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Gender Representation Change in American Sitcoms: A Critical Metaphor Analysis

Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of requirements for the degree of MA in English Studies

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Acknowledgments

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Dr. Jurga Cibulskienė for her consistent support, guidance, and competence through this journey. Without her thoughtful comments and recommendations, this research would not have been successful.

I must also show appreciation to the Department of English Philology of Vilnius University for the wonderful opportunity to be a part of the most honoured and acclaimed university of Lithuania.

Abstract

Gender is one of the most prominent issues discussed in various studies. Many scholars try to find out similarities and differences between men and women, why they are perceived in certain ways and why there are gender stereotypes. However, these are not the only issues or questions that cause curiosity in scholars all around the world. For example, some scholars are interested in how figurative language participates in representing gender and issues related to it. Therefore, the present thesis is an attempt to analyse how gender representation changed over more than two decades in the sitcoms *Married...with Children* (1987) and *Modern Family* (2009). The present research aims to identify metaphors related to gender and to determine how gender is presented by two similar sitcoms. Another objective of the analysis is to find out how figuratively expressed humour contributes to disclosing gender issues. Critical Metaphor Analysis (Charteris-Black 2014, Koller 2019) and Humour Theory (see Brone *et al.* 2015) were employed in the research. The analysis showed that the target domains of CHILD, WOMAN and MAN were mostly expressed via such source domain as FOOD, OBJECT and ANIMAL. The representation of men and women contained some similarities, however, there were some significant differences too. In the sitcom *Married...with Children* women and men saw each other more negatively. Women were represented as torturers and money-seekers while men were perceived as lazy beings having animalistic qualities. In addition, irony was used to show how toxic marital life can be. On the other hand, *Modern Family* was the opposite, as it was not concerned with presenting stereotypical assumptions about genders. Instead, women were shown as confident, intelligent and hard-working while men attained some vulnerability, which was something that was not common in the 80s sitcoms.

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Introduction

During the last few decades, there was a visible increase of new research regarding gender. People became more and more interested in how gender is expressed via language are there any specific words to define male or female and why are certain words preferred to describe a person according to their gender? Gender representation became a significant and widely discussed topic all around the world because gender shows how social world is structured. According to Farhadytooli (2022, 20), gender should be understood as a social phenomenon. It shows how social norms affect the lives of men and women that may belong to different social groups. In addition, gender is important not only because of its ability to assign people to a certain role they play in a social world, but it also offers an understanding of how human identity is established and how stereotypes might influence our views. Furthermore, the reason why gender representation may have become such a noteworthy topic is that people became more conscious of their gender, how crucial it is to be able to understand the differences and similarities between the genders and most importantly how to reach mutual understanding and respect towards each other. For instance, the MeToo movement was one of the pivotal events that took place in 2017. It can be defined as a social movement, which encourages women to speak up against sexual violence and sexual assault and to share their experiences. As stated by Cibulskienė (2020, 54), the movement was widely discussed in social media, it even became a hashtag (#MeToo) which indicated the movement itself and warned women to be aware of themselves and encouraged them not to stay silent. This is just one of many examples of growing attention towards gender and issues related to it. Therefore, it can be noted that it is crucial to analyse and understand gender as it helps to see how our social world is constructed.

Another key matter in understanding the gender and issues related to its representation is the language. In many cases, gender represented via language. As noted by Chamberlain (1912, 579), “women’s languages” were already being discussed at the beginning of 20th century. This means that language and gender were already being researched by various writers and scholars, but it was not as popular research matter as it is now. According to Jespersen (1922, 7), language a “living organism” which constantly changes over time. Moreover, language is an activity, which makes up a big part of our daily lives. The author also claims that a word will exist as long as it is pronounced, heard or remembered (*ibid.*, 7). It is also crucial to mention that Jespersen (1922, 237) discovered that women and men tend to use different languages or dialects. Therefore, it can be seen that there are some differences in language use between the genders. For instance, men may have certain expressions that are used mainly by them while women not always choose to employ the exact same expressions (*ibid.*, 237). Jespersen and Chamberlain contributed to gender and language research by explaining how the use of language by males or females in their “primitive languages” differed. Moreover, other scholars claimed that gender and language is

related to diverse methodology (Hall *et al.* 2020, 1). It includes corpus linguistics, conversation analysis, critical discourse analysis, discursive psychology, and many other approaches. Gender and language as a field was established by second-wave feminism around 1970s. The field influenced the start of the investigations related to gender studies. The research was crucial in that it revealed “binary accounts of linguistic gender that highlighted differences between women’s and men’s speech. Even though the research results received some criticism, nevertheless it provided a significant feminist revision of early twentieth-century anthropological work on how women and men use language in non-European languages (ibid., 1). Within time, scholars became more interested not only in how language is used by one or the other gender, but how human mind can contribute to language and its expression.

People have countless ways to express emotions, feelings, and thoughts. They use not only language to do so, but also, they communicate via gestures and body language. However, not so often people reflect why they use certain words or moves when expressing oneself. For instance, if a speaker says “laughter is the best medicine” the addressee would never understand the meaning of such phrase literally as laughter cannot heal a person. The phrase is significant in that it has an underlying meaning which is not always easily comprehended. In this case, the phrase means that laughter can be like medicine because it can help a person to feel happier or just to be more cheerful. This type of phrase containing an underlying meaning is called a metaphor.

The use of metaphors in language was discussed by a great number of scholars. Two of the most acknowledged researchers in metaphors are Lakoff and Johnson. According to the scholars, in the past metaphors used to be perceived as an ornamental device in poetry (1980, 3). It was a traditional approach to metaphor, which was concerned with metaphor acting only as decorative device. Before 1980s figurative language was not associated with thinking and how it might be related to metaphors. However, the perception changed after 1980s when scholars started to take into account metaphor as part of thinking and ordinary life. Cognitive approach to metaphor became an essential part of many research studies. Therefore, it was acknowledged that metaphors can be spotted in conversations, literature, magazines, newspapers, TV, *etc.* Moreover, metaphor is not only a matter of rhetoric, but it is a significant part of body language too (ibid., 3). We not only use metaphors in spoken language, but we also tend to think and act in a metaphorical way. It could be said that metaphor is a conceptual tool, which surrounds people on a daily basis and it assists in establishing reality. Sometimes people may not be aware of how often metaphors appear, because it is an unconscious process. We tend not to notice when we use certain metaphors as they seem like a natural part of language (Lakoff & Johnson 1980, 3). Even though some people might not be aware of metaphors, researchers pay a lot of attention to metaphors and they are dedicated to analyse various sources. They seek to understand the importance, non-literal meaning behind the metaphors and the reasons why figurative language is used.

As previously stated, metaphors can be identified in many spheres of life. One of the more interesting examples would be television and how it is employed in news, numerous television programmes and sitcoms. The current research will be related to sitcoms and how gender is represented via the use of metaphors. In addition, the aspect of gender and humour will be analysed and presented. As stated by Dore (2015, 200), during the last few decades many scholars were interested in how metaphor and humour was related. Some of the scholars tried to point out in what metaphor and humour diverge while others were concerned with what similarities the two share (ibid., 200). Therefore, there is a great deal of conducted research, which displays how to identify differences and similarities in the relationship between humour and metaphor and how to analyse it. The aspect of humour will be a significant part of the research, as it will be related to how gender is constructed in the analysed sitcoms. Consequently, humour analysis should provide a better understanding of how gender was represented over two different periods of time.

Even though there are some studies related to how gender is represented in sitcoms, there is still little research carried out regarding how metaphors help to establish gender representation in sitcoms. Hence, the current paper will contribute to gender discourse studies that have been already established by other scholars. The thesis will be conducted by identifying, examining, and explaining metaphors related to gender in two sitcoms, namely, *Married...with Children* (1987) and *Modern Family* (2009). Furthermore, humour will be also examined to find out whether gender identity can be constructed via the use of figurative language in a humorous way.

In general, the purpose of this thesis is to analyse how gender representation in sitcoms changed over more than two decades. In other words, the focus will be dedicated to how figurative language discloses the change of men and women's portrayal over two decades in American sitcoms, namely, *Married...with Children* (1987) and *Modern Family* (2009) and how figuratively expressed humour contributes to disclosing gender issues. To attain the purpose, the following objectives were set:

1. Linguistic level: to identify metaphorical expressions related to gender representation by using an adapted Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIPVU) (Steen *et al.* 2010); to find out which gender-related metaphorical expressions are humorous;
2. Cognitive level: to relate the identified metaphorical expressions to conceptual metaphors employing the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) (Lakoff & Johnson 1980);
3. Ideological level:
 - a. to reveal ideological perspectives of gender representation by employing Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA) (Charteris-Black 2014, Koller 2019) and Humour Theory (Brone *et al.* 2015);
 - b. to conduct a comparative analysis and investigate how metaphors present the change of male and female portrayal over two decades.

The next section of the thesis will introduce the theoretical framework that briefly reviews most significant definitions that are necessary to understand the analysis of gender representation change in American sitcoms. Furthermore, another section will provide discussion, examples, and results of how gender was established. The following section will introduce with humorous and gender-related ironic metaphors. Then, the comparative analysis of the results of both sitcoms will be presented. The thesis will end with the conclusions section.

1. The theoretical framework of cognitive approach to metaphors

1.1 The Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT)

It is a well-known fact that human mind is quite complex to understand. Therefore, it can be added that it is even impossible to fully grasp the human mind and all the ways it works. No one can deny the fact that one of the most complex creations of mind is language. Scholars still try to find out why people use certain words, why they are arranged in specific ways and what are the reasons of doing so. However, it is not an easy task to understand language itself. Therefore, there is so much research being carried out all around the world. One of the most fascinating phenomenon in language is figurative language or in other words, metaphors.

Metaphor was an already known concept in ancient times and various rhetoricians and philosophers provided the first definitions of metaphor. According to Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (2011), Ancient scholars “viewed metaphor as a temporary self-explanatory change in the usage of a general or singular term, typically a noun or noun phrase”. For instance, for Aristotle (c. 335 BC) metaphor means selecting the thing a name that belongs to something else or “the transference being either from genus to species, or from species to genus, or from species to species, or on grounds of analogy”, as paraphrased by Lan (2005). Furthermore, Aristotle (c. 335 BC) claimed that metaphor can be defined as “one thing that cannot be learnt from others”. Centuries later there were more attempts to define the concept of metaphor. Richards was another significant scholar that focused on metaphors. The scholar emphasized that the essential part of metaphor lies in how it interacts with context (Koller 2011, 3). In other words, to be able to understand a metaphor it is necessary to be aware of the context. Therefore, the meaning of metaphor would be clear and accurate. Richards chose a cognitive view of metaphor by claiming that thought might be considered to be metaphoric. Richards was one of the first scholars to write about metaphor when other scholars had no idea that cognitive approach to metaphor could exist. Many Cognitive linguists were not aware of cognitive ideas, therefore, they ignored Richards approach at first. Only later, his cognitive approach was acknowledged (ibid., 3).

For centuries, it was thought that metaphor was employed only in poetry and rhetoric. Most linguists, philosophers and scholars thought that figurative language cannot be used anywhere else. However, it was not true. Zhang (2009, 77) claimed that the linguistic field was shaken up by Lakoff and Johnson, when they published *Metaphors We Live By* (1980). The scholars stated that metaphor should not be analysed only as an ornamental tool. Figurative language should be viewed as an extensive part of daily conversations, literature, television, etc. (Lakoff & Johnson 1980, 3). Metaphors surround people everywhere, in ordinary life. The scholars also stated that metaphor should be perceived as a matter of thought and action rather than a rhetorical or ornamental device (Zhang 2009, 77). Furthermore, Driscoll

(2012, 20) claimed that metaphor should be considered not only as decorative literary device. According to the scholar, metaphor has cognitive implications, which are crucial to figurative language. This means that in order to understand a metaphor, people have to be able to establish relationship between dissimilar things. Human mind has to be able to observe and interpret world (ibid., 28). After such change towards understanding the concept of metaphor and its usage more explicit definitions of metaphor were established. Kövecses and Benczes (2010a, 4) claimed that metaphor can be identified by perceiving one conceptual domain in terms of another conceptual domain. In other words, metaphor is a conceptual tool, which can appear unconsciously, and it is used to describe one object in terms of another object. According to Turner (1989), metaphor is not a matter of ‘mere language’. It is rather a part of conceptual mapping. Therefore, it can be said that there are many scholars who attempted to explain metaphor and its nature.

