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GEESE, PLANKS AND SLUTS: SEMANTIC DEROGATION OF WOMEN IN FRENCH AND SERBIAN SLANG

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Abstract. The paper uses a cognitive linguistic approach to analyse slang lexemes derogatively denoting and qualifying women in two languages neither genealogically close nor in direct contact. Starting from the conceptual metaphor theory and the linguocultural approach, our aim is to determine the similarities and differences related to the cultural knowledge about the concept of women in French and Serbian culture. Our research corpus encompasses examples excerpted from French and Serbian slang and standard dictionaries. The analysis shows that most of the slang expressions that derisively qualify women emphasise physical appearance, intellectual characteristics, and forms of behaviour that the sociolinguistic community assesses as unacceptable and undesirable. The results confirm the deeply rooted and widespread prevalence of collective prejudice, generalisations, stereotypes, and the tendency to marginalise women.

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Introduction

As one of the consequences of the industrial revolution, the 19th century witnessed the birth of feminism, the goal of which was to establish and defend the equal rights of women in political, economic, cultural, and social spheres. As part of this, the feminist movement advocates the liberation of women from violence, sexism, and traditional female roles, supporting the acceptance of women as complete persons (Mišel, 1997; Savić & al., 2009). In the context of the traditional notion, women are primarily seen as mothers, wives, and housewives, always subordinate to men and often treated as sexual objects. Therefore, it is not unusual that many cultures feature a large number of different ways of denoting and qualifying women, less often with a positive and more often with a negative evaluation. Taking into account the important, comprehensive, and unavoidable role of women in various social spheres, this paper analyses the concept of women in the context of linguistic research, more precisely, within the lexemes belonging to the informal, slang register of French and Serbian used to derogatively denote and qualify women.

Slang, as part of the expressive vocabulary, is any informal and especially spoken language variety used to identify and communicate within a group determined by different criteria (occupation, social status, age), whose members are linked by a common interest or way of life, and which can be territorially delimited (Bugarski, 2003, p. 9; Caradec, 1994; Guiraud, 1956)⁴. Given that the slang language register is marked by special linguistic means – lexical, grammatical, and phonological – it is sometimes difficult to understand for other speakers of the same language community. Slang is a vivid and picturesque language variety and often represents an alternative expression (to the already existing one) that usually enters the language from closed communities consisting of pupils, teenagers and students, soldiers, musicians, drug addicts, criminals, people in show business, street gangs, vagrants, athletes, hackers, etc. (Gerzić, 2012, p. 7).

⁴ Bugarski uses the term *žargon* for the Serbian slang, while Caradec and Guiraud use the term *argot* for the French slang.

The basic feature of slang, both in French and Serbian, is not only the presence of expressions often free of linguistic norms, but also secret communication, spontaneity, shock, innovation, and rebellion against social rules and language standards (François, 1975; Gerzić, 2012; Rey, 2006). However, some elements of slang may, over time, start being commonly used in colloquial speech, even in a standard language (Trask, 1999, pp. 185–186), i.e., they may ‘come out’ of a certain group of people and be used in a wider area.

A significant role in the connotative meaning component of slang units is played by the information expressing the assessment, i.e., the opinion on or the value judgment of the marked object as a whole or a certain property of the object being assessed. Depending on the value of the object perceived by the subject, it can vary in the range from ‘indifferent’ (zero assessment), ‘good’ or ‘bad,’ or ‘more’/‘less’ than prescribed (the norm) (Telija, 1996, p. 110). At the same time, all meanings with an evaluative function are relativised due to the existing norms on the nature of the object and build a value map of the world, always featuring something characteristic for a certain linguistic community. Wolf (1985, p. 47) points out that the evaluative meaning is realised thanks to the qualificative and evaluative structure of the assessment. In addition to the subject of assessment, the object of assessment, and the assessment scale, this structure includes the stereotype in relation to which a concept, the aspect of evaluation, the evaluative mode, as well as the motivation for evaluating entities are evaluated. Of particular importance to our research are slang lexemes denoting women and expressing a negative assessment that encompasses something being received with disapproval, being unpleasant, unfavourable, having a derogatory meaning, or something bad being done, which means that it is marked as pejorative (Jovanović, 2018, p. 100; Vulović, 2015, p. 140).

