

Conceptual Metaphor “WOMEN ARE ANIMALS” In 20th-century Vietnamese Literature

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ABSTRACT

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From the perspective of Cognitive Linguistics, the paper analyzes the conceptual metaphor WOMEN ARE ANIMALS in 20th-century Vietnamese literary works. The theoretical framework for this study includes the Conceptual Metaphor Theory of Lakoff and Johnson (1980), the Great Chain of Being model of Lakoff and Turner (1989), and the Metaphor Identification Procedure of Pragglejaz Group (2007). Through a survey of 50 short stories and novels written by famous Vietnamese authors, 6 low-level metaphors as well as the mapping mechanism from the source domain to the target domain, is discovered and explained. The findings reveal that women are mainly portrayed as wild animals, livestock, pets, or birds. Metaphorical linguistic expressions, then, convey a biased view towards the low and inferior role and position of women in the family and society. Negative ideological values in the representation of women are explored to show that women are considered to be small, weak, dependent on men, and serve as their recreation. Vietnamese people's thinking and cultural characteristics are also reflected in this metaphor.

Introduction

The classic book "Metaphors we live by" by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) has changed the scientific views about the language of many linguists around the world and paved the way for a new research tendency. From a cognitive linguistics perspective, metaphor becomes an important key to helping people understand and comprehend the foundations of thinking and perceiving mental symbols about the world.

The representation of women as animals is a very interesting topic from a cognitive and cultural viewpoint. As animals are an essential part of our world, they are, of course, a suitable source domain in the conceptualization and construction of metaphors related to women. This research is based on the theory of conceptual metaphors to explore and analyze subtypes of conceptual metaphor WOMEN ARE ANIMALS as well as the underlying meanings generated through these metaphors.

Literature review

Conceptual Metaphor Theory

Conceptual Metaphor Theory started with “Metaphors we live by” by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) – a book that is considered as the backbone of a great deal of research on metaphors afterward. The two men recognized and studied metaphors through the field of experience. They believed that metaphor is a cognitive phenomenon rather than a linguistic phenomenon and that metaphorical expressions encountered in language are the reflections of metaphors that exist at conceptual levels. Thus, the nature and function of cognitive linguistics in general and conceptual metaphor, in particular, is the study of how people perceive and assess the world through the lens of language and national culture (Lakoff, 1986; Kövecses, 2000, 2002, 2005)

From the viewpoint of cognitive linguistics, conceptual metaphor is a cognitive mechanism in which the logic of more concrete concepts replaces the logic of abstract concepts. The cognitive mechanism of conceptual metaphor involves two conceptual domains, the source domain and the target domain. In other words, conceptual metaphor means understanding one concept in terms of another conceptual domain: DOMAIN A IS DOMAIN B. Conceptual metaphor is a "transfer" or a "mapping" of structure and internal relations of a domain or cognitive model ("source") to another domain or cognitive model ("target") (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p.25). The mapping mechanism works as follows: the elements of the source domain are mapped onto the elements of the target domain so that the target domain can be comprehended through the source domain based on a set of mappings. To understand a conceptual metaphor is to know this set of mappings that applies to a given source-target pairing.

The Great Chain of Being

According to Lakoff and Turner (1989), The Great Chain of Being (referred to as the Great Chain) is a cultural model that describes the relationship between kinds of beings and their properties. The properties associated with them are hierarchically arranged from “high” to “low” vertically. The hierarchy is arranged as follows: Humans – Animals – Plants – Complex objects – Natural physical things.

According to Kövecses, the Great Chain is a metaphorical system that explains "how objects, or things, in the world, are conceptualized metaphorically" (2002, p.151). This system becomes a metaphorical system only when a particular level of the chain is used to understand another level. This understanding can be accomplished in two ways: a higher source level can represent a lower target, or vice versa (Kövecses, 2002, p.154; López-Rodríguez, 2007, p.19).

