work and education
L – Leisure
SL – Social Life
L&S - Love and sex
FL - Family life
… - other submodels

Figure 2: A graphic representation of the **WOMAN ICM** in the analysed magazines

[225]Lakoff's wording (1987).

The larger inner circle represents the concept WOMAN, hence it constitutes the core, from which a number of extended submodels, represented by smaller outer circles emerge. The smaller outer circles (that is, the submodels) are obviously connected to the central point, but also to one another. Thus, the information that a woman cares about her appearance may activate other beliefs about her as a member of this group, concerning for instance education or sex life[226]. Using more technical terminology, the submodel **BODY** that belongs to the **WOMAN ICM** provides a point of access to the whole network (cf. Langacker 1987: 163).

3.7.3.2 The Structure of the MAN ICM

The model of a MAN should also be seen as stereotypical and interpreted as a cluster of metonymic models. The phenomena and experiences involved in this cluster can be graphically presented as follows:

MAN ICM

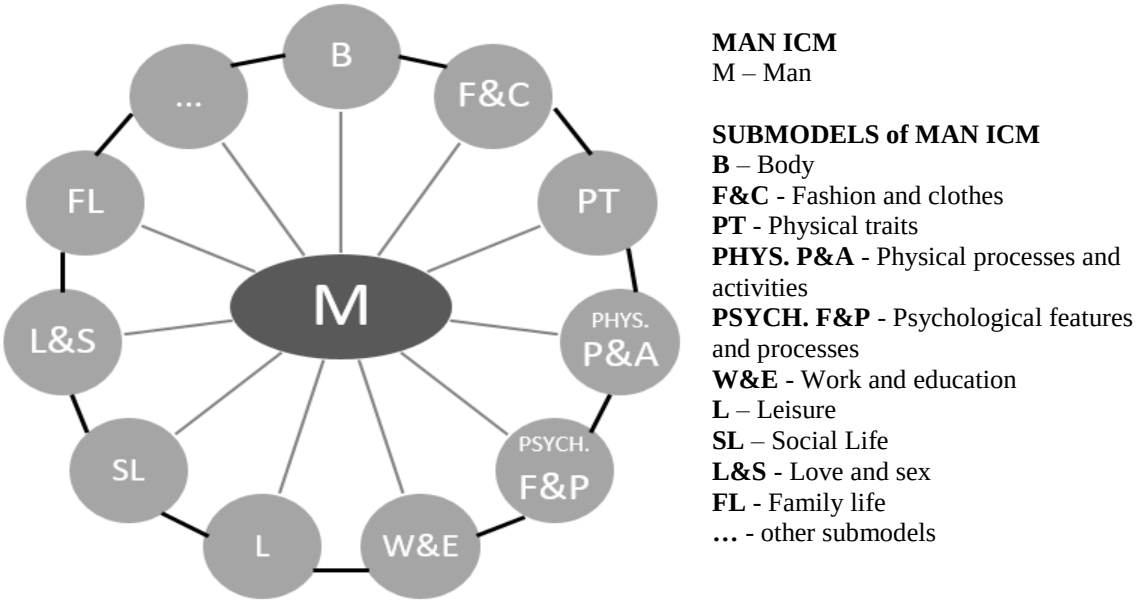


Figure 3: A graphic representation of the **MAN ICM** in the analysed magazines

[226]One has to remember that the model is schematic and simplified and it does not present more complex network of connections between the submodels.

The structure of the **MAN ICM** is exactly the same because the excerpts found in the analysed magazines have been classified into the same fields, which are mostly universal for the HUMAN BEING category, but differ in terms of the percentage distribution and frequency of occurrence. The larger inner circle represents the concept MAN, hence it constitutes the core of the cluster, and the submodels, represented by smaller outer circles, are positioned around the centre. The smaller outer circles (that is, the submodels) are also connected to the central point and to one another.

Proceeding further, let us now look at the different poles of femininity and masculinity, and consider how much the image of a woman and man presented there is subjected to unfair simplifications and stereotypes, or how likely it is to promote diversity and individuality.

3.7.4 The WOMAN and MAN ICMs in "Men's Health"

The lexeme ***woman*** (both in the singular and plural forms) appears in "Men's Health" up to 211 times, while the lexeme ***men*** up to 490. Of this, as many as 179 of their uses fall on the fifth submodel – **PSYCHOLOGICAL FEATURES AND PROCESSES.** In fact, such a result is by no means accidental. Without a doubt, there are many requirements for a woman and man in the 21st century and a number of them may be linked to emotional intelligence and behaviour. The second most productive submodel is **LOVE AND SEX** with 141 excerpts, and the third – **PHYSICAL PROCESSES AND ACTIVITIES** with 104 examples identified[227].

Number	Submodels of **WOMAN** and **MAN ICM**s	Sex distinction	Excerpts	Total
1.	**BODY**	Woman Man	2 16	18
2.	**FASHION AND CLOTHES**	Woman Man	1 6	7
3.	**PHYSICAL TRAITS**	Woman Man	32 57	89
4.	**PHYSICAL PROCESSES AND ACTIVITIES**	Woman Man	17 87	104

[227]Yet, one needs to bear in mind that if individual lexemes are taken into consideration, the productivity of submodels is slightly different, i.e. for a ***woman*** the most productive submodel is **LOVE AND SEX** (79 excerpts), then **FAMILY LIFE** (37 excerpts), followed by **PSYCHOLOGICAL FEATURES AND PROCESSES** (36 excerpts). For a ***man*** the most productive submodel is **PSYCHOLOGICAL FEATURES AND PROCESSES** (143 excerpts), then: **PHYSICAL PROCESSES AND ACTIVITIES** (87 excerpts), and finally: **LOVE AND SEX** (67 excerpts).

5.	**PSYCHOLOGICAL FEATURES AND PROCESSES**	Woman Man	36 143	179
6.	**WORK AND EDUCATION**	Woman Man	4 47	51
7.	**LEISURE**	Woman Man	1 27	28
8.	**SOCIAL LIFE**	Woman Man	2 0	2
9.	**LOVE AND SEX**	Woman Man	79 67	141
10.	**FAMILY LIFE**	Woman Man	37 40	77
TOTAL		Woman Man	211 490	701

Table 2: The number of excerpts found in "Men's Health" divided into submodels of the **WOMAN** and **MAN ICM**s

The detailed data related to the collected language material is presented below. Excerpts containing the lexemes ***woman*** and ***man*** have not only been assigned to the specific submodels, but they have been further divided into more detailed aspects that facilitated the process of categorisation.[228]

Number	SUBMODELS of **WOMAN** and **MAN ICM**s	Number of excerpts		Aspect covered by particular submodels	Number of excerpts	
		Woman	Man		Woman	Man
1.	**BODY**	2	16	a) hair b) face, skin, shaving	0 9	7 2
2.	**FASHION AND CLOTHES**	1	6	a) clothes and shoes b) elegance, good look	1 0	3 3
3.	**PHYSICAL TRAITS**	32	57	a) attractiveness, beauty b) bodybuilding, weight, diet c) ageing d) cosmetics and hygiene	22 3 5 2	14 27 11 5
4.	**PHYSICAL PROCESSES AND ACTIVITIES**	17	87	a) food, cooking b) sleeping c) crying d) death e) health, illnesses f) pregnancy, fertility, paternity/maternity g) pain, physical suffering	0 0 3 3 3 3 0	8 5 6 12 41 11 2

[228]It should be noted that some of the examples, due to the fact that they concern different thematic areas, have been assigned to more than one thematic category, simply because it is not always easy to identify the submodel emerging from a specific phrase. For this reason, apart from clear cases that involve the activation of one particular submodel, there are certain associations of the lexeme ***woman*** and **man** that require the activation of more than one submodel.

				h) speaking, communicating	5	2
5.	**PSYCHOLOGICAL FEATURES AND PROCESSES**	36	143	a) fear, confusion, stress b) loneliness c) sadness, bad mood, depression d) shame e) joy, enthusiasm, happiness f) thinking, overthinking, wondering g) dreams, desires h) self-analysis, criticism i) intelligence j) life experience k) mental fatigue l) activity, resourcefulness, strength m) passivity, helplessness, apathy, feeling of discrimination n) feeling of freedom, independence, emancipation o) guilt p) responsibility q) self-esteem, confidence, sense of security r) mental health, feeling of abuse s) support, advice, sharing t) violence, aggression, anger u) dishonesty, tricks	1 0 0 0 0 8 0 3 2 4 0 5 0 0 0 1 3 0 2 4 3	11 2 6 3 0 17 5 10 7 4 2 20 5 0 0 0 20 5 10 13 4
6.	**WORK AND EDUCATION**	4	47	a) promotion, career b) work, profession, work environment c) education d) earnings, economic situation, position	0 0 1 3	16 14 4 13
7.	**LEISURE**	1	27	a) holidays b) alcohol, drugs c) parties, social meetings d) sport, games	0 1 0 0	0 1 0 25
8.	**SOCIAL LIFE**	2	0	a) shopping b) community, social and political activity	2 0	0 0
9.	**LOVE AND SEX**	79	67	a) sexual techniques and behaviours b) betrayal, divorce c) contraceptives	64 14 1	47 20 0

10.	**FAMILY LIFE**	37	40	a) marriage, relations, love b) children, bringing up c) family, relations with mother, father d) housekeeping	31 0 4 2	27 8 5 0

Table 3: The number of excerpts found in "Men's Health" divided into submodels of the **WOMAN** and **MAN ICM**s and their internal division

3.7.4.1 The Structure of the WOMAN and MAN ICMs

The general structure of the models is presented in the sections above. Obviously, some of the submodels are more productive than others and although a simple table presenting the quantitative data in detail should be both supportive and accommodating in comprehending the material, the percentage distribution may be helpful in better visualisation of the concepts in question.

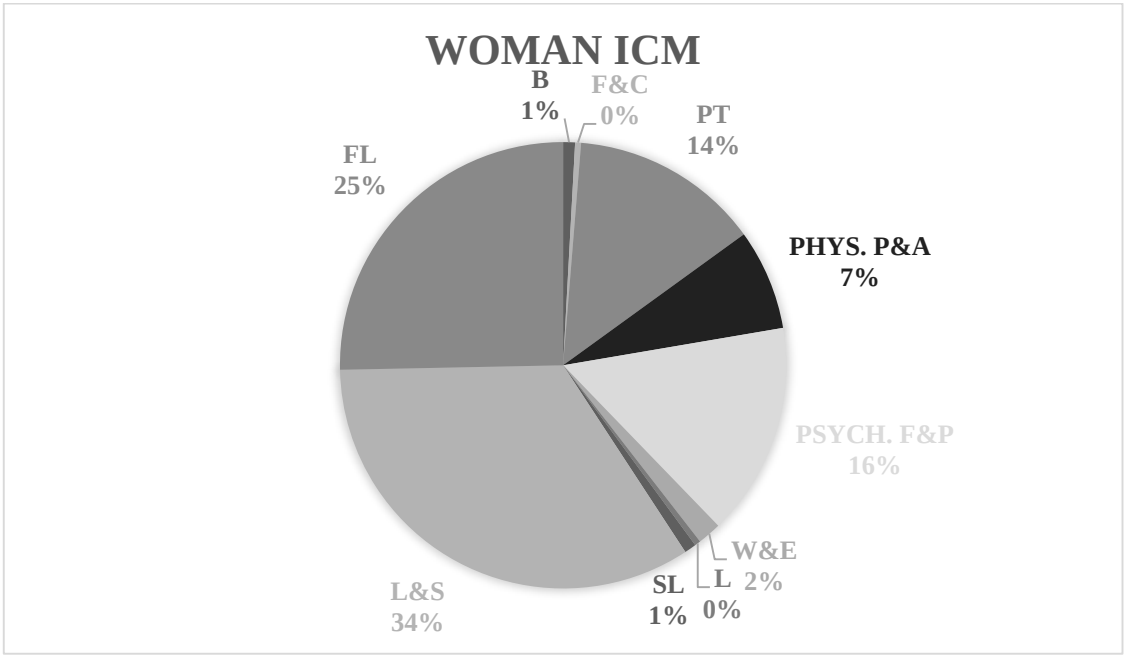


Figure 4: Productivity of submodels of the **WOMAN ICM** in "Men's Health"

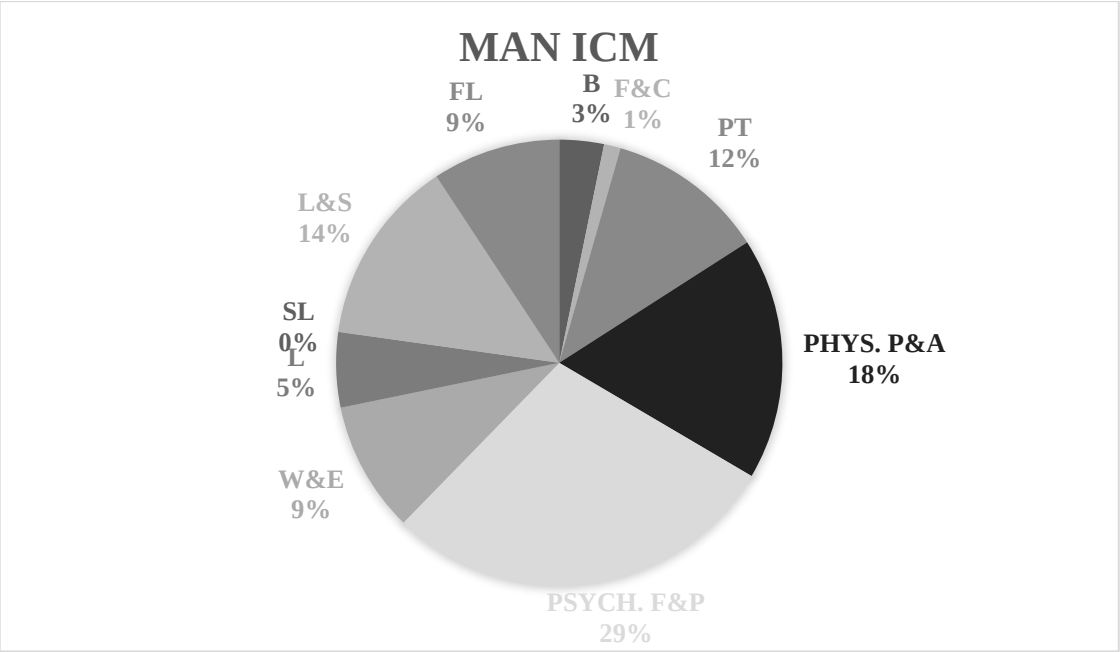


Figure 5: Productivity of submodels of the **MAN ICM** in "Men's Health"

3.7.4.2 The In-depth Analysis of the WOMAN and MAN ICMs in "Men's Health"

As mentioned so far, the lexeme ***man*** appears in "Men's Health" 488 times, while the lexeme ***woman*** appears 211 times. Three most productive submodels will be considered separately in the following subsections (the fourth subsection **– Other Submodels** – contains some essential excerpts that help in presenting the stereotypical images of women and men).

3.7.4.2.1 The PSYCHOLOGICAL FEATURES AND PROCESSES Submodel

As has been demonstrated above, the **PSYCHOLOGICAL FEATURES AND PROCESSES** submodel is the most productive one when it comes to men, as it contains as many as 143 excerpts (29% of the material collected), and one of the most productive ones as far as women are concerned (16%). While we cannot state with complete certainty that such a model is the most productive in all types of magazines for men, together with a large number of other men's magazines dedicated to health and psychology available on the market, it points to the fact that women and men pay a considerable attention to

their mental wellbeing and health. This phenomenon may be illustrated by the descriptions and statements included in the following part.

Men, by their very nature, get angry easily; they have problems with controlling their emotions (13 excerpts). Anger might be considered as a natural reaction when things do not go our way or people do not behave as expected, but when it overwhelms us, it becomes destructive:

> "But men are also at risk from another set of emotions: anger." "Men's Health" 4/2017: 126

> "The men in my family have a history of acting on impulse. My father once got drunk on St. Patrick's day, painted his horse green, and rode bareback into a honky tonk with a woman who wasn't my mother." "Men's Health" 1-2/2017: 120

> "In men, depression often goes undetected because it manifests as anger, not sadness." "Men's Health" 4/2017: 120

In other words, quite frequently, one may encounter a situation where men cannot control themselves while being in the state of agitation, and women cannot react to such aggressive acts with similar force. Rather conversely, the most often perpetuated properties of the female character are dependency, emotional fluctuation and the ease of forgiveness:

> "Women have huge hearts." "Men's Health" 1-2/2017: 34

> "Piled in a dark corner, they're laughing at the modern you, their desperate women hoping a man can save them from Nazi torture masters and flesh-ripping weasels." "Men's Health" 7/2017: 122

What is more, the interesting application of this idea is that women unnecessarily complicate many things. Even though everything seems to be going well, they are healthy, achieve success, have a happy family and satisfying relationships, they might abruptly experience the emotional irritability. It is often said that this is the result of oversensitivity or the proverbial complication of life by force. Such a stereotype is preserved in the following examples:

"Asking a woman a question complicates things." "Men's Health" 3/2017: 18

"Women – and relationships – are more complicated than that." "Men's Health" 5/2017: 19

"A big mistake men make is trying to put themselves in a woman's shoes". "Men's Health" 12/2016: 112

Considering the **PSYCHOLOGICAL FEATURES AND PROCESSES** submodel further, one may notice that the feminine logic concerning relationships is definitely negative and dismissive. It seems to be a general feature of women that they easily succumb to the sweet words and charm of men. The statements:

"Listening? Good start. Women are easier to impress than you think." "Men's Health" 11/2016: 38

"Flirty lines work well to attract women who are more outgoing." "Men's Health" 6/2017: 42

perpetuate the image of females as mindless and easy to get beings. In seeking to understand the similar phenomena, it may be stated that other characteristics discovered during the process of analysing the data relate to character, behaviour and conduct, and the following examples illustrate, for instance, that modern men can be insecure and confused (altogether 11 excerpts were identified in the category of 'fear, confusion, stress'):

"Does that make me less of a man?" "Men's Health" 7-8/2017: 44

"Sometimes, when it comes to others, doing what you don't want to do is what helps define you as a man." "Men's Health" 7-8/2017: 44

"We live in challenging times, Tom, and it's a lot harder to be a man today." "Men's Health" 4/2016: 40

"Men today are confused, conflicted, and in crisis." "Men's Health" 5/2016: 36

In comparison to women, males are not willing to ask for help and they do not feel the need to bond with other people and share the problems and hardships of everyday life. A modern woman looks for support and feels the need for community with other women. She wants to meet them as often as possible and she is aware of the strength flowing from spending time together with them. She also likes to share secrets and give friendly advice which may be viewed as an example of metonymy structured as <ADVISER FOR WOMAN>. However, the reluctance of men to share thoughts and internal experiences is made clear by a series of sentences:

> "Men can be reluctant to admit they're depressed, let alone ask for help." "Men's Health" 1-2/2017: 28

> "Depression and anxiety are often overlooked in men because guys try to tough it out." "Men's Health" 3/2017: 12

> "Don't struggle alone, brother. Real men know when to call for help." "Men's Health" 2/2016: 124

> "Most men are familiar with classic risk factors like blood pressure and cholesterol, but they tend to miss the mental, emotional, and even spiritual issues that relate to the heart." "Men's Health" 4/2017: 115

In this scenario, men are equally reluctant to show emotions and they never allow themselves to show weaknesses. It would seem, therefore, that they associate fragility with a typically feminine feature and they avoid it in all possible ways:

> "A man's instinct is to hide his tears." "Men's Health" 10/2016: 40

> "Men avoid crying for the same reasons we avoid being overcome with joy." "Men's Health" 10/2016: 40

> "People see them and think men were so hard and severe back then." "Men's Health" 9/2016: 40

"The downfall of some fathers is that they are men, and men don't ask for help." "Men's Health" 5/201: 125

"As men, we think we can control everything." "Men's Health" 5/201: 127

Moreover, men are supposed to be strong all the time. The stereotype of a strong individual: a warrior who comes out of the cave and hunts a mammoth is ingrained in our mentality. The epitome of masculinity, which we call 'macho', has dominated for hundreds of years and it still may be found in many countries and cultural circles. This model presents a resilient, decisive man who dominates in all social practices, also in political terms – rules the world and women. The following sentences indicate the strong consolidation of that feature:

"Strength is the hallmark of a successful man." "Men's Health" 5/2017: 93

"A man's strengths can be revealed in many ways." "Men's Health" 5/2017: 116

"Some men think apologizing is a sign of weakness." "Men's Health" 4/2016: 87

"Men are obsessed with the idea that we're supposed to be tough." "Men's Health" 9/2016: 88

Coming to an end, men's magazines perpetuate various general myths about masculinity, like relying on logic, categorising and being under constant pressure to control everything (as many as 20 excerpts were assigned to the fifth submodel within the aspect of 'activity, resourcefulness, strength'):

"Men like to categorize things." "Men's Health" 4/2017:78

"Men especially are goal-oriented." "Men's Health" 1-2/2017: 138

"As men, we think we can control everything." "Men's Health" 5/2017: 127

However, one has to bear in mind that the aspects such as fear, depression, overthinking, independence, confidence, aggression and many more, are not just labels denoting

objectively existing things and phenomena, but fully independent expressions with assigned semantic implications, based on the categorisation of phenomena made by a human being (in this case by the editor or authors of articles published in the magazine under study). On the one hand, they allow us to describe the world perceived by the individual in a subjective way, thus emphasising the activity of human cognition and language in relation to the world. On the other hand, such categorisation, especially made by the media, may be manipulative and harmful.

3.7.4.2.2 The LOVE AND SEX Submodel

Even seemingly neutral magazines emphasise this sphere of life, providing numerous tips of how to care about the erotic life, diversify it, surprise the partner, and what the real man can expect from women:

> "Is there one best spot to touch on a woman to get her going?" "Men's Health" 6/2017: 22

> "Distractions can ruin sex for women; we require concentration to get off." "Men's Health"7-8/2017: 24

> "The Modern Man's Rulebook." "Men's Health"1-2/2017: 31

> "There's no better partner than the one who introduces you to new perspectives, experiences, skills, and the reverse cowgirl." "Men's Health"1-2/2017: 117

In the sexual domain, women are usually presented as passive, objectified sexual objects, aimed at satisfying masculine needs, while men are assigned the role of often polygamous conquerors and undisputed women's rulers. They like obedient partners, who easily forgive mistakes and various shortcomings:

> "In fact, your idea of the perfect woman is somebody who will acquiesce to pretty much anything." "Men's Health" 4/2017: 85

To a considerable extent, such sentences reflect the patriarchal order of the world in which women constitute a second, vulnerable, worse sex with a whole range of flaws and vices.

Yet, behind all these critical remarks, then, lurks a more fundamental claim that men think about sex all the time and they cannot control their sexual instincts (67 excerpts):

> "Men think about sex 19 times a day, or once every 50 minutes, an Ohio State University study found." "Men's Health" 12/2016: 112

> "Some men seem unwilling or unable to stop when the urge strikes," says Katie Schubert, Ph.D., a sex therapist based in St. Petersburg, Florida." "Men's Health" 6/2017: 125

> "It's hard to ask a man to see himself the way others do. Especially a man who's busy looking at the ladies and not at himself." "Men's Health" 4/2017: 11

In bed, men concentrate predominantly on their own pleasure. They live in a conviction that only with the initiation of sexual intercourse and emphasis put on pleasure one is able to bring satisfaction, and, at the same time, the confirmation of their own strength, power and advantage over the partners. Along with their misconceptions, it is hard for them to accept that their female companion may have had other sexual partners in the past:

> "'Most men can't deal with hearing about their partner's sexual experience unless she's saying how big or great he is,' she told me." "Men's Health" 4/2016: 89

> "'Men think sex was great if they had an orgasm and their partner seemed happy,' says *MH*sex advisor Debby Herbenick, Ph.D." "Men's Health" 2/2016: 108

Continuing the topic of sex and intimacy, one may notice that women are clearly defined in this category given that – the lexeme ***woman*** appears there 79 times. Females seem to be primarily depicted in terms of sexual behaviour and experiences. At this point, it would be reasonable to ask for certain explanations of such a state of affairs. First of all, women are usually perceived as being pretty and sexy. They spread a special aura that undoubtedly attracts men:

> "You can tell the pretty women in the room." "Men's Health" 5/2016: 18

> "A beautiful woman has a discernible energy, a feeling; you can hear it, that confidence." "Men's Health" 5/2016: 18

Secondly, they are presented as sexually active and open to new experiences, which is unlikely to be confirmed in women's magazines. Both women and men love sex, yet, they approach it differently. The claims like:

> "Read Her Dirty Mind: Women reveal their secret desires." "Men's Health" 3/2017: 3

> "Nearly half the women surveyed have tried light bondage." "Men's Health" 3/2017: 104

> "Sure enough, when we asked women what they like in bed, words like 'take charge,' 'get rough,' and 'dominance' came up – a lot." "Men's Health" 3/2017: 104

> "Women are seeking no-strings attached sex more than ever before." "Men's Health" 3/2016: 79

> "Bring Up the Rear More women than ever are saying that they've enjoyed anal sex, says Berman." "Men's Health" 2/2016: 110

always arise within the sphere of men's fantasies widely influenced by the world of pornography which focuses on the image of a woman based on subordination and instrumentalisation. Furthermore, that builds and strengthens the stereotype of a woman as a servant, it gives permission to oppression and propagates violence against women.

As far as the relationships are concerned, both sexes are also treated stereotypically. Men, although not so much involved in the relationships, especially in the emotional sense, may have problems with honesty (20 excerpts belong to the aspect: 'betrayal, divorce'), and magazines like "Men's Health" still reproduce the stereotype that men cheat more often than women, because that is precisely their nature.

> "The biggest relationship mistake men make is lying, says Chopra." "Men's Health" 1-2/2017: 34

There is also evidence to suggest that women possess extensive knowledge concerning relationships and are more skilful in breaking up, and this is the sphere, in which men still need to learn a lot:

> "That's one way women send a message. She has a thing for you and senses that you have a thing for her." "Men's Health" 7/2017: 22

> "CHALK UP ANOTHER THING THAT women do better than men: break up." "Men's Health" 1-2/2017: 115

> "The right way to make a clean break from the wrong woman." "Men's Health" 1-2/2017: 115

> "Divorce: How Men Get Screwed. What every married man should know." "Men's Health" 4/2016: 5

Although men care about the gene transfer, they treat children as a potential threat that absorbs their partners' attention and they frequently postpone fatherhood for later:

> "A man may find himself at the end of the queue for affection. It's easy for him to feel unappreciated and even a smidge resentful, says Alman." "Men's Health" 5/2016: 139

> "But science could help the growing number of men who've postponed paternity." "Men's Health" 7/2017: 81

To sum up, there are certain social expectations and patterns of achieving masculinity and femininity; not all of them combine with the same prestige and respect. Magazines have various suggestions for constructing a man's identity, but traditional masculinity is still a point of reference, a certain norm, as it stands at the top of the hierarchy of masculinity. The dominant man is a person controlling reality, his life and his body. Such a conviction has negative effects, limits the possibility of seeking help and does not allow to admit the weakness or dysfunction of the body. For this reason, it is worth analysing the submodel **PHYSICAL PROCESSES AND ACTIVITIES** which contains 17 excerpts for women, but, more importantly, 87 for men.

3.7.4.2.3 The PHYSICAL PROCESSES AND ACTIVITIES Submodel

Central to further analysis is a belief that a man is insensitive to pain, resistant to diseases which – if they have already occurred – are fought by the power of their own

will and body. A man who controls the world and his body is certainly the one that the society likes to reward. For this reason, a traditional pattern usually constitutes the best reference point in the process of construing individual masculinity. Men who ignore health problems or postpone visits to doctors are afraid that admitting their weaknesses (here: some ailments) may threaten their identities, because they believe that the reliability of their bodies constitutes the evidence of their true masculinity:

> "Men are brought up to not talk about their health." "Men's Health" 9/2016: 89

> "Now this is a man who knows his body better than a Ferrari mechanic understands the F136 engine." "Men's Health" 1-2/2017: 103

> "But we are merely men, and for our bodies, the rule is different: If it ain't completely broke now, give it a few years and it might be." "Men's Health" 12/2016: 115

When it comes to the sphere of food and eating, both women and men pay special attention to what they put on their plates. Yet, although a number of contemporary men are concerned with being fit and following the right diet:

> "Men today smoke less, exercise more, eat better, and read *Men's Health.*" "Men's Health" 4/2016: 121

> "Most men in pursuit of a balanced body divide their strength training equally between pushing and pulling." "Men's Health" 1-2/2017: 104

> "'What do you bench?' is gym small talk, sure, but it's also a quick way to take the measure of a man." "Men's Health" 1-2/2017: 52

> "Men who exercise regularly pump more blood with each heartbeat than those who are less active, according to U.K. research." "Men's Health" 4/2017: 117

they can sometimes be ignorant about their health. Those two elements of life are not always easy to disentangle, which might easily point to a paradox:

> "Millions of men have hidden liver trouble. Follow our advice to keep yours healthy." "Men's Health" 1-2/2017: 90

> "Men Ignore Prostate Surgery Effects." "Men's Health" 4/2016: 12

Yet, all recommended treatments, exercises, and healthy nutrition are to contribute to preventing aging and taking full advantage of the charms of life; and that is what the contemporary men often do:

> "In fact, research shows that over the past 16 years, the use of botulinum toxin type A, which includes Botox, has jumped more than 350 percent among men. In 2015 alone Warding off wrinkles is only one reason that men are lining up for a shot of the neurotoxin." "Men's Health" 9/2016: 82

Nevertheless, it is evident that their reluctance to admit to certain problems connected with health stems from their unwillingness to show their weakness and lack of control. Furthermore, these assumptions are at odds with what women think about healthy lifestyle and diet. Men's continuous pursuit of meeting the social and gender requirements may lead to competitiveness and aggression:

> "Can You Beat the Fittest Man on Wall Street?" "Men's Health" 3/2017: 84

> "Women are rarely rewarded for anger the way men are." "Men's Health" 12/2016: 128

In this respect, the world has changed little given that the stereotype according to which men should not complain is still lingering. If they begin to talk about their problems, the message will be spread into the environment, and this carries the risk of reducing male attractiveness, which, in turn, creates a vicious circle. It is strongly associated with the loss of one's face which refers to one's sense of self-image, dignity and prestige in social contexts.

3.7.4.2.4 Other Submodels

In the **WORK AND EDUCATION** submodel, a man is stereotypically perceived as a person who is supposed to work and occupy managerial, better-paid positions, and the metonymic associations like <EMPLOYEE FOR MAN>, <ASSERTIVE PERSON FOR MAN>, <SUCCESSFUL PERSON FOR MAN> still hold tight. One might even suggest two other metonymic patterns, namely <INFERIOR WORKER FOR WOMAN> and <SUPERIOR WORKER FOR MAN> that perfectly show the unequal compartmentalisation of gender:

> "A man talking about his work, his beliefs, what he stands for? That's sexy." "Men's Health" 1-2/2017: 34

> "A confident man lands dates and conducts meetings with authority." "Men's Health" 4/2016: 85

> "Where some of the world's most successful men turn for inspiration." "Men's Health" 7-8/2016: 24

The **FAMILY LIFE** submodel seems to be productive both in reference to women and men. One conclusion that emerges from the aforementioned findings is that women are still stereotypically perceived as the main caretakers of home and family, hence the attributive functions of HOUSEWIFE and MOTHER which stand metonymically for the whole category of WOMAN (<HOUSEWIFE FOR WOMAN>, <MOTHER FOR WOMAN>)[229] and they feel unappreciated in what they do:

> "Women face extraordinary demands that are seldom fully appreciated by men," says relationship therapist Paul Hokemeyer, Ph.D." "Men's Health" 4/2016: 30

On the other hand, the second conclusion allows us to look at the importance of women in the family from a different perspective. It is enough to analyse the following examples:

[229]The home-related associations more frequently and more quickly evoke the figure of a woman rather than a man.

"Everything I know about being a man I learned from a woman." "Men's Health" 5/2017: 123

"My mom is a strong woman, eager to stand up for herself and her family." "Men's Health" 5/2017: 123

Both excerpts refer to the concept of a mother as a person in a family environment who realises various social roles. She creates home and meets the biological, caring, psychological and social needs of family members, especially children. A mother also fulfils varied maternal functions towards her son, shaping his personal characteristics, social norms, behaviours, thus having a huge impact on his emotional and social development later in life.

3.7.4.3 Concluding Remarks

Closing the above considerations – although a summary of such diversified phenomena seems almost impossible – it must be said that the linguistic images of a woman and a man are internally differentiated. On the one hand, the man appears to be a macho: he is inaccessible and emotionally cool and he does not need support. On the other hand, in a changing world, where the emancipation of women takes on a new level, the man begins to feel uncertain and needs to confirm his masculinity at every turn (surprisingly, 20 excerpts belong to the sphere of 'self-esteem, confidence, sense of security'). The woman appears to be a complex being, perceived, above all, in terms of her sexuality and the role she plays in male-female relationships (79 examples fall within the scope of the ninth submodel, hence **LOVE AND SEX**, and 37 within the scope of the tenth submodel – **FAMILY LIFE**). What is more, the basic division of labour between women and men, their established relationships and the hierarchical command structure, place the woman in an unequal situation and a subordinate position in relation to the man. At the same time, as men are stereotypically perceived as a stronger sex, the right to enjoy the world and rule over it, reserved throughout the course of history, is saved. The participation of women in life one more time seems to be limited to the obligation to bear and raise children and, even more importantly, to obey the masculine power and to satisfy male's sexual desires. Having surveyed this issue from various angles, it might be suggested that the strongest gender stereotypes for men are the ones that put them in the

position of unlimited power, superiority and competitiveness and that they should be firm and tough. In turn, the strongest gender stereotypes for women are that they are more emotional, aware of others' feelings, kind and warm. Finally, this collection cannot give the full flavour of the contemporary image of every woman and every man on the planet, and accepting one frame of reference (here the images depicted in "Men's Health") in isolation from any other can be a simple recipe for ignorance and narrow-mindedness.

3.7.5 The WOMAN and MAN ICMs in "Maxim"

The lexeme ***woman*** appears in "Maxim" only 81 times, while the lexeme ***men*** 112. Out of this, 39 examples represent the second submodel – **FASHION AND CLOTHES** – and, the same number of excerpts (39) belong to the fifth submodel – **PSYCHOLOGICAL FEATURES AND PROCESSES**. The third most productive category is the **PHYSICAL TRAITS** submodel with 29 examples identified[230].

Number	Submodels of **WOMAN** and **MAN ICM**s	Sex distinction	Excerpts	Total
1.	**BODY**	Woman Man	8 8	16
2.	**FASHION AND CLOTHES**	Woman Man	6 33	39
3.	**PHYSICAL TRAITS**	Woman Man	24 5	29
4.	**PHYSICAL PROCESSES AND ACTIVITIES**	Woman Man	0 0	0
5.	**PSYCHOLOGICAL FEATURES AND PROCESSES**	Woman Man	15 24	39
6.	**WORK AND EDUCATION**	Woman Man	8 15	23
7.	**LEISURE**	Woman Man	5 13	18
8.	**SOCIAL LIFE**	Woman Man	1 3	4
9.	**LOVE AND SEX**	Woman Man	9 7	16
10.	**FAMILY LIFE**	Woman Man	5 4	9

[230]As in the case of "Men's Health" magazine, the productivity of individual submodels is somewhat different, i.e. for a ***woman*** the most productive submodel is: **PHYSICAL TRAITS** (24 excerpts), then: **PSYCHOLOGICAL FEATURES AND PROCESSES** (15 excerpts), followed by **LOVE AND SEX** (9 excerpts). For a ***man*** the most productive submodel is **FASHION AND CLOTHES** (33 excerpts), then: **PSYCHOLOGICAL FEATURES AND PROCESSES** (24 excerpts), and finally: **WORK AND EDUCATION** (15 excerpts).

TOTAL		Woman Man	81 112	193

Table 4: The number of excerpts found in "Maxim" divided into submodels of the **WOMAN** and **MAN ICM**s

The table with more detailed data related to the collected language material may be found below. Again, excerpts containing the lexemes ***woman*** and ***man*** have been further divided into more specific aspects that facilitated the process of categorisation.

Number	SUBMODELS of **WOMAN** and **MAN ICM**s	Number of excerpts		Aspect covered by particular submodels	Number of excerpts	
		Woman	Man		Woman	Man
1.	**BODY**	8	8	a) hair b) face, skin, body c) breasts	3 5 0	6 2 0
2.	**FASHION AND CLOTHES**	6	33	a) clothes and shoes b) elegance, good look	4 2	21 12
3.	**PHYSICAL TRAITS**	24	5	a) attractiveness, beauty b) bodybuilding, weight, diet c) age d) cosmetics and hygiene	19 3 1 1	0 1 3 1
4.	**PHYSICAL PROCESSES AND ACTIVITIES**	0	0	a) food, cooking b) sleeping c) crying d) death e) health, illnesses f) pregnancy, fertility, abortion g) pain, physical suffering	0 0 0 0 0 0 0	0 0 0 0 0 0 0
5.	**PSYCHOLOGICAL FEATURES AND PROCESSES**	15	24	a) fear, confusion, stress b) loneliness c) sadness, bad mood, depression d) shame e) joy, enthusiasm, happiness f) thinking, overthinking, wondering g) dreams, desires h) self-analysis, criticism i) intelligence j) life experience k) mental fatigue l) activity, resourcefulness, strength	1 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 1 0 0 3	0 0 0 0 0 1 5 0 0 4 0 9

				m) passivity, helplessness, apathy, feeling of discrimination	1	0
				n) feeling of freedom, independence, emancipation	6	0
				o) guilt	0	0
				p) responsibility	0	1
				q) self-esteem, confidence, sense of security	1	3
				r) mental health, feeling of abuse	0	0
				s) support, advice, sharing	0	0
				t) violence, aggression	0	0
6.	**WORK AND EDUCATION**	8	15	a) promotion, career	2	3
				b) work, profession, work environment	4	4
				c) education	0	0
				d) earnings, economic situation, position	2	8
7.	**LEISURE**	5	13	a) holidays	0	4
				b) alcohol, drugs	0	3
				c) parties, social meetings	1	1
				d) sport, games	4	3
8.	**SOCIAL LIFE**	1	3	a) shopping	0	0
				b) community, social and political activity	1	3
9.	**LOVE AND SEX**	9	7	a) sexual techniques and behaviours	9	7
				b) betrayal, divorce	0	0
				c) contraceptives	0	0
				d) prostitution	0	0
				e) pornography	0	0
10.	**FAMILY LIFE**	5	4	a) marriage, relations, love	5	2
				b) children, upbringing	0	0
				c) family	0	2
				d) housekeeping	0	0

Table 5: The number of excerpts found in "Maxim" divided into submodels of the **WOMAN** and **MAN ICM**s and their internal division

3.7.5.1 The Structure of the WOMAN and MAN ICMs

By analysing individual features and classifying them into submodels, the magazine "Maxim" is presented as an area of identity changes and the development of consumer society. On the one hand, the data demonstrated below depict men's magazines as an area enabling radical changes; on the other hand, they indicate the possibility of

distancing male members of the modern society from any significant involvement in these changes. As the percentage distribution reveals, the articles included in the "Maxim" magazine portray both progressive and stereotypical conceptualisations of women and men (it should be noted that the image of a man is somewhat progressive, while the image of a woman is still more traditional).