We have identified and analysed conceptual metaphors and metonymies based on lexemes collected from the dictionaries of French and Serbian slang (Andrić, 1976; Caradec, 1994; Enckell, 2017; Gerzić, 2012; Imami, 2007; Šipka, 2011; Tengour, 2013). Since derogatives can also be found in the dictionaries of standard language (Ristivojević Rajković, 2014, p. 136), we have included lexemes from the dictionaries of standard French (TLFi, 2004) and Serbian (RMS1, 2007). The language corpus was analysed using a cognitive approach that emphasises the unbreakable link between language (as a semiotic system), human cognitive abilities, body structure and experience, as well as the culture of a particular human community (Milić, 2013, p.198). The conceptual metaphor, as a cognitive mechanism, connects the source domain, which is concrete, with the target domain, which is abstract. This connection is made by mapping, a set of conceptual correspondences, which allows the target domain to be understood using the source domain (Lakoff, 1993, pp. 206–207; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Lakoff & Turner, 1989, pp. 60–65). The metaphor is, therefore, an ‘ontological mapping across conceptual domains’ (Lakoff, 2006, p. 192) which allows us

to understand something abstract because the metaphorical mapping equates certain features of the source domain with certain features of the target domain. This means that the conceptual motivation of metaphors (and metonymies) is based on experience (Kövecses, 2010, pp. 79–81; Lakoff & Johnson, 1999, p. 47). However, experience, i.e., knowledge about the target domain, is what limits the mappings (Lakoff & Turner, 1989, pp. 199–204; Stanojević, 2009, p. 352). What is mapped is the main meaning focus of the source domain, and the main focus is determined by central knowledge (Kövecses, 2003, p. 82). Central knowledge is related to a particular linguistic community, which means that it is conventional (Kövecses, 2003, pp. 82–84), and the community is limited by what is culturally in common (Stanojević, 2009, p. 366). This means that central knowledge actually also constitutes cultural knowledge or an ‘idealised cognitive model’ (Lakoff, 1987), ‘cultural model’ or ‘folk theory’ (Quinn & Holland, 1987) characteristic of every cultural community.

It is precisely the examination and definition of that cultural knowledge about the concept of women in French and Serbian culture that is the aim of this linguocultural analysis of conceptual metaphors and metonymies in these two languages. Ontological metaphors by which a woman is equated with an animal or an object derive from the Great Chain of Being metaphor, based on the cultural model according to which forms of existence are organised in a hierarchical chain based on the qualities they possess and which connect them, so that entities at each level possess all the qualities of beings at a lower level with an additional special feature that ensures them a higher position in the chain. At the top of the basic large chain of beings are humans that are negatively evaluated by being equated with entities at lower levels (animals, objects) (Lakoff & Turner, 1989; Milić, 2013, p. 200; Novokmet, 2020, p. 174). By analysing the semantic derogation of women in French and Serbian, we hope to point out and, to a certain extent, explain the commonness and differences in the conceptualisation of women in these two cultures. We also hope to emphasise and warn of the deeply rooted and widespread prevalence of collective prejudice, generalisations, stereotypes, and the tendency to marginalise and discriminate against women.

Corpus analysis

The analysis of the corpus shows that the largest number of slang lexemes that derogatively denote and qualify women in French and Serbian represent the conceptualisation of intellect, physical appearance, and moral characteristics of women.

Intellect

A woman's intelligence is diminished by equating a woman with an animal, a being of lower intellectual abilities, incapable of rational reasoning. Derogatives of this kind represent the linguistic expression of two conceptual metaphors⁵:

STUPID WOMAN IS A BIRD

bécasse [woodcock], *dinde* [turkey], *oie* [goose], *butorde* [bittern], *pintade* [guineafowl]⁶

ćurka [turkey], *guska* [goose], *kokoška* [hen]

STUPID WOMAN IS LIVESTOCK

ânesse [female donkey]

magarica [female donkey], *krava* [cow], *koza* [goat], *ovca* [sheep]

Nouns *krava* and *ovca*, which are already pejorative and offensive in their base form when referring to a woman, also have augmentative forms *kravetina*, *ovčina* or *ovćurina*, which further enhance their pejorative and derogative character.

A woman's intelligence is completely denied through the metaphor STUPIDITY IS BLUNTNES, for which we have found lexemes only in Serbian: *tupača*, *tupavica*, *tupačica*, *tupadžika*, *tupoglavka*, *tupoglavica*. All of them are derived from the adjective *tup* [blunt], and the metaphor is confirmed by its opposing pair, WIT IS SHARPNESS (*oštrouman* [sharp-minded] and *britkog uma* [sharp-witted]).