Related Studies

The conceptual metaphor WOMEN ARE ANIMALS is explored in a number of overseas and Vietnamese studies (Zhou, 2007; Ahmed, 2018; Barasa & Opande, 2017; Takada, Shinohara, Morizumi and Sato, 2000; Turpín, 2014; López-Rodríguez, 2009; Tarkela, 2016; Chin, 2009; Luong, 2016; Le, 2017). A group of researchers, including Takada, Shinohara, Morizumi, and Sato (2000) conclude that women are conceptualized as butterflies, birds, and pet animals. They also find

out mapping gaps in the metaphor WOMEN ARE ANIMALS: 1. Not all kinds of animals are used for women. Wild and/ or large animals such as wolves, bears, and others are not activated to describe women. 2. Not all properties of animals are actually mapped. Salient properties of animals, such as four legs, tails, beaks, wings, etc., are not involved in the mapping of this metaphor. It is pointed out that metaphors referring to men and women have asymmetrical mapping systems.

The research done by López-Rodríguez (2009) shows that through the images of pets, livestock and animals, women are described as in dire need of subjugation, tight control, and domestication. The same conclusion is drawn in the study conducted by Turpín (2014). Three main groups of animals that are employed to depict women in conceptual metaphor WOMEN ARE ANIMALS, including pets, farmyard, and wild animals. The metaphor conveys ideological values that are generally negative in representing women's behavior and beauty. First, understanding women as pets implies the idea of subjugation, domesticity, and weaker sex. Second, the categorization of farmyard animals provides a sense of edibility and servitude. Third, through the conceptualization of wild animals, women are seen as dangerous and menacing. By the same token, Barasa and Opande (2017) demonstrate that whether in the form of pets, livestock or wild animals, women are perceived as inferior to and dependent on men. Because of social prejudices, women are marginalized and discriminated in terms of decision-making, policy formulation, resource distribution, and political participation.

Luong (2016) discovers in her study that of the 5 structural metaphors surveyed, the metaphor WOMEN ARE ANIMALS is utilized with the greatest number of metaphorical expressions. The author finds 6 sub-categories based on animals' habitats and their relationships with humans, including pets, livestock, birds, insects, wild animals, and aquatic animals. Based on the mapping structure of this metaphor, three subtypes are found: the appearance of women is the appearance of animals, activities of women are activities of animals, and activities with women are activities with animals.

Compared with foreign studies on conceptual metaphor WOMEN ARE ANIMALS, the number of studies carried out in Vietnam is still limited. Up to the present time, there has not been any research that deeply analyzes conceptual metaphor WOMEN ARE ANIMALS in 20th-century Vietnamese literary works written by different authors rather than one specific writer. This study's research gap is to supplement and strengthen the cognitive view of metaphors in general and conceptual metaphors in WOMEN ARE ANIMALS in particular.

This research is significant in clarifying the relationship between metaphors in language, culture, and thinking, thereby confirming the development of this modern linguistic theory. The study helps to identify how women are viewed through 20th-century literary works, hence reflecting their position and role in society. Typical cultural and social features of the Vietnamese community are revealed, which has contributed to enriching cultural values and national thinking in cognitive linguistics studies up to now. The study results are expected to enable language teachers or learners to understand better the language, especially metaphors used in literature.

Research Questions

The research aims to answer the following questions

1. What are low-level metaphors of conceptual metaphor WOMEN ARE ANIMALS in 20th-century Vietnamese literature?
2. What meanings are conveyed through the use of these conceptual metaphors?

Methodology

Methods

According to Lakoff and Johnson's Theory of Conceptual Metaphor (1980), the research approaches cognitive linguistics to identify the conceptual metaphor WOMEN ARE ANIMALS in 20th-century Vietnamese literature.

The study uses the following methods: Discourse analysis method: used to analyze literary discourses to identify the conceptual metaphor WOMEN ARE ANIMALS; Descriptive method: used to describe examples, mapping structure of the conceptual metaphor WOMEN ARE ANIMALS as evidence; Conceptual metaphor analysis method: used to identify metaphorically used words and metaphorical expressions.

Data collection & analysis

The data collected derive from 50 Vietnamese novels and short stories written by Vietnamese writers in the 20th century. These literary works are available on reliable websites or in printed books.

The Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP) proposed by the Pragglejaz group (researchers) is adopted. This process consists of 4 steps and is specifically applied to the corpus of this study as follows: 1. Read the entire literary work to understand the general idea of the literary work. 2. Identify lexical units used in literary works. 3. (a). Determine *contextual meaning*: Analyze the surrounding words of each lexical unit to determine its context meaning. (b). Determine *basic meaning*: The basic meaning has the following properties: More concrete; More precise; Historically older, etc. (c). Compare the contextual and basic meanings to determine the *conflict of meaning*. 4. If there is a conflict of meaning, mark the lexical unit as metaphorical. (Pragglejaz Group, 2007, p. 3) (cited in Kövecses, 2002, p.5)

After identifying the metaphorically used words, the researcher identifies typical attributes of the source domain ANIMALS, determines the corresponding attributes that are activated in the cognitive framework, and classifies and labels types of low-level conceptual metaphors.

Findings and Discussion

According to the Vietnamese Dictionary edited by Hoang (2010), a human is "the most evolved animal, capable of speaking, thinking, creating and using tools in the process of social work" (p.898). Furthermore, the Great Chain provides a distinction between man and animals, which states that man is of a higher level than animals. As a result, the metaphor

WOMEN ARE ANIMALS is formed under the consideration that humans are not animals like lions, dogs, birds, etc. “Animals” is a very common source domain (Kövecses, 2010) and the metaphor WOMEN ARE ANIMALS probably appears frequently in the Vietnamese language because animals are so closely associated with human life and man is a superior animal. The total number of metaphorical expressions used to describe the metaphor WOMEN ARE ANIMALS is calculated directly on the corpus because one metaphorical expression can convey different low-level metaphors.

For the metaphor WOMEN ARE ANIMALS, the Great Chain operates unconsciously (Lakoff & Turner, 1989). The Great Chain helps us to understand human attributes based on those of other species and vice versa (Lakoff & Turner, 1989, p.172). Lakoff and Turner, and Kövecses share the same view on how to understand human character traits based on animal attributes. That is, animals must first be personified, then human attributes are mapped onto animals and mapped back onto humans to help understand humans (Lakoff & Turner, 1989, p.196); Kövecses (2010, p.125, p.153).

Table 1. Low-level metaphors of conceptual metaphor WOMEN ARE ANIMALS

Attributes	Metaphorically used words	Frequency	Total number of metaphorical expressions
Types of animals	46	75	191
Body parts of animals	15	24	
Features of animals	18	28	
Activities of animals	43	66	
Activities with animals	17	28	
Places of animals	2	3	
Total	141	224	

This metaphor is found in 191 metaphorical expressions with the adoption of 141 metaphorically used words with 224 occurrences. Based on attributes of the source domain, six mappings of the metaphor are identified as shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Mapping structure of conceptual metaphor WOMEN ARE ANIMALS

SOURCE: ANIMALS	Mapped onto	TARGET: WOMEN
Types of animals	→	Kinds of women
Body parts of animals	→	Body parts of women
Properties of animals	→	Characteristics of women
Activities of animals	→	Activities of women
Activities with animals	→	Activities with women
Places of animals	→	Places of women

This metaphor has 6 sub-class metaphors described as follows.

The first low-level metaphor is KINDS OF WOMEN ARE TYPES OF ANIMALS. 46 linguistic items are used 75 times to indicate types of animals and project them onto the target domain, hence helping readers better understand the kinds of women mentioned in literary works. 10 groups of animals are found with the number of linguistic items respectively,

including General group (4), Wild animals (5), Domestic animals (poultry, cattle) (11), Pets (dogs, cats) (5), Birds (10), Insects (vermin) (3), Reptiles and worms (4), Aquatic animals (2), Rodents (1), Imaginary animals (1).

The metaphor KINDS OF WOMEN ARE TYPES OF ANIMALS mainly focuses on four groups: pets, domestic animals, wild animals, and birds. The metaphorical expressions associated with these four groups of animals exhibit negative ideological values in describing women's behaviors and thereby degrading their values.

(i) Wild animals do not depend on humans for survival, nor do they need humans to feed, provide shelter and protect them. Wild animals survive on their own and often pose a threat to humans. Therefore, when using images of wild animals to describe women, the authors want to emphasize the fierceness, ferocity, or rebelliousness of women.