To analyse metaphors, it is essential to employ a theory that would assist in explaining and investigating metaphors. One of the most significant theories in the field of linguistics was developed by cognitive linguists Lakoff and Johnson in 1980. Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) was established to help to investigate and comprehend metaphors in an easier way (Lakoff & Johnson 1980, 3). The main purpose of CMT is to disclose the system of human thinking and how metaphorical it is in nature. Furthermore, when conducting analysis while using CMT few significant points must be considered. First, metaphor is part not only of language but of thought too. Second, all language users use metaphor as it is a part of ordinary life. Third, cognition is an essential part of understanding. Lastly, the conceptual system should be understood as particularly metaphorical (ibid., 3). To understand the formula of Conceptual Metaphor Theory and how it is employed to analyse metaphors it is crucial to provide some instances. If we hear or read such phrase as “I’ve never *won* an argument with him” it means that it is a metaphorical expression (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 4). It is an expression, which contains a word or a phrase that has a metaphorical meaning. The conceptual metaphor or cognitive metaphor is understanding one idea in terms of another. In other words, it helps to comprehend complex ideas in simple terms. Therefore, the conceptual metaphor of the provided example is as follows ARGUMENT IS WAR (ibid., 4). The formula of CMT is CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN A IS CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN B (1980, 3). As Kövecses (2010a, 4) stated, metaphor is “understanding one conceptual domain in terms of another conceptual domain. Conceptual domain A is related to an abstract object, such as LOVE, IDEA or LIFE (Lakoff & Johnson 1980, 3). On the other hand, conceptual domain B corresponds to a more concrete object, for example, BUILDING, MONEY, or WAR. Consequently, the target domain of the given example is ARGUMENT whereas the source domain is WAR. The metaphorical expression shows that argument might seem like a war as it may have specific similarities that both conceptual domains share. For example, we can win or lose argument in the same way as we can win or lose war (ibid., 4). Furthermore, we defend or attack our opinion in the same way we defend or attack in a war. It is obvious that there is no physical battle between the speakers, but there

is a verbal battle which in some way might resemble a battle or war (ibid., 4). In another metaphorical expression *Things are looking up* the conceptual metaphor is as follows – GOOD IS UP (ibid., 16). The target domain is GOOD while the source domain is UP. As claimed by Lakoff and Johnson “happiness, health, life and control – the things that principally characterize what is good for a person – are all UP” (1980, 16). Other examples of metaphors: *I don't have enough time to spare for that, thank you for your time*, and *he's living on borrowed time* are the manifestations of the conceptual metaphor TIME IS MONEY (ibid., 8). Another significant notion related to metaphors and their analysis is mapping. According to Kövecses (2010b, 197), mapping is an essential part of the analysis as it helps to establish differences and similarities between two entities. In other words, it shows which source domain tracks onto and represents specific features of the target domain (ibid., 197). Mapping also helps to determine which aspects in metaphorical concept are highlighted and which ones are hidden (Lakoff & Johnson 1980, 10). Furthermore, the scholars claim that “the very systematicity that allows us to comprehend one aspect of a concept in terms of another will necessarily hide other aspects of the concept (ibid., 10). According to Kövecses (2010a, 91), notions might have various aspects. Some aspects in a metaphor are not as significant as they do not help to understand the meaning behind the metaphor. The scholar claims that highlighting is related to the target domain while hiding is connected to the source domain (ibid., 91).

Personification and metonymy are also essential as in some aspects they are similar to metaphor. Both figures of speech are closely related to metaphors, therefore, they should be discussed too. Personification is a figure of speech, which “allows us to comprehend a wide variety of experience with nonhuman entities in terms of human motivations, characteristics, and activities” (Lakoff & Johnson 1980, 33). Some of the expressions are: *his religion tells him that he cannot drink fine French wines*, *this fact argues against standard theories*, and *life has cheated me* (ibid., 33). Therefore, we can see that each phrase contains something that is nonhuman but is understood as a human being. For example, we comprehend that it is impossible for a religion or a fact to speak and be able to transfer information verbally. In addition, life also cannot be considered to be human, which can cheat by having a secret lover or just be unfair by acting as a human being. As explained by Lakoff and Johnson, personification can encompass a wide range of metaphors and it selects various aspects of a person. Hence, it is essential to understand the concept of personification. Another crucial notion is metonymy. The scholars define metonymy as figure of speech when “one entity is being used to refer to another” (Lakoff & Johnson 1980, 35). In other words, metonymy is concerned with the principle of congruity whereas metaphor focuses on similarity. One of the examples of metonymy: *The Times hasn't arrived at the press conference yet* (ibid., 35). By saying “The Times” the speaker refers to the reporter from *The Times* that shall arrive to the press conference. In another examples the speaker says that *there are a lot of good heads in the university* (ibid., 36). The part stands for the whole and it means that the speaker refers to people in the university as being intelligent. The last example: *She's just a pretty face* (ibid., 37). The

speaker has in mind that the only admirable quality in a woman is her beautiful face. Moreover, the speaker emphasizes that the face stands for the whole person in this situation. As stated by Grey (1998, 5), simile is also a figure of speech which is closely related to metaphor as it shows likeness by comparing one thing with another thing. Furthermore, the scholar claimed that metaphors are not only related to simile, metonymy or personification. Synecdoche, catachresis, zeugma and many other figures of speech are connected to metaphor too (ibid., 5). The aim of discussing the figures of speech was to show that they are rather relevant in analyzing metaphors.

1.2 Critical Metaphor Analysis

Another relevant step in the research is to discuss one of the most prominent approaches to metaphor analysis - Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA). It will be employed to investigate metaphorical impact on gender representation. According to Charteris-Black (2004, 34), Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA) can be defined as “an approach to metaphor analysis that aims to reveal the covert (and possibly unconscious) intentions of language users”. The main concern of the current analysis is to figure out the ideational meaning, which is related to deciding whether such meaning exists in a text and whether there is tension between literally expressed source domain and metaphorically conveyed target domain (ibid., 34). Interpersonal meaning also plays a key role in metaphor interpretation. It is important to determine the category of social connections that are created via metaphors (Charteris-Black 2004, 35). The meaning of a metaphor is closely related to the meaning of a text (e.g., the situations), because we can determine the meaning behind a metaphorical expression only from context (ibid., 35). Thus, the Critical Metaphor Analysis will be used in order to conduct the current research, which is concerned with how gender representation changed via the use of metaphors in American sitcoms. Finally, the results of the well-known sitcoms will be compared by using Comparative Analysis. By comparing results, it will be possible to see how figurative language presents male and female and what differences and similarities appear in the way sitcoms use metaphors to describe gender.

1.2.1 Metaphor and gender discourse

Even though metaphors can be detected in actions and body language, metaphors in language are the most significant as they have been analysed by countless scholars all around the world. Verbal metaphors are more captivating, and many scholars are drawn to analysis of such metaphors. In recent years there was a noticeable increase in gender studies, therefore, metaphors related to gender also became a prominent subject of many research.

As Koller (2011, 1) stated, discourse is an essential part of human life as it represents reality from a certain point of view, and it defines the relationship among text producers and recipients. Moreover, language can be called social practice, which helps to comprehend how reality is constructed. The

scholar stated that “the links between metaphor and gender are multi-faceted” (ibid., 1). This means that the links include the way in which speakers (male or female) make use of metaphor, how metaphorical expression is applied to characterize male and female, and in what way metaphors can interpret a social domain in gender. According to another scholar, gender and language studies can be assigned to three historical approaches (Jule 2008). The first half of the 20th century was named as a deficit approach (Koller 2011, 1). It was called in this way because it was thought that men’s language had a superior variety while women’s – inferior. Later, after the second-wave feminism, around 1970s, scholars became more interested in language and gender. However, scholars claimed that language was the source of women’s oppression. Afterwards mixed talk approach became significant. It appeared that in mixed talk males were keen to interrupt females and show their control in discussed topics. On the other hand, women had to play a supportive role in a conversation and to be less expressive or self-confident. Dominance approach took place as men were considered to be superior in language. Eventually in 1980s difference approach took over the dominance approach. Difference approach meant that men and women were assigned into different sub-cultures (ibid., 1). As explained by Maltz and Borker (1982), the differentiation into sub-cultures includes applying language.

Another essential work about gender studies was published by Tannen (1990). The scholars’ book encouraged more publications related to the topic of gender, discussions towards gender differences, women’s speech inferiority, power differences in language and *etc.* In 1990s, another scholar Butler published a book about gender, and it encouraged more research related to gender its issues. As Koller (2011, 2) claimed, Butler’s book was “a radical break” in gender studies. In other words, it revealed that “males will be masculine in their behaviour and females feminine, and they will show such behavior irrespective of context or other identity facets” (ibid., 2). Another important disclosure was that gender and biological sex were not in a cause-effect relationship. Therefore, the effect of gender identity is behaviour itself, which is comprised of behaviour in language. Furthermore, language behavior is related to femininity and masculinity. Gender cannot be named as fixed or context-independent because it might be applied in various situations and times. Koller (2011, 2) also stated that “gender identities are co-constructed in discourse”. In other words, they are arranged via social interactions by incorporating language usage. According to Connell and Messerschmidt (2005), “gender identities and their enactment are modelled on a hegemonic ideal” that most speakers tend to avoid or estimate. Overall, it can be said that the three earlier approaches presumed that the prevailing attitude was that men talk in a masculine way whereas women talk in a feminine way. However, according to the current approach, if “you talk like this that makes you come across as masculine/feminine” (Koller 2011, 2). Some research showed that females occupying a higher position in work tend to use language that is more common among men. This means that in some cases females prefer to employ stereotypically masculine language to show that they are confident and well-accomplished. Similarly, men try to seem like kind leaders when they also

occupy highly paid positions (ibid., 2). Therefore, it shows how men and women might employ other non-stereotypical qualities while using language.

Power relations is another crucial factor while discussing gender issues. According to Koller (2011, 5), a female can say: “My single greatest strength is seeing through the smoke into chaos and operating where everything else is exploding”. The female compared managing with fighting as in both cases everything might seem chaotic or even violent. This instance is a great example of hegemonic metaphors and how they might be applied by females. Therefore, it is rather obvious that women also tend to use language (e.g., metaphors) that is more likely to be employed by men. In her research, Koller (2011) presented a study of the metaphor use by two German politicians, namely, Gerard Schröder and Angela Merkel. According to the scholar, it can be said that metaphors (that seem to be more masculine/feminine) might be used depending on many factors, such as topic, context or just individual preferences (ibid., 12). In conclusion, the research claimed that “the function of metaphor in discourse is to construct reality from a particular vantage point, which in turn influences relationships between discourse participants” (Koller 2011, 19). Furthermore, the main goal of the research was on how metaphor is related to gender issues, how gender is represented via the use of metaphors in discourse, and in what ways feminine and masculine ideologies were expressed. The results revealed that metaphor and gender can be connected in a few ways. For instance, the two can be linked via gender, how different genders use metaphor, what is the position of a male and female, and how metaphorical expression might elicit socio-cognitive representation of men and women (ibid., 20).

Another research presented how power can be expressed by different genders (see Winter *et al.* 2020, 188). According to the scholars (see Winter *et al.* 2020), vertical language is employed to talk about power. The research showed that “people automatically associate higher spatial positions with more powerful social groups” (ibid., 188). For example, army generals, politicians or doctors could be assigned to more powerful social groups as they earn more and in general, their position can be considered to be higher in society. However, less powerful social groups would be occupied by people who work as soldiers or nurses. In addition, another crucial factors are power and social hierarchy. The research shows how metaphors are incorporated into social lives and how they are related to power. For instance, metaphors that are related to social relations are commonly used. The conceptual metaphors related to social relations were as follows POWER IS UP and SUBMISSION IS DOWN (see Winter *et al.* 2020, 188). The expressions related to conceptual metaphors were: *he is at the **height** of his powers* or *the people at the **bottom** end of society see people at the **top** end indulging* (ibid., 188). Examples show how social relations can be displayed via the use of metaphors.

From the previously provided examples it can be seen that there is a “correlation between physical height and physical strength” (see Winter *et al.* 2020, 189). It is crucial to mention that physical position

(height) is rather important in showing power dynamics (*ibid.*, 189). This means that for children, taller people (e.g. parents) seemed to hold more power just because of their height. Therefore, the relation between power and height were rather significant in society as they showed who has more power. Elevation represents social dominance, and it is a nonverbal cue of a persons' higher status (see Schwartz *et al.* 1982). It is rather interesting that according to the research, taller people are valued more highly in society and they are more likely to receive higher salaries too (see Winter *et al.* 2020, 189). In addition, taller people also tend to occupy leadership positions. One of the best examples can be found among US presidents because the ones that were taller were valued as better leaders (Young & French 1996). The significance of vertical position can be noticeable in other domains too. Some of the examples were — athletes receiving rewards by standing on platforms that are arranged into certain height. In addition, some CEOs tend to occupy the highest floors in skyscrapers as they take the highest and most significant positions in a company (see Winter *et al.* 2020, 189).