When it comes to other lexemes, a woman's lack of intelligence is portrayed as a void. Thus, Serbian lexemes *praznoglavka* [air-headed woman], *šupljoglavka* [hollow head] and *bezmozgašica* [brainless woman] represent the conceptual metaphor STUPIDITY IS EMPTY SPACE; however, since they are about the head and the brain as the centre of intellectual activity, these terms also represent the conceptual metonymy BODY PART FOR ITS TYPICAL FUNCTION⁷. The lexemes *tikva* [gourd], *cruche* [jug], *gourde* [gourd] and its derivatives *gourdasse* and *gourdiflot* equate women with objects within the conceptual metaphor STUPID WOMAN IS AN EMPTY CONTAINER.

Physical appearance

French and Serbian slang lexemes that describe a woman's physical appearance, clearly indicate that women are generally perceived as sexual objects, since they almost exclusively refer to the absence or pronounced presence of visible female attributes – breasts and buttocks. In fact, women are often reduced to

⁵ These two metaphors have already been identified in Serbian (Ristivojević Rajković, 2008, p. 50; Ristivojević Rajković, 2014, pp. 137–138; Novokmet, 2020, pp. 215, 222–223).

⁶ The square brackets provide a literal English translation of the lexeme.

⁷ For more details in Serbian see Jovanović, 2014, pp. 75–79 and Štrbac & Štasni, 2017, pp. 74–75.

these physical attributes, especially if they are pronounced (large), which is also shown by the lexemes that are an expression of metonymy SALIENT CHARACTERISTIC PART FOR THE WHOLE: *fessue*, *guzičarka*, *guzara*, *guzičana*, *guzičara*, *dupetara*, *dupeska*, *sisara*, *sisata*⁸.

Women with large curves (often obese) are equated with animals, objects, and even geographical areas through the following conceptual metaphors:

LARGE WOMAN WITH LARGE CURVES IS A LARGE ANIMAL

baleine [whale], *vache* [cow], *jument* [mare]

krava [cow], *krava muzara* [dairy cow], *slonica* [female elephant], *kamila* [camel], *kobila* [mare]⁹

LARGE WOMAN WITH LARGE CURVES IS A SPACIOUS CONTAINER

bačva [tun], *bure* [barrel], *kantača* [big bucket], *četnički kazan* [Chetnik cauldron]¹⁰

LARGE WOMAN WITH LARGE CURVES IS A LARGE PIECE OF FURNITURE

regal [cabinet], *trokrilni ormar* [three-door wardrobe]¹¹

LARGE WOMAN WITH LARGE CURVES IS A LARGE TERRITORY

Rusija [Russia]

LARGE WOMAN WITH LARGE CURVES IS A LARGE MEANS OF TRANSPORTATION

lađa [riverboat], *tenk* [tank], *krstarica* [cruiser], *nosáč aviona* [aircraft carrier]

This metaphor represents a slang, an extremely derogatory variant of the metaphor WOMAN IS A CAR which Bratić and Vuković Stamatović have identified in the languages of the Western Balkans. Their analysis shows that this metaphor indicates a lower social position of women and their subordinate role to men in the cultures of the Western Balkans (Bratić & Vuković Stamatović, 2017).

⁸ See also Bugarski, 2003, pp. 57–58; Ristić, 2004, pp. 91–93; Jovanović, 2018, pp. 316–317, 545–546. These lexemes are derived from the French noun *fesse* [buttock], and Serbian nouns *guz* [buttock], *dupe* [ass] and *sis* [tit]. *Sisa*, formed from the verb *sisati* [to suck], is of onomatopoeic origin. Other words represent 'dead metaphors' – the noun *fesse* originates from *fissa*, a nominalised past participle of the Latin verb *findere*, and denotes a crack, a fissure; the noun *dupe* comes from *duplja* [a hole in a tree or trunk]; the noun *guz* denotes a thick mass, with no pejorative connotation (Dauzat & al., 1964; Skok, 1972).

⁹ For this metaphor in Serbian see also Ristivojević Rajković, 2008, p. 47.

¹⁰ The Chetniks (the Chetnik Detachments of the Yugoslav Army or the Yugoslav Army in the Homeland or The Ravna Gora Movement) were the Yugoslav Royalist and Serbian nationalist movement and guerrilla force in occupied Yugoslavia during World War II. For more details in English, see Karchmar, 1987; Milazzo, 1975.