When conceived as wild animals such as tigers, lions, and chimpanzees, women turn out to have power, beyond the control of men. Powerful, fierce women are tigers and lions because these two animals are known as the king of the jungle with their strength, ferocity, and agility. Formidable women who cannot control their anger are chimpanzees. Thus, animals' attributes of being wild, accustomed to living in a free environment, and out of human control are transferred to women. For example:

(1) Tuy đã là hổ – hoặc sư tử – mà nay về già rồi, bà Đội Tứ của tôi cũng không bao giờ muốn than như vậy. (Vu, 1934)

(2) Hoặc anh ấy gầm lên như hổ đói. Hoặc tôi gào thét, đấm ngực thùm thụp như lũ tinh tinh. Nhưng rốt cuộc cả cộp lẫn *tinhtinhtinh* đều xếp lép con tức giận để ngẩn ra nhìn nhau tội nghiệp. (Pham, 1998, p.254)

(ii) Pets are close and intimate animals that have frequent interactions with humans, which is the empirical basis for the conceptualization process. Pets are raised to be friends and to meet human needs for entertainment. A typical representative of the pet is the dog (López-Rodríguez, 2007, 2009; Turpín, 2014). Dogs are close to humans due to their loyalty, but this noble characteristic does not hold up and then is hidden in the process of mapping onto women. This reflects the partiality as mentioned above of metaphorical mapping (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). When conceptualized as *chó* (dogs) or *chó cái* (bitches), women are assigned negative attributes such as filth and promiscuous intercourse as in example (3). It can be said that this is a common conceptualization that is widely shared in many different cultures.

(3) Đồ đĩ dại! Đồ nhà thô! Đồ chó! (Vu, 1936)

(4) Cái giống mèo mả nhà mày! (Vo, 1993, p.176)

Another kind of pet is the cat which shares many features with women, including small size, frailty, softness, need for being taken care of, and winning affection from owners. However, when compared with *mèo mả* (grave cats), the conceptualization of women correlates with the concept of SEX, depicting women who have an illegitimate relationship with men, also known as extramarital relationships as *mèo mả* (grave cats) - feral cats that wander in the graveyard. According to Partridge (1993), this metaphor probably takes its roots from the fact

that cats are nocturnal animals typically associated with the night. Hence, the association with prostitution might be established.

When conceived as pets that are kept for entertainment purposes, women become sexual objects, satisfying the entertainment needs of men. The description of women as pets (dogs, cats) shows that women are subdued and in need of men's protection, hence only staying at home to do housework. When compared to pets, women are seen as the weaker sex and inferior to men.

(iii) Women are also likened to cattle and poultry such as buffaloes, cows, pigs, chickens, horses, and donkeys with two important characteristics: being a source of food and traction to serve people in farm work and in transportation. Knowledge in this agrarian tradition provides mappings to understand women's servitude, being hard-working, and resignation. Therefore, women, according to the Eastern view, are those who are exploited for their labor, health, and youth for the sake of their families, husbands, and children. For example, women who reproduce a lot are sensed as *lợn nái*, *lợn sề* (sows), *cái mái đẻ* (hen) in terms of fertility as these animals are responsible for supplying meat and eggs for the household; those who work hard and enthusiastically as *trâu cày* (buffaloes), those who love her children, take great care of them, and are willing to "ruffle her feathers" to protect her children as *con gà mái* (hen); those who are stubborn in a foolish way and only obey when forced violently as *con lừa* (donkey); those who are innocent newcomers in a prostitution ring as *con bò lạc* (straying cows) that are bewildered and easily deceived and manipulated by others when getting lost in a strange land; lustful women as *ngựa cuồng khẩu* (crazy horses).