Therefore, there are many ways where power can be seen or displayed, but for the current research, power and gender relation matter the most. As stated by scholars: “psychologists and social scientists have, for a long time, noted that power and gender are not independent social dimensions” (see Winter *et al.* 2020, 190). Men tend to use language that makes them seem more confident and self-assured whereas women are more likely to be less confident or even shy. In addition, verbal aggression can be used as an instrument to obtain power by men. On the other hand, women may perceive the use of aggression as inability to control the self and being weak rather than powerful. In general, the research showed that the participants in the study were more responsive towards powerful professions and when the higher top position was taken by a male (*ibid.*, 202). When the conceptual metaphor POWER IS UP was analysed, it appeared that gender was rather essential. During the research men and women displayed different results regarding the conceptual metaphor POWER IS UP. This means that male and female participants showed different responses to the given metaphors. Male respondents were faster regarding metaphors that were related to power being up. Moreover, men were faster when seeing a higher work position too. Some differences were also found among the views towards professions because stereotypes were still common in society (see Winter *et al.* 2020, 200). According to the research: “profession pairs that exhibited stronger gender asymmetries lead to a stronger vertical metaphorical associations” (*ibid.*, 200). Therefore, it can be claimed that it was obvious that the attitude of men and women differs in comprehending metaphors as men tend to have more dominant vertical biases while women do not.

Scholar Jódar-Sánchez introduced the most recent analyses in the field of stylistics. According to the author, during the history the topic of sexuality has been discussed quite often (2020, 1). However, in literature and art “there has been a long tradition of overlooking sexuality as a central axis in artistic

production” (ibid., 1). In addition, sometimes sexualities in fictional works were disguised via the lens of sexual normativity. The scholar claimed that in literature gender and sexuality were related to such issues as gender-based differential writing and attribution (Jódar-Sánchez 2020, 3). On the other hand, it was known that previously men and women used to write about different topics and that both genders had a specific style of writing. It was the idea known as “gendered language” which meant that males and females do not share the same writing style as it was rather thought to be impossible. Some time later research proved that both genders may adopt any style despite the gender they belong to. Therefore, the writer can choose and employ any writing style he/she wants to and there are no gender limits, which would prohibit it. One of the best examples can be Goytisolo, whose writing style might seem to belong to a woman rather than a man (ibid., 3). According to Carney (2002), his style resembled a woman’s writing style as he used some linguistic features that may seem to belong to a female. Other two scholars claimed that in the same way as there is no specific writing style that belongs to gays or lesbians, there is no writing style that belongs just to men or women too (Cameron & Kulick 2003). The issue is with the way people speak and the stereotypes they link to sexualities or genders (Jódar-Sánchez 2020, 3). Another issues that Jódar-Sánchez discussed in his research was related to fictional characters and whether the speech they used was realistic, whether it resembled real life speech. Some authors claimed that the speech provided in fictional works was “realistic”, but it cannot be named as “real” (ibid., 3). In a way the language used in fiction can be named as non-realistic as there is only one author (most of the time). However, the fictional work is based on real life situations and events, ways people actually employ language. Therefore, it is rather difficult to claim that fictional language is just realistic or non-realistic as it is both at the same time. One of the most significant aspects in the analysis of sexual stylistics is figurative language (Jódar-Sánchez 2020, 10). Jódar-Sánchez (2020) stated that “metaphors and metonymies are useful in portraying sexual acts and desires, because the latter can be hidden” (ibid., 10). In other words, it is harder to notice them as they are expressed via non-offensive structures. Metaphors and metonymies might be employed in translations regarding sexuality. The use of figurative language may enhance the written work. Personification is also an essential part of the figurative language. For instance, writers tend to use personification to assign human characteristics to something that is non-human. In general, Jódar-Sánchez (2020) explained that it is a must to separate the discourses and resources regarding sexuality which is connected to an author, the established characters, or readers (ibid., 14).

Cibulskienė (2020) introduced metaphorical conceptualization of the #MeToo movement. The #MeToo movement was a hashtag that went viral on social media a few years ago (Cibulskienė 2020, 54). It was used to express concern towards sexual assaults and to emphasize the significance of people sharing their experience in order to make people aware of the problem. The study showed what attitudes were conveyed regarding the #MeToo movement via the usage of metaphorical expressions in the media of

Lithuania and Britain (ibid., 54). According to Cibulskienė (2020, 59), the #MeToo movement was conceptualized as a NATURAL PHENOMENON, PERSON, MOVEMENT, ILLNESS, FORCE, LEGAL ISSUES, OBJECT and SPORT. However, the research also showed that there was uneven distribution of metaphors in the Lithuanian and English discourses. Therefore, the most common scenario in the Lithuanian discourse was natural phenomena (27%) while in the English discourse the most frequent scenario was force (36.6%) (Cibulskienė 2020, 59). In general, the research was significant as it showed cross-cultural differences in selecting metaphorical scenarios. It was explained that natural phenomena scenario was dominant in Lithuanian discourse whereas the force scenario was more commonly used in English discourse. However, as both scenarios are related, they can be treated as one entity. Finally, it shall added that the #MeToo movement was displayed as an active agent, which developed great impact on society. The use of use certain metaphorical expressions showed that the issues related to sexual assaults and harassment were rather essential to society (ibid., 65).

Koller (2019) analysed how sexuality was presented in discourse. The scholar claimed that since 90's within every year the number of studies related to sexuality increased. More and more scholars were interested to see how sexuality and sexual identity was established via the use of discourse (ibid., 6). For instance, one of the conducted studies was related to heterosexual pornographic short stories found in magazines and it was compared with erotic fiction that was written by women (Marko 2008). The research showed that females were mostly referred to in terms of body parts in pornographic short stories compared to how men were presented. In addition, women were more likely to showed as subjects. As summarized by Koller “the effects of normativity and marginalization are very real, and it will take a concerted effort by language and sexuality researchers of all persuasions to identify and counter them” (2019, 14).

Dore (2015, 191) introduced the production of humour via metaphor in the series of the North American TV comedy programme *Friends* (M. Kauffman, D. Crane, 1994). The goal of the research was to show how the scripwriters of the sitcom employ metaphors in conversation and how humour was established. In addition, the scholar was interested to see whether humorous metaphors may assist in creating a character. According to Dore (2015), many scholars were curious about the relationship between humour and metaphor. For instance, Oring (2003, 5), claimed that humour and metaphor is a phenomenon, which is concerned with a clash between conceptual categories. In other words, it is concerned with “appropriate incongruity” (ibid., 5). On the other hand, Müller (2007, 47) was concerned what both phenomena can share. Moreover, the author claimed that humour and metaphor can connect thoughts or conceptual knowledge (ibid., 47). The analysis conducted by Dore showed that the scripwriters of the sitcom *Friends* employed metaphors to convey humorous exchanges that represented certain personality traits of each character. In addition, humorous metaphors helped to establish topics of the series. Some

humorous metaphors revealed the features of the character, his/her interests, and personal history. In some cases, linguistic ambiguity of metaphors was employed. At other times, the scriptwriters were concerned with the image that the metaphor invoked.

1.2.2 Irony and humour in metaphors

As the current study is related to humorous discourse, it is crucial to discuss humour. There were countless research conducted over the years regarding humour and how it should be defined, and many definitions were provided. Macmillan Dictionary (2022) defines humour as “the quality that makes a situation or entertainment funny”. However, it is not sufficient to understand the notion of humour in order to analyse humorous metaphors. One of the best attempts to define the concept of humorous metaphor was achieved by Dore. The author claimed that a metaphor can be called humorous when different domains consist of incongruent mappings (Dore 2015, 201). Furthermore, Attardo suggested that humorous metaphors shall be named as an umbrella term (see Brone *et al.* 2015, 92). In other words, humorous metaphors are quite difficult to define, therefore the umbrella term is used to define the three phenomena (ibid., 92):

1. *Metaphors that are funny in and of themselves*
2. *Metaphors that describe a referent that is inherently funny*
3. *Failed metaphors (metaphors that are involuntarily funny, or that are produced pretending to be involuntarily funny)*

(see Brone *et al.* 2015, 92)

Attardo provides some examples that would help to comprehend the first phenomenon – “metaphors that are funny in and of themselves”. Example is given below:

A review of Frederic Raphael’s novel *A Double Life*:

(1) *Beautifully written. There is suspense, irony, breathtaking raccourcis (pithy descriptions) and humorous metaphors – for instance, picturing Pia, a good professional making love ‘like a typist’.*

(ibid., 97)

According to Attardo, there is incongruity between domains (ibid., 97). That is most likely because of the Italian Renaissance princess having high status in society. The expression “making love like a typist” is a simile, however, the differences can be ignored in the analysis (see Brone *et al.* 2015, 97). The expression can be rephrased into “Pia was a typist as fast as making love went” (ibid., 97). The author claimed that “the blend/mapping in the metaphor is fairly clear on the one hand we have sex and on the other typing” (see Brone *et al.* 2015, 97). However, it is quite difficult to comprehend where humour comes from in the presented metaphor as there are few ways to understand it. First, it can be explained by saying that typing and sex are both concerned with motor activities (partly) with the fingers. Moreover, sex and typing can be performed while sitting. The humour may be seen from the stereotypes that are linked to typists. According to the definition provided by dictionary “typist” can be defined as

someone who works with a typewriter. Therefore, the author explained that “typists were overwhelmingly female and that a steady production of pornographic material focused on the interplay between the (male) bosses and the female typists” (see Brone *et al.* 2015, 97). However, the humour rises from the prototypical characteristics of women that earn small salaries. According to Oring, the humour in the discussed metaphor comes from “the incongruity of mapping sex to typing” (see Brone *et al.* 2015, 97).

Another humorous phenomenon is called “metaphors that describe a referent that is inherently funny”. Example is provided below:

(2) *As independent as a hog on ice.*

(see Brone *et al.* 2015, 98)

According to Attardo (2015), it is not metaphor itself that should be thought of as humorous, but the referent of the metaphorical expression (*ibid.*, 98). The humour might rise from the fact that the hog cannot be named as an animal that is independent as he is unable to be controlled or control himself on ice. That is what makes the metaphor partly humorous. However, another part of humour rises from the evoked image of the hog slipping on the ice, trying to stop.

The last humorous phenomenon is called “failed metaphors”. These types of metaphors are developed on purpose by making a metaphor seem unsuccessful (see Brone *et al.* 2015, 99). Furthermore, the phenomenon consists of four subtypes of failed metaphors. The first subtype is un-metaphors. As stated by Attardo, un-metaphors appear “if one maps one domain upon itself, one does not get a successful metaphor and if one attempts to map two domains that have no connection, no well-formed metaphor emerges” (*ibid.*, 99). For instance, “The little boat gently drifted across the pond exactly the way a bowling ball wouldn’t” (*ibid.*, 100). It can be seen that the mapping in the metaphor is denied, which already makes it a failed metaphor. It is obvious that a bowling ball is too heavy to float on a surface, therefore it makes the metaphor to be failed. The second subtype of failed metaphor is mixed metaphor. It means that the metaphorical expression contains more than one metaphor. For example, “this is the margin of patience. It takes a special player or coach with a strong back for scrutiny to transition from a wide-eyed country mouse to a position in a rat of expectations without losing his marbles” (see Brone *et al.* 2015, 102). From the instance it can be seen that the metaphors that were used were completely or partially unrelated and that makes them to be failed metaphors. The last subtype of failed metaphors is overdone metaphors. For examples, “He was as lame as a duck. Not the metaphorical lame duck, either, but a real duck that was actually lame. Maybe from stepping on a land mine or something” (*ibid.*, 104). It might be seen as an overdone metaphor as it is obviously over-exaggerated. The last subtype is erroneously categorized metaphors or, in other words, fake metaphors. For example, “He fell for her like his heart was a mob informant and she was the east river” (see Brone *et al.* 2015, 105). The scholar

explained that there are two unrelated senses in a metaphor, which link two unrelated domains. Therefore, the metaphor is failed, and it belongs to the subtype of fake metaphors.

Another important notion that is related to humour is irony. According to Macmillan Dictionary (2022), irony is “a form of humour in which you use words to express the opposite of what the words really mean”. It can be seen from the definition itself that irony is significant because it is closely related to humour. Burgers and Steen (2017, 1) introduced three-dimensional model of verbal irony. The model is useful in that it may help to understand and analyse metaphors in a more convenient way. The three-dimensional model of verbal irony can be characterized as having three dimensions (1) language, (2) thought and (3) communication. To begin with, the dimension of language is concerned with the “differential linguistic forms metaphors can take” (ibid., 5). There are two linguistic forms of metaphors. The first type is called a genuine metaphor (e.g., *My surgeon is a butcher*), the second type – simile (e.g., *My surgeon is like a butcher*) (Burgers & Steen 2017, 5). The second dimension of verbal irony is thought (ibid., 6). The main focus of this form of dimension is on the source and target domain connection (ibid., 6). Again, this dimension contains two forms of metaphors – novel and conventional metaphors. According to the scholars, metaphors related to novelty “typically ask more cognitive effort of the reader because they have to construct a new mapping between the source and target domain concepts involved, implying that these are relatively likely to be processed by comparison” (Burgers & Steen 2017, 6). On the other hand, metaphors related to conventionality are easier to recognize because its mappings are already familiar to some recipients. The last form of dimension is communication, which is closely related to deliberateness. It means that a speaker tends to use a metaphor intentionally. However, non-deliberate metaphors may be identified by disambiguating a word and categorizing it in thought (ibid., 7).

The section introduced the most essential concepts that were used to conduct research of how gender is represented in the American sitcoms *Married...with Children* and *Modern Family*. The following section will provide data and necessary methods for the research.