¹¹ This expression can also refer to men, but then it has a positive connotation and denotes a developed, extremely strong and tall man. In the same sense, and only to denote a man, a French word *armoire* [closet] can be used.

Insufficiently expressed female attributes are also the basis for the semantic derogation of women in French and Serbian slang through the following conceptual metaphors:

WOMAN WITHOUT CURVES IS A TALL/LONG ANIMAL
žirafa [giraffe], *čaplja* [heron], *glista* [earthworm]¹²

WOMAN WITHOUT CURVES IS A LONG NARROW OBJECT
planche [plank], *perche* [pole]
daska [plank], *grana* [branch], *letva* [lath], *motka* [pole], *bandera* [lamp-post], *čačkalica* [toothpick]¹³

Daskara and *banderuša*, augmentatives of Serbian lexemes *daska* and *bandera*, are also used to mark a woman with no curves, with a more expressed pejorative and derogatory character. Seemingly paradoxical, the lexeme *grančica*, a diminutive and hypocoristic of the noun *grana*, actually reinforces the offensive expression for a skinny woman.

Moral characteristics

The moral characteristics of a woman that are expressed in slang are most often related to her sexual behaviour and habits. Excessive sexual activity and prostitution are not approved and are 'punished' by derogatory expressions addressed to the woman. A woman is equated with an animal ruled by instincts through the conceptual metaphor LEWD WOMAN IS AN ANIMAL (with possible submetaphors LEWD WOMAN IS A BIRD, LEWD WOMAN IS A DOMESTIC/WILD ANIMAL)¹⁴. These expressions are quite numerous in French, while there are fewer in Serbian: *chameau* [camel], *rosse* [nag], *tortue* [turtle], *grognasse* [grunting (like a pig)], *chienne* [bitch], *truie* [sow], *guenon* [female monkey], *cagne* [bitch], *guenuche* [young female monkey], *bourrin* [nag, bad horse], *poule* [chicken], *vache* [cow], *cocotte* [hen], *ponette* [female pony], *volaille* [poultry], *caille* [quail], *morue* [cod], *grue* [crane], *coureuse* [fast mare], *haquenée* [ladies' riding horse]; *ajgiruša* [filly], *ždrebica* [young female foal]¹⁵, *kučka*, *kuja* [bitch], *cica* [pussycat], *sojka* [Eurasian jay]¹⁶.

¹² For more details about secondary sense of zoonyms emphasizing unusual physical traits see Novokmet, 2020, pp. 194–204.

¹³ For more details see Jovanović, 2018, p. 312.

¹⁴ For these metaphors in other languages see Kiełtyka & Kleparski, 2005; Kiełtyka, 2005; Lopez Rodriguez, 2009; Hines, 1999; Ristivojević Rajković, 2008 and 2014; Silaški, 2013.

¹⁵ Nouns *ajgiruša* and *ždrebica* are synonymous, with the difference that *ajgiruša* belongs to a group of words of Turkish origin that are very numerous in Serbian (Škaljić, 1989, p. 23).

¹⁶ *Kurva* [whore] and *fuksa* [slut], while very frequently used, are in fact 'dead metaphors'. *Fuksa* is probably a loanword from German, from *Fuchsstutte* [red mare], and

In French, fornication and prostitution are considered dirty, so harlots and prostitutes are equated with dirt, dirty cloth, even faeces, through the following conceptual metaphors:

LEWD WOMAN IS FILTH

salope [dirty female person, slut], *souillon* [a dirty female person, a woman doing dirty work, a harlot, a prostitute]¹⁷

LEWD WOMAN IS A DIRTY CLOTH

vadrouille [a ship mop, prostitute], *paillasse* [straw mattress, prostitute], *guenipe* [rag, tatter, harlot]

LEWD WOMAN IS EXCREMENT

chiasse [faeces, diarrhoea, prostitute], *gadoue* [faeces removed from toilets used as fertilizer, slut], *pétasse* [prostitute, slut, derived from the verb *péter*, to fart]

On the other hand, since prostitution brings money to the pimp who makes a living from the prostitute's work, a conceptual metaphor PROSTITUTE IS FOOD emerges in French, in the lexemes *boudin* [sausage], *ménesse* [soup], and *bifteck* [beef steak]. We have not found examples of this metaphor in the Serbian corpus, except for the metaphor SEXUALLY ATTRACTIVE WOMAN IS FOOD in lexemes *parče* [piece], *komad* [chunk], *slatkiš* [candy], which represent euphemisms but remain in the domain of the derogation of women.¹⁸