(4) Trời ơi, dễ như thế thì có khác gì *con lợn nái*? (Khai & Nhat, 1934, p.69)

(5) Thật quá *trâu cày*! – Đã giải quyết xong công việc ở ngoài phòng thường trực, bà trưởng phòng quay vào, đi đến bàn Phụng, làu bàu. (Ma, 1985)

(iv) Bird names are harnessed to facilitate a better understanding of different types of women. Metaphorically used words include *chim nhạn* (terns), *chim yến* (swiftlets), *chim vàng anh* (golden birds), *chim hoạ mi* (nightingales), etc. Small size, youth, domesticity and entertainment of these birds set the ground for the construction of these metaphors. These semantic units convey positive connotations to indicate endearment. This meaning derives from the amorous disposition of birds and also from the folk tradition that considers birds as symbols of love (Talebinejad & Dastjerdi, 2005). The same is true when contemplating the properties of a bird for a woman to refer to a woman whose life is dependent and who just spins around the house like a bird kept in a cage. For example:

(6) Bà khác hẳn chồng (...) cao ngồng và mảnh khảnh, chứ không tròn trĩnh, vai u, thịt bấp như ông chồng. Nếu ông chồng là một con gấu thì bà chính là một *con cò ruồi*. (Nam, 1944, p.524)

Tall, slender women are perceived as *con cò ruồi* (hummingbirds) as in example (6). Besides, women are viewed as *chim hoạ mi* - small nightingales that are raised in a cage, dependent on and become entertainment for the owner.

In addition, based on the typical features of each animal in the remaining groups, women are

associated with certain types of animals. Cruel, cynical women are manifested as *rắn độc* (poisonous snakes) that are ready to sting other people with deadly venom, those with low status, easily bullied and intimidated by others as *con sâu, cái kiến* (worms and ants), those who are sluggish as *rùa* (turtles); those who appear soft and courteous but in fact very stubborn as *mặt sứa gan lim* (a jellyfish face and an ironwood liver) by virtue of contrasting characteristics of two kinds of animals and plants: jellyfish are animals with a soft body while ironwood is a kind of hard, heavy, strong wood that is not susceptible to termites and not affected by the natural environment.

(7) Sao chị mặt sứa gan lim thế? (Nguyen, 1937)

(8) Trong gia đình này, năm mẹ con thường giống như một bọn dân hèn yếu cùng chung phận con sâu, cái kiến dưới cái ách một ông bạo chúa. (Nam, 1942, p.104)

The second metaphor is BODY PARTS OF WOMEN ARE BODY PARTS OF ANIMALS with 16 lexical items and 25 occurrences. Although a woman's body part is not an abstract concept, on the contrary, it is very specific and clear, the image mapping mechanism is still implemented for this metaphor to help literary discourse become rich and diverse. For example:

(9) Thăng Công rõ khéo chọn vợ, mắt đen lay láy thắt đáy lưng ong, da đỏ hồng hồng. (Duong, 1991, p.29)

Bull-headed women are stubborn, sassy, and difficult to teach. Some writers have subtly mapped the rim of *con giải* - a freshwater turtle with a wide mouth that hangs down - onto women's body parts to disparage women with wide mouths, lowered edges, and thin lips as they are considered to be pretentious and talkative. Images of some animal body parts are mapped onto images of beautiful women, for example, *mắt bồ câu* (pigeon eyes), *thắt đáy lưng ong* (bee waists) refer to beautiful, big, round eyes, women's small waist respectively. This metaphor is also charged with negative meanings through the adoption of lexical items such as *nanh nọc* (venomous fangs of snakes), *chân chim* (bird's feet) referring to fierce, malicious women, and wrinkles at the corners of the eyes, respectively.

The third metaphor is FEATURES AND CHARACTERISTICS OF WOMEN ARE PROPERTIES AND ATTRIBUTES OF ANIMALS. 18 metaphorically used words are harnessed 28 times in the construction of this metaphor. Typical features of animals include appearance, gait, and sounds. For example:

(10) Bên kia, có lẽ vì mụ giẫy cái yếm xẹo xọ để trật ra cái sườn nây nây. (Nam, 1941)

(11) Người ta nuôi mãi, bây giờ mới tron lông đỏ da một tí, đã phải đến mà giờ què. Tưởng bấu ngọc lăm đấy! (Nam, 1943a, p.36)

In example (11), *nây* refers to the squishy pork belly, when magnetized and reiterated to form the word *nây nây*, vividly depicts a women's plump, somewhat squishy waist. With the phrase *tron lông đỏ da*, the animal's physical features are projected into beautiful, fat women. Contrary to this image is a negative one *sẻ* in association with pigs which breed many times. Readers can imagine images of women who have been pregnant many times, and their body is no longer neat and stocky.