2. Data and methods

2.1 Data sources

As previously stated in the introduction, the purpose of the thesis is to analyse how gender representation in the media changed over a period of time in the American sitcoms. The current research will include two well-known American television sitcoms. The first sitcom - *Married...with Children* (1987) was created by M. G. Moye and R. Leavitt. The series is considered as one of the longest running sitcoms in the history of television as it released 11 seasons. The sitcom introduces an ordinary American family consisting of four family members and how the family deals with daily problems and relationships. Another sitcom, *Modern Family* (2009), was created by C. Lloyd and S. Levitan. The sitcom also has 11 seasons. *Modern Family* also talks about the life of a family, but the difference is in that it is a bigger family consisting of 12 people. The big family can be distributed into three smaller ones, which could be named nuclear, blended, and same sex families. Both series also address similar events and problems that real life families may encounter on a daily basis. The American sitcoms were chosen for a few reasons. First, both sitcoms introduce family life and how the members of the family treat each other. This is in line with the research aim to analyse male and female perspective. Secondly, both shows are both produced in the USA, thus they share similar cultural background. Thirdly, it was crucial to select sitcoms that were produced at different periods of time as the purpose of the research was to compare how the views towards gender and humour changed over certain period of time.

The transcribed scripts of both series were found on the websites www.albundy.net and www.transcripts.foreverdreaming.org. Every episode was checked manually and compared to the series in order to be sure that the transcriptions were correctly written. The data regarding the sitcoms is provided in Table 1.

Table 1. *Research data*

	<i>Married...with Children</i>	<i>Modern Family</i>
No of episodes	19	16
No of words	49,900	51,751
Average no of words per episode	2,626	3,234
Running time span	1987-1997	2009-2020
Analysed time span	1987-1988	2009

Table 1 shows that the corpus of *Married...with Children* consists of 19 episodes whereas *Modern Family* contains 16 episodes. The number of episodes differs because it was attempted to equalize both subcorpora in terms of number of words. *Married...with Children* is considered to be an older American sitcom as it was shown on television from 1987 to 1997. On the other hand, *Modern Family* is more

recent as it was released in 2009 and the production was stopped in 2020. The average number of words per episode is approximately 2,626 for *Married...with Children* and 3,234 for *Modern Family*.

2.2 Research methods and procedure

Several methods based on the theories of Critical Metaphor Analysis (Charteris-Black 2014, Koller 2019) and Humour Theory (see Brone *et al.* 2015) were employed in the research. The collected data was analysed adopting qualitative approach supplemented with descriptive statistics.

Critical Metaphor Analysis (Charteris-Black 2014, Koller 2019) embraces the following steps:

1. Metaphor Identification.

At the linguistic level, metaphorical expressions were manually identified in the transcribed texts using adapted MIPVU. The procedure was established by Pragglejaz Group scholars (2007). It is considered to be one of the most successful manual methodological tools in analysing figurative language. MIPVU is an improved version of this methodological tool, which helps to identify linguistic metaphors in a more convenient way. The procedure includes four steps. First, it is necessary to read the text and comprehend the context. Second, every lexical unit has to have its meaning established. Third, the meaning of every lexical unit must be checked in a dictionary. However, this step was adapted differently by checking only the meanings of gender-related metaphors. The last step was to decide whether the lexical unit has a metaphorical meaning. The lexical units were checked in Macmillan Dictionary, which is an online English dictionary. Therefore, the basic meanings that needed to be checked were examined via the assistance of a dictionary and they were compared with the contextual meanings. If there was a contrast between basic and contextual meaning, then the lexical unit was considered as metaphor. Furthermore, Humour Theory (see Brone *et al.* 2015) was applied to analyse humorous gender-related metaphors. In *Married...with Children* humour was detected via the audience laugh whereas in *Modern Family* humour was identified based on a subjective opinion.

2. Metaphor Interpretation.

At the conceptual level, metaphorical expressions were related to conceptual metaphors. Metaphors were classified, interpreted and explained with the help of Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA). According to Charteris-Black, there are three stages in metaphor analysis, which were developed by Cameron and Low. The first step in Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA) is to identify the metaphors (*ibid.*, 35). In other words, all the examples of linguistic metaphors related to the topic that is about to be analysed must be collected. The current research is interested in metaphors that are related to gender, how gender is represented in two different American sitcoms. Therefore, the goal is to identify metaphors that are gender-related. The second step in

CMA is to interpret the selected metaphors (ibid., 37). This means that from the collected linguistic metaphors conceptual metaphors must be derived. Conceptual metaphors are helpful in order to see the dominant patterns of linguistic metaphors and it helps to assemble results in research. According to the scholar: “Interpretation involves establishing a relationship between metaphors and the cognitive and pragmatic factors that determine them” (Charteris-Black 2004, 37). The third step of the Critical Metaphor Analysis is to explain the metaphors (ibid., 39). In this stage it is important to find out the patterns of thought and to provide personal understandings of linguistic metaphors (ibid., 39).

3. Metaphor Explanation.

At the ideological level, gender representation through metaphors was analysed, taking into consideration (1) how gender differences are presented metaphorically; (2) how humour is related to gender representation changed over two decades. Metaphors were explained and most significant patterns of thought and personal understandings were shown.

The next section will introduce with research results, all the significant data and explanations regarding gender metaphors and the use of humour and irony.

3. Metaphorical gender representation in the sitcoms *Married...with Children* and *Modern Family*

3.1 Gender representation

The research findings section will provide results and discussion of the analysis. In addition, the section will introduce the answers to the previously raised questions, such as how figurative language was used to establish gender, how humour was employed and how gender representation changed over more than two decades in the sitcoms *Married...with Children* and *Modern Family*. The most common target domains related to gender and their source domains will be introduced and discussed in detail.

Table 2. *Most common target domains related to a HUMAN BEING*

Most frequent target domains	<i>Married...with Children</i>	<i>Modern Family</i>	Total
CHILD	59	83	142
WOMAN	89	69	158
MAN	107	106	213
Total	255	258	513

The analysis revealed that both sitcoms contain a great number of figurative language. For example, *Married...with Children* had 361 metaphorical expressions that were related to how gender was expressed. The target domain of HUMAN BEING was divided into three subcategories. Instead of using one target domain that would refer to a HUMAN BEING, the target domain was categorized into CHILD, WOMAN and a MAN. It was done in order to make it more convenient to analyse how gender is represented and to see how family relationships were established in the sitcoms. Therefore, *Married...with Children* had 59 metaphorical expressions with the target domain of the CHILD. Table 2 shows that the target domain of the WOMAN had 89 examples while the target domain of the MAN contained 107 examples. The rest of the 106 examples that were found in the analysis were not as much gender specific, but they were significant in order to comprehend how gender or family relations were developed.

Modern Family had more examples of figurative language as there were 401 identified metaphorical expression. Just like in *Married...with Children*, the target domains of a HUMAN BEING in *Modern Family* were also divided into three subcategories, namely, CHILD, WOMAN, and MAN. Table 2 shows that the target domain CHILD had 83 examples of metaphorical expressions. The target domain of the WOMAN contained 69 examples whereas the most examples were indicated of the target domain related to the MAN as it had 106 examples. The rest of 135 examples were metaphors that were not as significant, but they also assisted in understanding gender and family relationships. Therefore, the results show that in both sitcoms the target domain MAN had the most examples. This means that women, children or

(sometimes) men in the family addressed men more often via the use of figurative language. However, the difference appeared between the target domains of CHILD and WOMAN. In *Married...with Children* the target domain CHILD is not as common compared to *Modern Family*. It seems that *Married...with Children* does not refer as much to children via the use of metaphors, which might suggest that parents do not tend to address their children in a more sincere way (e.g., via the use of such words as *honey*, *sweetheart* etc.). However, in *Modern Family* parents seem to address their children in an affectionate way more often and it might show their devotion and admiration towards their offsprings. Another difference appeared in the sitcoms in the use of the target domain of the WOMAN. In *Married...with Children* the target domain was used more often compared to *Modern Family*. There might be various reasons behind it. It may not necessarily mean that men and children are less loving towards their wives or mothers. However, it might mean that the family relations are slightly less affectionate. Another reason might be the fact that women in *Modern Family* were presented to have more authority in family compared to *Married...with Children* where women were treated with disrespect. In addition, such metaphorical expressions as *honey* or *sweetheart* were used less often. The analysis will present the collected data and examples further on.

3.2 *Married...with Children*

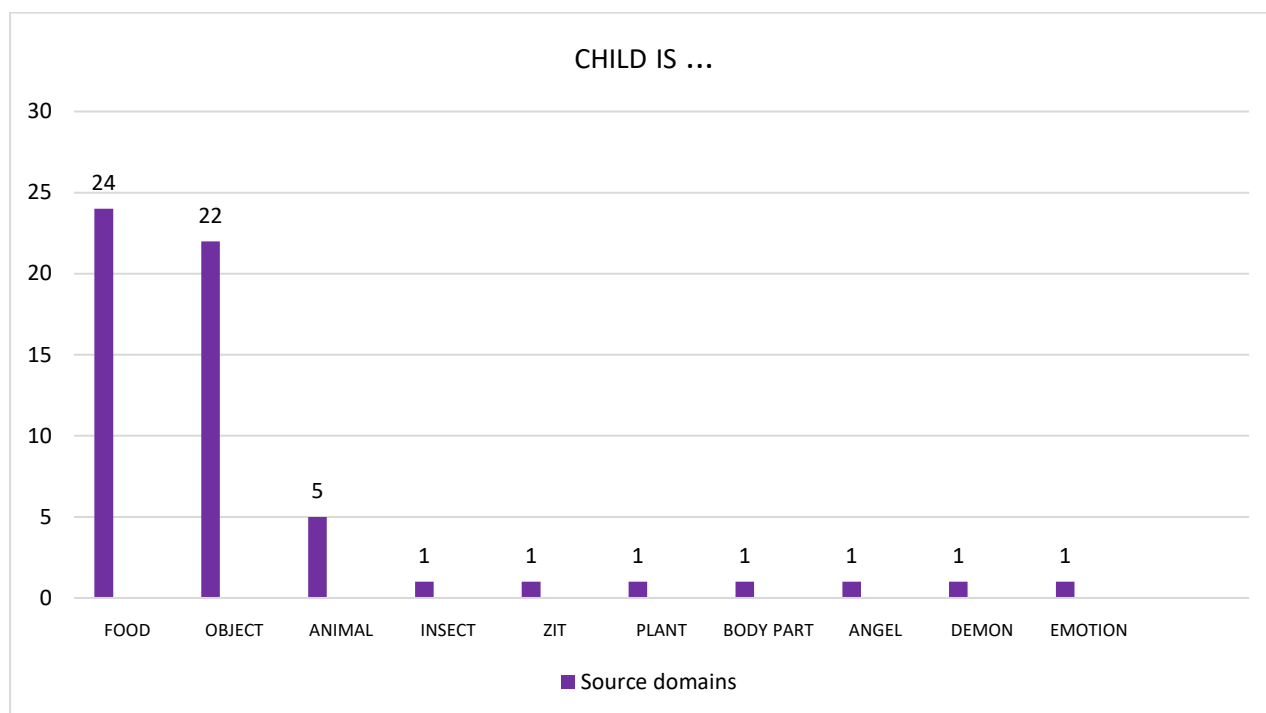
As previously mentioned, *Married...with Children* is one of the longest running sitcoms in American television. It is one of the most well-known live action sitcoms, which represents the life of a typical American family in late 80s. The show tells us about a family, which lives in Chicago. The family consists of four family members, namely, Al, Peggy, Kelly and Bud. Al Bundy is a women's shoe salesman, who is not very fond of his work and family. Furthermore, the man seems to be rather unhappy with most things in his life, such as lack of money, unsatisfactory job and his troubling family. His wife Peggy is unemployed and feels happy to be a housewife that can spend husbands' money. However, she is not considered as a good housewife because she is lazy. Kelly is the dim-witted older daughter, who is mostly interested in dating. Her best quality is her beauty, which might be thought to be her hobby. The last family member is the youngest child — Bud, who is self-assertive boy that likes to annoy his sister. Furthermore, there are other two occurring characters — Marcy and Steve Rhoades, who are the neighbours of the Bundy family. Both spouses are hard-working, but Marcy is more controlling while Steve is more laid-back.

3.2.1 Conceptual metaphors related to a CHILD

As it can be seen from Figure 3, the most common source domains that structured the target domain CHILD were the following FOOD, OBJECT, ANIMAL, INSECT, ZIT, PLANT, BODY PART, ANGEL, DEMON, and EMOTION. The most common source was FOOD as it had 24 examples. The following most frequent

source domains where OBJECT with 23 examples and ANIMAL with 5 examples. However, other source domains were not as common as only one metaphorical expression make them manifest.