The French lexemes *pierreuse*, *radeuse*, and *radasse*, as well as their Serbian correspondents, *kamenjarka*¹⁹, *uličarka*, and *trotoarka* (Cf. Jovanović, 2018, p.

refers to a lewd woman or prostitute (Imami, 2007, p. 152). In addition to being very productive in derivation (augmentatives *kurveština*, *kurveštija*, *kurvetina*; diminutive *kurvica*, which refers to a young lewd woman), *kurva* also has a high degree of polysemy – it denotes not only a woman who lives immorally, a harlot and a prostitute, but also an unreliable and fickle person, as well as a cunning person (RMS1, 2007). *Kurva* is etymologically related to the Proto-Slavic word *kur* [rooster], whose diminutive *kurac* has gained the meaning of 'penis' (Imami, 2007, p. 260; Skok, 1972).

¹⁷ *Pute* and its synonym *putain* [harlot, prostitute], while frequently used, are also 'dead metaphors'. Both words are derived from the Old French adjective *put*, whose basic meaning is stinky, and the implied meaning is bad, dirty, or evil. They come from the Latin adjective *putidus* [smelly, rotten], derived from the Latin verb *putere* [to be rotten or spoiled, to stink]. As well as *kurva*, *pute* and *putain* can no longer be understood in terms of synchrony because their motivation is culturally diachronic, and this motivation can only be discovered by studying the historical context and etymology (Pamies, 2011, p. 27–28; Piirainen, 2011, p. 66).

¹⁸ The metaphor is confirmed by expressions *omastiti brke* [to get grease on your moustache] and *osladiti se* [to eat something sweet], which in slang represent euphemisms for a sexual act.

¹⁹ *Kamenjarka* is also a venomous snake which is considered as impure or diabolic. Therefore, *kamenjarka* could as well be a linguistic expression of the conceptual metaphor LEWD WOMAN IS AN ANIMAL, or its submetaphor LEWD WOMAN IS A SNAKE.

529), refer to prostitutes who perform their activities on the street and represent the lowest level in the derogation of women. French lexemes are derived from nouns *pierre* [stone], and *rade* [sidewalk]. When it comes to the lexeme *pierreuse*, TLFi explains that it belonged to the police slang from the beginning of the 19th century and that it denoted a prostitute who performed her activity on construction sites, sheltered by construction material, which was mostly made of stone. Serbian lexemes are derived from nouns *kamenjar* [crag], *ulica* [street], and *trotoar* [sidewalk], the last of which represents a loanword from French. These lexemes show the distancing from fornication as immoral behaviour and reducing women to a single activity or the place where they perform it through the conceptual metaphor FORNICATION IS OUT and metonymy PLACE FOR ACTION (Cf. Jovanović, 2018, p. 297).

The reduction of women to sexual activity, or their inclinations and habits, is also indicated by derogatives that represent the linguistic expression of the metonymy DEFINING PROPERTY FOR AN ENTITY: *fouteuse*, *baiseuse*, *coucheuse*, *niqueuse*, *cepulja*, *cepaljka*, *radodajka*, *brzodajka*, *glodarka*, *davaljka*, *jebaljka*, *jebulja*, *jebačica*, *jebeljka*, *jebica*, *jebičina*, *jebna*, *jebojka*, *trpulja*, *trpačica*, and *ševaljka*. The French lexemes *fouteuse*, *baiseuse*, *coucheuse*, and *niqueuse* are derived from verbs denoting a sexual act – *foutre* (from Latin *futuere*, to have coitus), *baiser* (from Latin *basiare*, to kiss), *coucher* (from Latin *collocare*, to put in a horizontal position, to lay) and *niquer* (from Arabic *niqah*, marriage, matrimony, permitted sex in marriage). Although these lexemes today denote women who often and gladly engage in sexual relations, if the meanings of the verbs from which they originate are taken into account, it is clear that they actually represent an androcentric view of the world – women are objects and are kissed, used for sex, and placed in a supine position while the only sex that is allowed is the one in marriage. The situation is similar with Serbian lexemes which reduce a woman to sexual activity. The compounds *radodajka* and *brzodajka* have come into being from adverbs *rado* [gladly] and *brzo* [fast] and the verb *dati* [to give], which in slang denotes a sexual act. The same verb, i.e., its continuous or iterative aspect, *davati*, is the base of the expression *davaljka* [a woman who gives]. *Glodarka* is a derivative of the verb *glodati* [to gnaw], which is primarily used to denote fellatio in slang. The lexemes *cepulja* and *cepaljka* are formed from verbs *cepati* [to strike with something sharp, to split into parts]. The verb *trpati* [to jam something into something else] has yielded the derivatives *trpulja* and *trpačica*. The lexeme *ševaljka* is derived from the verb *ševiti* or *ševati* [to sway, move back and forth, nod], which probably originate from an onomatopoeic root *šev-* denoting the noise resulting from a clumsy action (Skok, 1972). Most Serbian lexemes are derived from the verb *jebati* [to fuck], which is of Proto-Slavic origin, from the Indo-European root **iabh-*, meaning to touch or place a hand on a woman (Skok, 1972). Therefore, both Serbian and French lexemes represent an androcentric world view, and, in addition, show a