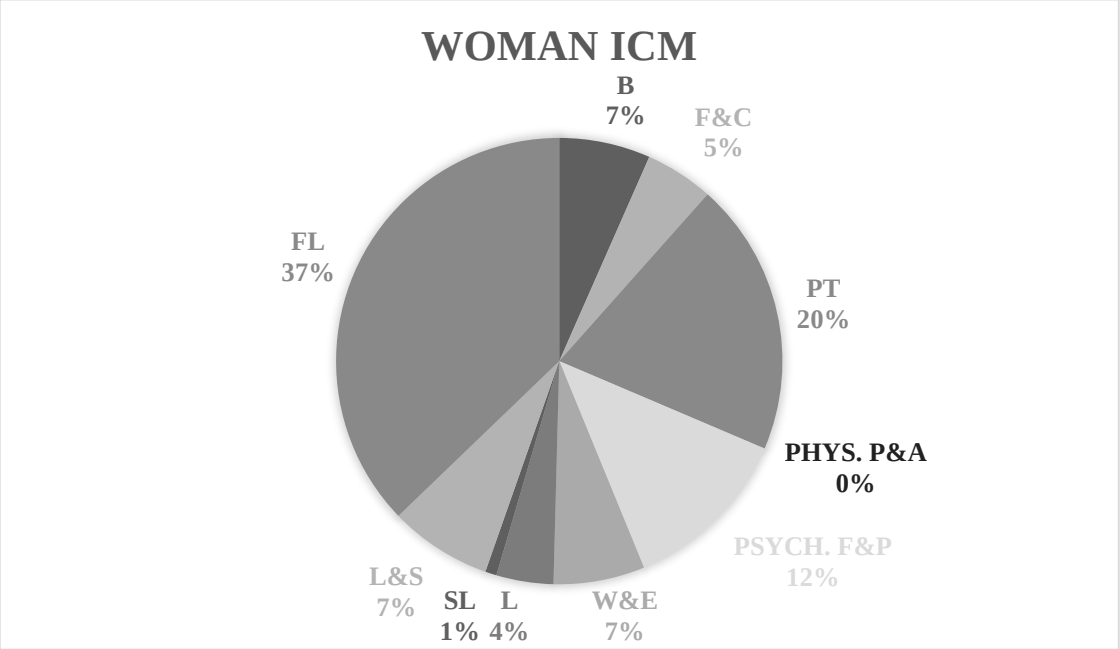


Figure 6: Productivity of submodels of the **WOMAN ICM** in "Maxim"

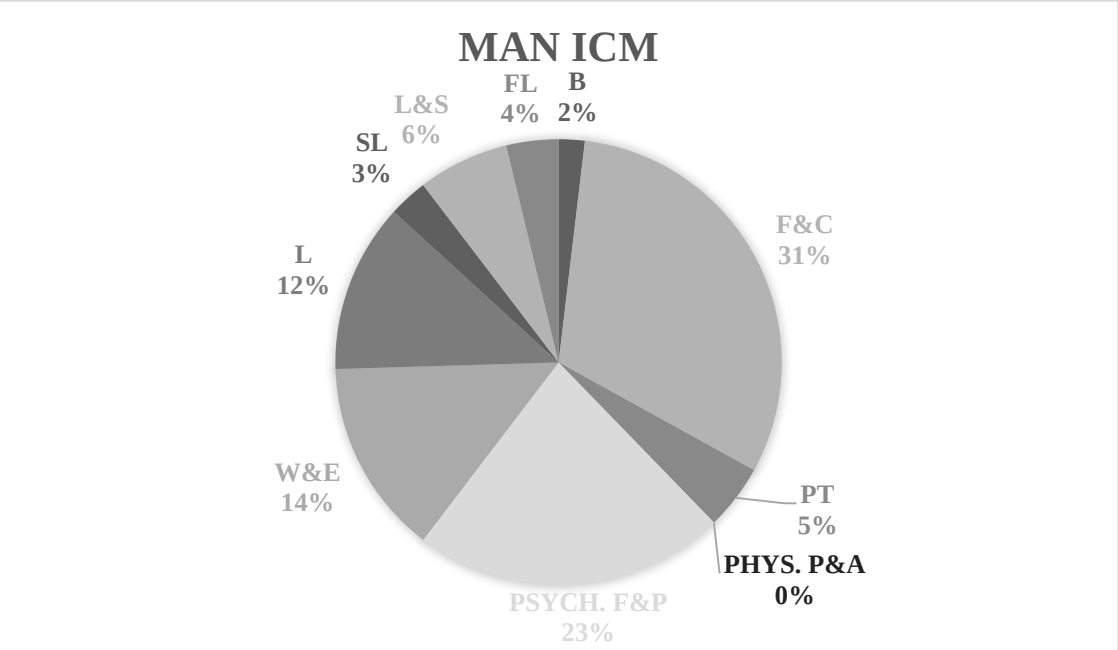


Figure 7: Productivity of submodels of the **MAN ICM** in "Maxim"

3.7.5.2 The In-depth Analysis of the WOMAN and MAN ICMs in "Maxim"

As the aforementioned tables illustrate, the lexeme ***man*** appears in "Maxim" 112 times, which constitutes a surprisingly low number in comparison to other male magazines. The lexeme ***woman*** appears 81 times, mostly in connection to physical attractiveness. Three most productive submodels will be considered separately in the following subsections (the fourth subsection – **Other Submodels** – contains excerpts associated with work, career, sex and relationships).

3.7.5.2.1 The FASHION AND CLOTHES Submodel

The **FASHION AND CLOTHES** submodel is mostly productive in reference to men (33 excerpts out of 39). For this reason, it may be suggested that more and more men spend considerable amounts of time and money on their appearance, according to the conviction that the latter matters more than ever. Males are interested in the latest trends and follow them even more restrictively than women:

"Wide-legged pants have staged a very real comeback into men's wardrobes." "Maxim" 5/2016: 8

"It speaks to a new generation of men really interested in tailored clothing." "Maxim" 5/2016: 68

"For some men a tie clip could be a matter of life and death." "Maxim" 9/2016: 14

Although one may think that focusing on the body means that men admit to their weakness and surrender to an advantage that up until recently has been held by women, now they are beginning to treat it as an investment: their appearance determines the well-being, defines relationships with women, influences their professional career; it also gives a kind of advantage over other men. It is an important element of masculinity: the right appearance reinforces the feeling of being a man, belonging to this group, strengthens the male ego. All of this is evidenced by the following examples:

"Real men wear scarves, and wear them well." "Maxim" 1/2016: 4

"It understands how men want to dress." "Maxim" 4/2016: C2

Clearly, the opinion that paying attention to the appearance testifies to the high standard of living and modernity seems to be promoted. For this reason, even powerful men are not immune to caring about their outfits:

"Extravagant items for the man who thought he had everything." "Maxim" 12/2017: 8

"But that's how the world's most stylish men dress these days, and even conservative menswear makers have taken note." "Maxim" 10/2016: 83

It can be concluded then that the readers of "Maxim" are constantly encouraged to spend more money on clothes and become interested in fashion and luxurious accessories. Although the women's clothing sector is still selling more globally, men's clothing sector is growing at a faster pace. Men focus on quality, they like originality, so instead of duplicating fashion patterns, they choose tailor-made attires. They are

definitely more adventurous, they can spend money faster, but they treat it as an investment in their individuality.

3.7.5.2.2 The PSYCHOLOGICAL FEATURES AND PROCESSES Submodel

The submodel **PSYCHOLOGICAL FEATURES AND PROCESSES** is as productive as the previous one. The lexeme ***woman*** appears there 15 times, mostly in relation to 'feeling of freedom, independence, emancipation'. The lexeme ***man***, in turn, appears 24 times and it is predominantly associated with two aspects: 'activity, resourcefulness, strength' (9) and 'dreams, desires' (5).

These considerations should start with the statement that in business women have proven many times that success is also a woman. They reached the tops, crossing the borders of their own fears and weaknesses, as well as cultural boundaries, freeing themselves from the corset of stereotypes. The women's version of the business creates new development opportunities for local and global communities, offering a range of unique female features such as relationality, understanding and communication. Despite all this, female success is still often linked to their attractiveness and sexual appeal:

> "The search for a *Maxim* Covergirl begins with one simple idea: identifying the women who have taken our world by storm with their attitude and their hotness." "Maxim" 1/2016: 85

Another feature worth paying attention to is the female tendency to worry for no reason:

> "Worrying is women's work." "Maxim" 10/2016: 8

In stressful situations, women more often combine action with speculation – they analyse their problems, break them down into prime factors, instantly recall facts from the past and data on similar cases. When it comes to the other sex, courage is seen as one of the key elements of masculinity, and everyone should be guided in life by the values that define males in the eyes of others. Hence, the contemporary man is supposed to be adventurous, valiant and active:

> "That is, if the guides decide you're man enough – only a handful of people in the world have ever done it in Antarctica." "Maxim" 4/2016: 62

Only by exhibiting these qualities, they can prove that they are manly enough, as the dominant masculinity model includes such statements or orders. Aware of the ruthlessness of the model, a contemporary man prefers to risk his own health rather than disappoint the expectations of others. Masculinity must always be proven in many areas: in sport, sex, family and knowledge. In those spheres, stereotypes seem endless.

3.7.5.2.3 The PHYSICAL TRAITS Submodel

The media's perception of a contemporary woman seems to be closely associated with consumer culture models and mass behavioural liberalisation. The basic factor defining the identity of a woman has become her appearance. For females, appearance is not just a feature – as is the case of men; it might be said that a woman is her look, she is her body and face:

> "Photographer Steven Lyon is probably best known for his cinematic, black-and-white portraits of some of the world's most exquisite women, who more often than not pose for him wearing nothing more than a provocative pout." "Maxim" 4/2016: 54

> "Maxim's annual round-up of the world's most beautiful women." "Maxim" 6-7/2016: 4

> "Photographer Vincent Peters captures the timeless allure of the world's most arresting women." "Maxim" 10/2016: 82

In fact, the beautiful female body has now become the key site where gender is enacted and displayed on a daily basis. To be feminine equals being attractive and sexy, and it might be suggested that women have internalised the male gaze so much that they need to face the rigor of consumption, visuality and must be able to function in new standards:

> "The stunning portraits of Bjarke, Johansen and Simon Rasmussen's 100 Great Danes celebrate Scandinavia's sexiest women." "Maxim" 2/2016: 83

> "Their project, *She is Cuba*, chronicles the country's aesthetic allure and rich cultural pathos through the faces of some of the island's most beautiful women." "Maxim" 4/2016: A10

It may be even suggested that, according to the magazine, external beauty and corporeality are the basic criteria for assessing modern women, and that nowadays nobody pays attention to the mind and personality. What is more, being attractive, often makes them weaker and vulnerable:

> "Did you feel vulnerable being an attractive young woman in Hollywood?" "Maxim" 3/2016: 76

Indeed, the **PHYSICAL TRAITS** submodel is so productive because female body has been more sexualised and displayed in the media than ever before. Some people consider it as a continuation of the objectification of women, while others perceive it as empowering and a fight against objectification:

> "If a woman likes to post about her body, that doesn't make her a slut, desperate, or dumb." "Maxim" 8/2017: 31

Such contradictions in the images presented to men may create confusion and a number of problems, proving, at the same time, that most women do not fit into only one gender ideology. However, some cultural expectations still serve as standards against which people judge themselves and others, which might lead to the situation in which a lot of women have to face unrealistic demands to fulfil.

3.7.5.2.4 Other Submodels

The "Maxim" magazine also features some examples from the submodels: **LOVE AND SEX** (16), **WORK AND EDUCATION** (23) and **FAMILY LIFE** (9). First of all, women are portrayed as caring, nurturing, attentive; they are enacting traditional femininity which frames them as communal, social, and striving towards love:

> "Women are very focused on finding their true love." "Maxim" 4/2017: 32

However, the image of a woman who wants to demonstrate that she is equal to men and does not want to be constrained by some stereotypes of a weak body is also existent. Nowadays, many women can become professional athletes, and, not infrequently, some media embrace new notions of femininity that contain strength, competitiveness and muscles. It can be treated as a move away from traditional depictions of fragility, subservience and dependence, and bring some advantages also in the erotic sphere:

> "Why muscular women are overpowering my libido." "Maxim" 1/2016: 33

> "We're turned on by a woman who can shove us across a bedroom." "Maxim" 1/2016: 33

Even those who are reluctant to possess a muscular body and be considered as physically tough may very well pursue their work career. Women, in the **WORK AND EDUCATION** submodel might be described from two different perspectives. The first one is that contemporary women are still treated as 'the beautiful sex', but not necessarily weaker and financially dependent on men. They are featured as strong and achieving career goals:

> "Here, Maxim looks at some of the most successful women in business around the world." "Maxim" 6-7/2017: 90

> "The most beautiful, bold, and brilliant women in the world." "Maxim" 6-7/2017: 4

The second point of view depicts women as not capable of holding serious positions, typically engaged in modelling, preferably in stripped photo sessions:

> "After the Calzedonia campaign launched her to continental fame, Sampaio started working alongside Adriana Lima and Behati Prinsloo as an Angel – the perfect job for a woman with a penchant for posing sans clothing." "Maxim" 5/2016: 40

Men, in contrast, are stereotypically said to strongly believe in their efficiency and their immense self-confidence is commonly underlined. They portray themselves as competent and skilled, which frames them as agentive, seductive and powerful:

"'Gimme a Michter's Celebration,' Wags says with the confidence of a man who knows what he wants." "Maxim" 9/2017: 26

"What are the most seductive qualities a man can have? Humor, kindness, confidence, and being nonjudgmental." "Maxim" 2/2016: 60

The traditional ideal of masculinity is also represented in men's magazines by pop culture icons, celebrities (such as footballers, boxers, actors) or people performing dangerous jobs, as well as owners, CEOs and managers of large companies:

"The big bets that made Sheldon Adelson Las Vegas' most powerful man." "Maxim" 4/2017: 56

Those people are perceived as heroes, which is why they are idealised and glorified, and not everyone, or actually few, can match them. Therefore, masculinity is still seen as a monolith, a set of features that are a condition of being called a real man.

3.7.5.3 Concluding Remarks

The subject of the analysis in this subsection are some issues presented in the "Maxim" magazine. The focus is mainly on analysing the images of women and men, taking into account the specificity of the magazine, highlighting and presenting its most important features, such as the occurrence of new sexism, consumption and the issues of body and appearance of women and men. The readership of "Maxim" is mainly presented with a wide range of diverse materials, including the nude photographs, life style articles on clothing, food, design, art, sport, travel and various commentaries by some of the most prestigious figures in American business, culture, politics and economics.

The emerging image of a woman is mainly stereotypical. She is engaged in sexual activities (9 excerpts – **LOVE AND SEX** submodel) and feels the independence in various spheres of her life, including career (6 excerpts – 'feeling of freedom, independence, emancipation' aspect), yet her professional path is often limited to the modelling industry. In this regard, the female body constitutes one site which has received a great deal of attention in this analysis, since one may portray many competing ideologies through the body. A woman featured in "Maxim" is defined through her attractiveness

and beauty (24 excerpts – **PHYSICAL TRAITS** submodel), with a lot of focus put on body and face (8 excerpt – **BODY** submodel). This, however, is not surprising given that women have always been able to use their bodies to portray their recognition of traditional beauty, and to distance themselves from the negative associations of aggression and toughness, on the other hand, the body might be regarded as the prism through which females accept cultural notions of attractiveness, and intentionally tend to display it as a further reinforcement of the idea that femininity is adornment.

The men's stories revolve around appearance (33 excerpts – **FASHION AND CLOTHES** submodel, 8 excerpts – **BODY** submodel), self-confidence, resourcefulness and strength (24 excerpts – **PSYCHOLOGICAL FEATURES AND PROCESSES** submodel), as well as rising to challenges (15 excerpts – **WORK AND EDUCATION** submodel). A man depicted in this magazine is active (9 excerpts), consistent, determined (5 excerpts – 'dreams and desires'), brave, mentally strong, devoid of complexes. He is also one who can impose his will when necessary, but he is not a tyrant; intelligent, with a sense of humour and distance to his person, a realist (4 excerpts – 'life experience') who can also take care of his physical appearance, by attaching increasing importance to the condition of hair (6 excerpts), skin (2 excerpts), clothes and shoes (21 excerpts) and the elegance in general (12 excerpts). All this amounts to saying that attention to appearance slowly ceases to be regarded as unmanly behaviour. It may be assumed that this is associated with social and media pressure. Lifestyle magazines such as "Maxim" promote a particular model of masculinity, in which attractiveness is not only the domain of women, it turns out that internal and external beauty is also expected from men.

All in all, the contemporary media, apart from providing information about what is happening in the world and their interpretation of this situation, are also used for commercial purposes. Interestingly enough, the growing array of femininity and masculinity patterns means that individuals have to choose the appropriate one, construct themselves, define their identity, seek a definition of gender that is not automatically provided, but in accordance with the assumptions of social constructivism, it must be negotiated and constructed according to various criteria and influences. Nonetheless, I assume that magazines for men (but also for women) are a source of social gender structure. For this reason, it is worth analysing the contemporary press, treating it as an area of defining social reality and the identity of both sexes.

3.7.6 The WOMAN and MAN ICMs in "Playboy"

The lexeme ***woman*** can be identified in "Playboy" up to 438 times, while the lexeme ***men*** up to 300. Out of this, as many as 220 of their uses are classified to the fifth submodel – **PSYCHOLOGICAL FEATURES AND PROCESSES.** The second productive submodel is **LOVE AND SEX** with 142 excerpts, and the third – **FAMILY LIFE** – with 105 examples. For many sociologists and linguists, the extraordinary popularity of the "Playboy" magazine became a starting point in the research into the meaning of stereotyped images of women and men, as well as gender relations disseminated by the media. For this reason, the ongoing study may offer valuable insight into the problem in question. The table below demonstrates the distribution of excerpts into particular submodels.

Number	Submodels of **WOMAN** and **MAN ICM**s	Sex distinction	Excerpts	Total
1.	**BODY**	Woman Man	36 4	40
2.	**FASHION AND CLOTHES**	Woman Man	19 16	35
3.	**PHYSICAL TRAITS**	Woman Man	47 9	56
4.	**PHYSICAL PROCESSES AND ACTIVITIES**	Woman Man	26 12	38
5.	**PSYCHOLOGICAL FEATURES AND PROCESSES**	Woman Man	121 99	220
6.	**WORK AND EDUCATION**	Woman Man	24 20	44
7.	**LEISURE**	Woman Man	11 18	29
8.	**SOCIAL LIFE**	Woman Man	14 15	29
9.	**LOVE AND SEX**	Woman Man	81 61	142
10.	**FAMILY LIFE**	Woman Man	59 46	105
TOTAL		Woman Man	438 300	738

Table 6: The number of excerpts found in "Playboy" divided into submodels of the **WOMAN** and **MAN ICM**s

As in the case of the other three magazines targeted in this chapter, the data related to the collected language material is presented below. Excerpts containing the lexemes ***woman*** and ***man*** have been categorised into more detailed aspects that made the process of categorisation less challenging.

Number	SUBMODELS of **WOMAN** and **MAN ICM**s	Number of excerpts		Aspect covered by particular submodels	Number of excerpts	
		Woman	Man		Woman	Man
1.	**BODY**	36	4	a) hair b) face, skin, body c) breasts	0 25 11	1 3 0
2.	**FASHION AND CLOTHES**	19	16	a) clothes and shoes b) elegance, good look	16 3	11 5
3.	**PHYSICAL TRAITS**	47	9	a) attractiveness, beauty b) bodybuilding, weight, diet c) age d) cosmetics and hygiene	36 0 8 3	3 0 4 2
4.	**PHYSICAL PROCESSES AND ACTIVITIES**	26	12	a) food, cooking b) sleeping c) crying d) death e) health, illnesses f) pregnancy, fertility, abortion g) pain, physical suffering	0 0 0 4 1 19 2	2 0 2 3 2 3 0
5.	**PSYCHOLOGICAL FEATURES AND PROCESSES**	121	99	a) fear, confusion, stress b) loneliness c) sadness, bad mood, depression d) shame e) joy, enthusiasm, happiness f) thinking, overthinking, wondering g) dreams, desires h) self-analysis, criticism i) intelligence j) life experience k) mental fatigue l) activity, resourcefulness, strength m) passivity, helplessness, apathy, feeling of discrimination	1 0 2 2 3 3 0 4 3 5 2 8 19	3 0 0 0 2 2 1 2 1 8 1 11 6

				n) feeling of freedom, independence, emancipation	33	19
				o) guilt	1	0
				p) responsibility	2	2
				q) self-esteem, confidence, sense of security	8	9
				r) mental health, feeling of abuse	4	1
				s) support, advice, sharing	11	7
				t) violence, aggression	10	24
6.	**WORK AND EDUCATION**	24	20	a) promotion, career	8	4
				b) work, profession, work environment	10	6
				c) education	0	2
				d) earnings, economic situation, position	6	8
7.	**LEISURE**	11	18	a) holidays	0	2
				b) alcohol, drugs	5	7
				c) parties, social meetings	4	5
				d) sport, games	2	4
8.	**SOCIAL LIFE**	14	15	a) shopping	0	4
				b) community, social and political activity	14	11
9.	**LOVE AND SEX**	81	61	a) sexual techniques and behaviours	61	58
				b) betrayal, divorce	4	1
				c) contraceptives	8	1
				d) prostitution	8	1
10.	**FAMILY LIFE**	59	46	a) marriage, relations, love	52	43
				b) children, upbringing	5	2
				c) family	0	1
				d) housekeeping	2	0

Table 7: The number of excerpts found in "Playboy" divided into submodels of the **WOMAN** and **MAN ICM**s and their internal division

3.7.6.1 The Structure of the WOMAN and MAN ICMs

The general structure of the models is presented in the sections above. Below, one can find a percentage distribution helpful in visualising the concepts in question in a more convenient way.

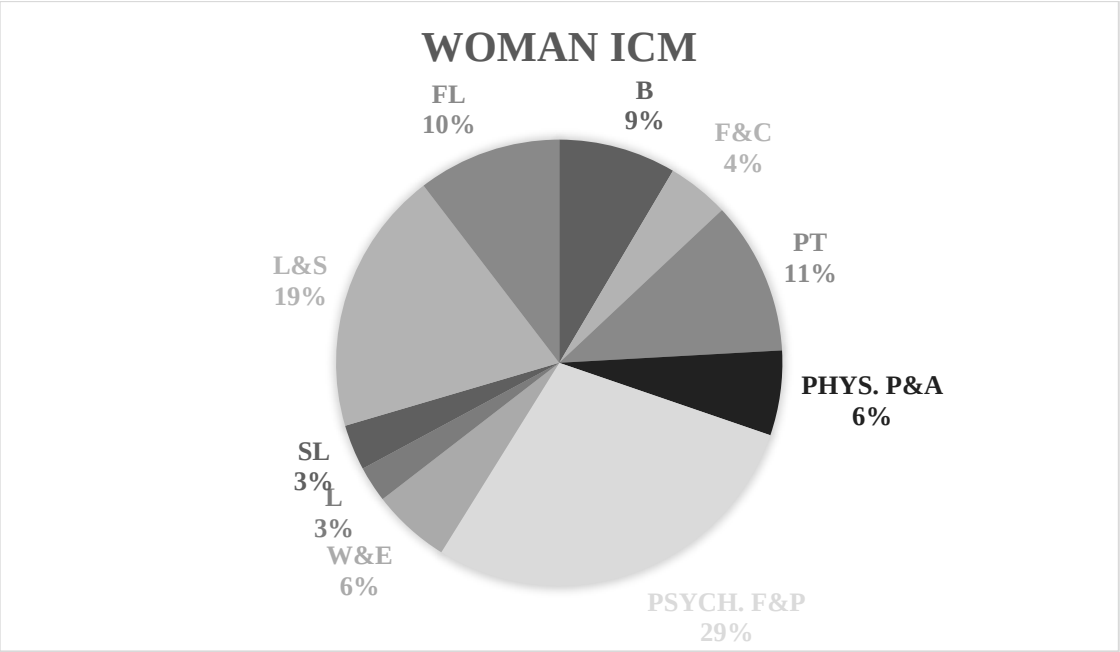


Figure 8: Productivity of submodels of the **WOMAN ICM** in “Playboy”

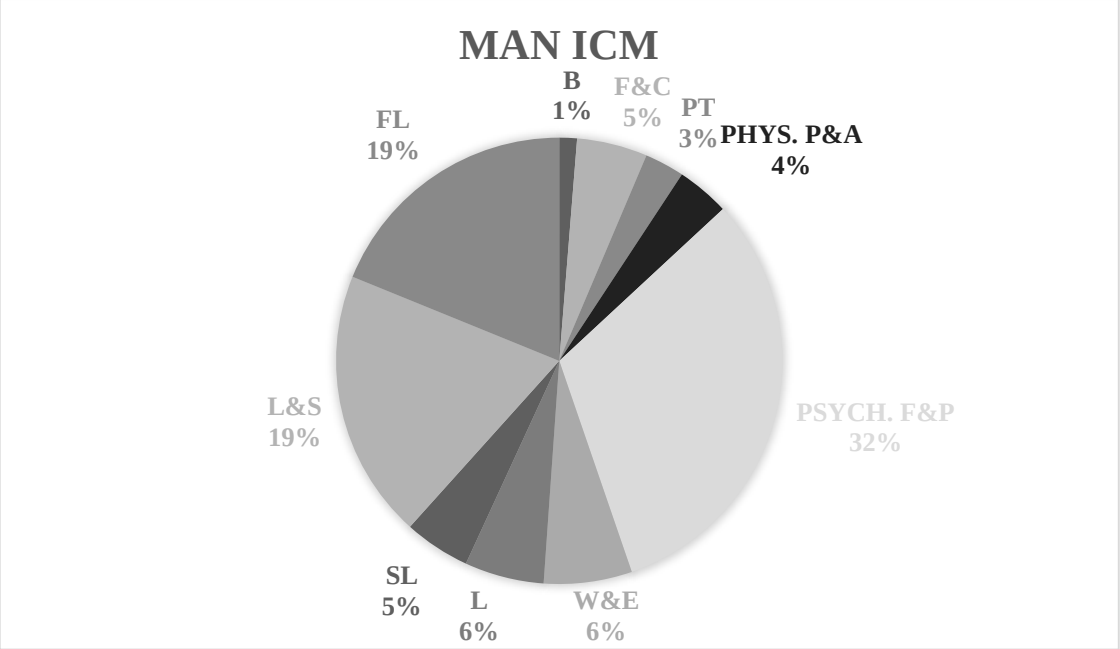


Figure 9: Productivity of submodels of the **MAN ICM** in “Playboy”

3.7.6.2 The In-depth Analysis of the WOMAN and MAN ICMs in "Playboy"

The lexeme ***man*** appears in "Playboy" 300 times, while the lexeme ***woman*** appears 438 times. The most productive submodels for a woman are: **PSYCHOLOGICAL FEATURES AND PROCESSES** (121 excerpts), **LOVE AND SEX** (81 excerpts) and **FAMILY LIFE** (59 excerpts). When it comes to a man, the most substantial number of examples can be also found within the following submodels: **PSYCHOLOGICAL FEATURES AND PROCESSES** (99 excerpts), **LOVE AND SEX** (61 excerpts) and **FAMILY LIFE** (46 excerpts). Each one of them will be considered separately in the following subsections (the fourth subsection – **Other Submodels** – consists of other essential excerpts belonging to the remaining submodels).

3.7.6.2.1 The PSYCHOLOGICAL FEATURES AND PROCESSES Submodel

It seems that "Playboy" contains a number of elements of sexism[231], understood as differentiating and even evaluating people on the basis of their gender affiliation, where sexism is not only the belief that women are different from men, but also the harmful judgment that they are worse. Because the media shape, convey and socially consolidate certain beliefs through their goals, sexism affects both individual and personal relationships. The conviction of male domination over women is often associated with toxic masculinity. Such social constructs still linger among many modern men, and this kind of outdated worldview about the superiority of men appears on the pages of "Playboy":

> "Haven't men proved time and again that they're already superior?" "Playboy" 11-12/2017: 24

> "But is it really so different, powerful men hunting beautiful women, from what happens anywhere else in the world." "Playboy" 12/2016: 73

What is more, the notion of toxic masculinity is frequently linked to the fact that some men may have trouble showing their emotions and feelings. Women demonstrate their

[231]It has to be stressed that there is no definitive answer universally accepted by the world of science regarding the phenomenon of sexism. The subject is strongly ideologised.

passions more often and more intensively. The point is not that they 'feel' in a stronger way, but rather that they show feelings with a greater expressiveness. This is largely due to some kind of a social training:

> "Political and social scientists have long held that this dependence often makes women more sympathetic to others who seek and accept help, even if they recoil at doing so themselves." "Playboy" 1-2/2016: 147

Highly developed empathy in women is manifested by their ability to sympathise with other people and skilful communication resulting from understanding the emotional states of others. Empathy allows them to get insights into a particular person's feelings and reasoning without any judgment. Being empathic is a deep cognitive experience that enables females to adapt to the needs of others:

> "I don't think women want people to suffer as much as men do. Women are just saner." "Playboy" 11-12/2017: 53

> "Everybody should be lifting each other up, especially women. There are enough men who are awful to women; we all need to be nicer to each other." "Playboy" 5-6/2017: 148

However, in many contemporary societies, both among women and men, there is a belief that women are too emotional and if they show high sensitivity, it means that they are not effective. In turn, the effectiveness of women in business is associated with ruthlessness, calculation and a lack of sentiment – all these qualities are much more intense in comparison to men at the same position. If a woman is warm, empathic and feminine, she is automatically perceived as unprofessional and ineffective. Such perceptions perfectly illustrate women's inclination to overthinking and self-destruction, which may result from the working of <INSECURE PERSON FOR WOMAN> metonymy. Taking into account their attributed fragility and vulnerability, women also become the victims of abuse. Weakness is also a typical feature assigned to a woman and it is strongly rooted in people's consciousness, which can easily be demonstrated by means of the following examples:

> "Now, these women are victims who need to be rescued." "Playboy" 5-6/2017: 29

"Women must be helped." "Playboy" 11-12/2017: 75

Additionally, women are perceived as beings responsible for themselves and the loved ones, featured as mothers and caretakers of home fires. Attributes of protection and responsibility are assigned to them almost habitually, but sometimes a woman feels lost despite her seemingly trouble-free life, and lacks direction. Men, in turn, typically know what they want in life and they draw the immense confidence form this state of certainty:

"Inspiration for a man's watch should come from things like fast cars, firefighters and power tools." "Playboy" 10/2016: 49

"Beautiful women have one thing powerful men can't get via their usual means, whatever those means may be." "Playboy" 12/2016: 73

The above excerpts prove that being confident, more imperious, harder to access and more mysterious makes men attractive and desirable for women. Hence, the stereotypical vision of a strong powerful male and an attractive female at his side still functions on the pages of the magazines.

3.7.6.2.2 The LOVE AND SEX Submodel

Aggression is one of the aspects to take into consideration as part of this submodel. One of the perspectives of accounting for the relationship between aggression and sex is recognising aggressive behaviour as a natural element of human sexuality which, apart from the aspect of tenderness, is also associated with overcoming obstacles and striving to satisfy desires. In this approach, constructive aggression is an integral part of mature sexuality. Unfortunately, there is also another face of aggression focused on inflicting suffering, as in the examples:

"Men beat her and kicked her, then ripped off her clothes." "Playboy" 11-12/2017: 141

"The man forced her to have sex." "Playboy" 11-12/2017: 142

This stands in sharp contrast to what women stereotypically expect from a sexual relationship, hence the special atmosphere, romantic circumstances, smells, sensual touch, appealing look, words, where a woman's sexual desires and pleasure are the starting point, with a special emphasis on intimacy, sensuality and passion. In addition to that, in contemporary men's magazines, issues of female eroticism are shown from the perspective of a person who should be aware of the role of men and their sexual needs:

> "Women worry about pleasing their man just as much as men should worry about pleasing a woman." "Playboy" 5-6/2017: 37

> "When it comes to sex, a lot of women say they want an experienced lover." "Playboy" 5-6/2017: 37

> "It's heteronormative way of things, where men are dominant and women are submissive." "Playboy" 10/2016: 34

Hence, sex involves agreement with recognised traditional social rules: every sexually attractive woman follows the advice advertised in the magazine to please men. Proceeding further, some claims about female promiscuity constitute a manifestation of the promotion of a new model of femininity:

> "Some men are asking their wives to have sex with other men while they watch. And some women are saying yes." "Playboy" 12/2016: 46

This provides readers with a sense of prevailing information that a liberated woman should not only possess knowledge about sex and sexual techniques, but should also be open to new experiences and perform what is expected from her. What is more, pornography depicts women as individuals subordinate to men, fulfilling their sexual cravings and confirming the power structures hidden in the social order. In this regard, men's magazines may be responsible for regulating the sexuality of the opposite sex:

> "I think the real problem is that men continue to try to define women's sexuality." "Playboy" 9-10/2017: 18

"Almost as if women are full-on people, and not items for male consumption!" "Playboy" 9-10/2017: 24

"Women, she argued, should be seen as sexual beings, not sexual objects." "Playboy" 11-12/2017: 172

The reality of women in the bedroom is often devastatingly patriarchal, and women are usually set as the pleasure providers. Between the lines, there is still a belief about the different sexual sensitivity of women and men:

"Men are very visual; women are cerebral." "Playboy" 2/2016: 13

"A man's identity is intertwined with his sexual prowess, and broaching the subject will expose you to booby traps, remote detonations and ambushes from his ego. Proceed with caution." "Playboy" 9-10/2017: 24

"Men love blow jobs more than they love you." "Playboy" 3-4/2017: 37

"The second and more important point is that when women associate themselves with anything involving ownership of their sexuality, they're often perceived as having abandoned their intellect." "Playboy" 3-4/2017: 119

In the end, it should be emphasised that these types of statements present an unrealistic image of sex itself. Pornographic content tries to convince us that firstly, the sexual act is performed by perfectly beautiful people; secondly, reaching an orgasm is not difficult; thirdly, every sexual act immediately gives maximum pleasure; and, finally, partners do not have to adjust or learn anything, while women are always open to experiments and new experiences. People imbued with such a vision of an intercourse experience great disappointments in real life, which often turns into a reluctance to enter into relationships with other people.

3.7.6.2.3 The FAMILY LIFE Submodel

It is an undeniable fact that a woman can be assigned social roles such as being a mother, wife and taking care of the house. It is still true that housekeeping is considered

as the domain of females, and although women and men are supposed to be equal, it is often repeated today that they have different moral obligations, lifestyles, and interests. Men are inherently called to higher purposes; we may say that they are associated with prestige and power. Women, often guided by a sense of guilt, devote a lot of attention to taking care of their relationships. In the **FAMILY LIFE** submodel, the lexeme ***woman*** appears 59 times, while the lexeme ***man*** 46 times. In this subsection, I would like to focus on two important aspects: the relationship between a father and a son, and the materialistic attitude of women.

Interestingly, the bond between a father and a son is of great importance for shaping the identity of each person. For boys, this relationship affects how they perceive themselves, how they deal with other people, and it even influences the bonds created in the professional sphere. The emotional relationship with a father directly affects the son's emotional development – it reduces the level of internal anxiety and positively affects the child's resistance to stress. For this reason, both the regular conversations between them and the mutual exchange of experiences are so important:

> "It was a man-to-man, son-to-dad talk." "Playboy" 1-2/2017: 51

The opportunity to share opinions and problems, as well as the chance to seek advice gives the boy support and a sense of security. The invaluable occasion to observe how the father copes with difficult situations equips the child with ready-made behavioural patterns, while increasing his sense of effectiveness in action.

Another aspect worth considering pertains to women and is closely connected with their material approach to the relationships:

> "For women who require a certain kind of lifestyle, the fact that you don't own a home would be a deal breaker." "Playboy" 9-10/2017: 43

> "Some Chinese women want a husband to own an apartment, because real estate prices are so high, says Song Li, Zhenai's CEO." "Playboy" 5/2016: 88

Numerous harmful stereotypes about women are still deeply rooted in our society, and the topic of money is undoubtedly one of the most sensitive ones. In the era of ubiquitous consumerism, materialistic behaviour of women is something obvious to people, yet still

perceived with a dose of distaste. However, we need to acknowledge that the materialistic approach of women has solid foundations – all primates gathering in the community are aware of the concept of status. Meanwhile, people (at least those from the Western civilisation) associate status mainly with money, which is why a large proportion of female gender representatives believe that the value of a man is mainly reflected in the amount of money he possesses.