Figure 3. *The most frequent source domains related to the target domain of CHILD*



As the most frequent conceptual metaphor was CHILD IS FOOD, consider a few of examples of this category:

(1) Al: *What is it, **honey**?*

(2) Al: *Yeah, it's all coming back to me now: ungrateful redhead, **rotten** kids.*

The analysis revealed that children were mostly described via three words that can be related to food, namely, *honey*, *sweetheart* and *rotten*. The word *honey* was the most common as it was used to address or describe a child 20 times, the word *sweetheart* appeared only three times whereas *rotten* was used only once. Furthermore, another significant fact is that the word *honey* was mostly used to describe the daughter of the family as it was used 17 times while to boy was called *honey* only three times. From the collected data it seems that parents were more attentive to the older daughter. The parents were more concerned about her state, as she received more questions related to her well-being. However, the boy was barely asked about his state of mind, and if he was, it was his mother Peggy who kept questioning. The father Al was more attentive to his daughter Kelly and what problems she encountered. The (1) example illustrates how Al is treating his daughter. From the analysed data it can be assumed that both parents seem to be more willing to assist their daughter, they appear more concerned of what is happening in her life. According to Jódar-Sánchez (2020, 3), stereotypes that are connected to sexualities and genders are a common issue, which is relevant to this day. People tend to look at males and females

in a stereotypical way. Similar problem is seen in the sitcom. Parents think that there is a specific way that is appropriate; therefore, they treat their female and male child differently. Kelly is more looked-after and she is more controlled by her parents while Bud seems to have more freedom and the parents do not pay much attention to whether he is behaving or not. Only in a few examples Peggy addresses him as *honey*. Al does not use any kind words to address or describe his son as it may have been considered not masculine at the time the sitcom was set (late 80s). Example (2) is different as the metaphor employed to describe both children of the family has negative connotation. Al was furious and disappointed over his children because they were often lazy and not well-behaved. It appears that father sees his children as a burden. Therefore, from both examples it is seen that gender plays a relevant role in constructing characters and parent-child relations. Kelly is treated with more care and kindness from her parents and she is always watched after, whereas Bud is left to be on his own, as if he is able to encounter his own problems.

Another category deals with a child represented as an OBJECT. The conceptual metaphor is as follows: CHILD IS AN OBJECT. Examples are provided below:

(3) Al: *Why don't you have a couple of kids - they'll **suck it up** like a Hoover.*

(4) Kelly: *You little **wad**! You thief! You Nazi Fascist psychopath!*

Most conceptual metaphors that refer to a child being an object contain such words as *have*, *get* and *take*. However, these are considered as highly conventionalized metaphorical expression and they will not be analysed in further detail. However, the most interesting examples will be discussed more explicitly. For instance, in (3) Example the neighbours of the Bundy family come to discuss where they should invest additional money that they got from tax refund. Therefore, Al claims that the best solution would be to have children who would act like vacuum cleaners. Al meant that if you want to waste all the money you should get children. According to him, children require a lot of attention and money and to him it seems like a waste. The example shows that both children are seen equally despite their different genders. Example (4) shows the relationship between brother and sister. From the analysed series it might be stated that the siblings are not fond of each other. Most of the time they either argue or cause trouble by lying or pranking. In Example (4) Kelly referred to her brother Bud as *wad* and called him a thief and a Nazi Fascist psychopath because he decided to give her personal diary to mother as a Christmas gift. Therefore, Kelly got angry, and she insulted her brother for doing such deed. According to Macmillan Dictionary (2022), *wad* can be defined as *a thick pile or a ball of papers, money, or thin cloth*. In other words, Kelly named her brother an object because she was furious at him. This example also shows how different genders treat each other. In most cases the children seem to dislike each other and be rather cruel. Therefore, female and male child do not have a friendly relationship, where they would support or be kind to each other. The reason behind that might be the example that Peggy and Al provide to their

children. In some cases, the husband and wife seem to have toxic relationship as they argue, make ironic and sarcastic remarks towards each other. Consequently, the children look up to them as an example from which they learn.

The last conceptual metaphor regarding children is related to them being viewed as animals. The conceptual metaphor — CHILD IS AN ANIMAL. Consider examples below:

(5) Peggy: *Okay, be home by six. Oh, and Bud, don't **bite** anyone.*

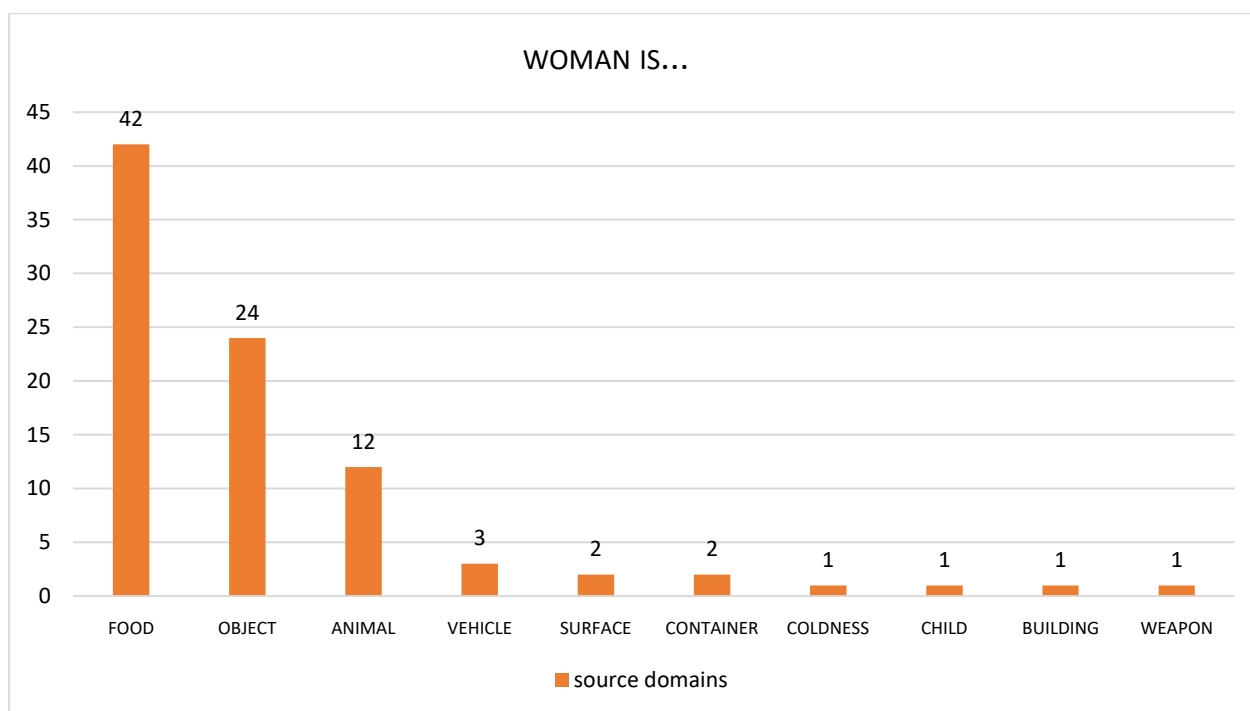
(6) Al: *That's one smart **fish**.*

The analysis showed that there were only a few examples of children being referred to as animals. Example (5) is when Peggy says goodbye to Kelly and Bud before they go to school. However, it is not an ordinary goodbye as she tells her son not to bite anyone as if he would be some animal. Most likely it might be interpreted that Peggy told Bud not to act like a dog. In other words, it means that mother may have wanted her son to behave in school and not cause any trouble. Furthermore, the use of the verb *bite* may be understood as a request not to use harsh words or remarks towards other people (e.g., his sister Kelly). It might be implied that Bud tends to annoy and insult his sister daily. The metaphorical expression also shows that woman sees a male as an animal (e.g., dog). As if a man could not behave like a human being. Example (6) shows how Al calls Kelly *fish* after she complains about having “the forehead of a dolphin” (E13). It seems like the father chose the animal in order to make the situation more humorous rather than to insult his daughter. However, Kelly is known to be clueless and lazy teenager, therefore, the phrase *smart fish* might sound like a mock or teasing. As if she would be the opposite of smart. It is known that men tend to be more verbally aggressive in order to show their dominance (see Winter *et al.* 2020, 190). Therefore, Al may show that he is the smart one in the family. His attitude implies that Al sees females as being unintelligent. This sort of opinion towards females is downgrading.

3.2.2 Conceptual metaphors related to a WOMAN

Figure 4 shows that the most frequent source domains that structured the target domain WOMAN were the following: FOOD, OBJECT, ANIMAL, VEHICLE, SURFACE, CONTAINER, COLDNESS, CHILD, BUILDING, and WEAPON. The most common source domain was FOOD with 42 examples while OBJECT as source domain was identified 24 times. The source domain of an ANIMAL contained 12 examples. In contrast, other examples of source domains had only a few identified cases. Therefore, they will not be discussed in detail.

Figure 4. *The most frequent source domains related to the target domain of WOMAN*



As the most common conceptual metaphor was WOMAN IS FOOD, consider a couple examples of this category:

(7) Al: *Peg, honey.*

(8) Al: *See, women love us when we look at them like slabs of beef.*

The analysis showed that women were mostly referred to with such words as *honey, hon, beef, sweetie, sweet, pip, sugar, and sweetypuss*. The word *honey* was the most frequently used as it was employed in conversations 26 times. However, the word *hon*, which is shorter for honey, was used six times. Furthermore, in most cases these type of addresses were mostly used by Al towards his wife Peggy. On one hand, it might seem that it is an affectionate way of addressing one's partner. However, sometimes *honey* or *hon* were used with irony. Al would employ the words to make fun of mistakes that were done by Peggy, therefore, such type of address did not seem sincere or expressing affection. Despite the fact that sometimes *honey* or *hon* were used ironically, in most cases Al seemed to use it as a nice form of address towards his spouse. For instance, Example (7) shows how Al addresses his wife not only by her name but in a sincere and flattering way by using the word *honey*. According to Macmillan Dictionary (2022), *honey* can be defined as "a sweet, sticky, yellow or brown food made by bees". For that reason, it can be assumed that Al shows his affection towards his wife by calling her something that is sweet. Another aspect that should be addressed is the fact that honey is food, therefore, a woman is looked at as if she would be consumable. It means that men might objectify women by calling a female by the name of food. Other (8) Example shows how Al tries to console Steve by trying to explain to him that women love to be viewed as pieces of meat (e.g., *slabs of beef*). This type of attitude towards women appears to be sexist. As claimed by Koller (2019, 6), pornographic short stories present women in terms

of body parts, therefore, it is common that men objectify women, and view them as something that can be eaten. Women are shown as something that resembles an object rather than a human being. Therefore, it also shows how Al views his wife. She is something that he can consume, use in the relationship. Worst of all, Al teaches his neighbour Steve that it is a proper attitude towards women and that it is acceptable.

Another category deals with women being shown as an OBJECT. The conceptual metaphor is as follows WOMAN IS AN OBJECT. Examples are given below:

(9) Sherry: *I need a man to make me **whole**.*

(10) Al: *You're my **rock**, Peg.*

Most examples that implied women to be objects contained such verbs as *take, toss, find, get and drag*. In other cases, metaphorical expressions were expressed via *rock, wreck* and *nut-cracker*. However, as verbs are quite commonly used in metaphors, more interesting examples were taken into account. In the (9) Example Al goes to visit his friend Luke. There Al meets two beautiful blond-haired women — Sherry and Terry. Sherry complains to Al that it is difficult for her to find a descent man, and she adds that she wants a man to make her *whole*. From example, it can be seen that Sherry objectifies herself as she wants to be complete like an object. Sherry can be compared to an object because it is impossible to make a person “whole”. In addition, it might be stated that Sherry cannot imagine herself being alone and existing without a man. It is an interesting example because the woman views herself as an object and she finds nothing wrong with that. However, the analysis revealed that there were only a few examples of women presenting themselves as inanimate objects. In another (10) Example Al complains that everyone seems to earn a lot of money. Peggy comments that it is not true and Al replies to her by saying that she is his *rock*. The remark made by Al was sarcastic and it might be implied because of how he used his tone. In this case, Al refers to his wife as a *rock* by wanting to show that she is like a solid and strong support to him in their marriage. However, the remark was ironic (because of the tone), therefore, the metaphor received another meaning. Irony made the remark to attain the opposite meaning. Therefore, Al meant that Peggy is a person that does not support him. The main goal of husband was to mock his wife and the relationship they have. It might be implied that the married couple may lead unhappy life.