certain degree of aggression so that the sexual act, at least in slang, is perceived as a violent one (against a woman).²⁰

Discussion and conclusion

The corpus shows that the majority of slang expressions that derogatively denote and qualify women in French and Serbian are those that emphasise physical appearance, intellectual characteristics, and forms of behaviour that the socio-linguistic community assesses as unacceptable and undesirable.

Since metaphorical mappings are limited by the principle of metaphorical highlighting, which Kövecses defines as focusing the metaphor on one or more aspects of the concept while other aspects remain hidden (Kövecses, 2010, p. 92), the metaphors we have identified in the corpus also reveal only some of the characteristics of women that members of the sociolinguistic community consider important. Both French and Serbian feature metaphors and metonymies that indicate that a woman's body deviating from ideal proportions is rejected and ridiculed (Cf. Novokmet, 2020, p. 198), so such a woman is equated with an animal, an object, or even a geographical territory. The dominant negative intellectual trait of a woman appears to be stupidity, and women in both languages are equated with animals (usually birds or livestock)²¹. Activating the conventional knowledge that members of both cultures have about the notion of the head as the container of intelligence have led to the emergence of expressions that belong to the metaphor STUPIDITY IS EMPTY SPACE and STUPID WOMAN IS AN EMPTY CONTAINER, which emphasise the low intellectual abilities of women.

The dominant negative moral trait of women in both cultures is debauchery, with French metaphors more often referring to prostitution and emphasising the material aspect of the activity – making money. In addition, physical appearance is reflected in morality, so that lexemes denoting a dirty, untidy female person become simultaneously lexemes denoting a prostitute as a 'morally dirty female person' (Guiraud, 1978, p. 126). However, although some of the Serbian lexemes may refer to a prostitute, they do not emphasise the importance of money, i.e., the fact that prostitution earns a living. Instead, as Ristivojević Rajković (2014, p. 140) and Jovanović (2018, pp. 611–612) conclude, women are criticised for excessive (voluntary) sexual activity that goes beyond the norms of a still predominantly patriarchal society, whose foundations are the strict preservation of tradition and Christian morality. These differences between

²⁰ This violence is especially visible in Serbian swear words, almost all of which contain or imply a verb *jebati* (Cf. Đurin & Jovanović, 2019).

²¹ However, this is not only specific for these two linguocultural communities, but it is rather universal, since animal-related metaphors are numerous and frequently used (Cf. Kiełtyka & Kleparski, 2005, p. 86; Kövecses, 2010, p. 19; Novokmet, 2020, p. 167).

the two cultures indicate the existence of ‘a kind of cultural filter’ that directs and limits mappings (Dobrovol’skij & Piirainen, 2005, p. 16).

The metaphors we have analysed clearly show that gender is a sociocultural category that is directly related to belonging to a certain biological sex, and slang lexemes are a linguistic representation of the understanding of the category of gender. Although metaphors can also emerge as a product of the speaker’s individual assessment, since the analysed expressions are mostly recorded in dictionaries, they actually represent a formed, lexicalised assessment that is built into the semantic structure of slang vocabulary used for derogation. The assessment is collective and is based on various cultural stereotypes and associations (Novokmet, 2020, pp. 168–169) that exist in the French and Serbian sociolinguistic communities and form the cultural layers of meaning of these lexemes. Since slang vocabulary is characterised by expressiveness, metaphoricality, and evaluation in relation to the prescribed norm (Telija, 1996, p. 110), the linguistic picture of the world created by lexemes that denote and qualify women in French and Serbian slang, indicates the existence of a broader negative attitude towards certain forms of diversity. What is considered socially undesirable, or at least less acceptable, are traits and behaviours by which an individual in some way goes beyond social norms and is negatively evaluated if he/she exceeds or does not reach the prescribed (desirable) measure. This confirms that metaphors really ‘may harbour and reflect hidden ideologies – such as that the society has a biased view of women, resulting in gender inequality’ (Bratić & Vuković Stamatović, 2017, p. 52).