3.7.6.2.4 Other Submodels

The magazines such as "Playboy" present a warped ideal of the female body. In the culture of consumption, human identity is reduced to the body, and its construction begins to shift from the interior to the surface. Once the body was a carrier of the interior, today it seems to dominate the perception of individuals:

> "You are the most beautiful woman I have ever seen." "Playboy" 6/2016: 44

> "I mean, you just look at her across the room and you think, Oh my God, beautiful woman." "Playboy" 9-10/2017: 48

> "Beauty at once formidable and approachable: Few women are in possession of such incongruous appeal, and Diana Taylor is most definitely one of them." "Playboy" 7-8/2017: 85

> "What a great issue May/June is, from PMOY Brook Power to Lourdes Estores (Heritage) and the beautiful women in between." "Playboy" 7-8/2017: 14

It follows that a woman must be good-looking, attract attention and aesthetically please men. In addition, the current world of the media requires females to control their bodies and compare them with advertising models. Women are able to do almost everything to meet the established norms and standards:

> "Most women will remove all their body hair once our relationship starts." "Playboy" 5-6/2017: 37

> "And it's a wrap on men deciding what women can do with their bodies." "Playboy" 7-8/2016: 75

> "No tattoos, no piercings, just delicious woman." "Playboy" 9/2016: 12

Proceeding further, the authors of male-oriented magazines do not believe in the idea of female solidarity, and they sometimes promote the view that women would rather fiercely fight with one another than provide support and help:

> "'Throwing a woman in the middle of a team like that is just going to make the entire team useless, because in the end there will be so much infighting, so much drama.'" "Playboy" 7-8/2017: 49

> "We have a real problem with women supporting women in this country. Forget sexism; it's women too." "Playboy" 11-12/2017: 54

One has to bear in mind, however, that although "Playboy" has always been a magazine for men, at one point, the creators decided to invite brave women into this masculine space. "Playboy" was not only a colourful piece of writing, bought as an integral part of a fashionable lifestyle, but, above all, it constituted an icon of the moral revolution of the second half of the last century. It is worth emphasising that in the era before feminism, models were portrayed as dolls with no personal features placed in an anonymous context. The "Playboy" formula assumed photographing women in such a way that they looked like real, living human beings. Of course, they were supposed to have a strong sexual aura, but they were also flesh and blood women who had their lives outside the pages of the magazine. What is more, even nowadays pictures and accompanying texts often convey to the reader that women are sex beings as well as men are:

> "You said on your new show that everyone is talking about women's empowerment, but it's not about women taking over the world; it's just about being equal." "Playboy" 11-12/2017: 53

> "A woman today can be as strong as she feels." "Playboy" 1-2/2017: 116

However, the phenomenon of discrimination cannot be fully ignored. In the labour market it can concern a different treatment of entities due to gender. In this way, vertical segregation is associated with barriers to the promotion of women to higher positions in companies, despite the apparent, declared equality in promotion which is almost never reflected in the proportions of women and men in managerial positions in companies:

> "Men run all these companies, and men are at the top of every industry." "Playboy" 11-12/2017: 53

It can be repeated one more time then that the structure of the job market is patriarchal, that is, markets are adapted to the people who created them – to men. For this reason, many women are perceived as inferior workers:

> "Women have always been thought of as less than." "Playboy" 11-12/2017: 53

> "There are people who think women shouldn't hold high-powered positions, or who think Obama is Muslim, and it's okay for them to have those thoughts […]." "Playboy" 7-8/2016: 75

and those of helpers, people supporting and facilitating serious positions and activities. The task of women is to assist, while female activities are associated with the spectrum of mundane and trivial types of work:

> "But it can't be somebody who might overshadow her to the extent that people see the man in charge and the woman in a supporting role." "Playboy" 3/2016: 61

> "It's a big moment for a woman who has been buoyed and buried by expectations." "Playboy" 3/2016: 84

As demonstrated above, one can notice the identification of a man with a serious person, and most of all, with a person who is firmly on the ground and deals with matters of greater importance. The man is portrayed as an acting, non-conformist, focused on competition that is so desirable in the modern labour market – far more than understanding, empathy, and emotionality that is attributed to women.

Finally, even though the policy of "Playboy" assumes fighting against discrimination, it is worth considering whether the articles published in it do not accidentally confirm the thesis that intellectual disputes are the domain of men, and the role of a woman is reduced to parading in short dresses and shaking an attached rabbit tail. It seems that female sexuality is often subordinated to male whims, and on the majority of pages one can find content with a strong emphasis put on sex, the need for sexual relationships, and the 'pleasing-your-man syndrome'.

3.7.6.3 Concluding Remarks

During the process of analysis, a number of both explicit and subtle, but in most cases, negative associations were found between a series of archaic norms and views determining 'true masculinity' and 'ideal women', and the perception of both sexes. Also, in this case it should be noted that today's media are more than news, journalism and entertainment, they are mainly a system that shapes values. The media impose the type of behaviour and model of social life, formulating in this way a certain picture of the world. Below, one can find the conclusions of the analysis carried out precisely in terms of the values and lifestyles transmitted by "Playboy", a magazine acknowledged as one of the most influential representatives of the press for men.

To start with, the realities of life have undergone significant changes, but the ideals of femininity and masculinity are still determined by traditional patterns. Many problems (whether private or public) result in the consolidation and maintenance of judgments about both sexes in the society. Stereotypes are often used against women. It can be assumed that in popular opinion women have the following positive features: emotionality, personal commitment, perceptiveness and thoughtfulness (11 excerpts fall within the scope of 'support, advice, sharing'). The negative traits of women are: irrationality, instability, low self-esteem (19 excerpts – 'passivity, helplessness, apathy, feeling of discrimination') and the complicated nature. The most desirable image of a woman that emerges from the above considerations can be described as: beautiful and alluring (36 excerpts refer to the female body – **BODY**, where 25 examples fall within the 'face, skin, body' aspect, and 11 within 'breasts' aspect; while 47 excerpts refer to the concept of attractiveness – 47 excerpts belong to **PHYSICAL TRAITS** submodel), well-dressed (19 excerpts – **FASHION AND CLOTHES** submodel), striving for independence (33 excerpts – 'feeling of freedom, independence, emancipation' aspect) and exemplary wife

and mother. Hence, the heterosexual women presented in the magazine are not free from their reproductive and domestic responsibilities (59 excerpts – **FAMILY LIFE** submodel, whereas 19 excerpts are closely related to the topic of pregnancy, fertility and abortion). In the magazine's selective treatment of female sexuality, sex is considered as an essential part of every female's existence, as 61 examples refer to 'sexual techniques and behaviours' category, in which women are further depicted as sexually adventurous; while 8 excerpts have been assigned to the category of 'prostitution'. Yet, it must be underlined that the image is still subject to numerous requirements and limitations resulting from different conventions of behaviours.

Masculine social constructs include, among others, the desire to be invincible, the need for emotional control, self-confidence (9 excerpts – 'self-esteem, confidence, sense of security'), risky behaviour, violence (24 excerpts – 'violence and aggression' aspect), domination, sexual promiscuity (61 excerpts – **LOVE AND SEX** submodel), independence (19 excerpts – 'feeling of freedom, independence, emancipation'), attributing the heroic significance of performed work (20 excerpts – **WORK AND EDUCATION** submodel), superiority over women, contempt for homosexuality and the pursuit of high socio-material status. In short, commonly known and accepted factors used in determining the level of 'masculinity' are closely related to the size of ego. The contemporary man cares about his attire (16 excerpts – **FASHION AND CLOTHES** submodel), he is active and resourceful (11 excerpts – 'activity, resourcefulness, strength') and leads a hedonistic lifestyle by dating and meeting many women (43 excerpts identified in the category 'marriage, relations, love'). Thus, magazines constitute a form of a guide into modern reality. To a large extent they determine the new hegemony of male beliefs, values and behaviours, establishing one of the main references to discourses of male identity (although one can, of course, discuss whether they are a reflection of reality, its reproduction, or manipulation and its production).

Lastly, considerations over the linguistic or cultural image of the world are connected with stereotypes, because, although they have their source in human perception and thinking, they owe their existence to the social nature of perceiving and learning about the world. Many difficulties in differentiating some specific gender roles in the modern societies stem from negative social effects of using stereotypes. A division of gender roles is deeply rooted in the patriarchal family model, which was dominating in the past centuries. Throughout the ages, men have been perceived mainly as financial providers, assertive, independent and career-focused, whereas women have been supposed to be

loving wives and mothers, responsible for housework. The aforementioned associations that have been traced, of course, do not exhaust all the features that can be attributed to women and men, which is why particular subsets are open. It seems, however, that they can be treated as a set of characteristics, consisting of a stereotypical image of a woman and a man in western culture. It must be said that this is largely a negative picture. The media are partially responsible for this state of affair since they can be perceived as a tool put to use in patriarchate.

3.7.7 The WOMAN and MAN ICMs in "Penthouse"

Views about women and men are constantly influenced by the press, and are attributed to certain features along with their positive or negative valorisation[232]. Magazines with pornographic content constitute a specific kind of media, yet their analysis seems to be crucial, since, as Gunter (2002: viii) observes: "Media sex[233] has been accused of undermining social mores, promoting sexual promiscuity, the early onset of sexual behaviour and teenage pregnancy rates, and producing distorted male (and female) beliefs about female sexuality." A wide range of possibly detrimental, psychological and social consequences of constant exposure to media sex has been emphasised, hence the contemporary societies should be aware of the spread and prominence of stereotypes in men's magazines and their allegedly harmful effects that follow, since "although media sex is publicly criticised, it is also publicly consumed" (Gunter 2002: 4).

It comes as little surprise that the lexeme ***woman*** appears in "Penthouse" 466 times, mainly in correlation with sex (**LOVE AND SEX** – 122 excerpts), psychological features (**PSYCHOLOGICAL FEATURES AND PROCESSES** – 109 excerpts) and physicality (**PHYSICAL TRAITS** – 66 excerpts). The lexeme ***men*** can be identified 314 times. Out of this, 116 examples fall on the ninth submodel – **LOVE AND SEX**, 67 excerpts on the fifth submodel – **PSYCHOLOGICAL FEATURES AND PROCESSES**, and 32 on the fourth – **PHYSICAL PROCESSES AND ACTIVITIES**. The table below presents the submodels selected for the study and the number of excerpts assigned to them.

[232]Sometimes implicitly, but very often consciously and deliberately.
[233]Gunter (2002) conducts the research on the depiction of sex in the mainstream mass media, such as film, television, video and magazines (also pornographic magazines), trying to discover the alleged effects that such content might have upon consumers.

Number	Submodels of **WOMAN** and **MAN ICM**s	Sex distinction	Excerpts	Total
1.	**BODY**	Woman Man	17 2	19
2.	**FASHION AND CLOTHES**	Woman Man	23 10	33
3.	**PHYSICAL TRAITS**	Woman Man	66 16	82
4.	**PHYSICAL PROCESSES AND ACTIVITIES**	Woman Man	25 32	57
5.	**PSYCHOLOGICAL FEATURES AND PROCESSES**	Woman Man	109 67	176
6.	**WORK AND EDUCATION**	Woman Man	20 18	38
7.	**LEISURE**	Woman Man	20 15	35
8.	**SOCIAL LIFE**	Woman Man	19 15	34
9.	**LOVE AND SEX**	Woman Man	122 116	238
10.	**FAMILY LIFE**	Woman Man	45 23	68
TOTAL		Woman Man	466 314	780

Table 8: The number of excerpts found in "Penthouse" divided into submodels of the **WOMAN** and **MAN ICM**s

The general data related to the collected language material can be further divided into more detailed aspects in the following way:

Number	SUBMODELS of **WOMAN** and **MAN ICM**s	Number of excerpts		Aspect covered by particular submodels	Number of excerpts	
		Woman	Man		Woman	Man
1.	**BODY**	17	2	a) hair b) face, skin, body c) breasts	2 15 10	1 1 0
2.	**FASHION AND CLOTHES**	23	10	a) clothes and shoes b) elegance, good look	11 12	7 3
3.	**PHYSICAL TRAITS**	66	16	a) attractiveness, beauty b) bodybuilding, weight, diet c) age d) cosmetics and hygiene	50 1 12 3	6 2 5 3

4.	**PHYSICAL PROCESSES AND ACTIVITIES**	25	32	a) food, cooking b) sleeping c) crying d) death e) health, illnesses f) pregnancy, fertility, abortion g) pain, physical suffering	1 0 0 1 8 13 2	3 0 3 6 15 3 2
5.	**PSYCHOLOGICAL FEATURES AND PROCESSES**	109	67	a) fear, confusion, stress b) loneliness c) sadness, bad mood, depression d) shame e) joy, enthusiasm, happiness f) thinking, overthinking, wondering g) dreams, desires h) self-analysis, criticism i) intelligence j) life experience k) mental fatigue l) activity, resourcefulness, strength m) passivity, helplessness, apathy, feeling of discrimination n) feeling of freedom, independence, emancipation o) guilt p) responsibility q) self-esteem, confidence, sense of security r) mental health, feeling of abuse s) support, advice, sharing t) violence, aggression	3 0 1 0 0 3 3 4 2 2 18 28 12 1 0 7 4 10 11	3 0 0 0 1 0 4 2 3 8 0 17 0 2 0 1 4 2 2 18
6.	**WORK AND EDUCATION**	20	18	a) promotion, career b) work, profession, work environment c) education d) earnings, economic situation, position	8 5 3 4	6 2 0 10
7.	**LEISURE**	20	15	a) holidays b) alcohol, drugs c) parties, social meetings d) sport, games	0 13 0 7	1 11 0 3
8.	**SOCIAL LIFE**	19	15	a) shopping	1	1

				b) community, social and political activity	18	14
9.	**LOVE AND SEX**	122	116	a) sexual techniques and behaviours b) betrayal, divorce c) contraceptives d) prostitution e) pornography	94 2 3 8 15	90 5 3 5 13
10.	**FAMILY LIFE**	45	23	a) marriage, relations, love b) children, upbringing c) family d) housekeeping	40 4 1 0	22 0 1 0

Table 9: The number of excerpts found in "Penthouse" divided into submodels of the **WOMAN** and **MAN ICM**s and their internal division

3.7.7.1 The Structure of the WOMAN and MAN ICMs

Below, one can find two pie charts with the percentage distribution of the submodels that make up the **WOMAN ICM** and the **MAN ICM**.

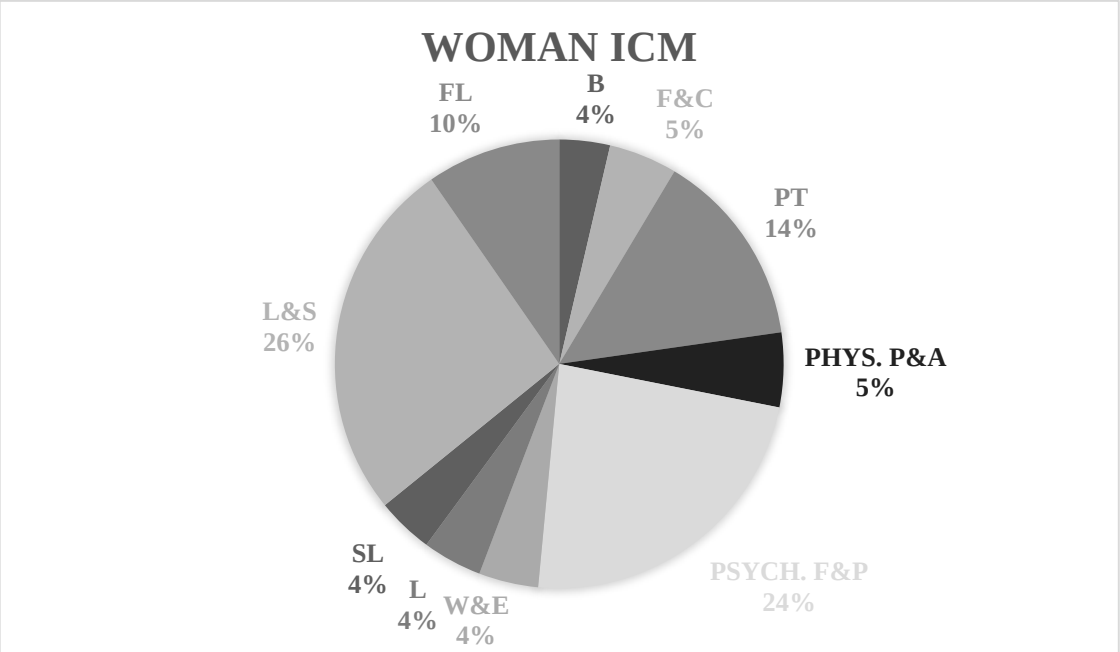


Figure 10: Productivity of submodels of the **WOMAN ICM** in "Penthouse"

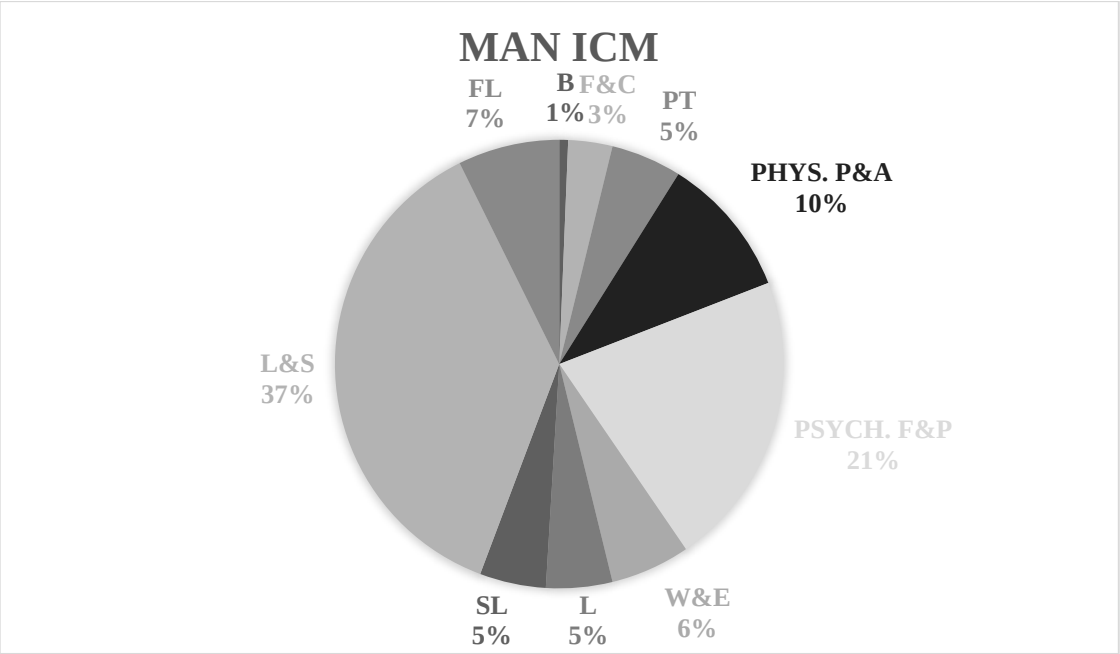


Figure 11: Productivity of submodels of the **MAN ICM** in "Penthouse"

3.7.7.2 The In-depth Analysis of the WOMAN and MAN ICMs in "Penthouse"

As mentioned before, the **WOMAN ICM** is strongly dominated by features such as **BODY, PHYSICAL TRAITS, PSYCHOLOGICAL FEATURES AND PROCESSES** and **LOVE AND SEX.** These four submodels demonstrate the way in which pornographic media depict the female gender[234]. Firstly, women are merely sexualised objects recognised by their sexy and alluring appearance, which may falsely imply that men, recognised by other characteristics, are the cultural standard; and women are less important or they serve specific purposes. Secondly, pornographic magazines create the impression that most women lead a lush erotic life and sexual desire is one of the most important exponents of femininity. Thirdly, depictions of the relationships between women and men emphasise their fleeting and affair-oriented attitude; they can also normalise violence against women. The **MAN ICM** is mostly determined in reference to **LOVE AND SEX,**

[234]What has to be stressed at this point is the fact that the particular traits and dimensions identified in the study should not be seen as limited to the submodel to which they have been assigned, but rather they should be interpreted as providing access to the whole network. They would obviously also show different distribution in different kinds of magazines. In this case, however, they mostly carry a negative axiological load and gender-related stereotypes.

PSYCHOLOGICAL FEATURES AND PROCESSES and **PHYSICAL PROCESSES AND ACTIVITIES**. Each of these themes will be considered separately in the following sections.

3.7.7.2.1 The LOVE AND SEX Submodel

As is apparent from the above tables, women are clearly defined in "Penthouse" in terms of the **LOVE AND SEX** submodel – the lexeme ***woman*** appears in this connection 122 times, whereas as many as 94 examples refer to the 'sexual techniques and behaviours' category. For this reason, women seem to be primarily perceived in terms of their sexual encounters. They are presented as sexually active and open to new experiences. In addition, this type of entertainment format depicts females as easy sexual conquests whose principal role is to gratify male sexual needs. Such portrayals, it should be argued, can send the wrong messages about women and their sexuality. The claims like:

> "We worked up a good rhythm quickly and she started to buck me like a wild woman… rocking the headboard…*thump thump thump thump thump thump*." "Penthouse" 9/2017: 93

> "Normally, I would consider watching a beautiful woman masturbate to be an amazing moment, however, I was more bewildered." "Penthouse" 7-8/2016: 129

describe women as obsessed with sex, and willing to engage in any kind of sexual act with any partner. It further creates the impression that they are easy-going and easily accessible for sexual encounters. What is more, they make use of various sexual toys, which makes their erotic lifestyle even more adventurous:

> "Sexciter makes women hot and desire sex." "Penthouse" 2/2016: 15

> "After these developments, it didn't take long for the vibrator to find its way into women's rooms all over America. Women, it seemed, could not get enough of this revolutionary new 'treatment'." "Penthouse" 4/2016: 119

The image of an always sexually willing woman causes some concerns and might contribute to a mistaken perception among men of female sexuality and their allegedly daring attitudes in their intimate contacts:

> "A blowjob a day is one way I take care of him. In fact, that's something every woman should be doing for her man." "Penthouse" 4/2017: 127

In this way, it might lead to unwanted, unusual, and sometimes even abnormal sexual activities[235]. Pornography can sometimes dominate heterosexual men's sexual encounters with women. Frequent exposure to pornographic content may be associated with greater reliance on and preference for the pornographic script during interpersonal intimate encounters. Yet, from the male perspective, it can also constitute a factor that helps in sexual disorders:

> "For many men who have difficulty becoming aroused by their sex partners, porn has become a useful helpmate." "Penthouse" 4/2017: 51

A man is typically perceived as the one who takes control, and this kind of behaviour is expected from him, what frequently finds its realisation in "Penthouse":

> "In my bedroom, I want my man in control." "Penthouse" 1/2016: 35

> "Too much? Look, you're the man. And in the bedroom, I want the man to be in control. I want him to be flipping me over and getting me in positions I didn't even know I was capable of. It's what you're on earth to do. Fuck your wife properly! Be a man and do it. She will most likely be very happy you took control." "Penthouse 1-2/2017: 84

Sometimes, however, men appreciate women who have knowledge and experience in the erotic sphere and they expect some advice, which is confirmed by the following examples:

> "Praise to the women who taught us to be good in bed." "Penthouse" 11/2017: 5

[235]It is often claimed that pornographic content can contribute to difficulties in saying no in real life which might inevitably lead to rapes (see Gunter 2002).

> "Please Leah, can you rate my dick from one to ten? Also, is there anything I can tell women to make them wet?" "Penthouse" 6/2017: 112

They also succumb to the fantasy of submission and taking over total control by the female partner:

> "So many men want to be tied up, peed on, shit on, and have their balls stepped on by women. And they pay for it, too! Many men in power want to be emasculated in the bedroom. They want the women to be the boss because they have to be the boss at all other times." "Penthouse" 5/2017: 112

In other words, pornography is not merely a fantasy for men; it frequently shapes how they engage in intimate behaviours. Furthermore, magazines such as "Penthouse" cultivate a particular set of beliefs about the relative dominance and power of men over women in society:

> "This is the stigma around sex, and it's a problem. Why can't a woman be sexually active, talk about her sex life, and at the same time be with the mayor doing (community) things?" "Penthouse" 11/2017: 47

> "Statues aside, there have been men throughout the ages who have used woman-shaped objects to state their sexual desires. You may notice that I specifically refer to men, not women." "Penthouse" 5/2016: 113

They treat women as collector's items and the variety of items they collect is important to males:

> "They all have a different type of flavor, and that's what I'm all about. I'm a man who likes different flavors. And I think most men do. Some men say that they have a particular type. Well, they ain't really going hard. Me? I go hard, so I like different flavors. Nobody likes to deal with the same type of look." "Penthouse 2/2016: 33

What is more, in the sexual sphere, men are presented as less responsible, ready to take risks, without thinking about possible consequences; all this to meet their basic physical needs and derive pleasure from them:

> "I read the article, and I became enraged at what some predatory men are willing to do. These men agree to wear a condom during sex but then surreptitiously slip it off ejaculating." "Penthouse" 9/2017: 50

> "Let's face it, when it comes to sex, like most things in life, men tend to have it good while women get the short end of the stick, literally and figuratively. For men, mouths, vaginas, and buttholes are one-size-fits-all and we're just happy to be in any one of the three." "Penthouse" 1-2/2017: 33

While the present research is yet not able to provide strong proof of this phenomenon, it could be suggested that pornography is strongly correlated with factors widely recognised as gender inequality and hostile attitudes towards women. It actually promotes the view of women as sexual objects, unprepared to occupy high political positions, whose lush erotic lifestyle can lead to social exclusion and degradation. Women are best described in reference to the submodel **LOVE AND SEX** (by far the most productive model) and the metonymic associations like <SEXUALLY ACTIVE PERSON FOR WOMAN>, <VOLUPTUOUS PERSON FOR WOMAN>, <ALLURING PERSON FOR WOMAN> frequently appear. What seems to be missing in magazines such as "Penthouse" is intimacy and connection; the two significant ingredients that allow us to perceive sex as exciting and interesting. As a consequence, pornographic content becomes monotonous and predictable, and many readers, in the real life, eventually seek out more extreme behaviours as a way to keep them stimulated.

3.7.7.2.2 The PSYCHOLOGICAL FEATURES AND PROCESSES Submodel

The **PSYCHOLOGICAL FEATURES AND PROCESSES** submodel is also very productive when it comes to women, as it emerges from as many as 109 excerpts (24% of the material collected), and considerably productive in reference to men (67 excerpts – 21% of the whole). All this points to the fact that the men who read "Penthouse" are interested in the feminine psyche, their principles of functioning and thinking. They are also interested in understanding their own motifs of acting and behaving.

The media have presented two images of women: good women and bad ones. These polar opposites are often juxtaposed against each other to dramatise differences in the consequences that befall good and bad women. Bad women are attractive, focused on

a professional career and successful in their social and erotic lives. This type definitely dominates pornographic magazines and is unquestionably preferred by their readership. Most females are therefore represented as hard, cold, aggressive; hence, all of the things that a good woman is not supposed to be, which inevitably creates another powerful metonymic stereotype <BITCH FOR WOMAN>:

> "Every woman has a high-maintenance bitch inside her." "Penthouse" 11/2017: 48

> "I really like strong women." "Penthouse" 1/2016: 55

What is more, some articles in "Penthouse" surprisingly encourage women to take the initiative and free themselves from traditional roles and limitations:

> "We hope that this pictorial serves as an inspiration to all women to raise their middle finger to any and all who would try to hold them back." "Penthouse" 4/2017: 38

> "Why do you think so many men are still afraid of strong, powerful women?" "Penthouse" 4/2017: 44

> "Gone are the days of the *Titanic*, when men stayed behind while the women and children were rescued. Soon, women may have to forcibly take up arms alongside their male counterparts and, like them, go down with the ship." "Penthouse" 10/2016: 16

Looking from the opposite perspective, good women are deferential and caring for others. They are frequently subordinate to men, usually presented as victims, angels and loyal wives and helpmates. They also exemplify traditional stereotypes of femininity such as passivity, subservience; they are not too powerful, or too confident. They admire the man and depend on him, waiting for the proverbial rescue:

> "I love the feeling of rescuing a woman from a bad situation." "Penthouse" 11/2016: 88

> "Women are so much compassionate." "Penthouse" 9/2017: 103

Subjection is also a typical feature assigned to a woman and it is strongly rooted in people's consciousness. It may result from the working of the <INSECURE PERSON

FOR WOMAN> metonymy. In the sexual sphere, women are usually presented as passive, objectified sexual objects, aimed at satisfying masculine needs, while men are assigned the role of often polygamous conquerors and undisputed rulers of women[236]:

> "Men do not communicate about women – a man's sexual conquest of a woman – like this." "Penthouse" 1-2/2017: 88

> "Sure, of course, men objectify women, usually when men gather at a man-event." "Penthouse" 1-2/2017: 88

In this way, attractive women are perceived as sexual conquests to be won and flaunted in front of other men. To a considerable extent, such sentences reflect the patriarchal order of the world in which women constitute a second, vulnerable, worse sex with a whole range of flaws and vices. What is more, the feminine logic is definitely seen as negative and dismissive.

> "They are just offering them to women who aren't good at parking." "Penthouse" 7/8/2016: 13

Another interesting application of this idea is that women and their choices are difficult to understand. The stereotype emerges in the following examples:

> "Women are complicated." "Penthouse" 11/2017: 3

> "'I think women who wear high heels for no reason are either ridiculous or powerful. There's no in-between.'" "Penthouse" 6/2016: 74

The image of a man is usually the one associated with the brutal macho scheme:

> "The man returned and kicked her out somewhat abruptly." "Penthouse" 10/2016: 50

[236]That seems to confirm the existence of the metonymic associations: <CONQUEROR FOR MAN>, <CONQUERED FOR WOMAN>.

"Police later arrested the man for possession of narcotics with intent to sell." "Penthouse" 1-2/2017: 14

One has to bear in mind, however, that aspects such as lust, licentiousness, passivity, helplessness, aggression and many more, are not the only labels with assigned semantic encyclopaedic knowledge that appear in relation to women and men. The categorisation of females and males made in the magazine under study reveals a much larger number of associations, which will be analysed in the following part.

3.7.7.2.3 The PHYSICAL TRAITS Submodel

Pornographic magazines are often seen as a means of sexual expression, especially because female bodies have historically been rigidly controlled by restrictive sexual norms and practices. The contemporary media offer an accessible way to seemingly resist and challenge such restrictions. However, as the pornography market is dominated by an industry with economic interests in the control of women's bodies, it seems that its main role is simple exploitation of other women's bodies for male pleasure and profit.

Given that pornography can be treated as a specific medium which spotlights the body and often utilises women that conform to cultural appearance ideals, the magazines such as "Penthouse" can be considered a potential source of appearance-related pressure. They continuously disseminate images of bodies adhering to inflexible and unrealistic appearance standards, and individuals cannot escape these images due to their omnipresence:

"I'm a grown man. Who doesn't like nude, beautiful women?" "Penthouse" 2/2016: 13

"As with every issue, though, everything revolves around the photographs of beautiful women." "Penthouse" 2/2016: 58

"They are very natural and I think it makes a woman more beautiful and sexy." "Penthouse" 1-2/2016: 6

"I turned around to see a gorgeous, raven-haired woman beaming at me." "Penthouse" 9/2017: 127

Clearly, the representation of the female body in pornography creates a normative ideal of what a woman should look like to be attractive. These superficial attributes are very often impossible to reach naturally. Moreover, in addition to an immaculate appearance, a modern woman is expected to be attractive and sexy (50 excerpts):

> "Yeah, yeah, so she's been named 'Sexiest Woman Alive' by *Esquire* – twice." "Penthouse" 1-2/2017: 24

> "On the first day of my tutorial, I walked into the classroom and saw the hottest woman I had ever seen." "Penthouse" 5/2017: 128

The pornography industry does not emancipate women from restrictive sexual practices; instead, it repackages sexual control as a commercial product and markets it to women as a form of sexual choice. Thus, pornographic magazines present dissonant messages – pornography is marketed as sexual empowerment, but the content is violent and dehumanising, particularly to the women who are exploited by the industry, which is also confirmed by the phrase:

> "Many moons ago, I was in Rio de Janeiro, where the local economy depends almost entirely on the exploitation of its most abundant natural resource: young, gorgeous women." "Penthouse" 9/2017: 34

The featuring of women merely as 'sex objects' in magazines for men is suported by the examples below, which consider the women's body as the main object of interest, and feature female body parts more than the entire individual and more than their faces[237]. A woman is often symbolised as Barbie, and represented with a thin body, blond hair and large breasts:

> "Standing before me was a blonde, blue-eyed young woman with a Barbie doll figure that defied belief." "Penthouse" 1/2016: 136

[237]The lexeme ***woman*** appears in this submodel 17 times, and mostly in connection to breasts and bottom.

"She was by far the most attractive woman that I had ever been with – amazing body, flawless tits, and save for a cute little lacy thong, she was naked … in my bed." "Penthouse" 1-2/2017: 123

"You have the physical beauty, obviously. I like a woman with nice thighs, a nice ass, and that has poise. It's fun when I can banter with a woman and talk shit." "Penthouse" 10/2017: 116

"She is my idea of what a beautiful, sexy woman should look like: long blonde hair and huge jugs." "Penthouse" 11/2017: 6

Such a multitude of examples testifies to the objectification of the female body. Very often men's magazines refer to particular parts of a woman's body in an extremely negative and degrading manner, which is evident from the excerpts below:

"We love it when a woman's brain is as big and juicy as her ass." "Penthouse" 12/2017: 52

"I prefer a woman with a big backyard." "Penthouse" 4/2016: 137

"He looks at a woman as one may look at a bunch of Lego pieces. A pile of 'its.' Things. Bits and pieces." "Penthouse" 4/2016: 137

To summarise, the **BODY** and **PHYSICAL TRAITS** submodels seem to be productive and occupy an essential position in reference to women. A conclusion that emerges from the aforementioned findings is that a woman appears to be perceived, above all, in terms of her sexuality and physical appearance (17 examples fall within the scope of the **BODY** submodel hence hair, face, skin, breasts and body in general; whereas 66 excerpts lie within the scope of the **PHYSICAL TRAITS** submodel, therefore including features associated with attractiveness, beauty and age[238]). Having surveyed this issue from various angles, it can be suggested that the strongest gender stereotypes for women to be found in the "Penthouse" magazine are those that allow them to be perceived as sexualised objects subjected to men and created for their pleasure. However, although this collection cannot give the full flavour of the contemporary image of every woman on

[238]Hence the attributive functions of SEXPOT and BARBIE stand metonymically for the whole category of WOMAN (<SEXPOT FOR WOMAN>, <BARBIE FOR WOMAN>).

the planet, it depicts one frame of reference according to which millions of women are judged and evaluated by some men.

3.7.7.2.4 Other Submodels

It is not difficult to notice in the magazines for men that the image of a man as an alpha male can still arouse admiration among women, who like firm, confident partners with a high position, and their dominance is given in a specific package consisting of resourcefulness and ease of solving difficult problems:

> "Women are attracted to a physical, confident, successful, assertive man." "Penthouse" 1/2016: 14

> "How will one of Earth's most powerful men navigate this precarious situation?" "Penthouse" 6/2016: 23

> "As a result, you've convinced yourself that all the women want you, and all the guys want to be you." "Penthouse" 2/2016: 16

What is more, this kind of men can count on the matrimonial success, especially among women seeking a husband-trophy, a springboard for financial or social success:

> "Not all women are impressed by cars, but the woman I'm dating now is." "Penthouse" 1/2016: 128

Also, for many men, the answer to the androgynous masculinity pattern and feminisation has become 'hypermen'[239], hence a traditional alpha male. Although it would seem that for most modern men, taking care of themselves has long ceased to be taboo, and started to be regarded as a necessity, not all magazines promote the label of a neat gentleman. The image of masculinity promoted by "Penthouse" corresponds to roughness and naturalness, thus concepts somehow built on antagonism to femininity, the kind of a rejection of the features and behaviours stereotypically attributed to women:

[239]The *hyper-* prefix enhances all the features that are supposedly possessed by an alpha male.

"A real man doesn't own clean sneakers." "Penthouse" 11/2017: 49

"Keep your clothing style simple. Remember, straight men cannot be trusted to style themselves." "Penthouse" 1/2016: 14

The stereotype that heterosexual men do not care about their appearance can sometimes, even nowadays, be considered as the aftermath of the fear of being effeminate, passive and losing steadfastness. However, although masculinity can be perceived as taking care of yourself, your appearance and mind, there are limits beyond which the man becomes effeminate.

3.7.7.3 Concluding Remarks

Of the many influences on how we view women and men, the print media might be one of the most pervasive and powerful. Woven throughout our daily lives, they possess the power to insinuate their messages into our consciousness. Furthermore, many images of the sexes presented and popularised by the contemporary pornographic media perpetuate unrealistic, stereotypical, and limiting perceptions.

Firstly, a woman depicted in the "Penthouse" magazine possesses an attractive body (17 excerpts – **BODY** submodel) and is interested in clothes and fashion (23 excerpts – **FASHION AND CLOTHES** submodel). She is beautiful, young (66 excerpts – **PHYSICAL TRAITS** submodel), and leads a lively social life, goes on dates and parties and has a wide circle of friends. In addition, she tries to be active, resourceful and fight for independence (**PSYCHOLOGICAL FEATURES AND PROCESSES** submodel – 'activity, resourcefulness, strength', 18 excerpts; 'feeling of freedom, independence, emancipation', 12 excerpts), but sometimes she struggles with various problems related to her psychological well-being. She frequently reflects on herself (**PSYCHOLOGICAL FEATURES AND PROCESSES** submodel – 'passivity, helplessness, apathy, feeling of discrimination', 28 excerpts) and experiences physical and psychological violence and abuse (**PSYCHOLOGICAL FEATURES AND PROCESSES** submodel – 'violence, aggression', 11 excerpts).