The third source domain is an ANIMAL. The conceptual metaphor is as follows WOMAN IS AN ANIMAL. Consider examples below:

(11) Marcy: *There are a lot of man-hungry **barracudas** out there.*

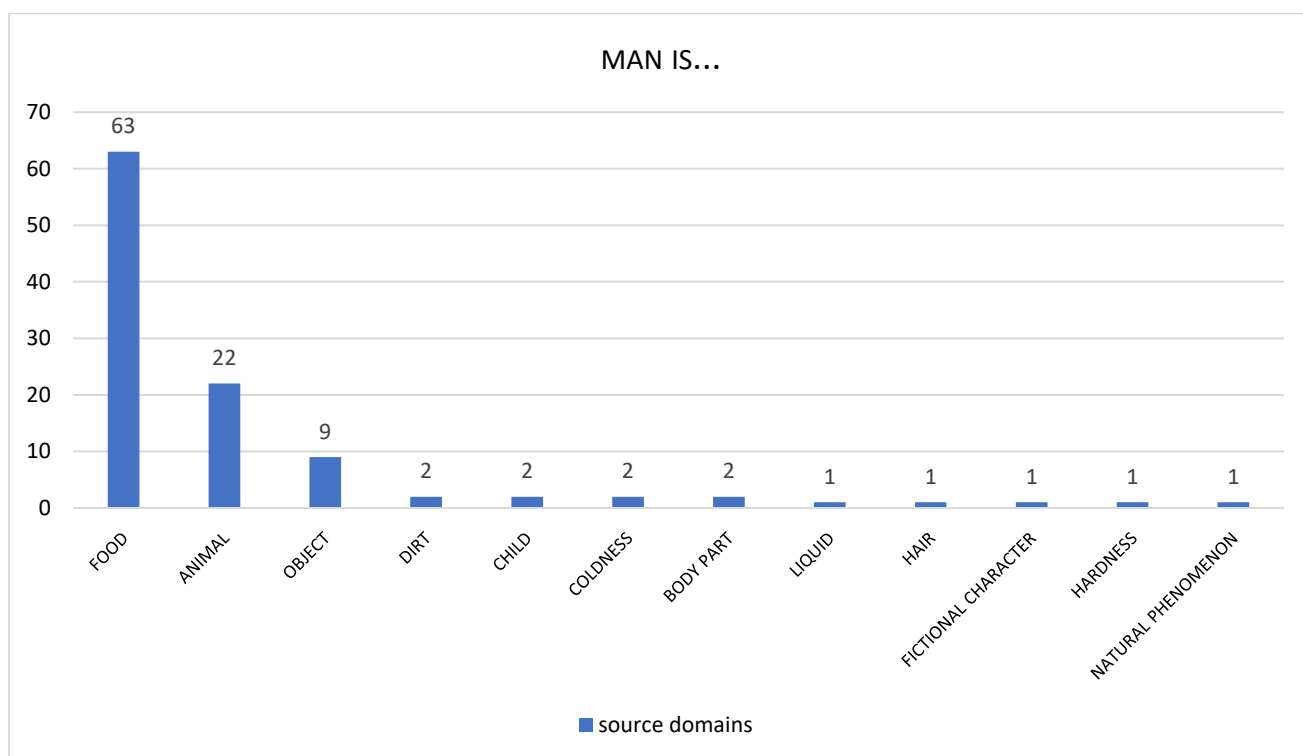
(12) Al: *Yeah, and we also have wage-earners, wage-earners, **leeches** and wage-earners.*

A few of the metaphorical expressions contained such verbs as *roar* and *hunt*. Therefore, the used words showed that women might be treated like animals. Moreover, other words were also employed to indicate that a woman is an animal *dog, goose, barracuda, leech, frog, kitten* and *etc.* In the (11) Example Marcy was having a conversation with Peggy about married men being dissatisfied with marital life. Marcy stated that after marriage men might be seduced by other women or as she called them “man-hungry barracudas.” According to Macmillan Dictionary (2022), *barracuda* can be defined as “a large tropical sea fish with sharp teeth and lower jaw that sticks out”. However, this is not the only meaning that exists and it is not completely accurate to what Marcy meant. As stated by Idiom Dictionary (2022), *barracuda* is “a predatory person, especially a predatory woman”. Therefore, idiom was used to state that men might be hunted by predatory women who seek their money. The resemblance between the fish and a woman is not the looks but the traits they both may share. The fish is considered to be deceptive, therefore, a woman resembles it because of the same trait. Example (12) also seems to have a negative connotation towards women. However, the situation is slightly different as the words were uttered by a man. When Kelly informs Al that few people in their neighbourhood won Porche cars, he replied by saying that they are just *wage-earners* or *leeches*. By saying leeches, he meant housewives that spend all day cleaning, cooking and taking care of family. However, Peggy is not a typical housewife as she is barely seen doing any housework. Therefore, Al views his wife as being a leech. According to Macmillan Dictionary (2022), *leech* is “a small soft creature that sticks to the skin of other animals in order to feed on their blood”. Al may have established a similarity between his wife Peggy and a leech because they both stick to something. Leech sticks to an animal or a human and in the same way Peggy sticks to Al and uses his earned money for her own good. Therefore, it is a negative attitude towards females. Furthermore, Al demonstrates his own power and dominance in the house as he is the “wage-earner”. In other words, he is the one that provides for the family. As claimed by Winter (2020, 190), gender and power cannot be considered as independent social dimensions as they are connected. Therefore, in a way Al also demonstrates his power by saying that he is superior.

3.2.3 Conceptual metaphors related to a MAN

Figure 5 reveals that the most common source domains that structured the target domain MAN were the following FOOD, ANIMAL, OBJECT, DIRT, CHILD, COLDNESS, BODY PART, LIQUID and *etc.* The most frequently used source domain was FOOD as 63 metaphorical expressions were used within this source domain. In addition, the source domain of an ANIMAL was used 22 times whereas the domain of OBJECT was identified 9 times. Other source domains were not as common; therefore, they will be discussed not so extensively.

Figure 5. *The most frequent source domains related to the target domain of MAN*



As the most frequent conceptual metaphor was MAN IS FOOD, consider a few examples of this category:

(13) Peggy: *Have a nice day, **honey**.*

(14) Peggy: *Oh. What a **sweet** man. Yeah, that **sweet** man would get me a great gift and I'll be sitting there like a jerk with nothing for him.*

The research showed that men were mostly referred to via the use of such words as *honey*, *sweetie*, *sweet*, *sweetest*, *apple*, *breadwinner*, and *lizard*. Again, the word *honey* was the most frequently employed word with 50 examples. It was mostly Peggy addressing her husband Al by the noun *honey*. Example (13) shows how Peggy wishes her husband to have a nice day. The metaphorical expression was mostly used to show sincerity and affection towards the spouse. In many cases Peggy used the word to address Al while welcoming, agreeing or asking for favours. However, in some examples the wife used *honey* while making a sarcastic or ironic remark towards her husband. Therefore, it is assumed that the address was not always sincere. In addition, honey is considered to be a type of food and Peggy makes it seem like Al is consumable. In a way she has a possibility to “consume” her husband by using his salary. At least that is what her husband thinks in most situations. It can be said that Peggy objectifies Al in the same way that he objectifies her. In Example (14) children tell Peggy that she is about to receive the watch she was always dreaming of as an anniversary gift from Al. To such news Peggy replied by calling Al “a sweet man”. Example shows that the wife thinks that her husband is attentive and loving because he listens to her wishes. In addition, the word *sweet* signifies something that is good, therefore, Peggy seems to think highly of her spouse. On the other hand, sweet is related to something that is rather edible than a human being. This means that Peggy objectifies Al again even though it sounds like a nice form of address to use towards a loved person. As stated by Koller (2011, 19), one of the main functions

of metaphor in discourse is to create reality, which would affect relationships between people. Therefore, the use of metaphors that imply sincerity of a person shows how (un)successful the marriage is.

Another category deals with a man being an ANIMAL. The conceptual metaphor is as follows MAN IS AN ANIMAL. Examples are provided below:

(15) Steve: *You're a pig, Al.*

(16) Al: *Hey, I didn't want new clothes for the kids, but I gave in. And what's good for the goose, is good for the goose's wife.*

Unlike the conceptual metaphors related to children and women, in this case the second most common source domain was an ANIMAL, not an OBJECT. This means that either women, children or men themselves referred to males as being animals in one way or another. The most frequent words that were used to describe men were *lion, peacock, dog, duck, baboon, goose, eagle, tiger, tuna, albatross* and *etc.* However, the noun *pig* was used mostly as it was employed four times in conversations. Other words were used only once. In Example (15) Al and Steve were watching a repair woman until Marcy came to the house. Steve was enjoying staring at the repair woman and commenting on her looks. Al encouraged Steve to say more even though he saw Marcy standing behind them. As a consequence, Steve called Al *pig* as he was caught talking about the repair woman next to his wife Marcy and Al did not notify him about it. Pig is considered to be a filthy animal, the one that is rather dirty and omits bad odour. Steve can be named to be more of a gentleman while Al is quite the opposite. Therefore, Steve called him a pig. In other words, Steve meant that Al is a person that is not a good and trustworthy friend. In other two examples the noun *pig* was used by women to also describe men, and once it was employed by a man to refer to himself. It can be said that such metaphorical expression is an insult, which was used to refer to men. In Example (16) Al and Peggy had an argument about the family budget. According to Al, Peggy has to share the money she earned with other family members (she had a job for a few days). Furthermore, he complained that he did not want to buy new clothes for kids, but he did, as it is the responsibility of parents to support their children. Also, Al wanted a new fishing rod, therefore, Peggy was asked to share her money to fulfil his dream. Then he referred to himself as a *goose* and added that whatever husband buys should be good for the spouse too. Goose is a bird which does not have similar connotations like a pig. In addition, the goose may have been employed because it might be connected of a saying "golden goose". Golden goose is a source of wealth that never ends, unless the wealth is misused. Therefore, Al may have implied that he is the one providing money and everyone should be happy about that.

The third source domain was an OBJECT. The conceptual metaphor is as follows MAN IS AN OBJECT. Consider examples below:

(17) Marcy: *I never thought I could have this much hate for an inanimate object.*

Peggy: *You mean Al?*

Marcy: *Yeah - and that car.*

(18) Kelly: *Mom, I hate to tell you, but as a **boyfriend-stealer** myself, the best time to get them is right after a fight.*

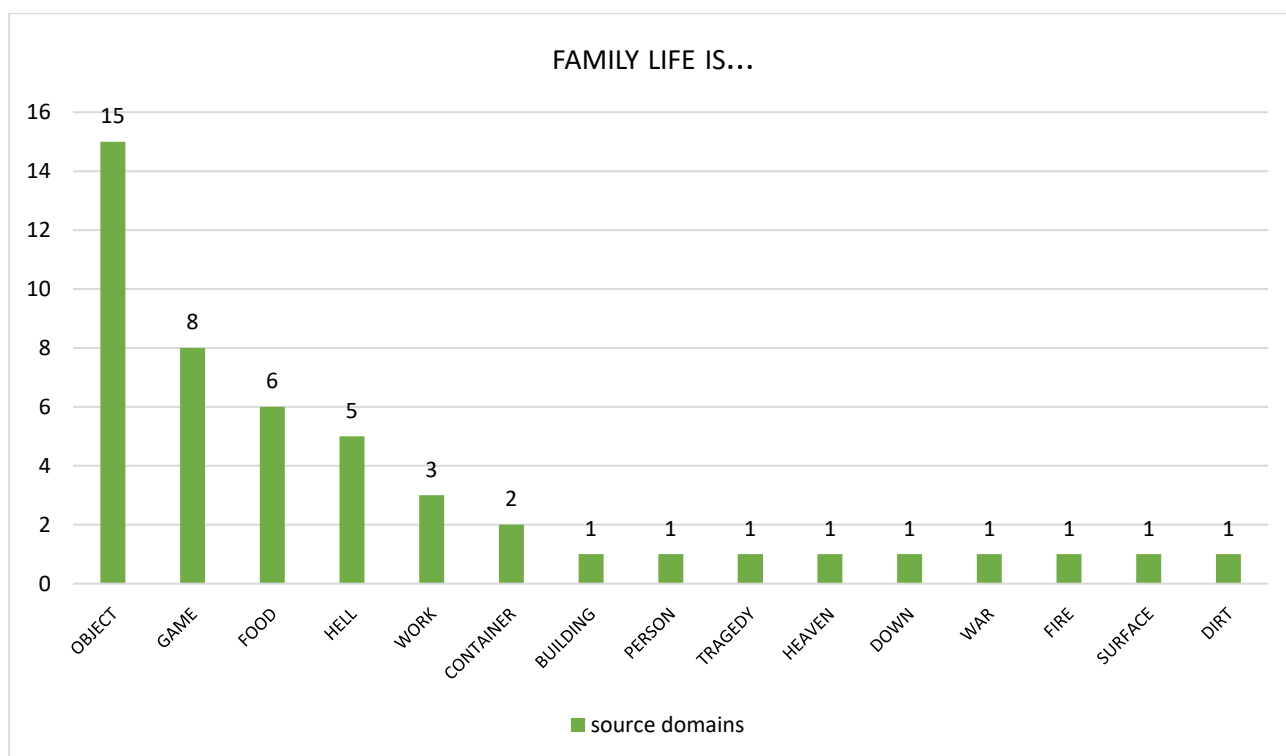
Peggy: *Oh, who would want your father?*

The analysis revealed that men were not referred to as an object as often as women or children. However, there were still some examples that show males being objectified. The following verbs were used to make men seem like objects *get, steal, have, put, and toy*. In addition, some nouns were employed too: *inanimate object* and *boyfriend-stealer*. For instance, in Example (17) Marcy and Peggy were angry about their husbands buying a sports car. Therefore, Marcy said that she despises the car, which she called an inanimate object. However, Peggy thought that she meant Al to be an object. According to Macmillan Dictionary (2022), the word *inanimate* can be defined as something that is not alive. This just shows that Peggy purposely named Al an object while Marcy agreed. The wives were angry on their spouses; therefore, they decided to insult them behind their backs. On one hand, it may seem like an innocent joke. However, it is as rude as men referring to women being objects, whether the joke is heard by everyone or whether it is told behind someone's back. In Example (18) Kelly talks with her mother about Al. Apparently Peggy and Al had another argument and Kelly tried to warn her mother by saying that other women might try to steal Al because men are easier to be "stolen" after arguments. Kelly used the noun *boyfriend-stealer*, which shows that women may steal men like some valuable objects. In other words, Kelly sees men as something that she can easily own anytime. Even though it is an older sitcom but women also objectify men in a similar way that men do. Moreover, the scriptwriters show women as having more negative traits than men do.