Among the slang lexemes that derogatively denote and qualify women in Serbian and French, there are mostly domestic animals, which is not unexpected considering the cohabitation of man and the domesticated animal species, which are a source of food and clothing for humans and help them in their work. Among the derogative lexemes, there are also wild animals, mostly those that have a very noticeable trait (whale, giraffe, elephant). Kövecses considers that these animal-related metaphors came into being by humans first attributing human traits to animals and then those traits being reapplied to humans (Kövecses, 2010, p. 152). Most of these metaphors emphasise negative human characteristics (Kövecses, 2010, p. 153), i.e., all mappings contain the trait [-human] because ‘by looking like an animal or behaving like an animal one is behaving less like a human’ (Ahrens & Say, 1999, p. 98). The slang lexemes that negatively denote and qualify women in French and Serbian confirm Kövecses’ claim that the main meaning focus of the general metaphor PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS is ‘objectionability’ or ‘undesirability’ (Kövecses, 2010, p. 153), since metaphors STUPID WOMAN IS A BIRD, STUPID WOMAN IS LIVESTOCK, LARGE WOMAN WITH LARGE CURVES IS A LARGE ANIMAL, WOMAN WITHOUT CURVES IS A TALL/LONG ANIMAL, LEWD WOMAN IS AN ANIMAL, which we have identified in the corpus, can represent submetaphors of the more general conceptual

metaphors Kövecses singles out– OBJECTIONABLE PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS and OBJECTIONABLE HUMAN BEHAVIOUR IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR (Kövecses, 2010, p. 153). Equating them with an object (empty container, spacious container, a piece of furniture, a means of transport, a fabric) diminishes women to an even lower level in the Great Chain, completely dehumanising them and reducing them to some commodities used by a man.

The lexemes we have analysed show that the metaphors that negatively denote and qualify women in French and Serbian slang, as well as many other metaphors that refer to a woman, are transcultural and transhistorical (Kittay, 1988, p. 63). In both cultures, there is a metaphorical distancing from fornication, and fornicating women are equated with animals; the intelligence of women is diminished by equating them with animals or objects (empty container); women are insulted because of their physical appearance, which goes beyond the (androcentric) norm, and are equated with animals or objects²². Also, in both languages, we have found lexemes by which women are metonymically reduced to a single trait (physical or moral) or identified with the place where they perform an action. Kövecses gives three possible explanations for the existence of such similarities in different cultures and languages (coincidence, borrowing metaphors, and universal motivation), the most probable cause of similarity being the existence of a certain (near) universality of metaphors (Kövecses, 2010, p. 197).

However, different cultures may feature different metaphors (which is the case even within a single culture) because metaphors are closely related to society, the geographical area, ethnic or religious affiliation, belonging to a social group, and even to style and idiolect. In other words, metaphors depend on the cultural context or natural environment in which members of a particular culture live (Kövecses, 2010, p. 218). Since different cultures have different conceptual systems, metaphors are, at least in part, culturally dependent (Lakoff & Johnson, 1989), which means that their motivation and meaning are also the result of different worldviews in different cultures (Pamies, 2011, pp. 34–35). Dobrovol'skij and Piirainen (2005, p. 21) believe that the role of culture in the emergence of idiom motivation becomes even more obvious when idioms from different languages are compared. We can agree with them when it comes to the slang lexemes used to denote women in French and Serbian.

Our analysis shows that members of the Serbian culture pay much more attention to the physical appearance of women than the members of the French culture, in the sense that they create much more detailed and diverse metaphors that negatively evaluate women's physical appearance that deviates from the norm – a woman is equated with an animal, furniture, a spacious container,

²² Some of the similarities have been identified in the analysis of adjectival animal similes in French and Serbian (Marjanović, 2012).

a large means of transport, or a large territory. On the other hand, members of the French culture seem to distance themselves much more decisively from fornication, since, in addition to displacing it (FORNICATION IS OUT), they also use lexemes that equate lewd women with dirt, a dirty cloth, or faeces. However, the most noticeable difference is the attitude towards prostitution. Many French lexemes that negatively evaluate women's sexual habits actually denote a prostitute (who earns money through sexual activity), so the impression is that prostitution is especially repulsive to the members of the French culture. Although some of them may denote prostitutes, Serbian lexemes, however, are rarely used in that sense. They much more often refer to a woman who has sexual relations frequently and has many partners, or a woman who has committed adultery, which is considered unacceptable and worthy of condemnation in the Serbian culture, which, despite significant changes in the perception of sexuality, is characterised by an ingrained patriarchal morality that only allows sex in marriage. Linguistic research has revealed a number of ingrained stereotypes and prejudices based on traditional value judgments about women, which show that gender inequality is less related to the biological characteristics of the sexes and more to the social roles attributed and prescribed to men and women by a community (Bugarski, 2005, pp. 53–54).