Animal gait is also used to describe women. For instance, *lạch bạch* (*waddling*) suggests a slow, heavy walk on the soft ground. For example:

(12) Rồi cầm con mực, thím *lạch bạch* đi vào bếp. (Anh, 1966)

Regarding the sounds made by animals, a number of lexical items such as *thánh thót* (squeaking), *lảnh lót*, *riú ran*, *lanh lảnh*, *riú rít* (chirping) are exploited to describe cute sounds and voices of women.

(13) Còn cô vợ của người đàn ông nàycất tiếng *thánh thót*. (Ma, 1985)

Animals with enough horns and birds with enough beaks (*đu sừng*, *đu mỏ*) are grown-up animals. This knowledge gives rise to a metaphorical understanding of women who have experience in doing business and trading. In addition, some animal properties are also mapped onto women's personalities such as *hung dữ* (aggressive), *trinh ranh*, *giảo hoạt* (cunning), which makes everyone want to stay away as illustrated in example (11).

(14) Chàng chỉ nhận thấy Tuyết là một người đáng ghê sợ, một *con vật hung dữ* đáng lánh xa. (Khai & Nhat, 1934, p.60)

(15) Người ta liệt nó vào hạng còn ít tuổi nhưng đã thừa sành sỏi. Nó biết mua, biết bán, biết chần ba, nhặt nhanh, mà lại *đu sừng*, *đu mỏ*. (Nam, 1943b, p.198)

Fourth, the metaphor ACTIVITIES OF WOMEN ARE ACTIVITIES OF ANIMALS is understood based on the use of a wide variety of linguistic items (43 lexical items and 66 occurrences) such as: *xoè cánh* (spread wings), *nằm ổ* (lie in the nest), *châm chích* (sting), *sổ lồng cũi* (get out of the cage), *gầm*, *rống* (roar), etc. For example:

(16) Thế rồi lại còn *động cõn* đánh đôi đánh lứa với con sen nhà bà Phán, (Nam, 1944, p.546)

(17) Chẳng thế mà mỗi lần đi ra xa một tý, cô Hoàn *gầm* lên một tiếng "sê ghi" mà chậm lại, là cô nhỏ tiếng ta chửi thổng cho một hồi. (Ngo)

(18) Cái cảnh địa ngục này, thật vậy, cũng đã là rất bõ cho em vin có *sổ lồng cũi* mà đi. (Vu, 1936b. p.151)

According to the Great Chain of Being, wild animals are often big, stronger than animals in other groups, and live in a free environment, so they are untamed and difficult to control. They are classified into the dominant group, having a higher level than other animal groups. When mapped onto the target domain WOMEN, the behaviors of wild animals showing their fierce, aggressiveness, and difficult-to-control behavior provide metaphorical meaning that women are also menacing, that is, dangerous.

Many activities of wild animals such as *gầm* (roar), *gầm thét*, *rí* (howl), *rống*, *lồng lên*, *xé xác* (tear apart), *gào thét*, *quào* (squeal), *ăn thịt (lẫn nhau)* (cannibalize (each other)), *cắt rứt* (gnaw), etc. are harnessed to depict women who lose their inherent femininity and seem to be strong, fierce, threatening, formidable, difficult to control the anger. Women with high sexual needs are perceived through the action *động cõn* (rut) of animals which expresses physiology strongly stimulated by sexual demands (Hoang, 2010, p.451). Example (16) conveys the disparaging attitude of the speaker with a negative nuance of description.

A popular ornamental animal, the bird, is often assigned to women to emphasize that their family life is too cramped, confined, and unhappy with the use of the lexical item *sổ lồng cũi*. Thus, it can be seen that via the image of ornamental birds, women appear pitiful with their desire to be free and to live their life for themselves.