3.2.4 Conceptual metaphors related to a FAMILY LIFE

The last target domain that shall be discussed is FAMILY LIFE. Figure 6 shows that the most common source domains of the target domain FAMILY LIFE were OBJECT, GAME, FOOD, HELL, WORK, CONTAINER, BUILDING, PERSON and *etc.*

Figure 6. *The most frequent source domains related to the target domain of FAMILY LIFE*



To begin with, the source domain OBJECT was identified 15 times. Mostly metaphorical expressions contained such verbs as *get*, *have*, *make*, and *break*. However, one of the most interesting cases contained the verb *stink* and it referred to life. Consider one of the examples below:

(19) Kelly: *Life stinks!*

The conceptual metaphor is as follows — FAMILY LIFE IS AN OBJECT. In this example, Kelly expressed her disappointment because she was not invited to a party. Afterwards she claimed that *life stinks*. However, life is not something that can omit odour; therefore, it is a metaphorical expression where life is objectified. The metaphor is related to family life because Kelly was not invited as she was not rich enough. Women are presented as being rather shallow human beings in the sitcom.

Consider another example in which source domain is GAME:

(20) Al: *See, you're obviously new to the married game.*

The conceptual metaphor is as follows — FAMILY LIFE IS A GAME. In this case Al referred to marriage being a game. According to him, marriage is like a game which has some rules. If you manage to follow the rules you will succeed in winning the game of marriage. One of the examples of how the game of marriage can be won is by giving gifts to your wife and making her satisfied. The employed metaphor showed that Al may assume marriage to be not as significant because to him, it is like a game. For men marital life does not seem serious enough. Furthermore, Al may see his wife Peggy as an opponent of a game, so it is like a competition between spouses.

Consider last example in which source domain is HELL:

(21) Al: *So, all I gotta do is starve and be miserable for a week, then my life would go back to the normal **hell** it always was.*

There were a few metaphorical expressions that referred to family life as being hell. This type of example shows how Al despises his life. Peggy wanted to start a strict diet, however, Al was against it. Therefore, Steve tried to convince Al to help Peggy and start a diet together. In this way they could both tired of the diet and together the couple would drop it. To that Al answered by saying that he has to starve and be miserable as he will be on a diet and then he can come back to his normal routine, which he referred to as *hell*. The conceptual metaphor is as follows — FAMILY LIFE IS HELL. This example shows how Al dislikes being married and trying to adjust or help his partner. In addition, Peggy carries similar attitude towards marriage. Therefore, the marriage seems like a hell to both spouses. Sadly, it was not the only example where Al or Peggy express dissatisfaction over their life.

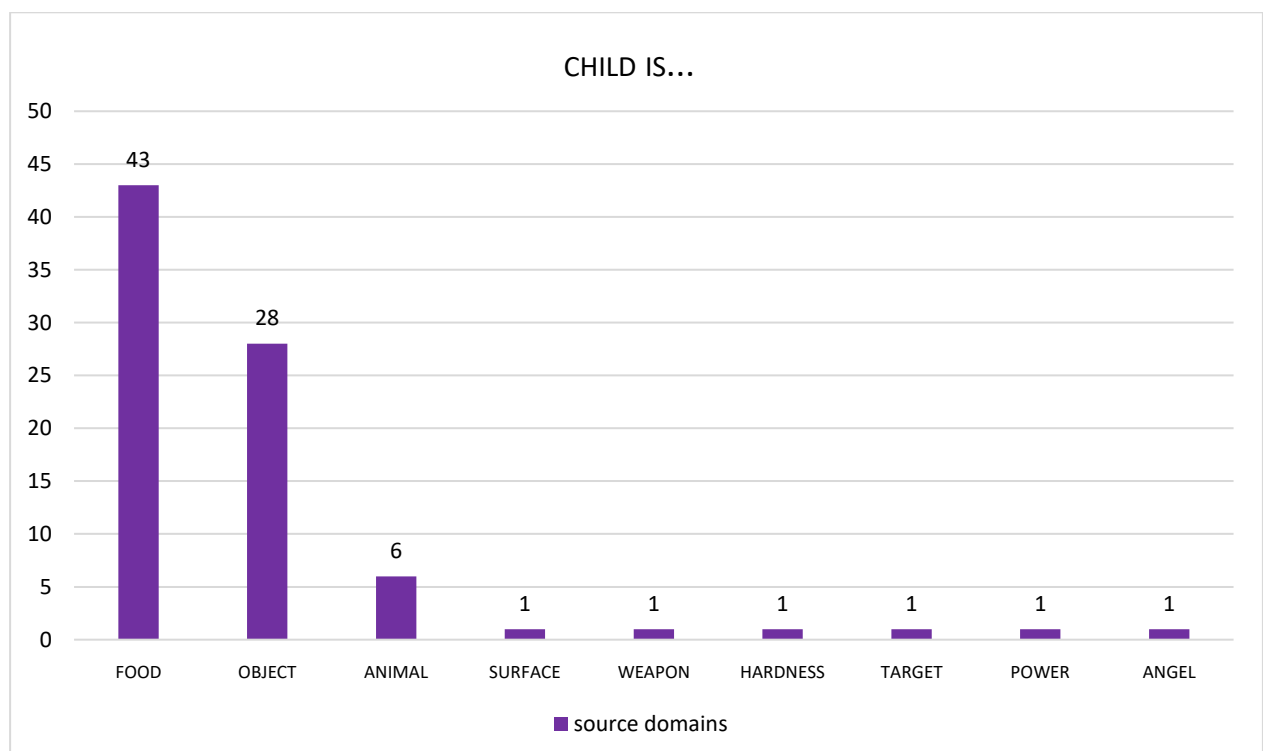
3.3 Modern Family

The sitcom *Modern Family* tells about three different types of families, namely, nuclear, blended, and same-sex families living in Los Angeles. The first family is blended as Jay Pritchett is an older man who remarried a much younger woman Gloria Delgado Pritchett, who is a Colombian immigrant. In the family there is also son Manuel or “Manny” Delgado, who is the son of Gloria from the first marriage. Then there is Jay’s adult daughter Claire and her nuclear family. Claire is a housewife, who got married to Phil Dunphy. The family has three children: Haley (the teenage girl that loves fashion), Alex (the middle child that is intelligent and nerdy) and Luke (the youngest son who is a bit clueless). Finally, there is Jay’s adult son Mitchell and his same-sex family. Mitchell is a lawyer who got married to Cameron Tucker. The family adopted a girl from Vietnam – Lily Tucker-Pritchett. The sitcom revolves around these three families and the comical situations they encounter on a daily basis. It shall be added that the sitcom seems to be rather relatable and more modern as it includes several types of families.

3.3.1 Conceptual metaphors related to a CHILD

Figure 7 shows that the most frequent source domains that structured the target domain CHILD were the following — FOOD, OBJECT, ANIMAL, SURFACE, WEAPON, HARDNESS, TARGET, POWER, and ANGEL. The most common source domain was FOOD as it was identified 43 times. The source domain of OBJECT contained 28 examples whereas the domain of ANIMAL appeared six times. Other source domains were identified only once, therefore, they will not be discussed in greater detail.

Figure 7. *The most frequent source domains related to the target domain of CHILD*



Consider the most frequent conceptual metaphor related to a child – CHILD IS FOOD and examples that belong to this category:

(22) Claire: ***Honey**, you said you'd go to your grandfather's tonight.*

(23) Jay: *How's the little **fortune cookie**?*

The analysis revealed that adults referred to children via the use of such words as *honey*, *sweetie*, *sweet*, *sweet pea*, *sweetheart*, *pie*, *fortune cookie*, and *pot sticker*. It was quite interesting to find out that all kids were named as food items at some point. However, one of children received most addresses as being food. Haley (the eldest child) was called as a food item at least 15 times. Other kids were named as food too, but it was not so often. Example (22) presents Haley trying to convince her mother Claire to let her go to a friend's party. Despite Haley's pleadings Claire says that she cannot go as she promised to spend an evening with grandpa Jay. Just like previously mentioned, the word *honey* is metaphorical as it is a food item and the human being is not edible. In addition, *honey* provides rather positive connotations; therefore, it is used to show affection to a child. There were other examples with the word *honey*, because it was identified 17 times as an address towards children. It shows that parents are rather affectionate and loving, even if the child is seldom misbehaving. Another quite common word that was used to call children was *sweetie*. The word *sweetie* also refers to food. It provides positive associations, therefore it also shows how parents care for their children and their well-being. The analysis revealed that the word *sweet* was mainly used to describe male children rather than female. Furthermore, it appeared that children that were more clueless, were named as food items more frequently. For example, Claire and Phil paid more attention towards Haley and Luke (both are slightly clueless), who would get into problems more often than Alex. As claimed by Koller (2011, 12), metaphors that may appear to be more masculine/feminine might be employed depending on context, topic or individual preferences. In other words, parents may treat their children in the same way (without taking into account gender) because they simply prefer to express their affection in a certain way. Example (23) is related to how Jay addresses his granddaughter Lily. Even though she was a new addition to the family from Vietnam, the grandpa seems to adore her as much as other grandchildren. He referred to her as a *fortune cookie* or *pot sticker*. Both references seem to refer to her being Asian, however, it does not seem that Jay wants to emphasize the fact that her race is different from other family members. It is more likely that it is how he tries to show his affection towards Lily. He is known to be one of the characters that struggles to show affection everyone he loves. Furthermore, he belongs to the older generation, which is considered as more conservative.

Another category deals with a child being presented as an OBJECT. The conceptual metaphor is as follows CHILD IS AN OBJECT. Examples are provided below:

(24) Phil: *I want you to know, I'm not enjoying this, but this is an important lesson that you're learning. **Soak** it. Keep it...*

(25) Phil: *Five months later, we... were... four months away from having this little **bundle of joy**.*

The conceptual metaphor child as an object was expressed via the use of such words *get, take, have, drop, soak, and pick*. Only a few other cases did not contain metaphors which were expressed via verbs. Example (24) was one of the cases where verb was used to objectify a child. Phil was about to shoot his son Luke with a toy gun as a punishment. Luke shot at his sister Alex, therefore, parents decided to punish him by shooting at him with a toy gun. As Phil was about to shoot, he said that he is not fond of this, yet Luke has to accept the lesson and *soak it*. According to Macmillan Dictionary (2022), *soak* means “to put something into a liquid and leave it there for a period of time”. It is a metaphor because a person cannot be put into a liquid to stay for some time. More likely it resembles an object that might be put into something. In addition, it seems that Phil asks Luke to be brave by saying *soak it*. As if he should leave his fear behind and just accept the consequences for his actions. In Example (25) Phil was explaining to children that Haley was quick to come to this world as he and Claire got married when she was pregnant. Therefore, Phil referred to Haley as a *little bundle of joy*. The metaphor seems to have a positive connotation, however, it is quite the opposite. In Macmillan Dictionary (2022), *bundle of joy* is defined as a baby, but the phrase is usually employed in a conversation to joke about a baby, which is causing problems. Therefore, to Phil and Claire, Haley was a bit of a problem as she was not a planned baby. The joke can be interpreted as offensive for the child as he/she may not feel welcome. However, knowing that both parents love and support their children despite any circumstances, the joke should be taken lightly. Moreover, the gender also does not seem to influence parents’ reference to Haley.