Secondly, the common narrative of femininity in the magazines for men under scrutiny is the one that a woman can be successful but, at the same time, sexy and alluring. She is usually young, slim, provocatively dressed and willing to engage in sexual interaction with men. A different kind of woman is either not depicted at all, or

diminished, ridiculed and featured as a victim. As Wykes and Gunter imply (2005: 96): "Women are not newsworthy unless sexualized". Magazines such as "Penthouse" provide female bodies for men. They convey the message that female bodies are objects to be used for their enjoyment, and the world is organised for their erotic pleasure. Biology is a very important element of this type of approach to women. The submodel **LOVE AND SEX** seems to be the most comprehensive and the most productive one, with as many as 122 excerpts identified.

Thirdly, the aforementioned features that have been traced, of course, do not exhaust all of the attributes that can be assigned to women, which is why particular subsets are open. However, it is believed here that this account covers the major criteria for female differentiation, at least within the Western civilisation, and it seems that they can be treated as a set of characteristics, consisting of a stereotypical image of a woman in Western culture. What is also worth emphasising is that the magazines seem to justify men creating a particular overgeneralised portrayal of women, which ultimately leads to the formulation of certain sexist stereotypes of what a woman is expected to be. It furthermore contributes to the linguistic oppression of the feminine gender but also has baleful effects on the struggle for gender equality. It is believed that language plays an extremely significant role in stereotypes. Its main side-effect, transmitted and maintained within a given society, is an oversimplified image of females.

Men, portrayed in the "Penthouse" magazine are active in the sexual sphere, which constitutes an inseparable aspect of their existence and is the main reference point against which they establish and validate their male identity (90 excerpts – 'sexual techniques and behaviours', **LOVE AND SEX** submodel,). They are active socially (14 excerpts – 'community, social and political activity') and develop professionally, emphasising their socio-economic position (18 excerpts – **WORK AND EDUCATION** submodel). They might be violent and aggressive (18 excerpts), strong and resourceful (17 excerpts), as well as possess a lot of life experience (8 excerpts), all these features are clearly evidenced by the extensive **PSYCHOLOGICAL FEATURES AND PROCESSES** model. Moreover, they are interested in health (15 excerpts – **PHYSICAL PROCESSES AND ACTIVITIES)**, they learn about discoveries in the field of medicine, get practical advice on care, and ad hoc treatment of some ailments. Generally speaking, the basic biological mechanisms interact with a wide variety of sociocultural elements to contour a bewildering array of patterns and aspects according to which a contemporary man can be perceived.

As a conclusion it can be stated that the American press for men promotes a number of cognitive submodels mapped onto complex clusters that seem to degrade female roles, and exalt the male ones. There is a general tendency towards negative representation of women in the form of prototypes that embody submodels such as **LOVE AND SEX**, **PHYSICAL TRAITS** and **BODY.** Admittedly, the whole rich content of the stereotypical ICM of a woman is modelled from the perspective of one magazine in which the lexeme appears. It largely depends on the adopted model of reality and knowledge about the world, but also on the ideological orientation of the authors and their intention. Individual domains and models are the effect of these subjective factors. The stereotypes of the woman and man reconstructed in this chapter constitute a linguistic and cultural view of reality. The findings are predominantly hypothetical, and the main aim of this thesis is to shed some light on the interaction between social and cognitive factors related to the perception of women and men in male magazines (here "Men's Health", "Maxim", "Playboy" and "Penthouse"). The analysis of linguistic data allows us to develop two practical models of **WOMAN** and **MAN** that are useful for the formulation of some plausible interpretations of linguistic data that appear in this sector of the magazine industry. Finally, taking into account the fact that **LOVE AND SEX** submodel turns out to be the most productive in all magazines, the following part of the dissertation will be devoted to the language of sex.

Chapter Four: Figurative Language of Sex

4.1 Introduction

As it has been stated on many occasions, the primary function of metaphor is to comprehend abstract and complex concepts, however, in the case of sex and the issues connected with it, the purpose for using metaphorical expressions seems to be to avoid taboo and embarrassment; yet, through metaphorisation, human sexuality becomes even more tabooed. Evidently, as many researchers show (see Lakoff 1987, Morton 2003, Sánchez Benedito 2004, Kurowska 2016), there is a significant number of metaphorical source domains that people use to understand sex and all the aspects associated with it. These include the following ones: FOOD, CONSUMPTION and DESSERTS, WAR, FIGHT and VIOLENCE, but also SPORT, EXPLOSION, FLYING and many others that frequently occur in a more polite discourse. This chapter, therefore, tries to contextualise which metaphors are used to talk about sex-related issues and how they influence the perception of women's and men's roles in the sexual life, and, consequently, much more widely, in other spheres of human existence. The study is supported by numerous examples of figurative expressions from men's magazines (107 issues: 28 – "Men's Health", 24 – "Maxim", 20 – "Playboy", 29 – "Penthouse", published from January 2016 to December 2018) that are carefully selected, classified and analysed on the basis of their belonging to the particular source domains. The method applied to retrieve metaphorical expressions from the magazines has been manual searching. The author has cautiously read throughout the pages extracting linguistic metaphors that contain SEX as a target domain. Despite the fact that this method limits the potential size of the corpus, it reduces the chances of missing some significant instances of figurative language, and it certainly facilities a more comprehensive examination. Finally, although various magazines for males have been researched before, it is believed that this particular sex-related topic has not been thoroughly examined from the cognitive point of view. Therefore, I hope to bring a fresh point of view to the study field, and, possibly, to expose some wide-spread ways of using language in the modern media that generate some instances of inequality.

4.2 FIRE and HEAT

SEX IS FIRE metaphor may be one the most prevalent allegories for sex in many different languages, as it is based on similar assumptions as the metaphor of a hot fluid in a container (see Kövecses 2002). People undoubtedly perceive certain similarities between sex and fire which arise mainly as a result of metaphorical conception of sexual desire as the heat in a closed container. Every desire may be interpreted as a wish inflamed by fantasy and imagination. However, sexual desire is usually construed as a longing for carnal pleasures. Hence, the examples from the source domains HEAT and FIRE can be found in a number of magazines, especially those directed to men. The publishers' choice of vocabulary comes from the everyday, conventional way of talking about lust and passion. It seems normal to conceptualise sexual desire metaphorically in terms of heat, as many people do it on a regular basis (cf. Kurowska 2016).

Firstly, the answer to the question of why people use the domain of HEAT when talking about sex could be that it has both physical and cultural bases. The domain in question relies mainly on the physiological effects of desire implying that the rise in body heat gives way to the feeling of passion and concupiscence. The passages like:

> "'I've noticed you, too, for the record,' he said, which made my whole body heat up." "Penthouse" 3/2016: 132

> "With Matt's hands pulling my nipples, I felt a wave of heat come over me. As I started rocking back and forth, I felt something building deep inside me. A wave of tingles…" "Penthouse" 6/2017: 124

represent a variety of a well-known English metaphor ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER, where instead of anger, the feeling of lust can be interpreted as the hot fluid. The examples assume that the human body is a container and the hot fluid, or even more precisely, the heat of that fluid corresponds to sexual desire. In the extracts presented above, only a few metaphorical mappings have been taken into consideration. In some other cases, however, one can observe many more correspondences:

Source: HEAT		Target: SEX
the physical container	⇨	the lover's body

the hot fluid inside the container	⇒	the sexual desire
the degree of fluid's heat	⇒	the intensity of sexual desire
the cause of increase in fluid	⇒	the cause of sexual arousal

Obviously, the container metaphor captures many different aspects of the concept of sexual desire. There is a great deal of encyclopaedic knowledge that is associated with lust and has numerous affiliations to the hot fluid and the container. What is more, one can easily observe that it is highly elaborated when it comes to the metaphorical entailments.[240]

Secondly, the main focus of the container metaphor is put on the intensity and uncontrollable aspects of lust, as represented by the example:

"'I could barely breathe. I was on fire.'" "Penthouse" 10/2017: 130

It depicts human desire as a highly intense and powerful emotional state that most probably will lead to difficulties in controlling it. It also indicates the existence of the conceptual metaphor THE PERSON AROUSED IS THE THING BURNING.

Thirdly, the heat and fire metaphors are grounded in the experience that the sexually aroused person feels 'hot' and that word, too, has been featured in the aforementioned examples. Heat that constitutes the centre of DESIRE IS FIRE metaphor, may be inferred from some visual clues. There is a strong connection between the redness in the face and the feeling of sexual excitement and arousal. True enough, lust, like many other intense emotions, raises pulse and blood pressure and increases muscle tension, which makes people feel hotter. As a result, when it gets very hot, people usually blush.

Next, although there is a considerable overlap between the domains of HEAT and FIRE and that of SEX, and even though the two domains are very similar, different mappings can be observed when the source domain of FIRE is taken into consideration:

Source: FIRE		Target: SEX
fire	⇒	lust
the intensity of fire	⇒	the intensity of lust

[240]By possessing the knowledge about the behaviour of hot fluids, one can state that when they start to boil, they go upwards. What is more, when the pressure inside the container is too high, then the container may explode. Hence, two entailments can be drawn respectively: when the intensity of desire increases, the sexual arousal rises and when the intensity of desire is too high, the person achieves an orgasm. To put it simply, the desire as the hot fluid is rising rapidly, it becomes higher and higher until the climax appears.

the thing burning	⇨	the person experiencing lust
burning	⇨	experiencing lust
the cause of fire	⇨	the cause of lust

The hypothetical situation that unequivocally emerges from the domain of FIRE and its corresponding mappings has the effect of enhancing those attributes which are used to depict sexual arousal as an intense feeling. Sex, just like fire, releases heat and produces various chemical reactions. In the ignition point, flames that constitute the visual portion of fire are also produced. Consequently, a person experiencing sexual desire feels heat and very frequently blushes. What is more, in the case of fire, depending on the substances alight and the surroundings, the colour of the flame and the fire's intensity might differ. It is also true for sex, where the intensity of sexual desire varies depending on the lovers' mood and external circumstances. Finally, as fire in its most common form has the potential to cause physical damage through burning, by comparing it to sexual activities, one may safely conclude that sex, despite its pleasurable dimension, can also be dangerous and destructive (uncontrollable behaviour, violence, sexual addiction, sexual compulsions, sexual impulsivity, just to mention a few). Importantly, since the LUST IS FIRE metaphor has its experiential bases in the functioning of the human body, it gains its linguistic manifestation in the magazines for men in many different ways.

All things considered, sexual desire is understood as a positive emotion that produces desirable physiological reactions. Because sex is such an emotionally loaded subject, people routinely talk about it using veiled, metaphorical language. Although highly conventionalised, HEAT and FIRE[241] metaphors are treated as powerful tools through which people can picture passion and sexual arousal as an intense and pleasurable feeling, without any fear of social rejection. Both domains are given special prominence and since they are entirely acceptable in a polite discourse, in male magazines, they seem to occupy a rather marginal position, and the concept of lust can be described and conveyed jointly by several other metaphors. To illustrate the truth of this, let us notice that the source domain of FIRE may coexist with that of EXPLOSION to describe the act of orgasm. Thus, sexuality can be understood as a physical force, where lust is a reaction to that force.

[241]See the analysis of HEAT and FIRE metaphors in Kurowska (2016).

4.3 EXPLOSION, ERUPTION and PHYSICAL FORCES

While some metaphors construe sex in terms of fire and heat, others equate erotic experiences and orgasm with the state of eruption, explosion or sometimes even with such forces as electricity. The domains of FIRE and EXPLOSION are closely interwoven, and one domain follows the other one. That phenomenon of dependence can be observed from various mappings and entailments. As it has been mentioned in the previous section, sexual desire can be described as the hot fluid in a container. This metaphor implies that when the intensity of lust increases, the hot fluid rises, intense desire produces pressure on the container and beyond certain limits, when the desire becomes too intense, the walls of the container burst as a result of too much pleasure, and the person figuratively explodes. The detailed entailments also suggest that the fluid comes out of the container and it might be dangerous since it is something that people usually are not able to control.

In the natural environment, the act of explosion is usually seen as a rapid increase in volume and release of energy in an extreme manner, which entails the generation of very high temperatures. Every explosion can be characterised by some specific features like force, velocity, evolution of heat and fragmentation. Apart from that, there are different types of explosions. Detonations, for example, can be caused by man-made devices including high explosives. Sometimes also the audible component is present during the explosion. Moreover, the majority of outbursts can be compared to some issues connected with sex, especially with the phenomenon of orgasm. The mappings that exist between the domain of EXPLOSION and that of ORGASM or which represent the conceptual metaphor ORGASM IS EXPLOSION are the following ones:

Source: EXPLOSION		Target: ORGASM
explosive	➡	orgasm
explosion	➡	the emergence of orgasm
the force of explosion	➡	the force of orgasm
the surface affected	➡	the human's body

The comparison of orgasm to the explosives draws attention to the rapidity and fierceness of that emotional reaction. The speed of its appearance is what distinguishes it from the slow awakening of lust. All the same, the explosive force that is released during the explosion travels in all directions and affects the surroundings in many different ways,

usually causing destruction. Similarly, the force of climax moves around the whole human body, awakening all senses and bringing with it all-consuming excitement. In men's magazines the comparison of orgasm to the powerful explosion can be found in examples like:

> "I heard myself making loud noises, too – Tina's vocal abandon was infectious – and then my cock exploded inside her." "Penthouse" 1/2016: 140

> "Shannon could sense I was about to explode, so she hopped on my dick facing me and started riding." "Penthouse" 10/2016: 127

Additionally, the act of orgasm is a chemical reaction that leads to the explosion of physical pleasure and can be easily compared to some chemical substances which, upon the application of heat, result in the rapid and violent detonation, like, for instance fireworks:

> "SPARKS! Sync up your sex drive with your partner's – then enjoy the fireworks show." "Men's Health" 1-2/ 2017: 5

A reaction that is initiated by the application of sexual stimulation is of course sexual climax.

To embark on another point, it is commonly acknowledged that orgasm is one of the most intimate and, at the same time, one of the most powerful human expressions of life force that are available on Earth. Usually, when people want to describe orgasm, they often spend a lot of time talking about emotions, feelings, flowers, candlelight or even cuddling which are pleasant and purely innocent things. However, in connection with its intensity, orgasm that constitutes the peak of sexual pleasure, may be also regarded as a forceful explosion inside the human body that cannot be properly controlled. The metaphor ORGASM IS AN EXPLOSION might be further illustrated with the following examples:

> "Seconds later, he exploded into my mouth." "Penthouse" 9/2017: 8

"I couldn't believe this was real. She undid my pants and pushed me to the side, wedging herself with just enough room to take my shaft into her slobbering mouth. She worked my pole wet and perfectly, only stopping to slap it against the side of her cheek, look up, and smile at me. I was ready to explode." "Penthouse" 6/2017: 127

"The intensity of her orgasm was more than I could handle, and I blew my load inside her." "Penthouse" 11/2016: 9

"My hear pounded as I let go, blasting everything out of me and deep inside of her." "Penthouse" 9/2017: 130

While being on the subject of explosion, orgasm is primarily an energetic phenomenon and is usually accompanied by the expulsion of male and female sexual fluids. In the science of sexuality, the word ***orgasm*** refers to a climactic peak of sexual forces and, interestingly enough, during the act of orgasm the nervous system is over-charged with sexual desire, which consequently leads to the massive and uncurbed release of that erotic energy. The association of explosion with sex fits perfectly, since orgasm is virtually an explosion of energy that escapes from the human body. More mappings between the two domains can be presented graphically:

Source: EXPLOSION		Target: ORGASM
the conductor	⇨	the lover's body
energy	⇨	desire
to explode	⇨	to reach orgasm
the intensity of explosion	⇨	the intensity of orgasm
the audible component	⇨	the sounds of pleasure

Advancing further, probably the main purpose of having sex is to achieve orgasm. Metaphors of EXPLOSION focus on and predominantly describe its effects. The allegory:

"She immediately gave a loud shriek, and her pussy clamped around my shaft and shook through her own explosive climax." "Penthouse" 3/2016: 122

shows that the overcharge that escapes from the human body during orgasm, or – more precisely – out of the sexual organs, is responsible for various turbulent physical effects. And just as one can physically experience the effects of any literal explosion, also the results of sexual climax are visible to the naked eye. This also includes another excerpt:

> "The tingling I felt throughout my body grew stronger and stronger. Suddenly, an unbelievable wave of pleasure hit me. I felt ballooned with heat… it was like my whole body exploded. I let out a wail. I was breathless. I shuddered and shook." "Penthouse" 9/2017: 127

that depicts the figurative description of physical consequences of orgasms as well. The use of expressions such as *shuddered* and *shook* serves as proof that people in the real life can experience the symptoms that are usually attributed to the feature of explosion called fragmentation. During the explosion, certain particles that were accumulated in one place can travel hundreds or thousands of meters with huge energy that is able to injure and damage the nearby structures and objects as a result of a detonation. This corresponds to involuntary shudders, shakings, vibrations, shouts and screams that people produce while in the state of sexual ecstasy.

Likewise, orgasm might be conceptualised as a volcanic eruption, which involves the volcanic material escaping to the Earth's surface or the atmosphere. Lava and other volcanic products come out either of the hole, called the crater, which is the end of the chimney reaching the igneous focus, or crevices. On the lava surface, they build lava covers or volcanic mountains in the shape of domes or cones. Hence, to a considerable extent, on the basis of the examples presented below:

> "This expert gives you the tips and advice you need to erupt like a hot volcano!" "Playboy" 1-2/2016: 141

> "THE ERUPTION THAT SOON FOLLOWS IS A DEPARTURE FROM THE NORMAL ORGASMS EXPERIENCE." "Penthouse" 7-8/2016: 126

> "Suddenly I tensed in her hands and erupted like a volcano, shooting thick streams of cum into the air, in her face, on her tits." "Penthouse" 4/2017: 11

one may safely conclude that orgasm sometimes resembles the eruption of the volcano. It is associated with the heat accumulated in the lover's body. Just as the course of volcanic eruption depends on the type of lava and the amount of gas contained in it, the same happens to the human body during the intercourse. Rapid explosions, under high gas pressure, cause lava spray and volcanic ash formation. Ashes are ejected to great heights up to the stratosphere and spread over large areas. In this way, lava material corresponds to the female and male sexual fluids, while gases, which are escaping from the volcano much longer than the lava flow continues, can be mapped onto the concept of sexual desire.

Another image of orgasm that shares some common features with natural forces is that of an irresistibly powerful force, namely moving water. In the magazines for men one can find examples of FLOOD metaphors for orgasm, which include:

> "My sperm boiled up again and flooded the depths of her womb as she skewered her buttocks back against me. Every inch of her body tensed and began to jerk and quiver like a string being plucked on a banjo. Her climax broke with these waves of pleasure…her juices flooding out around my now limp dick. She was still trembling violently as my cock slipped from her sperm drenched pussy." "Penthouse" 7-8/2016: 143

> "Still rubbing her hand through the heat between my legs, a rush erupted through my entire body. I came, gasping into her mouth as I rode wave after wave of a seemingly endless orgasm." "Penthouse" 11/2017: 9

In technical terms, flood is a temporary hydrological phenomenon consisting of a surge of river or sea water in watercourses, reservoirs or at sea, causing the flooding of significant land areas (such as rivers, valleys, coastal or depressive areas) beyond the coastal state, leading to measurable social and material losses. It constitutes one of the most dangerous and destructive natural disasters, which are extremely difficult to control. In a similar way, the phenomenon of orgasm can be portrayed as an invader which travels through the body of a person experiencing sexual climax in the form of waves, which she or he is almost powerless to resist.

Next, people also conceptualise sex and the phenomenon of sexual desire in terms of physical forces, more precisely, in terms of electricity. Since the domain of PHYSICAL FORCE represents basic human experience, those forces shape the

conception of sex through the mappings between the domains. By virtue of the PHYSICAL FORCE metaphor, many sexual activities in the magazines for men are depicted as electricity. What is important, they are entirely grounded in the encyclopaedic knowledge of the effect that force may have on human beings. To illustrate the point, the example:

> "Watching ASMR videos (see the lower-left quadrant) may give you a pleasurable tingle, and that tingle may become erotically charged." "Playboy" 7-8/2017: 24

describes the sexual desire as a current which passes through the human body. Moreover, the source domain of ELECTRICTY[242] especially emphasises the fact that sexual desire is something that people cannot control and the person who experiences the intense force of lust may not be responsible for his or her behaviour. Besides, the aspects of control and the dangerous effects and consequences of the exposure to electricity are disregarded and backgrounded, however, the view of electrical energy as a strong source of energy that passes through the body is definitely highlighted.

To conclude, both sexual desire and the act of orgasm can be very intense and can lead to a loss of control, hence, it seems logical to conceptualise the two phenomena in terms of explosion and physical forces. But then again, ORGASM IS AN EXPLOSION is not the only way to understand a climax in English. There are plenty of different metaphors that people use to depict that sensual act. For some, it is a strong and intense sensation that explodes immediately and leaves the exhaustion, for some other people it is a slow, subtle process. However, regardless of its type, explosion metaphors are particularly useful and they frequently occur in the contemporary press.

4.4 WAR[243]

Violent and aggressive conduct together with sexual desire are easily considered as the most powerful forces that may govern the behaviour of human beings. In fact, the WAR metaphor is a very popular media image and the sex-related metaphorical expressions will be viewed here from the perspective of linguistic discrimination against

[242]The domain of ELECTRICITY does not only refer directly to sex and lust, but also to physical attraction. When two people pay attention to the attractiveness and external features, it is easy to describe that relation with the use of electrical sparks.
[243]This section is an elaboration of the discussion in Kurowska (2021).

women. The collected data have shown that sex can generally be conceptualised as WAR, BATTLE, PUNISHMENT and VIOLENT ACT. What is more, several, more specific conceptual metaphors have been identified, for example SEX IS WAR, SEX IS PUNISHMENT, PENIS IS A WEAPON and KISSING IS WRESTLING. Evidently, it is impossible to overlook the close bond between sex and war, since war terms are commonly used by ordinary people in everyday situations. Contemporary language is rich in hundreds of military terms which are repeatedly applied to non-military circumstances in everyday speech or writing, which has become a customary process, since both women and men are likely to draw upon phenomena in one area of life to understand experiences in another. Therefore, a brief theoretical overview of this domain in relation to sex will be helpful in the further analysis.

To start with, the long-established and pervasive traditions and norms regarding gender roles give the impression that only men can be sexually active, while the role of women is to be merely the passive objects of masculine desire. Such a view is expressed by many researchers. Among others, Baider and Gesuato (2003: 18) point out: "The male is an agent engaged in an active act, while the female is a patient, recipient, experiencer or marginal, submissive agent." Unfortunately, even in modern times, such a perception of reality is not uncommon and has a number of negative consequences for women[244]. It evidently makes them vulnerable to sexual abuse and exploitation, and restricts their freedom since they start to become treated as objects rather than equal human subjects (Cameron and Kulick 2003: 29).

Turning to the metaphors for sex, it is interesting to notice how many of them employ violence as their source domain. Many of those figurative expressions are relatively recent in origin; however, as Goatly observes (2007: 83), "the association can be traced back at least as far as classical times, where *phallus* meant 'sword', *vagina* meant 'sheath or scabbard'." Duda (2014: 128) provides similar examples which fit into the category of the metaphor SEX IS WAR, namely: *sword*, *weapon* and *pole* in the sense 'penis' and *wound*, *cut*, *scar* in the sense 'vagina'. Interestingly, examining the abovementioned examples one can safely conclude that men are again constructed as the

[244]Sex and violence are linked in the human mind via metaphors that describe sexual desire in terms of physical force and war. This kind of perception not only penalises women, but, as Lakoff (1987: 409) suggests, the way people conceptualise lust and anger, together with various folk theories of sexuality, may also constitute a contributing factor to the high rate of rapes in some societies.

aggressors, while women as the victimised and attacked[245]. As a result, sex itself is not an indisputably positive force that brings only intense physical pleasure and emotional fulfilment and satisfaction. Very often it can equally be a source of misery and unspeakable cruelty. In this connection, it is worth observing that there are many sex-related metaphors that utilise WAR domain as their foundation in the creation of figurative expressions. Because of such violent and ferocious associations, they enhance the status of men as rough and impetuous beings, while at the same time they degrade womanhood to something weak and tender. Although one may say that these are only stereotypes, they certainly appeal to some elements of the psychology of lovers who unconsciously try to meet social expectations.

Taking into consideration the nature and content of various men's magazines, it seems almost impossible to overlook the whole array of war associations with regard to sexual activities. Principally, the domains of WAR and SEX noticeably overlap and there are a great number of metaphorical mappings between them. To illustrate the truth of this, let us analyse certain examples:

"How to Sleep with Her: Bedroom strategies for better z's." "Men's Health" 1-2/2017: 6

"It was a battle of wills, both of us trying to hold out so the other would come first." "Penthouse" 2/2016: 6

"IT WAS LIKE SHE WAS BATTLING MY DICK, AND HER PUSSY WAS WINNING." "Penthouse" 10/2017: 127

"Stoya's Guide to Expanding Your Sexual Frontiers." "Playboy" 7-8/2017: 1

"A deep dive into America's final sexual frontier: the ass." "Penthouse" 7-8/2017: 101

All the aforementioned contexts represent the SEX IS WAR metaphor and they share some common features. The two people involved in sexual intercourse are seen as opposing fighters or even sworn enemies. However, the essence of the metaphor cannot be limited to the seduction stage. People seem to be involved in the love act as opponents

[245]However, one can also encounter examples such as: "I tried to pull out, and she clamped me like a bear trap." "Penthouse" 10/2017: 128, where *vagina* is conceptualised as a trap, hence a device that can cause harm.

(sometimes even enemies); they attack their positions and defend them; gain and lose ground; as well as plan and use love strategies. The metaphorical correspondences that appear between the domains of SEX and WAR can be presented graphically as follows:

Source: WAR		Target: SEX
the conqueror	➡	the man
the conquered	➡	the woman
the battle	➡	the attempt to have sex
to surrender	➡	to allow to have sex
battle strategy	➡	bedroom strategy

On the one hand, there is a man who dominates sexually and is considered to be a conqueror in the war. On the other hand, there is a woman who might obey and submit to everything. Such a portrayal is well depicted in the excerpts below:

> "I think dominance and submission, which should probably be called surrender, is all a vast human construct on a basic primordial strategy in which the woman surrenders completely and the man totally dominates to impress her." "Men's Health" 3/2017: 105

> "All my body surrenders to thy tireless lips." "Penthouse" 2/2016: 119

> "It can help her relax and feel safe – and ultimately surrender." "Men's Health" 5/2018: 102

The examples illustrate and emphasise the idea, which is deeply rooted and well established in many traditions and beliefs that males should take the leading role during sexual intercourse, while women should unquestionably capitulate. The knowledge we have about war allows us also to provide other metaphorical entailments. Firstly, to seduce a sexual partner is to overcome a competitor and secondly, surrendering is allowing desire to take control. The WAR metaphor stresses and focuses predominantly on the issue of control. Additionally, contemporary models of masculinity have an enormous influence on the conceptualisation of men as violent partners in a sexual act. Masculinity is perceived as an aggressive feature, simply because men are defined by their manliness (they act violently to be seen as virile). For this reason, it should become clear from the examples that men are encouraged to demonstrate forcefulness through sex

in order to emphasise and assert their manhood. This situates men as attackers during sexual intercourse. The lexemes such as *pounding*, *hammering* (‘repeated and heavy hitting or beating’) are commonly used to refer to the sexual act:

> “Then something didn’t ‘feel right,’ and she asked Williams to stop pounding her. He didn’t.” “Penthouse” 6/2016: 17

> “I hammered her for a good ten minutes before I pulled out and shot my load all over what turned out to be the inside of my shirt.” “Penthouse” 10/2016: 101

One may also argue that the examples:

> “Raven turned the vibrator back up, and I started to thrust into Lily in powerful, punishing strokes. It was a foreign motion at first, but I quickly found a rhythm and got caught up in the moment. As I watched her come again and again while I hammered into her, I knew I would never forget my first time.” “Penthouse” 10/2017: 82

> “Kylie held on to the hood of the car while I gave her pussy the punishing it deserved, slapping her ass from time to time while she squealed and squirmed on my cock.” “Penthouse” 1/2016: 128

> “His tongue was still tormenting my clit and he was awakening.” “Penthouse” 1-2/2018: 11

despite the war reference, are less about war and more about and the notion of punishment. Again, the conceptual mappings provide a participant structure which unquestionably evokes a relationship where one of the participants – the punishing one (a man) is performing the action, while the other participant – the person being punished (a woman) is receiving the action. Yet again, a man fulfils the role of an attacker, and a woman takes the role of an attacked. The metaphor SEX IS PUNISHMENT seems to be an example of discrimination against women in the sexual sphere, because punishment is an act of asymmetry of power between two parties. The suffering victims cannot defend themselves, hide or return the blow; in fact, they may be completely defenceless. For this reason, torment is an example of objectification of the individual.

Before embarking on the further analysis, it is vital to highlight that human sexual organs[246] constitute a very controversial topic and are habitually ignored and avoided in general discussions. The investigation presented in the previous section shows that sex is often viewed as a violent interaction, in which a man is characterised as an attacker, and his penis might be viewed as a weapon. In this regard, Morton (2003: 99) claims that a number of terms denoting the penis are taken from the battlefield. He writes: "the word weapon itself was used to denote the penis in Middle English, as it had been in Old English, dating back to the eleventh century" (Morton 2003: 99). The term is still often used nowadays and there seems to be a close connection between sex and war, where masculinity is seen as a kind of dominance, femininity as passivity, and sexual intercourse as a conquest. The metaphorical view of the penis as a weapon that is used during war becomes crucial when assessing the relationship between sex and violence. Awareness of the semantics of sexual intercourse and violence among men becomes pivotal, simply because men must constantly define themselves through their masculinity. In order to understand the metaphorical correspondences between the two domains, let us consider extracts from the analysed magazines:

> "My favorite position. I tried to hold my phone steady as her hand guided my shotgun inside her." "Penthouse" 3/2017: 126

> "I moaned as he muscled his oversized gun into my tight little hole." "Penthouse" 6/2016: 9

> "She grabbed the back of the chair, which was flimsy, and braced it against the wall, which was flimsy. I trusted this girl could withstand ten days of my pent-up logjam. With her feet spread and her ass pointing at me, her bush riding beneath like a hair beacon, I guided my Scud missile in, grabbing each hip once I was there." "Penthouse" 12/2016: 127

> "There's something menacing about a guy wielding his penis like a weapon." "Playboy" 10/2016: 28

[246]Up to the present time there have also appeared a number of new terms denoting vagina; nevertheless, almost all of them contain a figurative meaning, and people still avoid talking about it directly. Even gynaecologist's clinical vocabulary that is supposed to be very specific, has its roots in metaphors. The very word *vagina* is a Latin term and it means 'sheath' or 'scabbard', a kind of holster for storing a sword (Morton 2003: 144). Moreover, female breasts have not escaped comparisons to war terminology either, and they are frequently depicted as weapons of mass destruction (see Morton 2003: 153).

"I was on the brink of shooting my load." "Penthouse" 12/2017: 8

"Her cries sent me over the edge, so I grabbed her hips and started pumping ferociously. When I yelled, 'I'm coming!' she responded, 'Me too, oh my God!' We both stiffened up our bodies at the same time as she unleashed a tidal wave on my cock and I shot several warm ropes deep inside her." "Penthouse" 3/2017: 126

"I rocketed jets of come into her asshole, and she grabbed me as she let her quivering body settle on mine, her muscles still twitching around my cock." "Penthouse" 10/2016: 127

At first glance, it can be inferred that the penis is characterised as a weapon (*shotgun*, *Scud missile*), whereas ejaculation is characterised as the act of shooting with the weapon (*shoot the load*). Hence, the hostile and violent manner of war is attributed to the manner of the sexual act. By shooting the loaded weapon, the attacker attempts to kill the victim, therefore the woman – his sexual partner. Such a perception highlights the negative characteristic of violence. The male genital organ can be used as a weapon, with the intention of humiliating and subordinating the victims, or worse, with the intention of objectifying them. A penis can also be conceptualised as a tool:

"Use your tools, guys." "Men's Health" 5/2018: 62

or as an object which is hard and sharp and can cause harm:

"My cock turned into an iron rod." "Penthouse" 1-2/2018: 143

"Perpendicular sex positions allow for clitoral stimulation without penetration, which can help you last longer. As you each lie on your side facing each other, create a 90-degree angle between your shaft and her vulva. Instead of penetrating, press your shaft lengthwise against her clitoris and gently move it back and forth." "Men's Health" 7-8/2016: 102

"Her soft lips felt fantastic against my aching dick, and I moaned loudly as she sucked up more of my shaft. No more than three minutes passed before I was shooting into her mouth." "Penthouse" 2/2016: 126

This particular association offers the language user a lexical alternative from the source domain such as *shaft* in the designation of the taboo referent 'penis'.

Other less dangerous and vicious forms of combat include kissing. Given that a kiss is a form of very intimate contact, it evokes strong emotions. That is why people most often prefer to kiss only very close friends and those with whom they are intimately acquainted. In a relationship, the type and manner of kissing also carries cultural meanings not directly related to sexuality. Depending on the context, the degree of knowledge we possess, or the relationship between people who exchange a kiss, it can be a sign of respect, friendship or a way of greeting or saying goodbye. Yet, kissing can also constitute an act that is a passionate prelude to intercourse and emphasises the intensity of sexual desire. The existence of the KISSING IS WRESTLING metaphor can be confirmed by the following excerpt:

> "Our lips met and our tongues wrestled as she rocked on my stiff pole." "Penthouse" 12/2017: 9

The connection between the domain of SEX and that of VIOLENCE is evident here in the word *wrestled*. In other words, wrestling is a combat sport, involving the physical struggle of two competitors – the fight takes place by using grips and throws. Although not everyone is aware of this, anger and combat have a lot in common with eroticism. Aggressive kisses might make some people very excited, nonetheless it should not be assumed that such a perception indicates only a positive side of human sexual desire.

On balance, the WAR and VIOLENCE metaphors are common media images. In many cases, the overall view of sex seems to be one of hostility, violence and dominance where the two domains very often function as devices of masculinisation, since war is still typically perceived as a male activity[247]. Moreover, such metaphors influence the way of thinking about sex and the way of making love itself. The strengthening and highlighting of the portrayal of male's sexual dominance may encourage men to become more violent. It is vital to bear in mind that metaphors are not culturally neutral, and they possess the power to shape people's attitudes towards sexuality, not always favourably. They also emphasise different facets of sex, and – at the same time – they background other aspects, like tenderness, caring for the partner and other positive emotions occurring

[247]See, e.g. Duda (2014: 71).

during intercourse. Therefore, the fact that metaphors might be used as a vehicle to transmit stereotyped images is frequently exploited by the media. The SEX IS WAR metaphor is a cognitive association that transfers various attributes from the source domain of war to the target domain of sex. To be more precise, it offers various sets of ontological correspondences as a result of using the knowledge of war to talk about the taboo topic of sex: for example, a lover is an enemy; seduction of a sexual partner is defeating an enemy; penis is a weapon, etc. The conceptual basis of war metaphors refers to the general view of sex in terms of dominance, punishment, hostility and violence; therefore, many metaphorical substitutes that are subject to this cognitive equation tend to acquire dysphemistic overtones. The domains of WAR and VIOLENCE clearly suggest the superiority of men. As Grey (1993: 19) states: "Sex is a classic arena for the exercise of power." For many men, sex serves as a basis of self-worth in the modern world. By various sexual activities, they show their skills in seduction and prove their attractiveness and desirability. The metaphor of war promotes specific behaviours – competitive rather than conciliatory, where emphasis is put on the effect and not the way it is achieved; in other words, the achievement of the goal is the most crucial element, not the interests of the individuals. The very notion of interests in the war metaphor turns into abutments, bases and all other goals that are gained (by force), and not agreed or negotiated. Thus, the metaphor of war includes victims thrown from front to front like pawns on a strategic map. What is perhaps even more important is that it imposes win-lose optics. Compromise is always treated as an unfulfilled desire, and winning becomes the only goal. The metaphor of war even excludes the search for agreement and satisfaction of both parties.

4.5 DEATH

Human orgasm can be very intense, and it can lead to a loss of control. Since most human beings cannot govern the orgasmic state, it seems logical to describe this phenomenon in terms of explosion and some other physical forces which cannot be easily controlled (see section 4.3). The loss of control is also clearly visible in metaphorical conceptualisations such as ORGASM IS FAINTING and ORGASM IS DEATH[248]. The main reason for such a perception of the sexual climax might be the embodiment of

[248]Orgasm is expressed as ***la petite mort*** ('the little death').

orgasm, as it constitutes a specific state of consciousness when people suffer from a lack of physical and conscious control over their bodies.

As mentioned above, the act of orgasm is frequently presented in terms of something difficult to control that may cause the loss of consciousness, as indeed, it seems to cause a momentary loss of awareness – everything around ceases to exist. This pleasant confusion has extraordinary intensity, but the sensations can be different each time. Magazines for men offer an example of REACHING ORGASM IS FAINTING metaphor:

> "I was close to fainting from pleasure. I stopped playing with her, sank back into the velvety recliner, and just soaked up the way it felt to be finger-fucked by a woman." "Penthouse" 6/2017: 129

What can be inferred from the excerpt above is the fact that the taboo of climaxing can be easily conceptualised in such a way that it equates orgasm with the loss of consciousness. The experience in question is very strong and difficult to control, it is not surprising then that the editors use the figurative image of fainting to talk about one of the most intense sensations that people can feel. It constitutes a specific mental state, in which a person might deviate from their normal state of consciousness and, therefore, experience a lack of conscious control over the body.