Some behaviors and actions of pets, poultry, and livestock, such as *nằm ổ* (lie in the nest), *ngoe nguẩy* (wiggle), *cong đuôi* (curl tails), etc. also become familiar in the discourse of the Vietnamese community when describing women's actions. *Nằm ổ* (lie in the nest) describes those who are in confinement. After giving birth, they must abstain from a lot of things, stay at home and are not allowed to go out. *Ngoe nguẩy* (wiggle), describing tail-wagging movements of certain animals such as dogs and fish is exploited to indicate women's soft, gentle back-and-forth movements. Another action related to *đuôi* - the tail of an animal is *cong đuôi* (curl tails) which has a negative meaning referring to ungrateful women who forget the merits of the person who saves them immediately after escaping from trouble. This metaphorical meaning arises from the sense that after escaping from the chain, animals curl their tails and run away.

In all, when perceiving women's life, writers have applied typical attributes of animal behavior to structure the concept of female activities in a vivid way. In addition, some verbs indicating animal activities such as *rống* (roar), *lõng lên* (crouch), *nằm ổ* (lying in the nest), etc. are utilized to refer to common human activities in daily life, showing a very strong mapping mechanism, and also affirming that the conceptual metaphor is a part of life, used by very ordinary people as stated by Lakoff and Johnson (1980).

The fifth metaphor is ACTIVITIES WITH WOMEN ARE ACTIVITIES WITH ANIMALS. The knowledge about the activities of others with animals helps writers to portray the image and status of women under the influence of other people. This metaphor is demonstrated through the use of 17 lexical units with 28 occurrences. Activities with the group of livestock and pets like buffaloes, cows, donkeys, horses, dogs, etc. are the most popular with a great number of metaphorically used words such as *nhốt* (confine), *nuôi/ nuôi con* (rear), *thắt* (bridle), *thả lỏng* (slack the reins), *cưỡi* (ride), *xỏ chạc* (run a bamboo plaited cord through a buffalo's nose), *rẽ dây cương* (turn the reins), *lùa* (herd), *dồn, xích* (chain), *hành hạ* (torment), etc. once again affirming that women are exploited and treated as animals, dominated and controlled by men. Like pets or livestock, poultry, women just hang around in or around the house and are under the control of men. They are raised (*được nuôi*), chained (*bị xích*), tortured (*bị hành hạ*), if they are disobedient, a bamboo plaited cord is run through their nose (*bị xỏ chạc*), etc. Women must submit to the man and only have some freedom if the men slack the reins (*thả lỏng*), turn the reins (*rẽ dây cương*) hay (*lơi lỏng*), etc.

(19) Anh chồng không đủ sức chu toàn, đành thở dài, *rẽ dây cương*... (Nam, 1944, p.565)

(20) Nhưng con vẫn nhìn cô bác sĩ với ánh mắt của con thú dữ bị *xích*. (Y, 1989)

The metaphor ACTIVITIES WITH WOMEN ARE ACTIVITIES WITH ANIMALS can be associated with the metaphor SEX IS RIDING (Chamizo & Sánchez, 2000, cited in López-Rodríguez, 2009) in terms of the image of cattle ridden by humans evoking the image of mounting or getting up on a coital partner which portrays the man in the role of the rider that

mounts or rides the woman. As a result, women are under the control of men, and at the same time have to serve their sexual needs.

The last metaphor is PLACES OF WOMEN ARE PLACES OF ANIMALS with 2 linguistic items: ổ (nest), and chuồng (cage) appearing 3 times.

(21) Bà nội này nãy giờ bộ lên chuồng ngủ rồi sao chứ? (Anh, 1966)

A cage is “a place that is fenced off on four sides to keep or raise animals” (Hoang, 2010, p.249). Thus, example (21) is a humorous way of saying, likening the woman's place to a pet's cage.

Discussion

Regarding *the mapping*, the metaphor WOMEN ARE ANIMALS has a rather rich mapping mechanism. Women are perceived based on the aspects: of animals' types, body parts, characteristics, activities, activities with animals, and places of animals. In addition, in this metaphor, characteristics such as instinctive, functional, and typical behaviors are highlighted, while the woman's rationality is obscured, as stated by López-Rodríguez (2007, p.20). This claims to highlight or hide the metaphorical mapping as mentioned in the previous part.