The analysis of conceptual metaphors and metonymies expressed in slang lexemes that are derogatory towards women in French and Serbian indicates what these two cultures consider undesirable, bad, and worthy of contempt and condemnation when it comes to the appearance, characteristics, and behaviour of women. This research has also attempted to emphasise and warn of the deeply rooted and widespread prevalence of some collective prejudice, generalizations, stereotypes, and the tendency to marginalise and discriminate against women, which has a long tradition and, despite some changes, still survives in both cultures. All these negative effects are exacerbated by the fact that women themselves use these terms when talking about or addressing other women in a negative context, thus accepting in a way the place traditionally intended for them in the Great Chain of Being, showing how deeply ingrained the attitudes about men and women inherited from culture are.

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Гуске, даске и дроље: семантичка дерогација жене у француском и српском жаргону

Резиме

Полазећи од теорије појмовне метафоре и лингвокултуролошког приступа и узимајући у обзир важну улогу жене у различитим друштвеним сферама, циљ нам је да, у контексту лингвистичких изучавања, установимо сличности и разлике у концептуализацији жене у француској и српској култури у оквиру лексема које припадају неформалном, жаргонском регистру ова два језика, а којима се дерогативно именује и квалификује жена. У конотативној

компоненти значења жаргонизама значајну улогу има информација којом се изражава оцена, односно суд о вредности означеног објекта у целини или одређеног својства објекта оцене. За наше истраживање посебно је значајна номинација жене жаргонизмима којима се изриче негативна оцена под којом се подразумева да се на жену гледа с неодобравањем, те да се за именовање жене користи погрдна лексика. Језички корпус анализиран је применом когнитивног приступа који истиче нераскидиву везу између језика (као семиотичког система), људских когнитивних способности, телесне структуре и искуства, као и културе одређене људске заједнице. Појмовна метафора, као когнитивни механизам, повезује изворни домен, који је конкретан, са циљним доменом, који је апстрактан. То повезивање врши се путем пресликавања, односно низа концептуалних кореспонденција, што омогућава да циљни домен буде схваћен помоћу изворног домена. Појмовне метафоре и метонимије смо идентификовали и анализирали на основу грађе прикупљене из речника жаргонске и неконвенционалне лексике француског и српског језика (Andrić, 1976; Caradec, 1994; Enckell, 2017; Gerzić 2012; Imami 2007; Šipka 2011; Tengour 2013), као и из речника стандардног француског и српског језика (TLFi, 2004; RMS1, 2007). Анализа је показала да међу изразима којима се у жаргону погрдно именује и квалификује жена у француском и српском језику највише има оних којима се истичу физички изглед, интелектуалне особине и облици понашања које друштвено-језичка заједница оцењује као неприхватљиве и непожељне. Иако метафоре могу да настану и као производ индивидуалне оцене говорника, будући да су анализирани изрази забележени у речницима, они заправо представљају формирану, лексикализовану оцену која је уграђена у семантичку структуру жаргонске лексике којом се врши дерогација. Оцена је колективна и заснована је на различитим културним стереотипима и асоцијацијама које постоје у француској и српској друштвено-језичкој заједници и чине културне слојеве значења ових језичких јединица. Појмовне метафоре и метонимије изражене жаргонизмима којима се у француском и српском језику врши дерогација жене откривају шта се у ове две културе сматра непожељним, лошим, достојним презрења и осуде, кад су у питању изглед, особине и понашање жене. Овим истраживањем покушали смо и да истакнемо и упозоримо на дубоку укорененост и велику распрострањеност неких колективних предрасуда, генерализација, стереотипа, те на склоност ка маргинализацији и дискриминацији жена, што има дугу традицију и, упркос неким променама, и даље опстаје у обе ове културе.

Кључне речи: жена; жаргон; појмовна метафора; француски; српски.



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