Central to understanding the next metaphor is how we view orgasm. It is an explosive, intense discharge of sexual tension, followed by a series of muscle contractions within the genitals, while waves of pleasure appear in the brain. Every orgasm is different; it lasts around a few seconds on average, it can be quiet, barely noticeable, or it can be an outburst of ecstasy combined with screaming. Besides, the intensity of orgasms depends on the day of the cycle, diet, mood, atmosphere and many other significant factors. Orgasm may also be compared to the death itself, like in the passage:

> "She slowly pushed back onto it, and my stomach dropped as I watched my dick disappear into her warm, slippery snatch. I remember thinking that I had died and gone to heaven. The heated tightness of her slick vaginal walls felt like nothing I had ever known before." "Penthouse" 7-8/2016: 143

By using those words, a person involved in the sexual act implies that the orgasm he has just experienced constituted the source of immense pleasure and even though it was intense and exhaustive, the man is willing to experience it again. The resemblance of death and sexual climax is by no means accidental, and as in the example of fainting, it also emphasises the abruptness and intensity of those two earthly phenomena, during which, both women and men may go through an altered state of consciousness. In many respects, sexuality is the most delicate part of our psyche, so the orgasm we experience is imprinted on it in a number of significant ways.

4.6 SPORT[249]

With the help of figurative language, sex can be depicted as a hedonistic activity through the source domains of SPORT and GAME in general. Many men are indisputably obsessed with sports and they match and integrate the sporting spirit with their lives and personal relationships, even with sex itself. Since both domains are closely linked to entertainment, a sexual encounter may be interpreted, by many, as an innocent and pleasurable pastime in which the notion of having fun is transferred into the SEX domain. Nevertheless, the baseball metaphor that will be examined below, can be also perceived as a forceful activity, which has nothing to do with mutual desire and respect.

Those interested in baseball know that it is a bat-and-ball game played between two teams that take their turns batting and fielding. It is a team sport played on a diamond-shaped field over a limited period of time (nine innings), where each team takes turns at being defensive and offensive (see Strecker 2014). The whole game actually revolves around two players: the pitcher and the batter (Hample 2007). The batting players attempt to score runs by hitting the ball that is thrown towards them by the pitcher, with a bat swung by the batter. If they manage to hit the ball within the field, and if the ball is not caught by the defensive team, they have to run counter-clockwise around a series of four stations called: first base, second base, third base, and home plate, and safely reach them in succession (Bonsor and Gesuato 2003). A run is scored when a player returns to home plate.

The rules of the game of baseball clearly resemble the sexual scenario and convey the sexual values of most western cultures. As can be generally observed in a variety of

[249]Some of the aspects discussed in section 4.6, were touched upon in Kurowska (2019a).

different sport disciplines, there are two basic mappings between the domains of SPORT and SEX. In the first one, the game corresponds to a sexual activity, while in the second, people who are engaged in a sexual encounter can be compared to people playing. In the case of baseball, two opposing teams, in which one tries to gain runs, and the other one tries to prevent them from being scored, are respectively a man and a woman. The enormous value that is placed on *getting to a base*, reveals a deeply-rooted belief in people's views about sexual activities. In many cultures, men are expected to pursue their sexual desires, while women are supposed to avoid sex, but, at the same, time be prepared for their *bases* to be reached. There are of course many other resemblances and shared features between the field of the game and the realm of lovemaking. Let us look at the first example demonstrating the workings of the conceptual metaphor HAVING SEX IS PLAYING BASEBALL where different bases refer to the stages of having sex, i.e. different bases refer to different levels of physical intimacy:

> "Don't request extra points for stopping at first base, but do prepare a loving gesture to win her back." "Men's Health" 4/2016: 38

The aforementioned sentence refers to the KISSING IS GETTING TO FIRST BASE metaphor. In baseball, a hitter tries to reach first base and continue his progress to score a run. In the world of relationships, a kiss might be considered as the first base and can lead to the longer relationship or simply to the act of having sex with somebody[250]. The following examples demonstrate other metaphorical elaborations of baseball bases:

> "Here's the thing: We *love* the bases, all three. A night spent lingering on them is the hottest form of torture she's ever experienced." "Men's Health" 7-8/2017: 24

> "'Normal' was the woman saying no and moving the man's (or boys) roaming hands away from her breasts (second base) or crotch (third base). 'Normal' was finally having missionary intercourse on their wedding night (home plate, but we stopped using baseball metaphors after marriage; now it was soccer: 'game over')." "Penthouse" 7-8/2017: 86

[250]The perceived similarity concerns the fact that just as the batter needs to score a run by getting onto the first base, the lover who wants to have some success in dating must go through the first stage, that is kissing. In such a case, he or she is said to get to first base.

The second base pertains to the issue of skin-to-skin touching and petting, hence the metaphor TOUCHINNG IS GETTING TO THE SECOND BASE, while the third base serves as an example of the metaphor: ORAL STIMULATION IS GETTING TO THIRD BASE. It can be acknowledged that since it denotes *oral sex*, its position is by no means accidental. This is admittedly not a novel issue, as the third base for both sex and baseball is definitely better than the second and the first one. Finally, *home plate* or *home run* may be taken as the examples of the conceptual metaphor: FULL SEXUAL INTERCOURSE IS A HOME RUN[251]. Literally, the home run belongs to baseball terminology[252] and is scored when the ball is hit over the outfield wall and the hitter is allowed to freely circle the bases and reach home plate at once, without any interference from the defensive team (Bonsor and Gesuato 2003). Scoring the run constitutes the ultimate goal of the game and is undoubtedly associated with the act of copulation itself, where managing to have sex can be regarded as the ultimate goal of the date. What also needs to be emphasised is the fact that baseball metaphor presents a hierarchy of sexual activities. Essentially, baseball is a strictly organised game, where there is no opportunity for spontaneity. The players must follow a specific pattern of play and they are not allowed to skip bases or to run in different directions (i.e. they are assigned with specific tasks). In sex that usually means following a script of sexual practices and behaviour. Reaching each base and moving on to the next seems to be valued in modern cultures.

In the view of this, it should be once again remembered that there are a number of correspondences and mappings between the domain of SEX and that of BASEBALL in the metaphors presented. It would be worth summarising at least some of them:

Source: BASEBALL		Target: SEX
the players	⇨	the lovers
the first base	⇨	kissing
the second base	⇨	touching
the third base	⇨	oral stimulation
home run	⇨	full sexual intercourse

[251]A similar interpretation is illustrated in Wilkinson (2002: 928-929), and in Downer (2018).
[252]A ***home run*** is considered to be the best possible hit that a batter can make. Interestingly, the expression *home run* very often refers to a highly successful operation or anything that is a great success for a person or group.

Such simple concepts like sporting games, and baseball in particular, allow us to describe the complicated notion of sex without the need to use scientific terms. They are also very helpful in avoiding the taboo.

In conclusion, the use of different types of metaphors often carries the risk of offence, discrimination and degradation of certain values[253]. The baseball model of talking about sex became so widespread, especially in the contemporary media that people rarely notice its influence and the message it carries. They constantly talk about *getting to different bases*, *hitting a home run* or *scoring* yet, they are not aware of the influence such expressions may have on the way they perceive the opposite sex. Like any team game, baseball has an oppositional character where only one team can win. By comparing it to sexual acts, one partner, usually a woman, loses her status, while the other partner, usually a man, gains respect in the male environment. Such a way of perceiving male and female relationships may serve as an example of gender inequality. In addition, baseball only moves in one direction. Going backwards is not an option in this particular sport discipline. When the contemporary sexual culture is built on models and assumptions derived from the game of baseball there is little room for open communication about feelings, needs and desires. Although the baseball metaphor remains open to interpretation, some elucidation focuses around placing lovers on opposing teams against each other. Such a model assumes that full intercourse is the only goal of an intimate encounter. What is even more worrying is that people not only apply baseball terminology to euphemise or hide embarrassment, but also to dysphemise. Sport metaphors address certain negative aspects and beliefs about sex, highlighting at the same time aggressive and competitive attitudes. The concept of baseball metaphor places the entire focus of a sexual act in a context of achievement. The player's ultimate goal is to gain all the bases and get to home plate and score another run in order to ensure his team a high position on the list of winners and respect among other players. The baseball conceptualisations make sex a selfish and individual sport. There is no space for the partner's enjoyment or sometimes even for consent[254] itself.

[253]This suggestion goes hand in hand with what Aran (2015) writes on the subject.
[254]Yet again, many researchers claim that the way people talk about sex contributes to rape culture, see, e.g. Allsup (2017).

4.7 GAME

Despite the great efforts of philosophers, religious leaders and writers, sex and sexual desire still remain the forbidden fruit. Moreover, suffice it to say here that such prudery is not only confined to everyday conversations but also to the sphere of the contemporary press. Although we should not go too far in drawing final conclusions, authors' choice of metaphors is relevant, and it influences their readers and the way they conceptualise different phenomena. While some statements remain unnoticed, some of them, like in the case of the SEX IS GAME metaphor shape the recipients' thinking processes and may have a negative impact on the way sex and intimacy are perceived.

To start with, the term ***game*** is used in many (unrelated) fields of study, and its meaning depends on the discipline under consideration. Generally speaking, a game is a set activity that involves one or more people. It is separated from other pastimes by the existence of a strict set of rules, hence, it becomes a codified activity with an entertaining character. Games can be both physical (playing football) as well as mental (chess) or gambling (roulette). Many games, however, oscillate within these categories. Most games are competitive and the goal of the player or group of players is to beat the other players. In the magazines for men, the concept of a game is applied to talk about sex-related activities:

> "I went over to her place on the fly and didn't have a condom. What's my game plan?" "Men's Health" 7-8/2017: 24

> "Wait for her to inhale sharply, arch her back, or moan. Bingo. Repeat as needed." "Men's Health" 6/2017: 22

The latter refers to the game in which the first person to get a particular pattern or a line with the numbers crossed off is the winner and exclaims 'Bingo!', informing all other participants about the victory. The association of sex with the category of games has the potential to abase[255] the sexual act. For some people, the reduction of sexuality to a sport or game depicts it as an activity devoid of affection and intimacy. Consequently, the allusion to the game promotes competitiveness and puts men in a winning position

[255]It should be noted that if game is metaphorically transferred to another ground, the evaluation may change from neutral to more negative.

over the female orgasm and over their sexuality in general. To make sense of these claims, let us look at three more excerpts:

"Call me, I want to play…" "Penthouse" 6/2016: 131

"The urge to get naked and play with myself in public… but everybody already knows that!" "Penthouse" 1/2016: 32

"LET'S PLAY: Shan Boodram wants to teach you a thing or 10 about sex." "Playboy" 3-4/2018: 7

Analysing the examples above, one may discern the following mappings between the source and the target domain:

Source: GAME		Target: SEX
the players	⇨	the lovers
to play	⇨	to have sex/masturbate
rules of the game	⇨	rules of the seduction
game plan	⇨	seduction plan
bingo	⇨	orgasm

Just like the SPORT metaphors, game conceptualisations around sex may have the influence on how people form values and expectations, which might, in turn, determine some significant decisions and choices. The distinguishing feature of this approach is the treatment of sexual activities in the category of achievements. The magazines for men, which cultivate this style of thinking, demonstrate that we are dealing with a kind of cultural compulsion to constantly confirm our value through subsequent erotic achievements, and that only the current experience counts, as the next orgasm (*bingo*) is the most important. There is no place for any sex mysticism, as the partner is treated as someone necessary to achieve the peak. Moreover, playing with the same partner may seem to be a boring activity, hence, the contemporary men feel free to choose their partners.

To conclude, on the one hand, metaphors that incorporate GAME as their source domain focus on one aspect of sex which sees it as something pleasurable and enjoyable. The element of fun mentioned in the analysed quotations emphasises the most playful

elements of sexual connection. A completely different side could be observed in WAR and VIOLENCE metaphors where the emphasis is put on the aggressiveness and male's dominance. For this reason, the metaphors analysed above might be considered as non-violent and can be safely used in public discourse. On the other hand, carrying out a deeper analysis, one may notice that such figurative expressions have the potential to vitiate the sexual act, which again, becomes devoid of warmth and tenderness. Consequently, such metaphors can reinforce the aggressive and competitive attitudes of the participants in sex, and make game metaphors a poor model for sexuality, which together with our style and pace of life serves neither relationships nor the cultivation of passion.

4.8 WORK and BUSINESS

Erotic expressions exist in all languages of the world, because there seem to be hardly any mechanisms or situations regarding sex, for which there would be no suitable terminology. Work-related metaphors point to an important fact of how sex is conceptualised in the contemporary world of labour. The resemblance between the domain of WORK and that of SEX is visible by means of metaphorical mappings, where sex corresponds to the job, lovers to workers, whereas sexual intercourse to the activity of work. The WORK source domain can, of course, be further elaborated into related subdomains like business and commerce.

Let us start the considerations with the first, most general metaphorical pattern, namely SEX IS WORK. This resemblance metaphor is culturally motivated, as it uses the collective knowledge on a given topic possessed by people belonging to the same cultural group; in other words, this metaphor is rooted in the common knowledge of the field of work that people share. In most western societies, both work and sex are assumed to be serious activities which require dedication, effort and time, as well as the possession of special techniques and some degree of mastery:

"Be a Clitoral Connoisseur." "Men's Health" 2/2017: 109

"I think guys need to go down on you for way longer. Even if you aren't gonna come, even if you're getting bored, let them work!" "Penthouse" 7-8/2017: 84

In this sense, the use of terms such as *work* creates a contrast between SEX (supposedly enjoyable activity) and WORK, often considered as having little in common with pleasure. This contrast activates the euphemistic power of the terms contained in this conceptualisation and makes it possible to use them safely in various public discourses. However, the supposed commercialisation of sex is a metaphor that does not correlate with the need for intimacy. It is associated with the need to earn money, resulting, for example, in increasingly sophisticated forms of prostitution. The sexualisation of mass culture has contributed to the popularisation of new sexual content, which, in turn, influences the behaviour and thinking of both women and men. Sex has become a commodity available regardless of age, and commercial exploitation of sexuality, i.e. commercialisation – has become a part of our culture for good. It is not surprising then that many readers of magazines, by searching for norms, may experience a sense of chaos, frustration and disruption in their daily functioning.

Another relevant issue belonging to the domain of WORK is *business*, a term with a comprehensive denotation within the realm of sex that has inspired various verbal usages in the canon of English sex-related euphemisms. The encyclopaedic knowledge we possess about the world of business allows for some components of the source domain to be transferred to the target domain and, consequently, to be marked out for euphemistic purposes, which, in turn, gives people the chance to refer to certain sexual topics that have traditionally been subject to social and moral censorship. In short, the term *business*[256] refers to an economic activity, which in social terms means that a person engaged in business can be involved in the organisation of the process of producing goods or services for commercial purposes. It is, then, a commercial venture designed to generate income. The concept is also closely associated with business culture, understood as a set of principles that guide entrepreneurs participating in the process of economic exchange. All the aforementioned aspects of the concept may find their reflection in the sphere of erotic life, as business is a type of commercial activity which serves as a well-established lexical label for sex-related topics[257]. Let us take a closer look at some examples:

"Meanwhile, Chrissy and Lauren took care of business downstairs." "Penthouse" 7-8/2017: 141

[256]In the colloquial sense, it is an opportunity to earn money quickly.
[257]Not infrequently, human relationships are perceived as business transactions and men are customers (see Kövecses 2006).

"I didn't go up as fast, but I was back in business after a few minutes." "Penthouse" 4/2017: 126

"It was freezing in the studio. Did the temperature have, um...an unflattering effect on your man business?" "Men's Health" 5/2016: 142

"I went to a lab, entered a small room stocked with outdated porn magazines, did my business into a sample cup, washed my hands, and handed the goods over to a technician." "Men's Health" 6/2017: 82

In the passages above, the metaphor SEX IS BUSINESS offers the euphemistic basis of the phrases *business downstairs* 'oral sex', *be back in business* 'get an erection', *man business* 'erection' and *do the business* 'masturbate'. Such a conceptualisation may carry negative consequences for cognition. Business activities are frequently associated with signing a business contract, which makes two people obligated to fulfil the terms of the agreement. If one of the parties involved does not abide by the rules, they can face severe consequences and be punished for that decision. SEX IS BUSINESS is, therefore, a metaphor that illustrates the impact of consumer culture on people's sexual behaviour, yet it is vital to remember that sex and intimacy should be separated from the economic calculations. Business and sex belong to seemingly unrelated areas of our life, based on different value systems. Business is thought to be built on a foundation of mutual obligations and exchanges, whereas sex ought to be constructed on a foundation of mutual pleasure and interest.

Although truly beautiful sex is possible when sexuality ceases to be a commodity[258], and when personal relationships become free from economic calculations, the magazines for men often exploit the notion of selling sex, which becomes a commercial transaction involving an interaction between parties: a consumer, and the person who sells her or his own body, as in the example:

"One common assumption is that someone who decides to sell sex must have a troubled past." "Playboy" 7-8/2017: 14

[258]Sexual economics is associated with the perception that sex is a commodity that cannot be sold too cheaply, which is why women, who are too accessible, are being judged as 'easy' because they spoil the market.

Interestingly, consumer selectivity or selection of sex life norms is being increasingly observed. Sexual ads, posters during product promotion and conferences, beautiful women on the covers of colourful magazines and of course music videos are also of great significance here. These manipulations of all kinds, especially those related to sexuality and the display of femininity, contribute to the fact that the female body[259] becomes a good in a highly sexual, subject-related context:

"Admiring Her Magnificent Asset." "Men's Health" 3/2017: 107

In common understanding, an asset is something that has been purchased. Such a conceptualisation may suggest that one can have a number of partners (there are many assets on the market, thanks to which a person does not get bored too quickly), or that individuals put emphasis on quality (assets that one can purchase must dazzle us, enchant us, be perfect, flashy and colourful). These determinants contribute to the fact that today it is difficult for men to choose a permanent partner, and even more difficult to choose a partner for life. After all, there are a lot of assets on the market, and every good has some hidden flaws (it may lose the glow that it possessed before the purchase).

To sum up, from a perspective that sees sex as work or business and a form of economic trade, and lovers as workers, sexual activity is viewed in terms of economic exchange as part of the conceptual metaphor SEX IS WORK, which is often exploited in the magazines for men. For some it may be disgusting, for others intriguing and often interesting, however, it is hard to devise a connection of a commercial activity with human relationships other than the sexual one. There is no doubt, however that such metaphors may implicitly degrade the sexual act, as the readers of the magazines for men may perceive their relationships with women through the lenses of commodities, regulation, control and discipline. The reduction of sex to work, business and the economic exchange of goods places such relationships as part of the male economy and reduces them to an exchange devoid of affection and intimacy.

[259]Male sexual organs can be also characterised as *goods*, yet in a slightly more positive tone, like in the example: "Next, add padding. Snug bike shorts that have a padded crotch will help shield your goods." "Men's Health" 11/2016: 132.

4.9 EATING[260] and FOOD

Both eating and sex are fundamental to all human beings. Everyone has to satisfy the need to eat in order to survive. Likewise, the act of copulation is necessary for the survival of the human race. We can seduce ourselves with food; it serves as a metaphor for sexuality, because food, just like sex, is sensual and nourishing[261]. What is more, they meet our deepest biological and psychological needs, and it is not just about nourishment and reproduction, but about the act of enjoying both. Thereby, as Morton (2003: 23) implies, it is "inevitable that we end up describing sexual matters in terms of food." Goatly (2007: 90) adds that both lack of food and lack of sex leads to a situation where the human species eventually extinct. He also mentions that: "Equating sex with eating might suggest that sex is essential for our life, and therefore we are entitled to obtain it by any means, just as a starving man would be entitled to steal food" (Goatly 2007: 90).

There are of course different explanations of what gives food its 'sexy reputation'. A good case in point is mentioned by Allan and Burridge (2006: 190) who claim that: "Food is often the prelude to sex." In the dating world, it is universally acknowledged that after a perfect meal, people are usually more susceptible to the sexual acts than at any other time. What is more, as Morton discovers (2003: 23), "there might seem to be a parallel, too, between the stages of sex (foreplay, copulation, afterplay) and those of a meal appetizer, main course, dessert[262]." The working of the ORAL SEX IS APPETIZER metaphor seems to be confirmed by the following extract:

> "In your dreams, you return the favor; make sure she knows you're eager to do that in real life. 'Oral should be reciprocal', says Kerner. 'Many women struggle with the double standard of being expected to provide a fellatio appetizer and then having to make do with an intercourse entrée.'" "Men's Health" 7-8/2016: 32

Additionally, the menu normally found in the restaurants becomes equated with the list of sexual activities that women can choose to be sexually satisfied:

[260]The metaphors associated with the EATING domain should not be confused with American slang *eating* for 'cunnilingus' or 'fellatio'.
[261]The connections do not end there. As a matter of fact, when people go to a romantic dinner, delicious food may serve as an introduction to sex. This is how we build an emotional and sensual atmosphere. Additionally, we can use food to tame various sexual techniques, namely one can eat and lick food from the partner's body, and feeding each other creates closeness and is also sensual (cf. Kurowska 2016).
[262]Like in the example: "She had saved the best part of dessert for me after all." "Penthouse" 1-2/2018: 84.

"His female clients also complain about a limited sex menu, so foreplay's variety (all that kissing, rubbing, talking, stroking) can work wonders." "Men's Health" 3/2017: 106

These interesting examples indicating the relationship between sex and eating could be referred to as instances of foodsemy.[263]

The most general metaphor that ought to be evoked first is SEX IS EATING/CONSUMING. The metaphor frequently appears in many sources (see, e.g. Morton 2003, Chamizo Dominguez 2005) and is generally used to present the sexual intercourse in such a way as to avoid the associated taboo. While being on the subject of cuisine, sex can also be seen as a meal, hence the conceptual metaphor SEX IS MEAL, is also firmly established and functions well in the language. The mappings that could be drawn from the domains mentioned so far are as follows: meal corresponds to sexual intercourse; people consuming/eating the meal correspond to the partners engaged in sex; while the act of eating the meal resembles the activity of lovemaking itself. Moreover, talking about food preferences and negotiating with the partner can be easily compared to the conversation about the sexual needs. Different preferences, both personal and cultural, are important. Some people prefer to eat with the same person throughout their lives, others prefer to eat in a group, and still others prefer to eat with different partners depending on their mood, and no one is ever forced to eat anything and with anyone. The magazines for men describe the similar phenomenon when they refer to kissing, however, in their perception, the act of consuming refers directly and only to the kissing activity. Here is an example:

"Her tongue was soft and strong as it consumed my mouth." "Penthouse" 11/2017: 9

What can be inferred is that a kissing act is a passionate prelude to the intercourse and it emphasises the intensity and emotions involved. In this respect, it is very similar to consumption which in comparison to eating, signifies a bigger amount of food, just as in the case of kissing, it stresses the depth and profound intimacy of partner's kisses.

To investigate the next point, sexual desire is very frequently associated with the appetite for food. Even in our ordinary, everyday language, there are several lexical items like *hungry*, *craving* or *mouth-watering* that could be easily used in reference to both

[263]As a reminder, **foodsemy** (aka food metaphor) is the blend coined on the basis of the semantic change called zoosemy (see Kleparski 2008a, 2008b).

aforementioned areas. It seems unsurprising though, as the feeling of hunger and that of desire are two of our most basic physical needs, and their satisfaction constitutes a source of great pleasure. What is more, the metaphorical pattern HUMAN IS FOOD clearly implies that desire can be compared to appetite, whereas the object of appetite is a person. By possessing the extensive knowledge about that particular source domain, people can easily explain and understand the sexual motives. The mappings and entailments of the corresponding elements in both domains can be identified with little effort. Let us take a look at the examples:

> "And if none of these suggestions whets your appetite, look in the gaps between and beyond." "Playboy" 7-8/2017: 24

> "In the end, a second serving may be just enough to satisfy your sexual appetite." "Playboy" 11-12/2018: 39

Obviously, they constitute the evidence of the underlying conceptual metaphors: SEXUAL DESIRE IS HUNGER and THE OBJECT OF DESIRE IS FOOD. The conceptualisations like these organise lust in terms of hunger, and, in that way, feeling hungry and eating are used to express sexual desire and the act of copulation respectively. What enables people to perceive the similarities between the abstract concept of lust and that of hunger is the number of structural resemblances between the domains in the form of mappings. For this reason, the activity of eating and its particular elements serve as a deeply entrenched source domain. What is interesting, the point of eating food is very often associated with how delicious it tastes. Sometimes the activity of consuming constitutes the goal itself. Such an attitude can also be detected in relation to sex. For some, the act of lovemaking is more important than orgasm, and the end comes when both a woman and man feel personally satisfied. This view differs significantly from the one expressed by, for instance, baseball metaphor where reaching the climax has constituted the ultimate goal of intercourse.

The further analysis allows us to remark that many words that denote women and men as sex objects are drawn from the dinner table. A penis is often seen as something sweet that could be sucked or licked like *sugarstick, lollipop, banana* or *ice-cream* (Allan and Burridge 2006: 196). Such expressions also bear a physical resemblance, in the case of shape, smell and texture, to the body parts they metaphorically represent. Additionally,

upon examining different excerpts, also hardness and softness can be considered as important dimensions in determining the correctness of a particular food item fulfilling the metaphorical pattern. In the magazines for men, a penis is depicted in the following way:

> "She took off all her clothes. She was beautiful, but I was flaccid. She smiled at me, dropped to her knees, and took my Jet-Puffed marshmallow into her mouth. It was wonderful, but my traumatized dick didn't cooperate." "Penthouse" 12/2016: 99

> "I sunk my sausage to the base-farther in than ever before." "Penthouse" 5/2017: 97

Both metaphorical items – *jet-puffed marshmallow* and *sausage* – are analysed in terms of the same conceptual association PENIS IS FOOD. They constitute rather a euphemistic alternative for the male tabooed body part. Food-related expressions for vagina, on the other hand, include a wide variety of terms starting with the *treat*, like in the example below:

> "One suggestion: 'Explore me with your mouth, like I'm the best treat you've ever had.'" "Men's Health" 6/2018: 23

going through the *oven* and *lunchbox*, ending with the words from the category of desserts. The presence of dessert terms in the sexual description of women constitutes the evidence for the existence of the conceptual metaphor WOMAN IS DESSERT. Despite the fact that desserts are usually associated with something sweet and pleasant, Hines (1999: 147) notices that this metaphor diminishes women to the status of objects, "implicitly trivializing women, first reducing them to their sexuality and then equating them with not just any edible objects but specifically peripheral food items" (Hines 1999: 147). At the same time, women – just like desserts can be "bought and sold, eaten, elaborately decorated (…), admired for their outward appearance", and many other things that clearly underline lower and object-like status of women (Hines 1999: 148). The excerpts containing the notion of sweetness include:

> "It was my fingers that worked the magic for me, but my mouth was still on Janie's sweetness and she felt my seizures from the orgasm." "Penthouse" 3/2017: 11

"She spread her sweet nectar all over the head of my cock and licked it off. Kristin took the base of my cock in both of her hands, then began stroking my shaft in a twisting motion while working the head with her mouth." "Penthouse" 11/2016: 129

"I guess there's a reason they call it a honeypot. I knew I had hit the right spot when her skilled tongue suddenly became more frantic against my clit. I started thrusting harder and faster with the dildo, jamming it into her relentlessly. She sucked at my flowing juices as I fucked her hard and bucked on her face." "Penthouse" 7-8/2016: 9

"I finished right then, blowing my load into the beautiful stranger's honey pot." "Penthouse" 10/2016: 129

The first aspect worth noticing is that from a nutritional point of view, sweet things are not indispensable in a human diet; quite the opposite, they can be harmful, which immediately evokes the assumptions that women are metaphorically perceived as an unimportant addition. To be more precise, they are conceptualised as sweet, pleasurable objects, which reduces womanhood to procurable goods. The category of desserts also includes some specific instances like *cookie*, *cinnamon bread*, *muffins*, *fruitcake*:

"Second, she's one smart cookie, that dame." "Men's Health" 6/ 2017: 125

"She pressed her still-clothed breasts to my face. They were warm like cinnamon bread." "Penthouse" 10/2016: 127

"And her tiny 5'3'' frame is perfectly stacked with a deliciously thick booty and natural D-cupped sweater muffins." "Penthouse" 9/2016: 52

"This woman is a total fruitcake and you should just avoid her dumb sex games." "Penthouse" 7-8/2016: 129

where the sweet taste triggers associations like softness[264] and sweetness, corresponding to the allegedly positive female characteristics. However, such implications of this metaphor provide the basis for the dysphemistic reference to women. All of the

[264]The quality of softness is also evident in the following example: "She was so soft and wet that it was like sinking into warm butter." "Penthouse" 1/2016: 130

aforementioned examples of desserts tend to be decorated to make them look more attractive and more appetising. The toppings, creams and syrups correspond to the female make-up, and just as the cake decorations contribute to enhancing the appearance of these sweets, the cosmetics make women visually more appealing. Female sexual organs, can also be described in terms of fruits, which constitute the group of very colourful and attractive food items. They tempt with an appealing and irresistible fragrance, which makes them an ideal metaphor for sex-related phenomena, simply because the two possess similar sensual attributes. Take, for instance:

> "Prying her pussy lips open with my fingers, I slid my tongue deep inside her peach and sucked up her sweet nectar." "Penthouse" 10/2016: 128

The example demonstrates that fruit metaphors applied to female sexual organs share some common features when it comes to shape. The underlying conceptual metaphor VAGINA IS PEACH offers also other correspondences between the domains in question, such as the juiciness of both.

Finally, the last issue worth consideration is the fact that sex is a holistic phenomenon which always involves the sense of taste and the function of mouth and the tongue, even if a person is not literally eating. The experience of tasting and savouring can be easily projected from the domain of EATING onto the one of SEX. People infer the existence of TASTING/SAVOURING FOOD IS FEELING STRONG SEXUAL EXCITEMENT metaphor on the basis of the existence of the following linguistic expressions:

> "Lick firmly and savor her." "Penthouse" 10/2016: 88

> "Think of sex as a meal. Savor it, don't gobble it. Patience is rewarded." "Men's Health" 5/2018: 103

> "I felt like a girl possessed. I just had to taste every inch of her delicious body." "Penthouse" 7-8/2016: 8

> "I took a long whiff of her dank, fruity musk and licked – the first time I'd tasted a woman." "Penthouse" 1-2/2018: 147

> "No tattoos, no piercings, just delicious woman." "Playboy" 11/2016: 12

As it can be observed, the pleasurable sensation of *savouring food*, and the state of being *delicious*, are similar to the even more enjoyable experience of sexual arousal and being sexually attractive. Likewise, the word *flavour* might be taken as another example of how the two domains overlap:

> "They all have a different type of flavour, and that's what I'm all about. I'm a man who likes different flavors. And I think most men do." "Penthouse" 2/2016: 33

The example above constitutes a linguistic representation of another conceptual metaphor: FLAVOURS ARE DIFFERENT TYPES OF SEXUAL ACTIVITIES. By the use of the term *flavour*, editors unambiguously allude to the luxuriant erotic life and to many sexual activities the contemporary men can freely experience. This method is of great value; the metaphor not only introduces a change in the way we express ourselves, but also in our conduct.

To summarise, eating and love-making have always gone together since they serve as the most important aspects of human existence in the world. Basically, food could be regarded as one of the most common source domains for naming sexual organs and associated erotic acts and actions. While many observations so far have portrayed sex as something violent, dynamic and sometimes even dangerous, the HUNGER and EATING metaphors allow us to see lovemaking from a different angle. Throughout history, food and sex have always been associated in various ways. Even nowadays, some foods, such as chocolate are considered to be aphrodisiacs. The relationship between the two domains underlines the fact that certain edible products are considered sensual not only for their taste, but also because of the appearance and texture, and just like sexual satisfaction, the taste of every meal is the result of careful preparation. Precisely, it is the act of taking care of every detail that immediately suggests the intimate and loving character of the union between two people. Hence, one can suggest that for one thing, both eating and having sex are natural human instincts. For another thing, in the modern world people love consuming food for the very sake of doing it, just as they love having sex. Nevertheless, as it has been shown in the previous sections, eating-related metaphors can also be loaded with negative associations and since metaphors embody human conceptual system, the nature of human thinking can be viewed in metaphorical terms.

4.10 JOURNEY

It is important to draw our attention to the fact that sexuality cannot be merely interpreted in terms of a number of mechanical physical acts, the satisfaction of low needs, or a method of sophisticated survival. It is the area of our first and secondary feelings of closeness, intimacy, hurt, rejection, and all the elements that facilitate or hinder interactions with others. Sex can also be an exciting journey into the unknown. Simply speaking, journey constitutes a process by which a person moves from one particular place to the other and the main aim of the travel is to reach the desired destination. There are of course different types of vehicles that are able to move and they travel by different means and with different speeds. Examining all those features of travelling, it is effortless to notice that the same can be applied to the realm of lovemaking.

Considering the notion of sexual encounter, it can be understood as the process with a starting point and an end point. Owing to this, every sexual relationship can be seen in terms of a journey, and the orgasm as its final stage, the end point of that journey. The main focus in the metaphors that are going to be presented here, namely: REACHING ORGASM IS REACHING THE PEAK and REACHING ORGASM IS THE END OF RIDE, is on the idea of succeeding in reaching the goal. It highlights the motion of progress towards the destination and the purpose of travelling. The short sentences from the magazines serve as perfect examples of the conceptual metaphors mentioned above:

> "I liked the way that sounded, and decided to bring him to the end of this ride." "Penthouse" 1/2016: 134

> "Julia still hadn't reached her peak." "Penthouse" 3/2016: 122

Thus, orgasm is conceptualised as having an upward orientation, which entails that it can be psychologically and cognitively appraised as positive. This consequently suggests that the conceptual metaphor ORGASM IS A PEAK draws our attention not only to the physiological aspects of an orgasm, but also the psychological ones. Additionally, those two schemas of sex and journey transfer different attributes from the source domain of JORUNEY to the target domain of SEX as a result of using the knowledge people have about travelling to talk about intercourse. Indeed, if one turns the attention to the phenomenon of sex, many similarities between the two concepts can be observed. By way

of example, the travellers are viewed as the participants in sex, the progress they make in the sexual encounter such as the physical arousal can be equated with the distance covered during the journey, reaching orgasm may be seen as reaching the destination, whereas the choice of the position or sexual technique may correspond to the decisions about the direction to go:

> "The second sexual voyager may even discover that the more 'vanilla' options are where the real adventure lies." "Playboy" 7-8/2017: 9

> "But regardless of this anatomical lottery, you have the power to take a woman to Pleasure Town as many times as she wants." "Playboy" 5-6/2018: 30

> "She doesn't have to worry about reciprocating oral or climbing on top or explaining that her sweet spot is 4 millimeters north of where you happen to be focusing." "Men's Health" 10/2016: 20

In regard to the third excerpt, the human sexual response cycle can be divided into several stages. At the beginning, the body is getting sexually aroused, which is closely associated with increases in blood circulation, muscle tension and heart rate, all of which make up the sexual pleasure.

Those physiological changes can be compared to the processes of climbing up a hill of sexual tension until the peak in the form of orgasm is reached. After reaching the orgasmic stage, the body will begin to relax and the physiological responses of arousal will begin to diminish. In other words, during a sexual experience, one can observe the physiological state of the body reaching its highest point during orgasm. These mappings can be graphically presented as follows:

Source: JOURNEY		Target: SEX
the travellers	⇒	the lovers
the distance covered	⇒	the intensity of the arousal
destination	⇒	orgasm
directions	⇒	positions and techniques

That points to the conclusion that the more physical and widely recognised domain of JOURNEY constitutes a convenient source domain for conceptualising the area of SEX,

especially that of ORGASM. With all the corresponding elements, it provides insights into the complicated zone of lovemaking that all individuals can understand.

Another interesting observation is that the magazines often adopt expressions with meanings similar to *coming*, *going*, *ending*. The investigation of these linguistic expressions, allows for the ORGASM IS A DESTINATION metaphor to emerge. The motion verbs *come* and *go* permit us to make a few plausible interpretations depending on the direction of the movement, the speakers involved, and the context: *come* seems to have a direction toward another person, hence, in the context of orgasm, the speaker's announcement: "I come" is addressed to the hearer. In this way, orgasm is a process of reaching a particular destination, like in the example:

> "A few minutes later, I came. Despite the fact that we were strangers, it was intensely romantic. The beach. The waves. The stars. The romance and the thrill pushed me over the edge[265]." "Men's Health" 7-8/2016: 111

In order to better understand the concept of orgasm, it is worth noticing that the linguistic expression *came* requires a specific endpoint so that the movement can take place. Orgasm is a destination which lovers try to reach, and a motivation that governs the engagement of carnal activities between partners.

The metaphors of a journey have a strong grounding in everyday experience. The achievement of certain goals and purposes usually requires going to a particular location. In this regard, reaching orgasm is metaphorically conceived as a purposeful activity through which one may reach a desired location. The magazines for men resort to the image schema whereby the sexual climax is seen as reaching the highest possible point. They provide an example of the REACHING DESTINATION IS EXPERIENCING ORGASM[266] metaphor:

> "I watch orgasm compilations on DP. These girls are being catapulted to the heavens." "Penthouse" 11/2017: 44

[265]The example also offers a metaphorical label – *over the edge* – to refer to orgasm which has essential implications at a cognitive level.
[266]Some aspects of the JOURNEY metaphor are discussed in Kurowska (2016).

In the images presented, the orgasm is associated with a place in space that is high in the sky[267]. In this way it is similar to the journey metaphor. The implication included in that place implicitly transmits the idea of the reward that is connected with reaching a goal or even the fact that orgasm may be associated here with the ideal state where a person becomes *catapulted to heavens*. Thus, reaching an orgasm is similar to the experience Christians can associate with being close to God. That association of orgasm with heaven and a paradisiacal place is also evident in the following quotations:

> "She'll see stars!" "Men's Health" 7-8/2017: 97

> "After I quit multitasking in bed – giving my ego a hand job while making love to her at the same time – a funny thing happened. I saw delicious details I'd overlooked. How caressing the skin behind her knees made her purr like a kitten, how grinding her slow and deep made her yodel with delight, and after all my foreplay, how kneeling in bed with her ankles airborne and thrusting like a freight train made me the little engine that could, 100 percent, take her to the promised land." "Men's Health" 4/2016: 88

where the act of reaching orgasm is compared to the simple activity of reaching the stars and the promised land. The underlying conceptual metaphor that is evident here, namely REACHING DESTINATION IS EXPERINECING ORGASM also applies in completion. The climax is metaphorically conceptualised as the final stage of sexual activity, and links this final stage to the success in reaching a goal.