Regarding *cultural features*, women are often conceptualized as four main types of animals, including wild animals, pets, domestic animals, and birds. This conceptualization shows a biased view of the role and position of women indicating that women are small, weak, dependent on men, and only have to stay at home to take care of children and do housework. Women are also treated as pets with the task of entertaining men. In the male-female relationship, women are also assigned a passive role, subject to the control of men. However, if women do not follow these traditional values, they are seen as wild animals which lose control and become aggressive, hence being condemned.

The use of this metaphor enables us to conceive of women as inferior to men. This reflects Turpín's (2014) statement that "the mapping of common animal metaphors used in the conceptualization of women may provide a good insight into the role attributed to females by society." Thinking and thinking activities are important factors that help human beings to differentiate and surpass the lower species. Therefore, the conceptualization of women as animals has essentially devalued women. The subordinate metaphors of the metaphor WOMEN ARE ANIMALS also partly become a means of describing undesirable characteristics and attributes of women. The metaphor contains cultural elements bearing features of Vietnamese communities. “They reflect the attitudes and beliefs held by a particular community towards certain animal species, and, therefore, may vary from culture to culture, in time and space” (López –Rodriguez, 2009, p.94).

In addition, the adoption of linguistic items clearly shows cultural and national characteristics. Specifically, Vietnamese authors tend to use linguistic units indicating female animals, such as gà mái (hen), gà mẹ, gà mái đẻ, lợn sề, con lợn nái (sow) or other livestock and poultry species such as trâu cày (buffalo), con vịt (duck) which are typical of agricultural culture. Vietnamese writers do not focus on the wildness of animals when compared with women.

This can be explained by virtue of agricultural culture. Plants and animals are familiar to Vietnamese people, wild animals are tamed and brought home, and pets are almost non-wild. In addition, the animals that are familiar to Vietnamese people and adapt to the country's climate such as *chim nhạn* (terns), *chim yến* (swiftlets), *con chim vàng anh* (golden birds), *chim họa mi* (nightingales), *con kiến mối* (termites), *con vịt* (duck), etc. are also exploited to depict women.

Conclusion

The metaphor WOMEN ARE ANIMALS is categorized into 6 sub-type metaphors to portray women in association with animals' types, body parts, features, activities, activities with animals, and places. The domain ANIMALS proves to be productive for depicting women with both positive and negative connotations.

Women are mainly conceptualized as four animal groups, including wild animals, pets, farm animals, and birds. In portrayals of women in the guise of pets, birds, and farm animals, the idea of weakness and domesticity is highlighted, leading to the patriarchal view that women's place should be confined to the domestic arena where they are dependent and under the control of men. In other words, women are seen as in need of subjugation, domesticity, and tight control, which shows a biased view of society on the role and position of women. Negative associations are assigned to women when they behave like wild animals suggesting that they are not subject to men's control, hence being menacing.

As far as the social role is concerned, the conceptualization of pets, farm animals, birds, and wild animals stresses the idea that women are conceived to provide company and entertainment (in the case of pets and birds), to render service to man, satisfy their sexual intercourse needs and beget children (in the case of farm animals), and to deserve castigating as they are fierce and dangerous.

Limitations of the study and recommendations for further studies

Later research can compare the conceptual metaphor WOMEN ARE ANIMALS in Vietnamese literature used in two periods: the first half and the second half of the 20th century to explore changes in thinking and perception of women in different periods. In addition, literary works written by people from the South and the North of Vietnam may have differences in thinking and perception of women. Therefore, approaching these corpora as well as these aspects to investigate the conceptual metaphor WOMEN ARE ANIMALS may bring a lot of scientific value.

Contrastive research on conceptual metaphor WOMEN ARE ANIMALS in English, and Vietnamese should be carried out to investigate similarities and differences in the cultural thinking of the two peoples.

Investigating conventional metaphors and literary metaphors is not the focus of this study. Therefore, future research can explore the differences between these two types of metaphors.

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