In the view of this, it may be concluded that for many people the process of travelling represents freedom[268], just as sex represents a break with the rigid moral conventions and the act of enjoying life. When people travel, they very often forget about the problems, they may experience a different state of consciousness. The same is true with orgasm. It also lets people forget about all the inconveniences, at least for a while,

[267]The implicit destination of the journey in the linguistic realisations of the SEX IS JOURNEY metaphor becomes realised through reference to *heavens*, *stars*, *promised land*. Considering the fact that all three are traditionally located high in the sky, a human orgasm may euphemistically be conceived as the peak of happiness by means of the orientational metaphor HAPPY IS UP (see Lakoff and Johnson 1980, Kövecses 2010, Kurowska 2016), where the upward orientation tends to be evaluated as positive.

[268]The notion of freedom also recalls the idea that movement might be performed by birds, and as it is in the case of planes, it also fits as a possible domain for conceptualising the abstract concepts of sex and orgasm. People possess an extensive knowledge about the behaviour of birds and since those particular animals often symbolise freedom, they may be compared to the lovers engaged in the sexual intercourse. The mappings that employ birds and reflect the conceptual metaphors analysed in this section will be the following: the sexual encounter corresponds to flying, the lovers are flying birds and, of course, reaching the sky is climaxing.

and for many it constitutes a heavenly sensation. However, the concept of sex and its significance can also be transmitted through other conceptual metaphors that will be presented later on.

4.11 ANIMALS[269]

As it has been demonstrated so far, metaphors are rarely free from an evaluative load, and to some extent many of them may exhibit semantic derogation, also by means of animal metaphors[270] which demonstrate how certain aspects of faunae are mapped onto human beings. Hence, the names of animals are employed to describe people and to assign them diverse desirable, and more frequently, undesirable animal properties[271]. Animal imagery used by editors of magazines for men also introduces negative valuation. In the light of the previous information, it is not without significance that women are spoken of in animal categories, as they represent a lower form of existence which depicts the omnipresent imbalance between the sexes with the discriminatory perception of women, according to which they are more likely than men to be regarded and treated as insignificant.

Before proceeding further, it is worth recalling a folk cognitive model known as ***The Great Chain of Being*** (see Lakoff and Turner 1989). In order to analyse the most recurrent metaphorical identifications of women and men, one has to realise that such a model influences our perception of other human beings. In short, the main premise of the Great Chain of Being is that everything which exists in the universe has its specific place in a divinely planned hierarchical order, and the place which they occupy depends on their behaviour and properties. At the top of the structure one can find celestial creatures, followed by human beings and animals, characterised by their instinctual conduct (see section 1.3.3). The equation of people with animals allows us to highlight their functional qualities, but also conceptualise them in disguise of much lower forms of existence. Such an identification is highly likely to carry a negative estimation.

[269]There is extensive literature on animal metaphor (zoosemy); see section 1.3.3.1.

[270]The most well-known metaphors resorting to the animal kingdom in the literature on the subject are: A LUSTFUL PERSON IS AN ANIMAL (see Lakoff 1987); PASSIONS ARE BEASTS INSIDE US, HUMAN BEHAVIOUR IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR (see Kövecses 1988); ANGER IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR (see Nayak and Gibbs 1990) and CONTROL OF AN UNPREDICTABLE/UNDESIRABLE FORCE IS A RIDER'S CONTROL OF A HORSE (see MacArthur 2005).

[271]It can be suggested that ANIMAL metaphors are metonymy-based, as some typical features of a particular animal stand for that animal, and only the most salient properties of animals in the process of metaphorisation are mapped onto a target domain of people (see Radden and Kövecses 1999).

According to Hines (1996: 305-307), metaphorical expressions regarding women as animals can be classified into 3 main categories:

- women seen as unreal, seductive, celestial creatures,
- women seen as mere objects of sexual desire,
- women seen as animals that are possessed, hunted or eaten[272],

the last of which is going to be analysed in the following section. The insight into the animal metaphor can help us understand the beliefs and expectations the modern American society holds about females and males. In fact, a considerable number of metaphorical expressions used to describe men is predominantly based on the strength, size and wildness of animals. Conversely, women are mostly depicted as small domestic animals. Although such metaphorical identifications may be motivated on some physical grounds, their implications might hint at biased and stereotypical outlook of womanhood and manhood (see Nilsen 1994, Hines 1999). One possible interpretation equates men with the need for freedom and no restraint; while women, presented as domestic animals, with the fact that they should be confined to the domestic arena.

To start with, *pets* are animals kept by humans at home for personal pleasure or company, as opposed to animals raised or bred for other reasons. Because they are kept under the same roof as their owners, pets occupy a privileged position in the kingdom of animals. Indeed, they are usually treated by the household members as members of the family herd. They are not killed for their meat or kept as beasts of burden, but rather fed and caressed. For this reason, the word ***pet*** is frequently applied as a term of endearment. Men's magazines, however, seem to apply different principles in this matter. The example:

"Tera Patrick: Pet of the year 2002 runner-up." "Penthouse" 4/2016: 138

clearly suggests negative associations. Not infrequently, the main role of a pet is to meet the emotional needs of a person, or be a kind of decoration or attraction of an apartment. A woman appearing on the covers of magazines can be associated with animals, which with their appearance and behaviour improve the mood of the owner.

Parallel negative considerations are perceived with the metaphoric *cat*, whose folk understanding implies that cats are animals known for being sly and treacherous, hence

[272]This, in turn, evokes the associations with sex, control and appetite.

the characteristics that are not necessarily valued in women. Yet, the maliciousness of women and its usage in the male press may be linked to sexually active and flirtatious females, as in the examples:

> "After she came, Vanessa pushed me onto my back and moved her lithe little body down my front. She removed my cock from my jeans and took the entire thing into her mouth, watching me like a cat with those golden eyes. She bobbed her head like a buoy bouncing in the water while tickling her nails all over my thighs." "Penthouse" 10/2017: 9

> "She crawled the last few steps toward me, back arched, ass up like some kind of sexy, prowling catwoman." "Penthouse" 8/2018: 127

Other similarities include the fact that the cat, despite being domesticated a long time ago, still has many common features with its wild cousins, just like a woman has different moods and shows varied behaviour. What is more, cats have sensitive eyes, shiny fur and are characterised by persistent body care, which can easily be compared to female attention to the external appearance. By the same token, the magazines for men, especially those with the pornographic content demonstrate a clear preference for small animals in the representation of women in accordance with the metaphor DESIRED WOMAN AS SMALL ANIMAL[273], which seems to establish a connection between the small-sized animals and attractive women[274]. In fact, the conceptualisation of women with what is diminutive and insignificant, like in the examples below, becomes quite relevant:

> "How caressing the skin behind her knees made her purr like a kitten, how grinding her slow and deep made her yodel with delight, and after all my foreplay, how kneeling in bed with her ankles airborne and thrusting like a freight train made me the little engine that could, 100 percent, take her to the promised land." "Men's Health" 4/2016: 89

> "This chick was a fox on stilts. She was like a baby giraffe in a clown car." "Penthouse" 3/2017: 124

[273]Hughes (1991) claims that such metaphors include an explicit interpretation that the aforementioned correspondence points to the attitude of minimising females.
[274]SEXUALLY ATTRACTIVE WOMEN ARE KITTENS (see Kövecses 2002).

The negative traits seem to prevail in the figurative usage of *kitten*, since it is typically credited with possessing little threat due to its size, age[275], lack of experience and the fact that it can be easily domesticated by the owner. With the little size goes weakness, which obviously provides men with a definite advantage in the successful application of physical strength. What is more, a kitten can also be associated with sexual desirability. The stereotypical images of playing kittens, as well as their accredited playful function allows us to reduce women to the category of sexual toys. The cat, both large and small, is always ready for games and spontaneity, and it seems to be expected from women as well.

As it has been said so far, the variety of animal images applied to refer to women usually depict them as helpless, in the constant need of protection and care, and those whose main purpose is to provide entertainment. Women, however, are also often presented as wild animals[276], which are no longer the lovable pets exploited for men's advantage, but rather they can be dangerous and menacing. For this reason, the next animal worth considering is *vixen*, namely a female of a fox. Briefly speaking, a fox is a common, omnivorous predator. On farms, it often causes great damage by eating other domestic animals, e.g. geese and chickens. This animal is undoubtedly characterised by high intelligence and cleverness. It adapts well to (often adverse) conditions. When it comes to its external appearance, it owes its beautiful look to the fur; the animal is not small and not indefensible. Being a predator, it also stands out for its artfulness, hence, in some cultures such as Polish (see Kopaliński 1990: 207), it is depicted negatively – it often symbolises, among others, a thief, a cheat, a cunning person. What is more, when applied figuratively for human beings, it represents the paragon of intelligence. Nonetheless, when the term stands for a woman, in men's magazines it does not reflect her intellectual capacity, but rather the willingness and openness for sex. Let us analyse the following excerpts:

> "MEET YOUR MEAT YOU may know me as Tasha Reign, porn actress, model, and all-around sex vixen." "Penthouse" 11/2016: 121

[275]It might be suggested that age is also closely intertwined with weakness. Most animal terms used to denote women refer to offspring, like in the case of a kitten. Those two factors play a crucial role in the encoding of the metaphor, since they automatically imply helplessness, immaturity and servitude.

[276]In comparison to pets, which depend on humans for their survival, wild creatures enjoy complete freedom, as they are not subject to anybody's control, both in the case of food and shelter. They are equipped with enough skills to survive on their own and, sometimes, to even pose a threat to people.

"Their new manager felt that their good-girl image was holding them back, so he insisted on a makeover to unleash the vixens he knew were hiding inside all three." "Penthouse" 3/2016: 115

"It's your amateur porn and you can watch it as frequently and ferociously as you damn well please – unless your favorite video vixen explicitly told you to delete the content, in which case you need to get rid of it out of respect for her." "Playboy" 7/2018: 39

The metaphorical use of *fox* in magazines for men contains a strong sexual component and it carries the idea of women as predators waiting for their prey. Although men are typically associated with hunters and women adopt the role of patient recipients, in this case we are dealing with the reversed roles. However, when a woman takes on the active role in hunting, she is rendered as a menacing animal, almost as if implying the inappropriateness of such a situation, like in the case of the examples mentioned above, where women take the reins in the sphere of sex. Lastly, if one assumes that there is an animal inside every person and the western, civilised societies function due to restrain of people's animal instincts, the idea of constant control seems to highlight the metaphorical identification of women with animals, which need to be subjugated and tamed[277].

As indicated in the previous paragraph, sex can be very frequently expressed by domains which are closely connected with the wild animal kingdom – those that employ HUNTING imaginary as a way to refer to sex-related actions. In accordance with such a representation, men are conceived of as hunters whose aim is to capture the women, who are ultimately seen as a prey. In the metaphor SEX IS HUNTING different elements combine with each other: first, the notion of a woman as a sexually alluring creature; second, a man as a hunter and third, sexual desire as hunger and a woman as edible and appetising food to eat. To illustrate the point, it is worth analysing the extracts below:

"I hate it when women are overly sexually aggressive, because I enjoy the hunt – that is, I like making the first move to initiate sex." "Playboy" 5-6/2018: 38

[277]What is worth mentioning is that animal metaphors usually accentuate people's most primary needs. Hence, they become appropriate vehicles to embody sexual behaviour. Metaphors such as A LUSTFUL PERSON IS AN ANIMAL or PASSIONS ARE BEASTS INSIDE US point to the inability to restrain sexual urge. Moreover, the common conceptualisation of women as pets, livestock or wild animals evokes metaphors such as: SEX IS PLAYING, SEX IS EATING and SEX IS HUNTING (on this issue see Chamizo and Sánchez 2000).

"Antiquated notions about human biology would have you believe that only men hunt and only women nest." "Playboy" 5-6/2018: 39

As such, the HUNTING metaphor can reinforce the macho stereotypes of dominance over women. Considering the functions of a predator, one may notice that a man is depicted as ravenous wild animal in search for food – the man who preys on women. The sexual desire, in turn, is portrayed as a sleeping beast that only waits to be awaken. It is something that should be contained because just as the wild animal, a person experiencing lust might be dangerous. The correspondences[278] can be schematically presented in the following way:

Source: HUNTING		Target: SEX
the predator	⇒	the man
the prey	⇒	the woman
hunting	⇒	gaining the sexual partner
hunger	⇒	the sexual desire

Proceeding further, the association of people with the animal behaviour and instincts may constitute an effective source of disrespect and offence. In the hunting process it seems to be the norm to show involvement in hunting based on the search for risks and strong impressions resulting from the effort put into their implementation. Hunting itself as a practice striving to take the life of an animal is sustained by internalising the act of domination over the victim through readiness to use violence. Hence, dominance is represented as a willingness to use violence. What is more, the process of naturalisation of the hunt for the manifestation of our instincts and nature aims to go beyond the moral sphere, and so does the naturalisation of sex, which, at times, justifies acts of violence against women[279]. Hunting very often takes place in hermetic male groups, isolated from family and relatives, such a context favours an atmosphere of breaking norms and rules.

[278]Additionally, the very course of the hunt recreates the dynamics of the mating season between a hunter and his prey (and, therefore, between a man and a woman). Careful preparation for hunting, the use of decoys to arouse the animal's sexuality, spraying scents or simulating mating sounds intensifies the formation of an intimate relationship (preparations before the date, perfumes, appropriate music correspondingly).

[279]One may also conclude that in the dimension of sexual identity, in hunting, a heterosexual model of masculinity is observable, in which nature takes a feminised and rather passive form. In this perspective, hunting becomes an act of dominance and building a patriarchal order. The killing of the victim takes place despite the animal's refusal and the animal's fight for life. Hunting has grown up with the patriarchal image of masculinity as violence, strength, power and submission.

Similarly, in patriarchal cultures, the pursuit of meeting one's needs through domination and violence is the domain of men. Acts of violence are often accompanied by a strategy of dispersing responsibility towards the victim. It is similar in hunting, although the initiator of violence is the hunter, there is a narrative of the threat posed by animals and their guilt, understood, for example, as causing damage to agricultural crops or forest management.

To conclude, an attempt to reduce women (and people in general) to animals, might have some social consequences, especially when such metaphors have a degrading effect. What is more, it is vital to remember that "[a]nimal metaphors not only have a cognitive basis, but are also culturally motivated, that is, they reflect the attitudes and beliefs held by a particular community towards certain animal species" (López Rodríguez 2009: 94). It is undeniable then that human behaviour can be easily understood in terms of animal behaviour and the figurative language constitutes an invaluable tool of constructing social identity. As a consequence, certain attributes assigned to both sexes are highly androcentric, since men are treated as the norm of reference, and a great number of derogatory terms is used in reference to women, not men. Also, the domain of ANIMALS is one of the most productive for metaphorical portrayal of female sexuality.

4.12 PLANTS

For centuries, humans have cultivated various plants and grown trees for a range of different purposes. Both flowers and plants can be eaten, can constitute the source of pleasure, provide aesthetic experience and so on. They play a vital and important role in the world. However, when the concept of plants is used metaphorically (see Frownfelter 2010), especially in the press, authors very often distinguish different parts of plants and they write about certain phenomena by comparing them to the many different stages of plants' growth, but also to various actions people can perform in relation to plants. In the magazines for men the metaphors that incorporate nature-related terminology are used to talk about the things associated with sex.

To start with, a tree is the largest land plant, which is distinguished by having a single woody shoot (trunk) or several main shoots, as well as woody branches forming the crown. Trees are perennial, impressive, mostly tall. They live several hundred or even several thousand years depending on the species and the place of habitat, which makes them belong to one of the longest living organisms on Earth. Trees often symbolise

growth, rebirth, unity, knowledge, energy, wisdom, health, fertility, greatness and a phallus (see Kopaliński 1990: 70). In this regard, the encyclopaedic knowledge that people possess about trees and male sexual organs overlaps as the following quotation shows:

> "Lack of morning wood doesn't mean your sex life has taken a hike." "Men's Health" 10/2016: 18

Erection may be perceived as a barometer of men's somatic and mental health, of which, however, few of them are aware of (see Johnson 2013, Gardner 2015). Erectile dexterity is one of the most fragile gifts Mother Nature has given to the male sex, and only a fully hard and rigid erection of the member allows for free and satisfying sexual intercourse. From the example above, one can infer several conceptual mappings between a penis and a tree, especially if one takes into account their construction. The prototypical tree forms a single trunk constituting the upward main axis. At the appropriate axis height there is a crown, which is formed as a result of branching the trunk. The penis is characterised by the ability to erect. There is a base and a movable part. The epiphyseal is attached by the corpus cavernosum to the pubic and sciatic bones. The moving part of the penis ends with a glans.

Before embarking on another metaphor, it is worth mentioning that planting is the act of placing plants or parts of plants in properly prepared soil to create conditions for development. A comparison of planting and kissing can, therefore, have some hidden meaning. Let us analyse the example:

> "He shimmied back up the bed to plant a wet kiss on my lips, and I did taste my own honeyed juices on his whiskers." "Penthouse" 1/2016: 136

The main emphasis here is on the phenomenon of growth. Obviously, when somebody plants a flower or a shrub into the ground or into a container of soil, one expects it to grow and be strong. What is more, planting something is usually associated with the activity of putting it firmly in a one, particular place. In order to understand the connection between the domain of PLANTS and that od KISSING let us look at the existing mappings:

Source: PLANTS		Target: KISS
the plant	➡	the kiss
the gardener	➡	the man
the soil	➡	the woman
to plant	➡	to kiss

The act of kissing usually expresses love or greeting, however, in some other cases it can carry a more profound meaning. Since to plant something means to hope that it will grow strong and steady in the future, to plant a kiss means that a person involved in such an activity hopes for a steady and firm relationship.

To summarise, plants and flowers with their particular parts and elements, have always represented some aspect of sexuality throughout history (see Frownfelter 2010). Sometimes they are used as negative symbols, especially when they stereotypically describe a lack of female sexuality, hence sexual innocence and virginity that is generally no longer valued in modern western societies. More often, however, they serve as positive parallels between floral terminology and words describing certain aspects of female sexual anatomy or such important stages as puberty, menstruation, pregnancy, or even menopause.[280] Furthermore, different flowers and shrubs have always been used for a wide range of events and functions like: to decorate the environment, as objects of romance, ritual, medicine and as a great source of food. Consequently, also the explanation of some sexual activities by means of the conceptual metaphors associated with trees and planting seems to be quite reasonable. The authors of the texts in men's magazines, when describing sexual intercourse, use rich metaphors or concepts associated with nature and thus suggest various manifestations of sexuality, which, owing to such treatments, seem somewhat more subtle and less indecent. Nonetheless, as it will be discussed below, the sexual desire and orgasm can also be compared to dance, and that source domain also deserves some consideration.

4.13 DANCE

The sex-related metaphors are ubiquitous and they accompany humans on each stage of life (see, for instance, Morton 2003, Allan and Burridge 2006, Grothe 2008). They are also omnipresent in the press, yet sex in various magazines is no less taboo than

[280]For details go to Frownfelter (2010).

in the real world. As it has been mentioned earlier, the WAR and SPORT metaphors address certain negative aspects of sex and highlight the competitive and aggressive attitudes. The FOOD metaphors diminish the value of women and treat them as a pleasurable accompaniment. Nevertheless, there are certain metaphors that make sex and the issues related to it less glaring when hidden beneath elegant wording. DANCING allegories definitely belong do them.

To start with, dancing constitutes a way to burn calories, sculpt a shapely figure, strengthen the entire body muscles and reduce stress. Regardless of whether it is classical or exotic belly dance or rock and roll, or modern dance, it always brings a lot of satisfaction, positively tunes the world and improves individuals' mood. It requires energy, dedication and time. For people who dance systematically, it becomes a passion that brings measurable benefits like mental well-being and great physical condition. In the example identified, however, the metaphor EXPERIENCING SEXUAL PLEASURE IS DANCING does not directly refer to a dancing person but rather, the figurative process of making movements is carried out by skin and the whole body of the aroused women. The usage of those elements is by no means accidental, as during the sexual arousal they all actively participate. The important thing that should be mentioned in this place is the fact that the domain of DANCE offers a look on lovemaking from a favourable angle. That soothing and amiable aspect of sex is expressed by the example:

> "A single digit was all I gave her as I slipped into her, touching the places that made her dance and sigh." "Penthouse" 2/2016: 125

What is particularly interesting is that dancing is predominantly associated with the joy of life and people who dance a lot are more likely to be happy. Both dancing and having sex elevate the levels of serotonin and they provide pure pleasure. In this way they are very similar to each other so there is nothing surprising in the fact that the domain of DANCE is used to talk about the experience of sexual liking. After all, as the first example indicates, the desire that flows through the body is no longer associated with something dangerous that could combust at any moment. Rather, the metaphor focuses on the sweet and innocent effects of sexual arousal. The situation depicted in the magazine that acknowledges DANCING in its description of lovemaking, emphasises what joy and delight can sex give to people, both physically and mentally. The erotic excitement that a woman experiences during the intercourse is shown in such a way as to convey the

message that the sexual intercourse can generate a lot of positive feelings. Additionally, what dancing and sex have in common are their positive effects on health. Not only do they improve the person's mood and reduce stress, but also positively influence the immune system and strengthen the muscles.

Another metaphor describing sexual activities, which is closely associated with music includes the one, where the act of dancing refers in particular to the kissing performance. The metaphor KISSSING IS DANCING is present in the sentence:

"His tongue danced widely in my mouth." "Penthouse" 06/2016: 9

Basically, the main point that can be distinguished from the above statement refers to the fact that both kissing and dancing are considered to be sensual experiences. One may find a great deal of evidence suggesting that dance was in the past part of the mating process and it can still be observed in the animals' behaviour. What is more, dance itself very often fosters the feelings of love and lust. The two major mappings that could be distinguished are as follows:

Source: DANCING		Target: KISSING
the dancers	⇒	the lovers' tongues
dancing	⇒	kissing

In spite of those metaphorical correspondences, one can also draw some entailments connected with the KISSING IS DANCING metaphor. Most of all, there are different kinds of kisses just as there are different types of dances. Some kisses may be soft, sweet and innocent, full of adoration and affection, some may be slow but sensual and just like rumba they bring emotions and fuel people with impassioned love, some, on the contrary, are fierce and passionate just like flamenco.

To recapitulate, music has always been present in people's lives, it even penetrates the realm of sex. Dancing and making love have a lot in common – they can be arranged or improvised, may constitute the source of pleasure, comfort, require dedication and practice to be perfect, to list only a few elements of both. On the other hand, the kissing act alone encompasses a wide range of different feelings and emotions. It constitutes a great metaphor for intimacy since when people kiss, they figuratively breathe each other

in. True enough, kissing, like dancing is usually based on feelings and constitutes the source of erotic pleasure.

4.14 SUPERNATURAL CREATURES

Supernatural beings range from heavenly creatures to diabolical figures. What is important to notice is that the images of women and men as supernatural beings are part and parcel of contemporary American magazines. Some of them intervene in earthly affairs in a positive way, yet some use their immense power against people. The vast repertoire of metaphorical expressions designating supernatural women and men in the magazines for men seem to reveal a dichotomy of admiration and abuse. On the one hand, a reader can encounter terms belonging to the sphere of salvation and worship, like in the case of angels; on the other hand, the pages of magazines also contain expressions associated with some malignant creatures (e.g. the vast majority of vampires). The phenomenon related to using SUPERNATURAL CREATURES as the source domain can be, yet again, explained by reference to The Great Chain of Being metaphor[281].

This concept concentrates on the assumption that in the Universe there is a certain continuity between all levels of the chain of entities consisting of a huge or infinite number of links hierarchically passing from the most miserable types of existence to the perfect being. The Great Chain of Being also embraces man, assigning him a place as one of the links in the structure – a prominent position, but determined by a degree of difference in relation to more subordinate and more perfect beings. In fact, gods and goddesses rank the highest in the chain, as their place at the top makes them the embodiment of power and perfection and hence, as paragons to be imitated. Many comparisons of women to goddesses are indeed accounted for in the case of images of successful women as models to be followed. Female goddesses and rulers function as a symbol, archetype evoking specific emotions. Let us discuss the following extract from "Penthouse":

> "You'll be pyramiding in your pants from the moment you enter the classic Hollywood courtyard, immersing yourself in a world of scantily-clad Cleopatras and Egyptian goddesses." "Penthouse" 10/2016: 44

[281]On the model of The Great Chain of Being see, among other, Lakoff and Turner (1989), Krzeszowski (1997).

The statement clearly refers to the Egyptian goddesses (hence A HUMAN BEING IS GOD metaphor), and one of the most famous women in the world's history – Cleopatra. However, both Cleopatra and the goddesses appear in the clear correlation to sex and the sense of power seems to be downplayed by the idea of physical attraction and sexual expertise (see Tyldesley 2009, Schiff 2010). It is worth noticing that Cleopatra was a woman perfectly able to use what nature gave her and multiply it. She was very stubborn and consistent, with a strong personality and confidence. She was also intelligent, calculating, haughty and vindictive. She lived in a world of male dominance and had to use female tricks to get her way by the proper use of femininity and wit. Her actions were an elaborate game of eroticism and politics (see Tyldesley 2009). They resembled a planned conquest, in which each move was justified by knowledge of the male psyche. No wonder, then, that her name is frequently applied to refer to young, sexually attractive females.

Another supernatural creature used in the magazines for men to refer to females is a *siren*. In Greek mythology, sirens were half-women, half-birds, who lured sailors with their magical singing only to drown them and suck the blood out of their bodies (see Kopaliński 1990: 154). What is more, they were often regarded as a symbol of the dangers accompanying sea travels and other lethal threats. The magazines for men make use of the term in question in order to refer to beautiful, ambitious and unpredictable women (A HUMAN BEING IS A SIREN/MERMAID), like in the excerpts below:

> "Bahamian siren Chase Carter has her sights set on conquering talk shows and runways alike." "Maxim" 11-12/2018: 32

> "PRINCESS OF TIDES Mythic as a mermaid, Gabriela Giovanardi brings magic ashore." "Playboy" 9-10/2018: 7

> "Camming mermaid Sophie Sparks." "Penthouse" 11/2018: 5

> "Our November CyberCutie Sophie Sparks has a thing with mermaids. Whether she wants to be one or just has a water fantasy, we aren't quite sure. What we do know is that she does incredible cam shows dolled up like a gorgeous sea siren. It's no coincidence that this babe is actually a Pisces. Some women were destined to be mermaids." "Penthouse" 11/2018: 88

Moreover, the monsters with which the ancient Greeks filled their myths were fantastic creatures, usually dangerous, whose monstrosity contrasted with the harmony of the human body and the order of the world of the Olympic gods. Similarly, beautiful and successful women might be perceived from a comparable angle.

Proceeding further, a penis is frequently perceived as a symbol of male power. In the past, it was used by the victors in numerous battles to demonstrate power and triumph (see, for instance, Eriksson Baaz and Stern 2013: 42-43). Also, Greek mythology is deeply steeped in eroticism and sexuality. The main collective occupation of the gods of Olympus was copulation among themselves, but also with the demigods and people. In order to fulfil erotic desires, they were able to perform any immoral surgery, rape and deception, and this applies to both the female and male representatives of the pantheon (see Graziosi 2013). Even nowadays, the magazines for men perpetuate the views that the penis is a source of dominance and power offered by divine beings:

> "No bullshit, I thought I knew the full extent of the power I wield between my legs, but the Apollo[282] gave me a porno penis!" "Penthouse" 10/2016: 19

Thus, the penis becomes a kind of immunity, a sceptre that gives power, whereas masculinity is centred around success and control. It also depicts a tendency to overestimate sexual performance and sexual gains. For many men, sex life is an arena where they have to flaunt themselves and prove their superiority over other competitors. Getting the credit for achievements and boasting of the number of bedroom triumphs is often accompanied by the need to objectify the partners and depreciate them (see, among others, Strelan and Hargreaves 2005, Zurbriggen *et al*. 2011, Ramsey and Hoyt 2015).

All in all, paradoxically a metaphor that uses supernatural beings as the source domain does not always shape our perceptions about women and men in a positive way. As the example from "Penthouse" suggests, some men seem to treat their male sexual organs as a symbol of superiority given by the gods. As far as women are concerned, they are often aware of complexes and weak points in the male psyche and just like goddesses, they can use them in different ways and for different purposes. Manipulating a man by

[282]Apollo, in Greek mythology, was a son of Zeus and Leto. Born on the island of Delos, he was the twin brother of Artemis. Considered the god of beauty, light, life, death, music, truth, law, order, patron of art and poetry, inspiration, healing, archery, bachelors, and prophets, Apollo is said to have been the most handsome god of all (see Graziosi 2013).

referring to the myths of masculinity has been a constant element of male-female contacts since time immemorial, not only among the gods of Olympus or ancient Egypt, but also on earth, among ordinary mortals.

4.15 Euphemistic and Dysphemistic Realisations of Sex

As stressed on many occasions, the language of women and men, whether spoken or written, has its own unique features shaped by a number of different factors including the influence of physiology, psychology, society and, of course, culture. Researchers (see Allan and Burridge 1991, Chamizo Dominguez 2005, Keyes 2010, Crespo-Fernández 2015) have been studying euphemisms for years, and many examples of gender dissimilarities and inequality have arisen from those studies (Keyes 2010, Kurowska 2018). Given that the process of euphemisation is considered to be one of the most prolific linguistic devices that many individuals use to cope with the realm of sex, it is hardly surprising that modern magazines for men also utilise some of them. Because colourful magazines, next to the Internet, are still perceived by many people as one of the primary sources employed to maintain and validate their identities, it seems vital to show how euphemisms, dysphemisms and other figurative expressions related to the erotic sphere perpetuate gender stereotypes and norms.

Particular attention is drawn to the cognitive approach to euphemisation in which this study is embedded. It attempts to answer the question of what kind of euphemisms, if any, can be found in men's magazines and how those particular conceptualisations influence their readers' ways of thinking. The figurative expressions identified are presented in the following table:

WORD or EXPRESSION	**MEANING**
N: *blowjob, oral sex, fellatio, cunnilingus, proper tongue-lashing* V: *go down, gnaw on roast beef, wear the sticky beard, clean the fish tank, get with a girl below the waist, make way downtown*	'oral sex'
V: *jerk off*	'masturbation'
N: *tits, boob*	'breasts'
N: *one heck of an O, your O, HER BIG O, climax, orgasmic zenith, a sprint to a marathon*	'orgasm'

V: *get sb, go blank, push her button, get her off, ensure mutual O-faces*	
N: *dick, wand, Magic Wand, tallywacker, cock, wang-doodle, shaft, prick*	'penis'
N: *hard-on, a boner, a stiffie*	'erection'
N: *cunt, pussy, labia, vulva*	'vagina'
N: *asshole*	'anus'
N: *YOUR PRIVATES, all the right places, crotch, down there*	'genitals'
N: *balls, boys*	'testicles'
N: *quickie, penetration, fucking, lovemaking, sexual encounter, sex, procreation, the old in-out, P-in-the-V* V: *get nasty, have sex, fuck, screw, sleep with*	'intercourse'
V: *cum*	'ejaculation'
N: *buttocks, backyard, ass*	'bottom'
N: *lust, arousal, go-to* V: *turn on*	'desire'
N: *slut, whore, sex worker*	'prostitute'

Table 10: The figurative expressions identified in the analysed magazines

The findings are rather straightforward. There seems to be a disproportion in the usage of euphemistic expressions in male and female magazines (see Kurowska 2018). When it comes to the magazines for women, there are some unspoken, yet universally acknowledged norms of what is 'polite' and 'appropriate' for women to say and read; and the media generate enormous social pressure when it comes to the language of sex. Although the straightforward remarks about erotic lifestyles can provoke misapprehension, disapproval or even in certain cases, social exclusion, the magazines for men describe sex-related issues in exactly this way. What is more, erotic language repeatedly refers to the surrounding world through metaphorisation and creative euphemisms, i.e. assigning sexual organs and sexual activities with features of objects and activities related to a different, neutral, or allegedly less marked area of meaning.

Another possibility is to use medical terminology. However, it seems that one of the most common groups are colloquial expressions, often considered vulgar[283].

To start with, the verbal compound words *sleep with someone* and *make love* are very common euphemisms used by people on a daily basis. What should be mentioned at this juncture is the fact that the expression *make love* is often employed interchangeably with *have sex* in many different contexts, as seen in the example below:

> "HANDLER: No, I have no rules. I want to sleep with them as soon as possible to find out if I want to sleep with them again, or if there's anything at all to talk about. PLAYBOY: You claim to feel terrible for men who have small penises. Have you ever had sex with a man who wasn't well-endowed? Did you enjoy it?" "Playboy" 11-12/2017: 53

However, as Cohen (2013) notices, this common misuse masks the significant distinction between these two activities: "Indeed, many people who have 'good sex' mistake it for love only to find out that their apparent lover was not the person with whom they cared to spend their life". Evidently, certain people prefer to acknowledge the superiority of making love, while others would prefer to just have sex:

> "Man and woman have sex." "Men's Health" 3/ 2017: 32

What mainly distinguishes mere sex from love-making is the fact that the latter dissolves the distance between lovers. Cohen (2013) further claims that "in love-making there is the mutual consciousness of unbounded unity without partition". Two people feel united, which is a deeply personal feeling that can come back in moments of intimacy, tenderness and adoration. Apart from that, further terms referring to sexual intercourse that have been identified are: *quickie*, *sexual encounter*, *get nasty*, *the old in-out*, *P-in-the-V*, which are also intentionally vague in their reference:

> "A quickie doesn't have to mean full-blown intercourse. Don't restrict yourselves to just penetration." "Men's Health" 7-8/2017: 97

> "She can fully focus on getting nasty." "Men's Health" 4/2017: 10

[283]One may claim, however, that by using plain language, we remove the veil around our sexuality and communication.

> "No matter how long you kept at it, it's highly unlikely that the old in-out made her come." "Playboy" 5-6/2018: 30

> "As tempting as it is to rush to P-in-the-V action as the clothes are still hitting the loor, spending some time to warm up her nether regions is worth it." "Men's Health"12/2018: 50

Sexual intercourse can also be described with stylistically differentiated terms, such as: highly informal and vulgar *fucking*, neutral *sex* and formal *procreation*. Additionally, one can also divide terms for sex according to the category of similarity and distinguish expressions based on the similarity of movement, for example formal *penetration* and highly informal *screw* – both determining the sexual act, as in the case of the following excerpt:

> "But he wasn't just a jerk looking to screw younger women – it was more complicated." "Men's Health" 1-2/2018: 70

Most of such terms carry unpleasant associations equating sex with something silly, filthy and business-like. What is more, the appearance of certain 'taboo words' and colloquial language in men's magazines serves as proof that this kind of vocabulary is socially acceptable for men. Yet, it is not acceptable for women – at least not in the magazine setting (see Kurowska 2018).

Proceeding further, it is worth mentioning that many euphemistic expressions coined to talk about sex, can be treated as circumlocutions. The phrases like *gnaw on roast beef, wear the sticky beard* and *clean the fish tank* are comparatively lengthy and they perfectly fulfil their purpose as a camouflage tool. The longer the expression, the easier it loses its taboo overtones:

> "Gnawing on roast beef. Wearing the sticky beard. Cleaning the fish tank. Regardless of what you call it, you gotta do it… and you might as well do it well. Giving your girl a proper tongue-lashing is a surefire way to keep her coming (heh heh) back for more. Here are a few tips to help you level up your skills in going down." "Penthouse" 10/2016: 88

Oral sex can also be described in terms of more scientific and technical expressions, such as *fellatio* 'stimulating a penis with the mouth or tongue for erotic purposes':

> "We didn't need a survey to tell us that men like oral sex – but ours revealed that they want more. Porn may raise (ha) their expectations; all that filmed fellatio can make a man think everyone's luckier than he is, Canadian research suggests." "Men's Health" 3/2017: 106

What is more, some of the expressions like: *proper tongue-lashing* or *get with a girl below the waist* are not only polite, but very often amusing and picturesque. Yet, despite their positive associations, the doublespeak found in men's magazines might contribute to the gender unequal treatment. Another vulgar term, *blowjob*, constitutes another generic compound noun that refers to oral sex and exploits the source domain of WORK to euphemistically refer to sex-related matters:

> "Adi was about to drop to her knees to deliver a blowjob to my rock-hard, neglected north pole, but I had to see what was under the elf outfit." "Penthouse" 12/2016: 127

The comparison of lovemaking to the emotionless act of doing the job implicitly degrades the sexual act and, what is more important, the image of women, who are perceived as commodities.

Another area that abounds in euphemistic expressions is that of sexual organs, yet many modern readers complain that there is no neutral terminology available for things connected with sexual activities. The authors of articles use loans borrowed from Greek and Latin, which sound more sophisticated and rather technical. Such allegedly learned words as *vagina*, *labia* or *vulva* (see the quotation below):

> "We were rubbing our vaginas over our clothes. It wasn't a vagina party at all. It was basically like playing doctor, but no one was touching each other, thankfully." "Playboy" 11-12/2017: 52

are often difficult to apply in a normal conversation and their usage might be socially awkward. For this reason, the key component of women's anatomy – vagina – has some other, typically offensive and vulgar names, such as *cunt* and *pussy*:

> "Her cunt was so hot and tight – she was hungry for a good deep fuck." "Penthouse" 7-8/2017: 138

The terms like *YOUR PRIVATES*, *all the right places* and *down there* invoke metonymic associations, namely general-for-specific euphemisms, where *down there* might be treated as general areas of the lower part of a woman's and man's body used in place of a specific area within it – the vagina and penis respectively. Consider the following extracts:

"YOUR PRIVATES" "Men's Health" 11/2016: 131

"But somehow, going down on a woman isn't entirely about female desire – it's more about male bravado." "Playboy" 5/2016: 28

"But touching it makes her mind go blank and her blood flow to all the right places." "Men's Health" 6/2017: 22

In the euphemistic expression: *the right place*, one may, in fact, notice some dysphemistic associations. It is very ambiguous and points out the intention of a man – to pursue a specific goal with a specific destination which is a woman's intimate body part. The last example uses a different way of forming euphemisms, where a deliberate ambiguity becomes fully clarified in the further context:

"My first time getting with a girl below the waist, it took me about an hour to get from up here to down there." "Playboy" 1-2/2017: 52

This type of euphemistic nomination can be referred to as pronominalisation – *to get from up here to down there* means 'to get from the upper part of the body to the vagina'.

The next area rich in euphemisms is that of male sexual organs, which constitute another controversial topic and are habitually ignored and avoided in general discourse. On the basis of the accumulated data, several sub-categories can be distinguished. Among the euphemistic expressions of the domain of penis, there are metaphors referring to the inanimate world (for example, to the names of objects), for instance:

"Then let her know you're always game to take over for the Magic Wand." "Men's Health" 10/2016: 20

"At her command, I pulled the wand out of her pussy and slowly pushed it into her asshole." "Penthouse" 7-8/2017: 138

Among the euphemistic expressions belonging to the domain of SEX there is also an example of the transfer of human-related characteristics to a specific part of the human body, namely: *boys* (hence the name used in reference to a male child) – employed to denote the male testicles:

"Balls are a huge nuisance. They shift left, they shift right. It's like having a sweaty beanbag chair in your pants. So please refrain from chiding us if we occasionally feel the need to rearrange our boys." "Men's Health" 3/2016: 124

Other designations for male sexual organs found during the research point to the fact that men prefer very straightforward and publicly avoided terms:

"But then you keep your dick in your pants and you go home to your wife." "Men's Health" 11/2016: 101

"She just laughed and lowered herself onto my dick." "Penthouse" 7-8/2017: 9

"Why would you put your dick between two feet when you could put it in a warm vagina or a butthole?" "Playboy" 9-10/2017: 34

"Without missing a beat, she grinned and undid my pants as she climbed on top of me, positioning her pussy just above my cock." "Penthouse" 7-8/2017: 9

One can also encounter terms in the form of a diminutive or some sort of colloquial names, some kind of caressing babble or references to children's language:

"Did it shrink my tallywacker? Well, I wasn't holding a hand over it because I was shy. Cold isn't helpful in that area. It wasn't happy, if you know what I mean." "Men's Health" 5/2016: 142

> "Under normal circumstances, the penis is just hanging out, minding its own business until it gets stimulated (which seems to be often). We call this a hard-on, a boner, a stiffie, and so on." "Penthouse" 6/2017: 73

> "Perhaps it was my near pornographic prison rape scenario that I narrowly avoided or maybe it was the memory of the inexperienced cat-like busty, blond dancer from earlier who climbed to the top of the pole knowing no other way to get down than to belly flop onto her wrist from ten feet up or it might've just been the drug cocktail I swallowed seconds before the cops could search me but something had all the blood rushing straight to may wang-doodle." "Penthouse" 9/2016: 18

Not infrequently, however, penis is described by extensions of words that simply represent items that are phallic in shape, as in the case of *shaft*, that can be further classified as a dangerous instrument. Hence, it might transfer some unpleasant connotations. According to Allan (2012: 22-23), objects such as *rod*, *lance*, *prick*, *horn*, *poker*, *pipe* or *shaft*, which are all similar in shape, name "the effect of a certain kind of event in which a sharp object penetrates a membrane; with little stretching of the imagination that describes the effect of inserting the penis into the vagina."

In the case of orgasm, the language of modern magazines proves that the creativity of euphemistic expressions is unlimited. Take for example: *orgasmic zenith*, *a sprint to a marathon*, *go blank*, *push her button*:

> "Just do it: That said, she doesn't always expect to finish. 'Even if I don't climax, I've still had fun and satisfied my partner,' says Rachael, 25. 'I know he'll get me next time.' Orgasmic zenith or no, she sometimes prefers a sprint to a marathon." "Men's Health" 7-8/2017: 97

> "Become a master at pushing her button." "Playboy" 5-6/2018: 7

Such vague remarks are full of metaphorical creations and ambiguity. Another common strategy used in creating euphemisms is called distortion[284] and it involves masking the taboo topic by modifying the offensive expressions[285]. The following examples of this

[284]Often referred to as abbreviation.
[285]On this issue see Burridge (2012: 75).

strategy: *one heck of an O, your O, HER BIG O* demonstrate that a word loses its improper tone by simply leaving the initial letter of the forbidden vocabulary item:

> "HER BIG O" "Men's Health" 3/2017: 105
>
> "To save your O until she's ready for it, use your breath wisely." "Men's Health" 2/2017: 111
>
> "A quick bedroom Q&A can lead to one heck of an O." "Men's Health" 12/2016: 38
>
> "Guys, it's time to get smart about getting her off. Here, the authors of vagina bible The Wonder Down Under offer five tips that will ensure mutual O-faces every time." "Playboy" 5-6/2018: 30

Nevertheless, generally speaking, the vocabulary in men's magazines is largely colloquial and vulgar. This is because men tend to use more straightforward and stereotypically more 'powerful' language than women. There is a certain interpretation of reality in the language itself. While it might be assumed that of all linguistic means, profanity enjoys the least social acceptance, it is widely used in a public context and does not seem to be glaring or disturbing the reader's sense of aesthetics.

To recapitulate, the role of contemporary media should include exploring and challenging the moral conventions regarding sexual matters, yet they seem to intensify the longstanding stereotypes and prejudices. This is especially harmful for females, who become victims of the male readers' sense of obligation to conform with the traditional ideology. In other words, showing linguistic tentativeness or verbal aggression, with time has become automatically associated with femininity or masculinity. Readers habitually choose a style of speaking in order to be considered feminine or masculine and in that way they can associate themselves with particular social groups to which they belong, as euphemisms constitute an instrument of ideological framing. Even though one can use many figurative expressions which activate positive associations and can be regarded as face-saving act[286], like: *proper tongue-lashing, one heck of an O, HER BIG O, orgasmic zenith, Magic Wand, all the right places* or *lovemaking*, some instantiations, although

[286]A face-saving act can be understood as saying something that may reduce a possible threat to individual's self-image (see Leech 2014).

euphemistic in nature, such as: *gnaw on roast beef*, *wear the sticky beard*, *a sprint to a marathon*, *go blank*, *shaft*, *prick*, *get nasty*, *fuck* or *screw* have the potential to trigger less favourable associations, as they may suggest physical violence or neglect towards the opposite sex. What makes the issue even more complicated is that the boundaries between euphemisms and dysphemisms are quite fuzzy and the differences are a matter of perspective.

4.16 Summary

All things considered, under the influence of various metaphors and euphemistic or dysphemistic expressions on the pages targeting male readers, the recipients may subliminally conceptualise sex in terms of WAR, FOOD, BUSINESS etc., which, in turn, influences their perception and the way they talk about women and what they do in the sexual sphere. By highlighting certain attributes in a sex relationship, such as competitiveness, aggression or force, lovers become constantly concerned about who will be the winner or the submissive agent, as they demarcate the sex partners as enemies. This can lead to lack of the loving essence and mutual aspects of having sex. What is more, favouring certain conceptual domains in the magazines for men leads to the conviction that the contemporary men should share the metaphorical conceptualisation with the authors and editors, hence, also the aggressive competition and domination towards sex. Because language reinforces and reflects certain concepts, the metaphors such as SEX IS WAR, SEX IS BASEBALL or SEX IS CONSUMPTION offer men the right to demand sex from the opposite sex, and women have no agency in the process. In fact, the contemporary magazines still promote the old-fashioned model of femininity and masculinity which attributes a man to the active role, whereas a woman to passivity in the realm of sex. The media frequently dictate who women and men are by constructing socially approved notions; they function as mirrors which distort reality. However, the analysis also shows that not all metaphorical expressions possess the same function and are used the same way. Some metaphors and euphemisms are applied as expressions of endearment (e.g. *sugarstick*, *peach*, *Magic Wand*), some others serve as insults and focus on trivialisation and sexual denigration (e.g. *vixen*, *wang-doodle*). The lexical encoding of the figurative language depends, however, on people, since as Cameron argues (1985: 90): "in the mouths of sexists, language can always be sexist". The ideological significance of metaphors indicates that we should always take into account the

contextualisation of metaphors in order to better understand their linguistic, cultural and social import.

Conclusions

This dissertation has investigated the phenomenon of stereotype and the significance of sex-related figurative expressions from the cognitive point of view. It should be stated now, with all certainty that conceptual metaphors constitute a vital part of the world people live in and they play a substantial role in human lives, especially in understanding the surrounding reality and reasoning. Bearing this in mind, the present thesis has provided evidence that metaphors are not only a matter of social and cultural conditioning, but they are also largely responsible for creating social and cultural reality. Moreover, since metaphors arise spontaneously and automatically without human awareness, it seems that people have no choice whether to think metaphorically or not. As the mechanism of metaphor is mostly unconscious, once they become assimilated, they remain part of human conceptualisation of the world. The conducted research also demonstrates that the image of the female and male gender popularised by the media perpetuates unrealistic, stereotypical and limiting attitudes and conceptualisations concerning both sexes. While the concepts of ICM and conceptual metaphor are not new, the dissertation aims to contribute to a deeper understanding of gender perception in order to shed some light on the interaction between social and cognitive factors related to the view of women and men in the press. It has also revealed some other essential issues that will be presented below.

Firstly, there is no such type of media or media genre that is completely free from the stereotyping mechanism. However, in some forms of communication, these stereotypes are much more frequent and expressive, like, for instance, in the case of the magazines for men. The analysed examples have allowed us to build cognitive models of a woman and a man (**ICM WOMAN** and **ICM MAN**) and provided us with an insight into the image of their contemporary roles, based on the stereotypical approach. Because stereotypes are both cognitive and pragmatic structures, they are handed over to the individuals by society, mainly due to the influence of the social environment and mass communication, such as the magazines in question, which perpetuate and reproduce harmful images. What is more, stereotypes eliminate the need for excessive cognitive effort and facilitate the classification of phenomena, simply because they are not the result of logical reasoning, but they are based on experience in which instinctive processes play

a dominant role. In this scenario, the most productive submodel for a ***woman*** in "Men's Health" is **LOVE AND SEX** (79 excerpts), next to **FAMILY LIFE** (37 excerpts) and finally **PSYCHOLOGICAL FEATURES AND PROCESSES** (36 excerpts). For a ***man*** the most fruitful submodel is that of **PSYCHOLOGICAL FEATURES AND PROCESSES** (143 excerpts), followed by **PHYSICAL PROCESSES AND ACTIVITIES** (87 excerpts), and also **LOVE AND SEX** (67 excerpts). In "Maxim", the lexeme ***man*** appears 112 times, which constitutes a surprisingly low number in comparison to other male magazines. The lexeme ***woman*** appears 81 times, mostly in connection to physical attractiveness, hence for a ***woman*** the most productive submodels are: **PHYSICAL TRAITS** (24 excerpts), **PSYCHOLOGICAL FEATURES AND PROCESSES** (15 excerpts) and **LOVE AND SEX** (9 excerpts). For a ***man***, the submodels which contain the highest number of excerpts are: **FASHION AND CLOTHES** (33 excerpts), then: **PSYCHOLOGICAL FEATURES AND PROCESSES** (24 excerpts), and finally: **WORK AND EDUCATION** (15 excerpts). A similar distribution of examples is observable in "Playboy": the most productive submodels for a woman are: **PSYCHOLOGICAL FEATURES AND PROCESSES** (121 excerpts), **LOVE AND SEX** (81 excerpts) and **FAMILY LIFE** (59 excerpts), and exactly the same submodels are the most widespread for a ***man***: **PSYCHOLOGICAL FEATURES AND PROCESSES** (99 excerpts), **LOVE AND SEX** (61 excerpts) and **FAMILY LIFE** (46 excerpts). When it comes to "Penthouse", a ***woman*** is identified mainly in correlation with sex (**LOVE AND SEX** – 122 excerpts), psychological features (**PSYCHOLOGICAL FEATURES AND PROCESSES** – 109 excerpts) and physicality (**PHYSICAL TRAITS** – 66 excerpts). For a ***man***, in turn, 116 examples fall on the ninth submodel – **LOVE AND SEX**, 67 excerpts on the **PSYCHOLOGICAL FEATURES AND PROCESSES** submodel, and 32 on **PHYSICAL PROCESSES AND ACTIVITIES**.

In this regard, a man, who frequently conforms to the stereotypical role can by characterised by the following qualities and traits:

In "Men's Health":

- a macho: he is emotionally cool, inaccessible and does not look for support,
- uncertain at times: he needs to confirm his masculinity at every turn (20 excerpts – 'self-esteem, confidence, sense of security'),
- strong: he is perceived as a stronger sex possessing the right to enjoy the world and rule over it.

In "Maxim":

- he cares about the appearance (33 excerpts – **FASHION AND CLOTHES** submodel: clothes and shoes – 21 excerpts and the elegance in general – 12 excerpts; 8 excerpts – **BODY** submodel: hair – 6 excerpts and skin – 2 excerpts),
- self-confident, resourceful and strong (24 excerpts – **PSYCHOLOGICAL FEATURES AND PROCESSES** submodel),
- rising to challenges (15 excerpts – **WORK AND EDUCATION** submodel),
- active (9 excerpts), consistent, determined (5 excerpts – 'dreams and desires'), brave, mentally strong and devoid of complexes.

In "Playboy":

- invincible, restrained, self-confident,
- violent (24 excerpts – 'violence and aggression'),
- dominant, sexually promiscuous (61 excerpts – **LOVE AND SEX** submodel),
- independent (19 excerpts – 'feeling of freedom, independence, emancipation'),
- worker (20 excerpts – **WORK AND EDUCATION** submodel),
- superior to women,
- he cares about his attire (16 excerpts – **FASHION AND CLOTHES** submodel),
- active and resourceful (11 excerpts – 'activity, resourcefulness, strength'),
- he leads a hedonistic lifestyle with short-term acquaintances (43 excerpts identified in the category 'marriage, relations, love').

In "Penthouse":

- active in the sexual sphere (90 excerpts – 'sexual techniques and behaviours', **LOVE AND SEX** submodel),
- active socially (14 excerpts – 'community, social and political activity'),
- he puts emphasis on the socio-economic position (18 excerpts – **WORK AND EDUCATION** submodel),
- violent and aggressive (18 excerpts),
- strong and resourceful (17 excerpts).

Hence, it might be suggested that the strongest gender stereotypes for men are the ones that put them in the position of superiority, competitiveness and unlimited power. They are expected to be firm, tough, bold, fearless, aggressive and confident. Male stereotypes lead them to perceive sexuality as another territory in which they can exercise their domination and control. The figure of a man often revolves around boasting about his skills as a sportsman and rising to various challenges. What is more, lifestyle magazines

such as “Maxim” or “Playboy” promote a particular model of masculinity, in which attractiveness is not only the domain of women and a real man should take care of his external appearance as well.

By the same token, a woman who conforms to the stereotypical role can by described in the following way:

In “Men’s Health”:

- a complex being, perceived above all in terms of sexuality and the role in male-female relationships (79 examples – **LOVE AND SEX**, 37 – **FAMILY LIFE**),
- unequal and a subordinate position in relation to men,
- limited to the obligation to bear and raise children.

In “Maxim”:

- engaged in sexual activities (9 excerpts – **LOVE AND SEX** submodel),
- independent in various spheres of her life, including career (6 excerpts – ‘feeling of freedom, independence, emancipation’ aspect),
- defined through her attractiveness and beauty (24 excerpts – **PHYSICAL TRAITS** submodel), with a lot of focus put on body and face (8 excerpt - **BODY** submodel).

In “Playboy”:

- emotional, perceptive and thoughtful (11 excerpts – ‘support, advice, sharing’),
- irrational, instable, possessing low self-esteem and a complicated nature (19 excerpts – ‘passivity, helplessness, apathy, feeling of discrimination’),
- beautiful and alluring (36 excerpts – **BODY**, where 25 examples fall within the ‘face, skin, body’ aspect, and 11 within ‘breasts’ aspect; while 47 excerpts refer to the concept of attractiveness – 47 excerpts belong to **PHYSICAL TRAITS** submodel),
- well-dressed (19 excerpts – **FASHION AND CLOTHES** submodel),
- striving for independence (33 excerpts – ‘feeling of freedom, independence, emancipation’ aspect)
- exemplary wife and mother (59 excerpts – **FAMILY LIFE** submodel, whereas 19 excerpts are closely related to the topic of pregnancy, fertility and abortion),
- sexually adventurous (61 examples refer to ‘sexual techniques and behaviours’ category, whereas 8 excerpts have been assigned to the category of ‘prostitution’).

In “Penthouse”:

- attractive (66 excerpts – **PHYSICAL TRAITS** submodel, 17 excerpts – **BODY** submodel) and interested in clothes and fashion (23 excerpts – **FASHION AND CLOTHES** submodel),
- active, resourceful and fighting for independence (**PSYCHOLOGICAL FEATURES AND PROCESSES** submodel – ‘activity, resourcefulness, strength’, 18 excerpts; ‘feeling of freedom, independence, emancipation’, 12 excerpts),
- reflective (**PSYCHOLOGICAL FEATURES AND PROCESSES** submodel – ‘passivity, helplessness, apathy, feeling of discrimination’, 28 excerpts),
- victim of physical and psychological violence and abuse (**PSYCHOLOGICAL FEATURES AND PROCESSES** submodel – ‘violence, aggression’, 11 excerpts),
- objects of male sexual desire (**LOVE AND SEX** submodel – 122 excerpts identified).

Taking everything that into account, women in the magazines for men seem to be aware of others’ feelings and emotions, hence, they possess an extensive world of inner experiences. However, if we look from the point of view of their external appearance, i.e. youth, slenderness, provocative outfits, we will notice syncretisms that testify to something different altogether. The female body constitutes an element which receives a great deal of attention in this research. It might be due to the fact that the magazines in question portray specific ideology of the female body, in which it becomes an object of male desire and a factor contributing to the depersonalisation, humiliation and dehumanisation of women. They also reduce the value of the female gender and perpetuate many conventionalised and institutionalised stereotypes related to it, especially when it comes to the weakness and subordination of women in the sexual sphere. This stereotype of a passive and submissive agent, even today, sanctions physical and moral harm towards women, and may lead to the situations when it approves and justifies rape. For this reason, modern women, being trivialised, sexualised and treated as a ‘deviation’ from a male standard, feel insecure, despite the constant struggle for independence. However, while it is important to draw attention to the situation of women, it is equally vital to take a closer look at men. In terms of sex, a man is also stereotyped in the press: he is an active party during the sexual act, but male sexual activity also manifests itself as a need to dominate and change partners. Therefore, it can be suggested that mass media play an increasing part in the process of socialisation, they are responsible for shaping the identity of individuals, their beliefs, views and attitudes,

define their place and role in society, including the definition of female and male roles. The mere fact that stereotypes, or cognitive clichés eliminate the need for excessive cognitive effort and facilitate the classification of phenomena, leads to the simplification of communication with others. Particularly relevant is here the fact that they are not the result of logical reasoning, but the result of experience in which instinctive processes play a dominant role. They tend to be oppressive towards gender because they represent an opinion about it, refer to the characteristics attributed to one sex and form expectations regarding the state of being a woman or a man respectively.

Another very important remark concerns the fact that magazines for men offer an insight into the construction of modern sexuality for both women and men. The problem of sexuality permeates all kinds of written texts and is ubiquitous in the media, what is more, the relations between language and the sphere of sexuality preserved in many articles of the analysed magazines offer some interesting observations. Although at first sight most of the metaphors may be taken as a euphemisation tool, an analysis of the assumptions that might be inferred from those figurative expressions, more often than not, conveys sexist beliefs about the role of women and men. Indeed, the investigation in Chapter Four has confirmed that a lot of metaphors included in the magazines for men belong to the most commonly occurring source domains associated with sex, namely WAR and PUNISHMENT. The magazines in question contain an abundant number of figurative expressions coming from the aforementioned domains, especially from the area of the battlefield, which is by no means surprising, as WAR has always been attributed to men, and sex in the 'male world' is viewed as an act of dominance and power. Next, the domains of FOOD and ANIMALS may be considered as the second most prolific source, as references to them can be found in all magazines. The domains of EXPLOSION, ERUPTION and PHYSICAL FORCES rank further. In contrast, groups of metaphors motivated by the domains such as DEATH, PLANT or DANCE remain the least numerous. As a result, the analysis shows that different conceptual domains underlie various metaphorical extensions in the language of sex and the most crucial findings will be recapitulated below.

The domain of FIRE:

In some significant respects, the metaphors of FIRE can be classified as conventional when one uses them to talk about sexual intercourse. They appear widely in ordinary discussions, on television, in various magazines and newspapers. Some of them have been in use for a hundred years or even more. Additionally, the metaphorical

correspondences that appear between the domain of SEX and FIRE are established on the idea of embodiment, in which metaphors regarding elevated temperature are based on the observation of the human body, like in the examples: *my whole body heats up*, *a wave of heat*, *I was on fire*. Although highly conventionalised, HEAT and FIRE metaphors are treated as powerful tools through which people can picture passion and sexual arousal as an intense and pleasurable feeling, without any fear of social rejection. Such conceptualisations highlight the notion of desire as a dangerous or even destructive force, which can spread rapidly in a way that is difficult to control. Positive entailments of this metaphor are connotations of vitality and the warmth associated with fire. However, the concept of lust can be described and conveyed jointly by several other metaphors. To illustrate the truth of this, let us notice that the source domain of FIRE may coexist with that of EXPLOSION to describe the act of orgasm.

The domains of EXPLOSION, ERUPTION and PHYSICAL FORCES:

As mentioned above, sexual desire and orgasm as objects of exploration, strenuous endeavours to control, a whirlwind of emotions, sensations, madness and fulfilment can be considered in terms of explosion and physical forces. The similarities between the domains of SEX and EXPLOSION can be observed in their intensity and a loss of control, where strong and powerful sensation that suddenly appears in the human body during the orgasmic state might be compared to an explosion caused by an explosive (*blasting everything out of me*, *explosive climax*, *I shuddered and shook*). Orgasm is, after all, a chemical process that mixes almost all the stimulating substances in the human body, starting from oxytocin to testosterone, endorphins and norepinephrine, the almost simultaneous explosion of 'Molotov cocktail' which guarantees an extraordinary experience. What is more, the increasing contractions of the skeletal and smooth muscles of the vagina or scrotum are also of great importance here as they lead to the eruption – orgasm, followed by a period of relaxation and satisfaction.

The domain of WAR:

Metaphors associated with WAR are one of the most popular media images, yet the domain clearly suggests the superiority of men, since sex serves as a basis of self-worth in the modern world. By various sexual activities, men show their skills in seduction and prove attractiveness and desirability, building in this way the view of sex as a sphere filled with hostility and violence, and strengthening male's sexual dominance. In order to verify the accuracy of the abovementioned conclusions, it has to be clear that the SEX IS WAR metaphor constitutes a cognitive association that transfers some

attributes from the source domain of war to the target domain of sex, namely: a lover is an enemy, a penis is a weapon, seduction of a sexual partner is defeating an enemy, etc. Additionally, war metaphors involve a wide variety of concepts related to the domain in question like, for instance, the preparation of strategy: *bedroom strategies for better z's*, *Guide to Expanding Your Sexual Frontiers*; the act of surrender: *the woman surrenders completely*, *ultimately surrender*, or the usage of diverse weapons: *guided my shotgun inside her*, *oversized gun*, *I guided my Scud missile in*. There is also evidence to suggest that the expressions like: *punishing strokes*, *I hammered into her*, *pounding her*, which are just a small selection of expressions in which the active participant is the man, clearly demonstrate that we associate sexuality with power (sometimes even physical force). Hence, the conceptual foundation of PUNISHEMENT and WAR metaphors forms the general understanding of sex in terms of punishment and violence, and a considerable number of metaphorical substitutes presented on the pages of magazines for men tend to acquire dysphemistic overtones.

The domain of DEATH:

In line with what has been said so far, the human mind is certainly a non-counting machine, thus, something that operates primarily according to rational categories; rather, thinking using conceptual metaphors brings to light the bodily and emotional underpinnings of human reasoning. As a result, orgasm might be conceptualised as DEATH or FAINTING. As evidenced by the collected examples: *I was close to fainting from pleasure*, *I remember thinking that I had died and gone to heaven*, the resemblance of sexual climax and death is by no means surprising, as both metaphors lay emphasis on the abruptness and intensity of those two earthly phenomena. It is, then, another conceptualisation that puts sex in the light of violent and difficult to control experiences.

The domain of SPORT:

A parallel image to the one evoked by WAR metaphors is observable within the SPORT domain, because although it induces positive associations at first glance, it also carries another, deeper meaning, often negative and deprecating women. In brief, sport occupies an important position in popular culture. It is no longer perceived as an innocent entertainment, rather, people focus more on its political, economic and commercial dimensions. In addition to that, sport is perceived as a male endeavour and the sport's historical legacy belongs predominantly to men. It is one of the many cultural practices that shape male identity, simply because it is due to the belief that sport is an area that

enables the affirmation of traditional male power, strength and violence as well as contemporary concerns about social feminisation. It sets the order, defines values and principles that are justified in the dominant concepts of femininity and masculinity. Considering BASEBALL metaphor, one may notice that it is a game with an oppositional character where only one team can win. By equating it with sexual acts, one partner (typically a woman) loses the status, while the other partner (typically a man) gains respect. The phrases like: *second base, third base, home plate* or *game over* form a model which addresses some negative beliefs and aspects about sex, highlighting at the same time competitive and aggressive attitudes. It also revolves around the concept of sex as an achievement, where the player's definitive goal is to gain all the bases, reach the home plate and score another run to ensure his high position on the list of winners.

The domain of GAME:

Proceeding further, sex and desire trigger game metaphors not only in colloquial speech but also in the press for men, as evidenced by such examples as: *my game plan*, *Bingo*, *let's play*. Such expressions that deal with the issue of playing and having fun often concern the roles played, characters, rules, movement on the board, and the end of the game with the subsequent notions of winners and losers. Despite the enjoyable element that they contain, the figurative expressions from the domain in question have the potential to vitiate the sexual act and reinforce the aggressive and competitive attitudes of the participants. Therefore, such a way of conceptualising desire and sex, along with our common theories of sexuality, may constitute some of the major contributors to the secondary and subordinate role of women in the erotic realm.

The domains of WORK and BUSINESS:

Despite everything mentioned so far, there is an equally frequent similarity between SEX and WORK or BUSINESS. Market logic regulates the functioning of intimate relationships, which is clearly reflected in language. Firstly, lovers are seen as workers whereas the sexual activity is viewed in terms of economic exchange – *take care of business downstairs*, *do the business* or *be back in business*, which automatically evokes negative associations, as doing business is closely connected with signing a business contract, which makes two parties obligated to fulfil the terms of the agreement. Secondly, the analogy to the world of consumption allows us to perceive human body – *asset*, as something difficult to get that needs to be looked after, protected against loss, associated with property and subject to calculation. What is more, conceptualisations like these may also suggest that the accumulated goods are not only consumed, but also

invested, multiplied and exchanged. As a consequence, they degrade the sexual act, as the relationships between women and men are understood through the lenses of regulations, commodities, contracts, control and discipline. The reduction of the erotic sphere to work or economic exchange of goods deprives it of affection and intimacy and allows for the formulation of explicit judgments.

The domains of EATING and FOOD:

Many metaphors point out the resemblance between sexual desire and a feeling of hunger. Food, with the organ itself – the tongue – connects with the oral aspect of culture and it has been a nourishment for human imagination since the dawn of time. Being the source domain of numerous metaphors, it marked out specific ways of thinking, so it played a significant role in the processes of world categorisation. Taste itself is a sense that requires direct, personal contact with the perceived object – you cannot judge the flavour of a dish based on someone else's account, the same is true of sex. Moreover, the metaphorical pattern SEX IS EATING represented by expressions: *whets your appetite*, *satisfy your sexual appetite* clearly implies that sexual desire can be equated with appetite, whereas the object of appetite is a person. Also, female and male sexual organs are frequently conceptualised in terms of food items. Take, for instance: *jet-puffed marshmallow* and *sausage* used in the conceptual association PENIS IS FOOD, or *sweetness*, *honeypot*, *cinnamon bread*, *muffins* applied in the VAGINA IS FOOD metaphor. Nevertheless, such implications offer the basis for the dysphemistic references, especially when it comes to the category of desserts used in reference to women (both are intentionally decorated to make them look more attractive and more appetising). Finally, metaphor has been recognised as a tool responsible for shaping human thought and perception and, consequently, the social and cultural landscape. As an example, by analysing metaphors associated with the domains of FOOD and EATING, one may safely conclude that there is a long-standing tendency to construe women as sexualised food items and men as dangerous predators who lurk for their prey. Such a perception not only diminishes the status of every female on this planet, but also reinforces some common stereotypes about fragility and helplessness of women.

The domain of JOURNEY:

JOURNEY metaphors refer to the notions of discovering, getting closer, reaching the goal and finding the right way. The sexual encounter characterised in terms of a journey may be understood as the process with a starting point and an end point – a final stage in the form of an orgasm. Among the collected examples, there are a number of

references to climbing up and downhill, hence the metaphorical patterns: REACHING ORGASM IS REACHING THE PEAK, REACHING ORGASM IS THE END OF RIDE and REACHING DESTINATION IS EXPERINECING ORGASM, where the main meaning focus is on the idea of succeeding in reaching the goal and highlighting the motion of progress towards the destination (e.g. *reached her peak, being catapulted to the heavens, take her to the promised land*). Therefore, the journey is deeply rooted in the messages of our culture, it has always symbolised the way of life, adventure, experience, pursuit of a goal, but also the build-up of sexual desire and the sexual climax itself.

The domain of ANIMALS:

In the analysed set, metaphors with the fauna component constitute a large group of all excerpted lexical units. Both women and men are very often understood in terms of the properties of animals, however, the domain of ANIMALS seems to be one of the most productive for metaphorical depiction of female sexuality. In fact, weakness, beauty and small size are typical features of femininity; strength and ferocity, on the other hand, stress masculinity of the allegedly 'stronger sex'. In my conviction, the small size of animals that denote women, especially pets (*pet of the year*), evokes the protective attitude attached to them. The main function of a pet is to entertain and provide company. The animals like *cats – watching me like a cat with those golden eyes*, *purr like a kitten* – provide the basis for the formulation of the metaphor DESIRED WOMAN IS SMALL ANIMAL, and render service to men, which yields the factors of servitude, central to the metaphoric identifications of women. Another lexeme that appears in the magazines for men is ***vixen***, a term which does not reflect the intellectual capacity of a woman, but rather her willingness and openness for sex (*sex vixen*, *unleash the vixens*). Sexual relationships between women and men are also conceptualised in terms of the hunting imagery, thus, a man is metaphorically portrayed as a hunter, whereas a woman takes the passive role of the prey. In fact, it is yet another metaphor where men are presented as agents that perform the actions, while females adopt the role of traditionally passive recipients. Putting everything together, the process of animation may be common and widespread, yet one needs to be aware that, in some cases, it mentally tames and justifies violent behaviour. In this regard, there is a great number of attributes assigned to both sexes with a highly androcentric character, simply because men are treated as the norm of reference, which consequently leads to a great number of derogatory terms applied in reference to women.

The domains of PLANTS and DANCE:

In the case of the domains such as PLANTS and DANCE, at the beginning, it has to be noted that people rather rarely conceptualise the erotic acts in terms of floral terminology and they do not usually employ references to music while experiencing sexual joy. Hence, it can be suggested that the editors use them for some special literary effect. Next, as it has been mentioned earlier, most of the metaphors discussed in CHAPTER FOUR belong to the category of conventional metaphors which are commonly used in everyday language by the ordinary people to provide the essential structure to some portion of those people's conceptual systems. In accordance with the Contemporary Theory of Metaphor they are usually defined as familiar and readily interpretable. In comparison to the above statements, there are some metaphors that offer a non-conventional outlook and lead to extraordinarily creative metaphorical items. Metaphors of this kind are referred to as novel or poetic and they are usually unfamiliar and harder to interpret. The conceptualisations like KISSING IS PLANTING or KISSING IS DANCING that appear on the pages of magazines for men are applied outside of their normal and usual conventional meaning to express a similar concept. However, such occurrences are rare in comparison with conventional metaphors.

The domain of SUPERNATURAL CREATURES

The same applies to the domain of SUPENATURAL CREATURES. If one takes into account the last group of conceptualisations, the linguistic expressions that belong to it range in between terms associated with salvation and worship, for instance: *Cleopatras and Egyptian goddesses,* and those of malignant creatures situated at the other extreme, for example: mythological *sirens*. Although most people would associate sirens with beautiful women – half human, half fish, the truth is that these mythological creatures lured mariners to destruction by their singing. This tempting quality has been retained in its figurative usage and, in the light of these examples, *siren* conveys the idea of powerful sexual attraction. In this way, metaphors are effective in determining the contemporary approaches to women, because they represent comprehensive understanding and knowledge, and reflect social, cultural, and cognitive processes.

All the metaphorical patterns and the collected examples prove that in our culture we try to metaphorically tame sex and all aspects associated with the erotic sphere by means of FIRE, EXPLOSION, ERUPTION, PHYSICAL FORCES, WAR, VIOLENCE, DEATH, SPORT, GAME, WORK, BUSINESS, EATING, FOOD, JOURNEY, ANIMALS, PLANTS, TREES, DANCE and SUPERNATURAL CREATURES. Some

domains show that sex is disordered, chaotic and violent, often a source of discrimination and domination of one side over the other. Others are embedded in numerous cultural contexts – sex is compared to consumption, gaming, work, and a business deal. What all of them have in common, however, is the fact that they are the mental structures which influence our thinking, often unconsciously. In short, the language we use reveals deep value structures and determines our understanding of the surrounding world.

Last, but not least, also euphemisms appearing in the analysed magazines can be regarded as an instrument of ideological framing. Although some of the identified figurative expressions activate positive associations and can be used as a device to mask the existing taboos, like in the case of: *orgasmic zenith, HER BIG O, all the right places, lovemaking* or *Magic Wand*, some others, while euphemistic in nature, have the potential to activate less favourable associations, as they might imply neglect towards the opposite sex or even physical violence (for instance: *wear the sticky beard, go blank, a sprint to a marathon, shaft, get nasty, screw* or *fuck*). The distribution of euphemisms also differs depending on the title of the magazine. In "Penthouse", unlike "Men's Health", we notice that colloquial vocabulary and vulgar language dominate (also in the domains such as WAR and VIOLENCE). Such informal expressions make up a large proportion of the whole corpus of the undertaken study. Next, if we take into account the type of articles in the journals in question, which contain erotic vocabulary, we notice that these are mainly advice columns and guidebooks, letters (containing readers' problems), interviews and columns typical for this type of press. Finally, the language of magazines for men is much more direct and vulgar than that of women's magazines (see Kurowska 2018). This is because men tend to use a more powerful language than women and, in this way, there is a temptation to argue that it constitutes a certain interpretation of reality in its own right.

To conclude, metaphors belong to the natural phenomena since every conceptual metaphor is an inseparable part of human thought just as the linguistic metaphors are part and parcel of human natural speech. The analysis of the figurative language that is used in the contemporary magazines for men to cope with the subject of sex, provides insights into the way sex is understood within a cultural group, it allows to gain access to different attitudes and values that are somewhat involuntarily communicated implicitly through the conceptual metaphors, and also reveals content and meanings that go unnoticed in everyday, automatic functioning. Language, being a neutral vehicle for conveying different attitudes, is not inherently biased. It rather reflects and perpetuates the attitudes of people who use it, so it is like a 'loaded weapon' that can be wielded in different

directions. The conducted research also indicates that the image of the female and male gender popularised by the media perpetuates unrealistic, stereotypical and limiting attitudes and conceptualisations.

Finally, the negative way we use to talk about sex and women is closely related to our cultural norms, therefore we often argue about the linguistic discrimination, as language is both a social and cultural phenomenon. As such, it reflects the nomenclature needs of a given society, its relations and systems, social dependencies, but also the former patrimonial character of culture that remains in it. For this reason, just as developing new terminologies and theories to describe and change the world is an integral part of any social movement, adjusting or tailoring the existing language so that it could serve the purpuse of speaking about sex is an essential part of changing our attitude towards it. The myth of male dominance in the sexual sphere was formulated a long time ago and has been mindlessly fostered by people so that even now it is profoundly embedded in our consciousness. Regardless of how hard we try to dislodge it, it is particularly pervasive, as the very fabric of many societies is woven to substantiate and support it. Fundamentally, it is obvious that a world devoid of stereotypes and prejudices seems to be a utopia, especially if one takes into account the fact that creating stereotypes is a spontaneous human tendency and various clichés reflect just how the human brain works by learning and ordering reality. In addition, it is difficult to unequivocally adjudicate linguistic discrimination against women and offer a universal solution. This does not mean, however, a consent to ignore individuality and to uncritically submit to stereotypical thinking and discriminatory practices. Because of the universality and diversity of the means of mass communication in our lives, the patterns conveyed by them should, therefore, be subjected to particularly careful analyses and critical reflection. Moreover, the metaphors ‘we live by’ may be considered as a dynamic device that is changing, developing, extending, all depending on the person and situation. When people talk to one another, when they take part in various discussions and public conversations, when they explain themselves to others, they make a prevalent use of conceptual metaphors. Their choice of metaphor not only reveals the intended conceptualisations, but most of all it conveys their attitudes, emotions and values. The discussion on the ways of talking about lovemaking constitutes an important element of every modern, homogenous culture. The occurrence of conceptual metaphors has fascinated scholars for many years now and still there are many interesting facts yet to discover. This study is neither complete nor exhaustive, yet it adds another piece to the puzzle in the field of

cognitive linguistics, nevertheless, it is remarkably obvious that much still remains to be investigated, like, for instance, the attitude of native English speakers towards the concept of gender and to what extent they have become accustomed to linguistic sexism. We can assume that, on the one hand, the problem of linguistic androcentrism exists in the consciousness of Western societies and probably arouses many different emotions due to its controversial nature. On the other hand, it can be stated that many people do not notice the problem or simply, for various reasons, do not want to acknowledge it. A survey conducted among native speakers of English would show how figurative expressions actually influence the perception of women and their role in modern society, and the results of the questionnaire would constitute the basis for confirming or rejecting the hypothesis put forward regarding the problem of linguistic discrimination against women, especially in the sphere of sexuality.

Summary

This dissertation constitutes an academic reflection on some thought-provoking gender issues in various important and often overlapping areas, such as language, broadly understood culture and the media. In particular, it considers the spread and prominence of stereotypes in American magazines for men and their allegedly harmful effects that follow. The issue of gender is at the centre of contemporary scientific reflection, but it is also an extremely popular social topic. Not only are the matters of equality between women and men the subject of description and research, but also the problem of gender and sex-related issues have become the subject of serious media and academic discussion. However, despite the abundance of works in this field, there are still few extensive and in-depth studies devoted to the language of sex and its stereotypical entanglements. Even though, from the contemporary viewpoint, the perception of gender-determined roles seems to be anachronistic as the feminist movements, cultural transformations and customs have led to a change in the roles of both sexes and the images of women and men preserved in the minds of contemporary people, still, the picture of the sphere of sexual life is simplified in the media, what, in turn, leads to generalisations, cognitive schematicism and stereotyping. Moreover, although the thesis touches upon linguistic issues, it may also be of interest to a wider audience: representatives of many branches of the humanities and social sciences, and all those who are interested in various aspects of contemporary culture. It should be remembered that human sexuality, its forms, symptoms, features and realisations in all cultures of the world are more or less tabooed, because they are considered shameful, dangerous, controversial, sinful or immoral.

This doctoral dissertation consists of four chapters, two of which constitute its theoretical foundation of the dissertation, while the remaining two are empirical in their nature. It should be emphasised, however, that initially the author's intention was to survey the attitude of native speakers of English towards the concept of gender as well as the extent to which they have become accustomed to linguistic sexism. Nevertheless, the enterprise appeared too demanding to handle within the assigned time span, which forced the author to limit herself to two analytical sections instead of three.

Chapter One introduces some key concepts for Cognitive Linguistics, many of which are relevant to the analytical part, such as, among others, **categorisation**,

prototype, **stereotype**, **ICM**, **metaphor** and **metonymy**. It focuses mainly on the linguistic aspects and, to be more precise, particular attention has been paid to the fact that the aforementioned concepts have an impact on the conceptualisation of reality, which will also be presented further on. What is more, it offers some considerations regarding the fact that people should not perceive language only as a means of communication, but also as a creative reservoir. The fact that a language has a specific vocabulary and syntax means that there is a fragmentation of the world included in every human tongue.

The second chapter concerns some selected theoretical aspects of gender and its relation to language. It also takes into account the notions of **sex**, **taboo**, **euphemism**, or even **linguistic relativism** which are central to this enterprise. The issue of gender has been present in linguistic research for many years, and a relatively new science has emerged within social sciences – **gender studies** – shaped under the influence of feminist movements, which investigates cultural differences resulting from gender dissimilarities, i.e. the socio-cultural gender identity.

The main purpose of the third chapter is to propose a selective description of the language of the media, its meaning and manipulative function, which is of vital importance for the pursued research objectives. It also focuses on the description of magazines for men: "Men's Health", "Maxim", "Playboy" and "Penthouse", which constitute the research material under investigation. By examining two lexemes – ***woman*** and ***man*** – extracted from magazines published in the American lifestyle and pornographic press for men, the analysis takes into account the androcentrism reproduced in the texts, and places the concepts such as ICM, stereotype, prototype or metonymy within the context of the media discourse, providing examples of the stereotypical representation of women and men determined and contained in magazines available on the publishing market.

Finally, the fourth and last chapter is strictly empirical and it discusses metaphors and metonymies used in the magazines for men, as well as selected sex-related euphemistic expressions. In particular, it examines what images of a woman and a man in the sexual sphere are promoted by the press, which domains are used in relation to both sexes and what are the possible causes and social consequences of such a state of affair. The magazines for men are an excellent subject to study because of their popularity as self-help literature. They offer an inestimable insight into the construction of modern male sexuality. The discovery of how men perceive and talk about sex today can be

accomplished by careful examination of their language because, through various covert and overt messages, language is a powerful tool for creating norms, attitudes and behaviours. For this reason, this thesis makes an attempt to further explore the subject and focus on the lexical layer.

In the author's conviction the topic is not only attractive from the cognitive perspective but, above all, its subject matter seems useful in communication practice and, notwithstanding the fact that it is far from facile for social and cultural reasons, as the issue of gender still evokes ambivalent feelings in the average language user, ranging from irritation to neglect or even ignorance. Therefore, the main aims of the dissertation can be couched in the following terms:

- presentation of gender relations in the contemporary magazines for men;
- demonstration of the role of present-day media and their influence on the sense of obligation to adapt to traditional ideologies;
- examination of language used to encode sex-related aspects in the magazines for men, especially in terms of gender inequality and discrimination, i.e. its asymmetrical image;
- analysis of the relations between language and the construction of identities based upon metaphorical manifestations of sex.

The nature of the dissertation is interdisciplinary, as it applies approaches and theories from various fields of research: linguistics, sociolinguistics, psychology and media discourse. Although numerous accounts (see, among others, Kövecses 1986; Hines 1996, 1999; Murphy 2001) of sex-related metaphors have been published so far, the task undertaken here seems to be a worthy enterprise, as little has been said about metaphors that occur in the magazines for men and their influence on the readers' conceptualisation.

Methodological reflection is based on the analytical tools of Cognitive Linguistics, which enable the usage of the concepts of the Idealised Cognitive Model postulated by George Lakoff (1987) and the framework of conceptual metaphor and metonymy, originally proposed by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson (1980). Specifically, Chapter Three oscillates around the investigation procedure consisting in a detailed analysis of the source texts in order to isolate the lexemes of a ***woman*** and a ***man***. It also focuses on the postulation that the **WOMEN ICM** and the **MEN ICM** are metonymic models covering a number of submodels. Chapter Four, in turn, adopts the view of conceptual metaphor and metonymy as basic tools to conceptualise the world.

Moreover, some other works important from the point of view of this linguistic analysis, are the positions of researchers such as: Kövecses (2002, 2005, 2010, 2015, 2020); Kövecses and Radden (1998); Kardela (2006); Geeraerts (2006, 2010); Geeraerts and Cuyckens (2010); Grady (2007); Taylor (1995); Cienki (2010). Being inspired by them, the author believes that the presence of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory may be evidenced in all the magazines subject to scrutiny, while its significant property of connecting human mind with the body, body with culture, language with culture and the brain cannot be underestimated. Additionally, Cognitive Linguistics is not primarily concerned with studying linguistic meaning for its own sake, but rather for what it can reveal about the nature of the human conceptual system. Its predominant focus on language is motivated by the assumption that linguistic organisation will reflect, at least partially, the nature and organisation of the conceptual system; this does not mean, however, that language directly mirrors the conceptual system.

It is by no means accidental that the entire content of the system of collective beliefs about women and men takes the form of cultural stereotypes. In a broader context, gender is a component of collective knowledge, which includes ideas, religious beliefs, tradition, scientific knowledge and language, which, in practice, translates into the principles of the functioning of social institutions, as well as the economic, political or educational systems. The omnipresence of gender categories contributes to the assumption that the division into women and men is natural, unchanging and permanent, while the consequence of this apparent dualism is exaggeration of the existing differences, putting these two categories in opposition and, consequently, the perception of women and men as completely contradictory.

In this regard, many images of the feminine and masculine gender popularised by the media perpetuate unrealistic, stereotypical, and limiting perceptions, and the ICMs presented do not actually have a complicated structure. The analysis undertaken in this account demonstrates that the popular magazines such as "Men's Health", "Maxim", "Penthouse" and "Playboy" popularise one kind of man based mostly on the submodels such as **LOVE AND SEX** ("Men's Health" – 67 excerpts; "Maxim" – 7 excerpts; "Playboy" – 61 excerpts; "Penthouse" – 116 excerpts; with the most productive aspect concerning 'sexual techniques and behaviours'), **PSYCHOLOGICAL FEATURES AND PROCESSES** ("Men's Health" – 143 excerpts; "Maxim" – 24 excerpts; "Playboy" – 99 excerpts; "Penthouse" – 67 excerpts; with the most prolific aspects regarding: 'activity, resourcefulness, strength'; 'feeling of freedom, independence, emancipation'; 'violence,

aggression') and **PHYSICAL PROCESSES AND ACTIVITIES** ("Men's Health" – 87 excerpts; "Playboy" – 12 excerpts; "Penthouse" – 32 excerpts), which gain dominance over the others and lead to discriminatory assumptions and generalisations. In the case of women, the most productive submodels are: **LOVE AND SEX** ("Men's Health" – 79 excerpts; "Maxim" – 9 excerpts; "Playboy" – 81 excerpts; "Penthouse" – 122 excerpts), **FAMILY LIFE** ("Men's Health" – 37 excerpts; "Maxim" – 5 excerpts; "Playboy" – 59 excerpts; "Penthouse" – 45 excerpts), **PSYCHOLOGICAL FEATURES AND PROCESSES** ("Men's Health" – 36 excerpts; "Maxim" – 15 excerpts; "Playboy" – 121 excerpts; "Penthouse" – 109 excerpts) and **PHYSICAL TRAITS** ("Men's Health" – 32 excerpts; "Maxim" – 24 excerpts; "Playboy" – 47 excerpts; "Penthouse" – 66 excerpts).

The data mentioned above illustrate the components of the stereotype of a woman, which can be further elaborated in the following way:

- a woman is a servant to a man, ranking lower in the biological and social ladder;
- a woman is submissive and subordinated;
- a woman is limited to the obligation to bear and raise children;
- a woman is defined through her attractiveness and beauty;
- a woman is worthy of attention when she meets certain (imposed) social norms;
- a woman is an 'individual' with practical advantages;
- a woman is a sexually promiscuous, beautiful and alluring person, an object of male sexual desire;
- a woman is irrational, instable, possessing low self-esteem and a complicated nature;
- a woman is a separate entity, complex in terms of personality, emotionality, perceptiveness and thoughtfulness;
- a woman is an active, resourceful and independent person in various spheres of her life, including career.

The stereotype of a man, in turn, contains the following components:

- a man is a person who relies on his own strength, has greater self-confidence, shows a tendency to competition and aggression;
- a man is an active, determined and consistent individual who enjoys challenges;

- a man is a typical macho: he is emotionally cool and inaccessible;
- a man is a person who cares about the appearance;
- a man is violent, dominant, sexually promiscuous;
- a man possesses a hedonistic lifestyle with short-term acquaintances, active in the sexual sphere;
- a man puts emphasis on the socio-economic position;
- a man is a person who can be uncertain at times: he needs to confirm his masculinity at every turn.

Taking everything into account, stereotypical beliefs about women and men are characterised by durability and an astonishing lack of susceptibility to changes despite progressing social and cultural changes. The stereotypes of femininity and masculinity are not equivalent to each other. The data prove that the stereotype of masculinity is generally more internally coherent and better assessed – it has more positive undertones. This might be due to the fact that masculinity is a social norm – a man is treated as a prototype of a person, while a woman is perceived as a deviation from this norm, and, therefore, the stereotype of femininity appears to be more negative, unstable, and undefined.

Proceeding further, it is hard to deny the statement that both women and men possess some socially established images of the representatives of a category female and male respectively. Those images are also shaped by the media through a set of common thought patterns, symbols, and language structures, which, in turn, reflects the existing cultural and political ideology related to gender. In the analysed magazines, one can find different types of sex-related expressions, including euphemisms and dysphemisms, profanity, as well as conceptual metaphors and metonymies, which are enormously effective in conveying cognitive-emotional content, because they have a significant impact on the information processing procedure. In this regard, the study conducted in Chapter Four demonstrates that a significant number of sex-related metaphors included in the magazines for men belong to the source domains such as WAR, PUNISHMENT and FIGHT. The American magazines examined in this thesis contain a plethora of figurative expressions coming from the aforementioned domains (battlefield area seems to be the most productive), which should not be astounding, as WAR has always been attributed to men as an act of power and dominance. The other most prolific sources are those of FOOD and ANIMALS, whereas the domains of EXPLOSION, ERUPTION and

PHYSICAL FORCES rank further. What is more, the conceptualisations of sex prevailing in the magazines for men have also their origins in domains such as FIRE, DEATH, SPORT, GAME, WORK, BUSINESS, JOURNEY, PLANTS, DANCE and SUPERNATURAL CREATURES. Some of them clearly depict sex as a disordered, chaotic and violent phenomenon which contributes to discrimination and domination of one side over the other. Others are embedded in cultural contexts, where sex is compared to consumption, gaming, work, and a business deal. Yet some other, less numerous, emphasise the enjoyable aspects of sexual intercourse and focus around emotions and deep feelings. Nonetheless, what all of them have in common is the fact that they are mental structures which influence readers' thinking, often unconsciously. Also, euphemisms that can be detected in the analysed magazines can be perceived as an instrument of ideological framing. Even though one can find some examples with positive associations (e.g. *HER BIG O*, *lovemaking*, *Magic Wand*), there are some others, which have the potential to activate less favourable overtones (e.g. *a sprint to a marathon*, *shaft*, *get nasty*, *screw*). In short, language is a vast reservoir of knowledge about the reality in which a given community exists and a complex of various social experiences accumulated over the centuries. In other words, everything that appears, functions, and is socially significant, becomes imprinted in language. On the other hand, by mastering a given code, an average language user acquires a specific collective approach to the world and an axiological-normative system respected by the members. Thus, metaphors are not only instrumental in terms of self-reflection, prediction and communication, but they also have a cognitive function because they influence the knowledge of oneself and the surrounding reality.

In summary, sexuality is an inalienable attribute of every human being and, therefore, it acquires a special meaning for every individual in everyday life. For this simple reason, it cannot be treated as a purely biological category. It is a complex and multi-level phenomenon, identified also on the psychological and socio-cultural levels, while the understanding of the concept of sex depends on the adopted context. On the one hand, people need sex for the perpetuation of the species, and, on the other – they are entangled in its cultural aspects. Historically, sexual intercourse was confined to the sphere of morality and customs. Moreover, in the ongoing dispute over the nature of sexuality, be it psychological or biological, it is frequently forgotten that the biological body is, among others, an instrument for sexual activities. On the other hand, when thinking about the physiology of sexuality, established over generations stereotypes

effectively defend the view of one's sexuality as an essential element of physiology, where sex is perceived as a physiological activity that can exist without feelings or emotions.

Finally, as mentioned before, the dissertation is of an interdisciplinary nature. In the field of linguistics it belongs to the scope of cognitive semantics; it also represents the genre of gender studies, hence, it can constitute an attractive position not only from the point of view of broadly understood linguistics, but also in relation to everyday life, of which the language of sex is an essential and sometimes indispensable element. What is more, the influence of the media cannot be disregarded here, as it is inevitable and irrefutable. People have the tendency to learn from the various social situations they engage themselves in, but also from the interactions with models and characters encountered in the media such as the Internet, magazines, and television. What is more, stereotyping, which is omnipresent in male press, is a feature of language because it is based on simplification, generalisation and evaluation. Along with numerous prejudices associated with them, stereotypes lead to exacerbation of social conflicts, contribute to unfair treatment of individuals or groups, and their exclusion. Lastly, the analyses included in this study do not exhaust the topic of stereotypical entanglements of women and men in the media, further research will certainly bring many stimulating observations and significant conclusions.

Streszczenie

Niniejsza rozprawa stanowi akademicką refleksję na temat zagadnienia płci w różnych ważnych i często przenikających się obszarach, takich jak język, szeroko rozumiana kultura czy media. Dotyczy ona stereotypów, a w szczególności szkodliwych skutków związanych z ich rozprzestrzenianiem się i ich znaczenia wyłaniającego się z amerykańskich czasopism dla mężczyzn. Zagadnie dotyczące płci zajmuje szczególne miejsce we współczesnej refleksji naukowej, ale jest też dość popularnym w ostatnich czasach tematem społecznym. Celem badań jest nie tylko problematyka seksualności, ale także kwestie dotyczące równości kobiet i mężczyzn, które coraz częściej stają się przedmiotem poważnego medialnego i naukowego dyskursu. Jednak pomimo częstego przywoływania tematu płci w badaniach naukowych związanych z tą dziedziną, wciąż istnieje niewiele wnikliwych i pogłębionych publikacji poświęconych językowi seksu i jego stereotypowym uwikłaniom. Choć z dzisiejszego punktu widzenia postrzeganie ról determinowanych płcią wydaje się anachroniczne z powodu ruchów feministycznych, przemian kulturowych i zwyczajów, które doprowadziły do zmiany ról obojga płci oraz utrwalonego w społeczeństwie wizerunku kobiety i mężczyzny, to jednak w mediach sfera życia seksualnego jest uproszczona. Może to z kolei prowadzić do krzywdzących uogólnień, schematyzmu poznawczego i stereotypów. Warto również podkreślić, że pomimo charakteru pracy, który dotyczy zagadnień językowych, może ona zainteresować także szersze grono odbiorców: przedstawicieli wielu dziedzin nauk humanistycznych i społecznych oraz wszystkich zainteresowanych różnymi aspektami współczesnej kultury. Należy pamiętać, że ludzka seksualność, jej formy, cechy i urzeczywistnienia we wszystkich kulturach świata są mniej lub bardziej objęte tabu, ponieważ są postrzegane jako niebezpieczne, kontrowersyjne, grzeszne, czy niemoralne.

Praca doktorska składa się z czterech rozdziałów. Dwa z nich stanowią podstawę teoretyczną rozprawy, zaś kolejne dwa mają charakter empiryczny. Należy jednak podkreślić, że początkowo celem dysertacji było również zbadanie stosunku rodzimych użytkowników języka angielskiego do problemu seksualności i stopnia ich zaznajomienia z seksizmem językowym. Niemniej jednak, przedsięwzięcie okazało się zbyt wymagające do wykonania w wyznaczonym przedziale czasowym, co zmusiło autorkę do ograniczenia się do dwóch rozdziałów analitycznych.

W rozdziale pierwszym zostało wprowadzonych kilka kluczowych dla językoznawstwa kognitywnego pojęć, takich jak: **kategoryzacja**, **prototyp**, **stereotyp**, **ICM**, **metafora** i **metonimia**, które mogą mieć znaczenie dla części analitycznej. Skupiono się głównie na aspektach językowych, a dokładnie na fakcie, że wspomniane koncepcje mają wpływ na konceptualizację rzeczywistości, co również zostanie uwypuklone w dalszej części dysertacji. Ponadto rozdział pierwszy stanowi pewne refleksje dotyczące tego, że język jest dla ludzi nie tylko środkiem komunikacji, ale również twórczym rezerwuarem. Zawarta w nim z kolei fragmentaryzacja świata przejawia się m.in. w słownictwie i składni.

Rozdział drugi dotyczy wybranych teoretycznych aspektów płci i jej związków z językiem. Uwzględnia również pojęcie **seksu**, **tabu**, **eufemizmu**, a nawet **relatywizmu językowego**, które stanowią kluczowy element niniejszych analiz. Zagadnienie gender istnieje w badaniach lingwistycznych od wielu lat, a w ramach nauk społecznych wyłoniła się również stosunkowo nowa dziedzina – **gender studies** – ukształtowana pod wpływem ruchów feministycznych, która bada różnice kulturowe wynikające z odmienności płci, tj. społeczno-kulturowej tożsamości płciowej.

Głównym celem trzeciego rozdziału jest wprowadzenie do języka mediów, w którym wyraźnie zaznacza się manipulacja będąca istotnym aspektem realizowanych celów badawczych, skupionych wokół opisu magazynów dla mężczyzn, takich jak: „Men's Health", „Maxim", „Playboy" i „Penthouse", które stanowią materiał badawczy. Poprzez analizę dwóch leksemów – ***kobieta*** i ***mężczyzna*** – wyodrębnionych z czasopism publikowanych w amerykańskiej prasie dla mężczyzn, uwzględniono androcentryzm reprodukowany w tekstach i wprowadzono pojęcia takie jak ICM, stereotyp, prototyp czy metonimia w kontekście dyskursu medialnego, razem z przykładami stereotypowej reprezentacji kobiet i mężczyzn zawartej w czasopismach dostępnych na rynku wydawniczym.

Czwarty i zarazem ostatni już rozdział ma charakter ściśle empiryczny i przedstawia metafory i metonimie używane w czasopismach dla mężczyzn, a także eufemistyczne wyrażenia związane z płcią. Zwrócono w nim szczególną uwagę na to, jaki wizerunek kobiety i mężczyzny w sferze seksualnej jest promowany przez prasę, jakie domeny są wykorzystywane w odniesieniu do obu płci oraz jakie są możliwe przyczyny i społeczne konsekwencje takiego stanu rzeczy. Do analizy badawczej wybrano czasopisma dla mężczyzn ze względu na ich popularność i poradnikowy charakter. Stanowią one wgląd w konstrukcję współczesnej męskiej seksualności.

Analiza języka pomaga w odkryciu, w jaki sposób mężczyźni postrzegają dziś seks i rozmawiają o nim, ponieważ dzięki różnym zawoalowanym i jawnym komunikatom język jest potężnym narzędziem do tworzenia norm, postaw i zachowań. Z tego powodu, niniejsza praca będzie próbą dalszego rozwinięcia tematu i skupienia się na warstwie leksykalnej tekstów.

W przekonaniu autorki, podjęty temat jest nie tylko atrakcyjny poznawczo, ale przede wszystkim przydatny w praktyce komunikacyjnej i jednocześnie niełatwy ze względów społeczno-kulturowych, gdyż kwestia seksualności i dyskryminacji płci nadal wywołuje u przeciętnego użytkownika języka ambiwalentne odczucia: od irytacji po całkowite ignorowanie. W związku z tym główne cele rozprawy można sformułować w następujący sposób:

- prezentacja relacji płci we współczesnych magazynach dla mężczyzn;
- ukazanie roli współczesnych mediów i ich wpływu na dostosowanie się do tradycyjnych ideologii;
- zbadanie języka używanego do kodowania różnych aspektów seksu w czasopismach dla mężczyzn, zwłaszcza pod względem nierówności płci i dyskryminacji;
- analiza relacji między językiem a konstruowaniem tożsamości na podstawie metaforycznych konceptualizacji seksu.

Praca ma charakter interdyscyplinarny, ponieważ są w niej zawarte podejścia i teorie z różnych dziedzin badawczych: językoznawstwa, socjolingwistyki, psychologii i dyskursu medialnego. Chociaż do tej pory opublikowano liczne rozprawy (m.in. Kövecses 1986; Hines 1996, 1999; Murphy 2001) na temat metafor związanych z seksem, podjęta tutaj próba wydaje się przedsięwzięciem wypełniającym pewną lukę, ponieważ do tej pory powstało niewiele publikacji na temat metafor występujących w czasopismach dla mężczyzn i wpływu na ich konceptualizację przez czytelników.

Refleksja metodologiczna opiera się na analitycznych narzędziach językoznawstwa kognitywnego, które umożliwiają wykorzystanie koncepcji Wyidealizowanego Modelu Kognitywnego (Idealised Cognitive Model – ICM) postulowanego przez George'a Lakoffa (1987) oraz ramy pojęciowej metafory i metonimii, pierwotnie zaproponowanej przez George'a Lakoffa i Marka Johnsona (1980). W rozdziale trzecim dostrzec można procedurę badawczą polegającą na szczegółowej analizie tekstów źródłowych, której celem jest wyodrębnienie leksemów

kobieta i ***mężczyzna***. Skupiono się również na postulacie, że **ICM KOBIETA** i **ICM MEŻCZYZNA** są modelami metonimicznymi obejmującymi szereg pod-modeli. Z kolei w rozdziale czwartym przyjęto założenie, zgodnie z którym metafora pojęciowa i metonimia są podstawowymi narzędziami konceptualizacji świata. Innymi pracami ważnymi z punktu widzenia niniejszej analizy językowej są te, w których można zaobserwować stanowiska takich badaczy, jak: Kövecses (2002, 2005, 2010, 2015, 2020); Kövecses i Radden (1998); Kardela (2006); Geeraerts (2006, 2010); Geeraerts i Cuyckens (2010); Grady (2007); Taylor (1995); Cienki (2010). Na podstawie informacji zawartych w powyższych propozycjach autorka stwierdza, że istnienie Teorii Metafory Konceptualnej można wykazać we wszystkich analizowanych czasopismach, a jej istotnej właściwości łączenia ludzkiego umysłu z ciałem, ciała z kulturą, języka z kulturą i mózgiem nie można lekceważyć. Warto również zauważyć, że językoznawstwo kognitywne nie zajmuje się wyłącznie badaniem znaczenia samego w sobie, lecz raczej tym, co o naturze ludzkiego systemu pojęciowego możemy się dowiedzieć dzięki analizie języka. Główny nacisk na język jest motywowany założeniem, że sposób w jaki zorganizowany jest język odzwierciedla, przynajmniej częściowo, charakter i organizację systemu pojęciowego; nie oznacza to jednak, że język odzwierciedla system pojęciowy w sposób bezpośredni.

Nie jest wobec tego przypadkiem, że cała treść systemu zbiorowych przekonań na temat kobiet i mężczyzn przybiera formę kulturowych stereotypów. W szerszym kontekście płeć jest składnikiem wiedzy zbiorowej, na którą składają się idee, przekonania religijne, tradycja, wiedza naukowa i język, co w praktyce przekłada się na zasady funkcjonowania instytucji społecznych, a także ekonomicznych, systemów politycznych, czy sfery edukacji. Wszechobecność kategorii płci skłania do przypuszczenia, że podział na kobiety i mężczyzn jest naturalny, niezmienny i trwały, a konsekwencją tego pozornego dualizmu jest wyolbrzymienie istniejących różnic, przeciwstawienie tych dwóch kategorii, a co za tym idzie – percepcja kobiety i mężczyźni jako całkowicie odmiennych indywiduów.

Podążając tym tropem, wiele upowszechnianych przez media wizerunków płci żeńskiej i męskiej utrwala nierealistyczne, stereotypowe i ograniczające wyobrażenia, a przedstawione ICMy w rzeczywistości nie mają skomplikowanej struktury. Przeprowadzona w tym ujęciu analiza pokazuje, że popularne czasopisma, takie jak „Men's Health", „Maxim", „Penthouse" i „Playboy" popularyzują jeden typ mężczyzny oparty głównie na pod-modelach, takich jak **MIŁOŚĆ I SEKS** („Men's Health" – 67

przykładów; „Maxim" – 7 przykładów; „Playboy" – 61 przykładów; „Penthouse" – 116 przykładów; z najbardziej produktywnym aspektem dotyczącym 'technik i zachowań seksualnych'), **CECHY I PROCESY PSYCHOLOGICZNE** („Men's Health" – 143 przykłady; „Maxim" – 24 przykłady; „Playboy" – 99 przykładów; „Penthouse" – 67 przykładów; z najbardziej produktywnymi aspektami dotyczącymi: 'aktywności, zaradności, siły'; 'poczucia wolności, niezależności, emancypacji'; 'przemocy, agresji') oraz **PROCESY I CZYNNOŚCI FIZYCZNE** („Men's Health" – 87 przykładów; „Playboy" – 12 przykładów; „Penthouse" – 32 przykłady), które zyskują przewagę nad innymi i prowadzą do dyskryminujących założeń i uogólnień. W przypadku kobiet najbardziej produktywnymi pod-modelami są: **MIŁOŚĆ I SEKS** („Men's Health" – 79 przykładów; „Maxim" – 9 przykładów; „Playboy" – 81 przykładów; „Penthouse" – 122 przykłady), **ŻYCIE RODZINNE** („Men's Health" – 37 przykładów; „Maxim" – 5 przykładów; „Playboy" – 59 przykładów; „Penthouse" – 45 przykładów), **CECHY I PROCESY PSYCHOLOGICZNE** („Men's Health" – 36 przykładów; „Maxim" – 15 przykładów; „Playboy" – 121 przykładów; „Penthouse" – 109 przykładów) oraz **CECHY FIZYCZNE** („Men's Health" – 32 przykłady; „Maxim" – 24 przykłady; „Playboy" – 47 przykładów; „Penthouse" – 66 przykładów).

Powyższe dane ilustrują składowe stereotypu kobiety, który można podsumować w następujący sposób:

- kobieta jest sługą mężczyzny, zajmując niższą pozycję z perspektywy biologicznej i społecznej;
- kobieta jest uległa i podporządkowana;
- kobieta jest ograniczona do obowiązku rodzenia i wychowywania dzieci;
- kobietę definiuje jej atrakcyjność i uroda;
- kobieta jest godna uwagi, gdy spełnia określone (narzucone) normy społeczne;
- kobieta jest 'indywidualnością' mającą praktyczne zalety;
- kobieta jest osobą rozwiązłą seksualnie, piękną i ponętną, obiektem męskiego pożądania seksualnego;
- kobieta jest osobą irracjonalną, niestabilną, o niskiej samoocenie i skomplikowanej naturze;
- kobieta jest odrębną, złożoną osobowością;

- kobieta jest osobą aktywną, zaradną i samodzielną w różnych dziedzinach życia, w tym w karierze zawodowej.

Z kolei stereotyp mężczyzny składa się z następujących elementów:

- mężczyzna to osoba polegająca na własnych siłach, ma większą pewność siebie, wykazuje skłonność do rywalizacji i agresji;
- mężczyzna to jednostka stawiająca czoła wyzwaniom, aktywna, zdeterminowana, konsekwentna;
- mężczyzna to typowy macho: jest chłodny emocjonalnie i niedostępny;
- mężczyzna to osoba dbająca o wygląd;
- mężczyzna jest agresywny, dominujący, rozwiązły seksualnie;
- mężczyzna prowadzi hedonistyczny tryb życia z krótkotrwałymi znajomościami, aktywny w sferze seksualnej;
- mężczyzna kładzie nacisk na pozycję społeczno-ekonomiczną;
- mężczyzna to osoba niepewna: musi na każdym kroku potwierdzać swoją męskość.

Na podstawie powyższych informacji można stwierdzić, że stereotypowe przekonania o kobietach i mężczyznach charakteryzują się trwałością i zadziwiającym brakiem podatności na zmiany pomimo postępujących zmian społecznych i kulturowych. Stereotypy kobiecości i męskości nie są sobie równe. Dane dowodzą, że stereotyp męskości jest bardziej spójny wewnętrznie i lepiej oceniany – ma bardziej pozytywne skojarzenia. Może to wynikać z faktu, że męskość jest normą społeczną – mężczyzna traktowany jest jako prototyp, natomiast kobieta odbierana jest jako odstępstwo od tej normy, w związku z czym, stereotyp kobiecości jawi się jako bardziej negatywny, niestabilny i niezdefiniowany.

Trudno również zaprzeczyć twierdzeniu, że zarówno kobiety, jak i mężczyźni posiadają pewne ugruntowane społecznie wizerunki przedstawicieli danej kategorii (a więc odpowiednio kobiet i mężczyzn). Obrazy te są również kształtowane przez media poprzez zbiór wspólnych schematów myślowych, symboli i struktur językowych, co z kolei odzwierciedla istniejącą ideologię kulturową i polityczną związaną z płcią. W analizowanych czasopismach można odnaleźć różne typy wyrażeń związanych z seksem, w tym eufemizmy i dysfemizmy, wulgaryzmy, a także metafory pojęciowe i metonimie, które są skutecznym środkiem przekazywania treści poznawczo-emocjonalnych, ponieważ posiadają wyraźny wpływ na proces przetwarzania informacji. W związku z

tym, z Rozdziału Czwartego wynika, że wiele metafor związanych z seksem zawartych w czasopismach dla mężczyzn należy do dziedzin źródłowych, takich jak WOJNA, KARA i WALKA. Amerykańskie magazyny zawierają wiele wyrażeń figuratywnych pochodzących z wyżej wymienionych dziedzin (najbardziej produktywny wydaje się obszar pola bitwy), co nie powinno być zaskakujące, gdyż WOJNA zawsze przypisywana była mężczyznom jako akt władzy i dominacji. Drugie, najbardziej obszerne źródło wyrażeń figuratywnych to domeny ŻYWNOŚĆ i ZWIERZĘTA, podczas gdy domeny takie jak EKSPLOZJA, ERUPCJA i SIŁY FIZYCZNE znajdują się na trzeciej pozycji. Co więcej, konceptualizacja seksu istniejąca w magazynach dla mężczyzn ma swoje korzenie także w takich dziedzinach jak OGIEŃ, ŚMIERĆ, SPORT, GRY, PRACA, BIZNES, PODRÓŻ, ROŚLINY, TANIEC czy STWORZENIA NADPRZYRODZONE. Niektóre z nich przedstawiają seks jako nieuporządkowane, chaotyczne i brutalne zjawisko, które przyczynia się do dyskryminacji i dominacji jednej strony nad drugą. Inne są osadzone w kontekstach kulturowych, w których seks porównuje się do konsumpcji, gier, pracy i umowy biznesowej. Jeszcze inne, najmniej liczne, podkreślają przyjemne aspekty stosunku płciowego i koncentrują się na emocjach i głębokich uczuciach. Niemniej jednak, to, co łączy wszystkie domeny to fakt, że są to struktury mentalne, które często nieświadomie wpływają na myślenie czytelników. Również eufemizmy, wyekscerpowane z analizowanych czasopism, mogą być postrzegane jako narzędzia nakładające ramy ideologiczne. Choć można wyodrębnić przykłady o pozytywnych skojarzeniach (np. *HER BIG O* ‘jej wielki O’, *lovemaking* ‘kochanie się’, *Magic Wand* ‘magiczna różdżka’), to istnieją również inne, które mają potencjał do aktywowania mniej korzystnych asocjacji (np. *a sprint to a marathon* ‘maratoński sprint’, *shaft* ‘wał, trzonek, dyszel’, *get nasty* ‘zrobić się nieprzyjemnym, agresywnym’, *screw* ‘pieprzyć się’). Krótko mówiąc, język stanowi olbrzymi zasób wiedzy o rzeczywistości, w której egzystuje dana społeczność, zespół różnorodnych doświadczeń społecznych nagromadzonych na przestrzeni wieków. Wszystko, co się pojawia, funkcjonuje i ma znaczenie społeczne, zostaje odzwierciedlone w języku. Z drugiej zaś strony, przeciętny użytkownik języka, po opanowaniu danego kodu, uzyskuje określony system aksjologiczno-normatywny reprezentowany przez jego członków. W związku z tym metafory pełnią nie tylko funkcję instrumentalną w zakresie autorefleksji, przewidywania i komunikacji, ale reprezentują także funkcję poznawczą, ponieważ wpływają na wiedzę o sobie i otaczającej rzeczywistości.

Podsumowując, seks jest nieodłącznym atrybutem każdego człowieka i dlatego nabiera szczególnego znaczenia w życiu codziennym. Z tego powodu nie można go traktować jako kategorii czysto biologicznej. Jest to zjawisko złożone i wielopoziomowe, identyfikowane także na poziomie psychologicznym i społeczno-kulturowym, a rozumienie pojęcia ***seks*** zależy od przyjętego kontekstu. Ludzie potrzebują współżycia seksualnego dla przedłużenia ludzkiego gatunku, ale są również uwikłani w jego kulturowe aspekty. Z perspektywy historycznej, stosunek płciowy ograniczał się do sfery moralności i obyczajów. Ponadto w toczącym się sporze dotyczącym natury seksualności, zarówno psychologicznej, jak również biologicznej, często zapomina się, że ciało biologiczne jest, między innymi, narzędziem czynności seksualnych. Zaś z punktu widzenia fizjologii seksualności, utrwalane przez pokolenia stereotypy skutecznie bronią poglądu o seksualności jako o istotnym elemencie fizjologii, gdzie seks bywa postrzegany jako czynność popędowa, która może istnieć bez uczuć i emocji.

Warto również podkreślić, że, jak wspomniano wcześniej, praca ma charakter interdyscyplinarny. Z perspektywy językoznawstwa należy do semantyki kognitywnej; zalicza się również do gatunku gender studies, dlatego może stanowić atrakcyjną pozycję nie tylko z punktu widzenia szeroko rozumianego językoznawstwa, ale także w odniesieniu do życia codziennego, w którym język płci jest istotnym, a niekiedy niezbędnym elementem. Co więcej, nie można tu pominąć mediów, których wpływ na analizowane zjawisko jest nieunikniony i niepodważalny. Ludzie mają tendencję do czerpania wiedzy z różnych sytuacji społecznych, w które się angażują, ale także z interakcji z modelami i postaciami spotykanymi w mediach, takich jak Internet, czasopisma czy telewizja. Co więcej, stereotypizacja, która jest wszechobecna w prasie dla mężczyzn, jest również cechą języka, ponieważ bazuje na upraszczaniu, uogólnianiu i ocenianiu. Ponadto, stereotypy prowadzą do zaostrzania konfliktów społecznych, przyczyniają się do niesprawiedliwego traktowania jednostek lub grup oraz ich wykluczania. Niniejsza rozprawa doktorska stanowi pewien wkład w badania nad stereotypami, ale nie wyczerpuje tematu, dlatego dalsze zorientowane w tym kierunku badania z pewnością przyniosą wiele ciekawych obserwacji i pozwolą na wyciągnięcie istotnych wniosków.

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