The third conceptual metaphor related to the target domain of a CHILD was an ANIMAL. The conceptual metaphor is as follows — CHILD IS AN ANIMAL. Consider examples below:

(26) Alex: *The little **bitch** shot me!*

(27) Gloria: *He's like a **bullfighter**.*

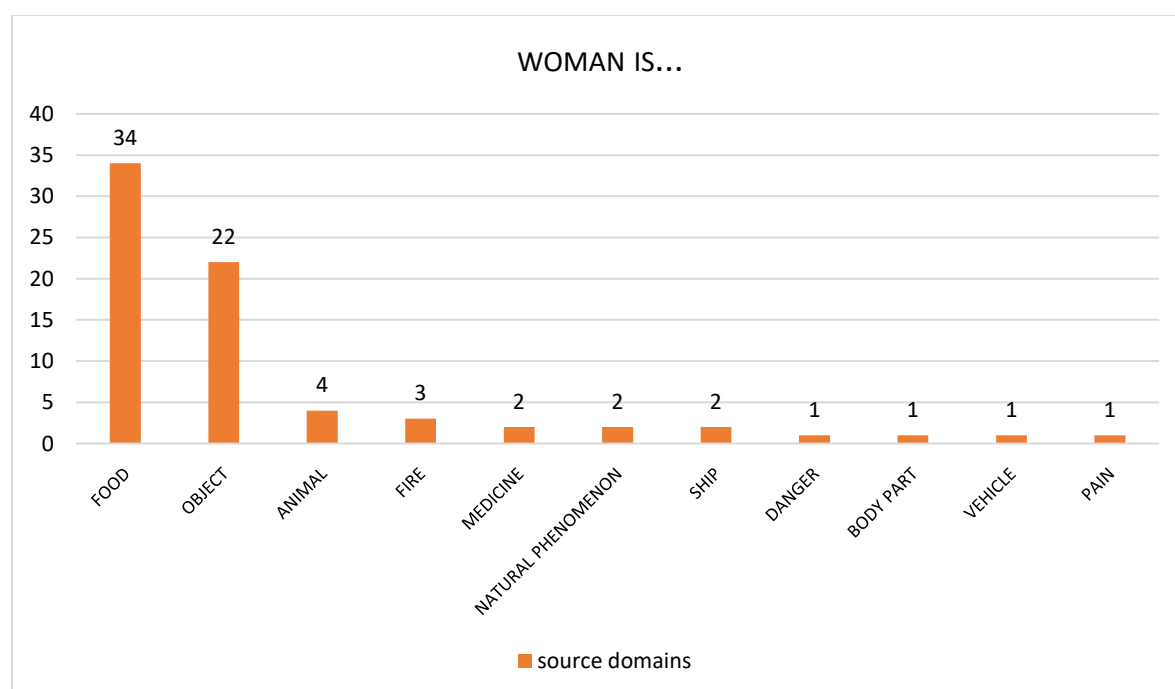
The research showed that children were named as animals only a few times by such words *bitch, bullfighter, bull, dog, rat, and shark*. In most cases children referred to each other by animal names as some of the siblings did not get along. In Example (26) Alex complained to her parents that Luke shot her with a toy gun. She referred to her little brother as a *bitch*. According to Macmillan Dictionary (2022), the word *bitch* can be defined as a female dog. From the context it seems that Alex not only insults Luke by calling him a dog, but she also refers to him being a female. Luke is the youngest child in the family, which may make him the “weakest”. Both older sisters tend to annoy or trick him quite often. Therefore, the boy might be seen as someone who can be made fun of, someone who is yet too weak to fight back. Surprisingly, it is Alex, who is female herself, that chooses to insult her brother by

referring to him as a female dog. It might be because Alex seems to be more independent and intelligent compared to Luke or Haley. Therefore, she may assume that she has more power over her siblings. In Example (27) Manny wrote a poem to an older girl that he had a crush on. His stepfather Jay was not amused by that, but Manny’s mother Gloria was rather impressed by her son. Therefore, she compared Manny to a bullfighter. As Macmillan Dictionary (2022) stated, *bullfighter* is “a traditional entertainment in which a person called a matador fights a bull and tries to kill it”. The expression used by Gloria was metaphorical because child cannot be a bullfighter. In addition, his mother Gloria might see love as a bull fight and her son is the matador, who has to conquer the girl (or in other words, the bull). It is known that bull is a strong animal, which has no mercy on other animals or people. That is how the mother might view her own child too, as someone who is not afraid to fight for what he desires. However, it is quite interesting that the poem can be considered to be a weapon, which may help to conquer the girl and get her attention. Perhaps writing poems may be thought of as not a manly hobby. Despite that, Gloria comprehends it as one of the most masculine things a boy can do to win over his crush. In general, parents appear to support their children despite their gender and wishes in life.

3.3.2 Conceptual metaphors related to a WOMAN

Figure 8 reveals that most common source domains that structured the target domain CHILD were as follows FOOD, OBJECT, ANIMAL, FIRE, MEDICINE, NATURAL PHENOMENON, DANGER, BODY PART, and PAIN. The most frequent source domain was FOOD with 33 examples, then OBJECT with 22 examples and ANIMAL with four examples.

Figure 8. *The most frequent source domains related to the target domain of WOMAN*



Consider examples of the conceptual metaphor WOMAN IS FOOD:

(28) Phil: Well, **honey**, when it comes to anything electronic, you're not exactly the best student.

(29) Valerie: No, no, no- Let's talk about you. Okay. Because, you know, you're- You chose the mother. You're the mommy. The **yummy** mommy, mama-.

In most cases, women were described as food via such words as *honey*, *sweetheart*, *yummy*, *cannoli*, and *tasty*. The noun *honey* was identified 30 times during the analysis. It was used most frequently by men because they chose the word to refer to their spouses. Just like in previous explanation regarding the usage of the word, *honey* was used to show affection towards the spouse (e.g., Phil referred to his wife as *honey*). However, the word still refers to a food item, which signifies that woman may be perceived as something that is edible. Even though in most examples women were referred to as *honey* by men, in some situations women addressed other women as a food item too. However, in those few cases, women used the word not in a sincere way. Usually, the women disliked each other. On the other hand, men used the word in a positive way. Out of three men in the sitcom, Jay and Phil seemed the most affectionate towards their spouses. Phil (28) employed *honey* at least 19 times in conversations whereas Jay used it six times. Surprisingly, Mitchell used the noun only once and he addressed his female friend instead of his husband Cameron. This shows that men do not tend to employ *honey* to address male spouse or a friend. Perhaps for a man to use the word *honey* to refer to their male spouse seems not masculine enough, but for women to refer to men in this way seems appropriate. In the (29) example Claire meets her high school friend Valerie for lunch in order to catch up about their personal lives. During the conversation, Valerie refers to Claire as “yummy mommy”, which indicates that Claire is seen as an edible object. In addition, the use of metaphorical expression may imply that being a mother is something that is desirable by other women. However, later on, the situation showed that Valerie as a successful business woman was not jealous of the life that Claire had. She was feeling pity towards Claire being a housewife with three children to take care of. Therefore, the expression may have had another meaning. Perhaps Valerie imagined that housewives are “poor” women who are locked up in their houses and who constantly have to work by taking care of family members. As stated by Jódar-Sánchez (2020, 3), the reason why people might be more judgmental is because of the gender stereotypes. In other words, Valerie has certain stereotypes related to women being housewives. Therefore, she thinks that Claire leads a miserable life as she is most likely unhappy. In general, the sitcom showed that some women were presented as more judgmental towards other women whereas men were not as rude towards their own sex.

Another category deals with woman being presented as an OBJECT. The conceptual metaphor is as follows WOMAN IS AN OBJECT. Examples are given below:

(30) Manny: She has good handwriting. She's a complete **package**. Wish me luck.

(31) Brenner: *Thank you. Thank you. Scientists- They don't know why this is true, but it's true. Women with big rear ends live longer.*

The analysis showed that women were referred to with such verbs *take, give, get, steal, sink, embark*. These words indicated that women were perceived as objects (e.g., *ship, vehicle*). In addition, nouns were also employed to present women as inanimate objects — *package, canoe* and as something that has *rear ends*. The use of the verbs did not suggest any significant differences as they were used by men, children and other women. However, the employed nouns delivered different results. For instance, in Example (30) Manny told his mother Gloria that he had a crush on a girl from his school. He mentioned a few of her best qualities and summed up by saying that she is a complete package. Therefore, he refers to his crush as a package. The Macmillan Dictionary (2022) states that *package* is “an object or set of objects wrapped in a box or in paper and sent or given to someone”. This means that Manny objectifies the girl he likes. He views her as some package that is good to have. Male sees a female as inanimate object that should be retrieved because of good qualities. However, it is difficult to say that Manny choose to describe the girl in this way because he wants to appear as more masculine. More likely is just an innocent phrasing by a boy that is in love. In Example (31) Jay and Gloria went to see a show of a comedian named Brenner. According to the comedian, women, who have big rear ends lead longer lives. The Macmillan Dictionary defines *rear end* as “the back part of something, especially a vehicle”. Therefore, in this example woman is compared to a vehicle. The back of a car is compared to the bottom of a woman. This means that the comedian objectifies women. Again, as stated by Koller (2019, 6), it is a common thing to refer to females in terms of body parts. Example showed that men tend to emphasize the significance of female body parts. Women are objectified because of their looks and it seems to be downgrading.

The third most frequent source domain was an ANIMAL. The conceptual metaphor is as follows — WOMAN IS AN ANIMAL. Consider the given examples:

(32) Alex: *Hot reptile chick. You know, probably has her own apartment, obviously okay touching gross stuff.*

(33) Phil: *Pretty kitty has nails. I like that. I'm in town for a trade show. I design high-end electroacoustic transducers.*

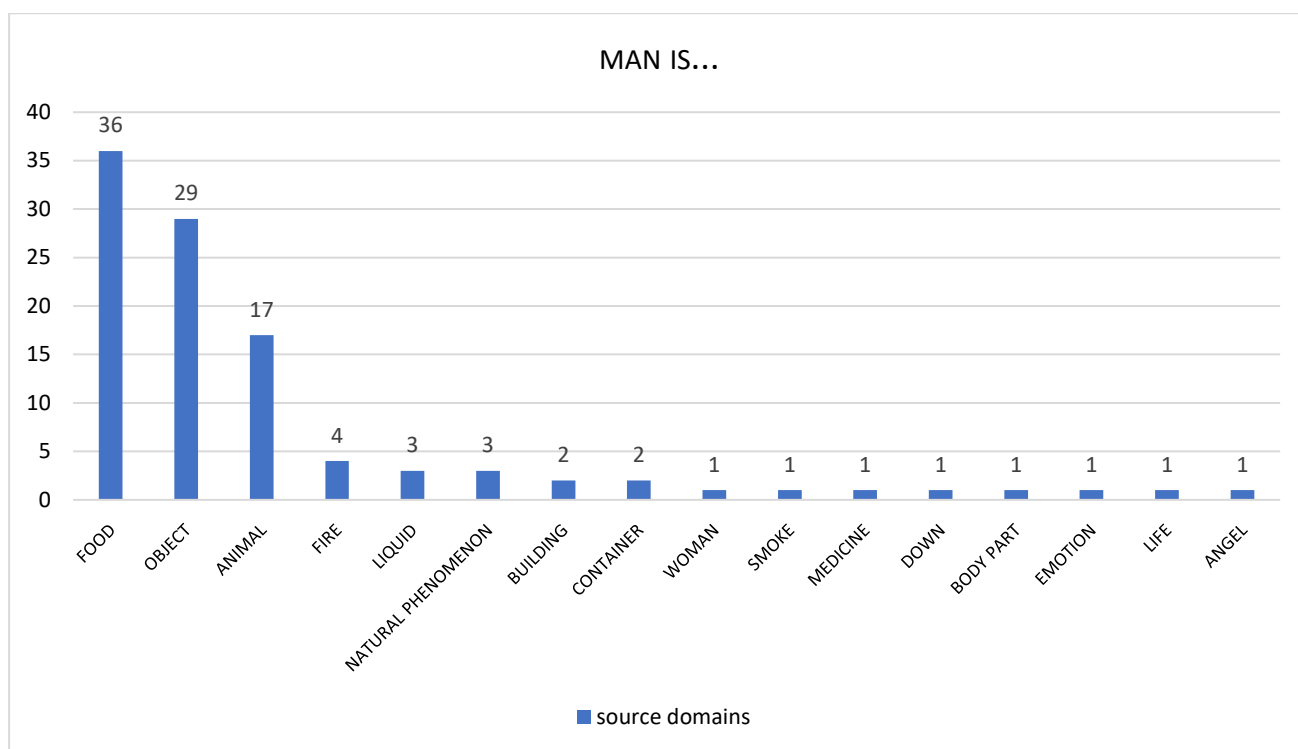
The research showed that women were referred to as animals only a few times. The words that were used to describe women were *reptile, kitty, nest* and *stung*. The most interesting revelation was the fact that mostly women referred to themselves or other females as being animals. Only in one example a man referred to a woman as an animal. However, it was not used to insult a female. In Example (32) Alex was talking to her sister Haley about Haley’s boyfriend Dylan flirting with a girl who owns exotic animals. Alex tried to show her sister that it is inappropriate, and that the girl might be more attractive to Dylan because of her older age. Therefore, Alex referred to the girl as a “hot reptile chick”. From one

point of view, it sounds like an insult as the girl does not resemble a reptile or a baby chicken in any way. On the other hand, Alex may have used the metaphor to show that the girl simply owns a lot of animals, including various reptiles. Moreover, even though chick means a baby chicken, according to Macmillan Dictionary (2022), the word might also be an offensive way of referring to a woman. Therefore, metaphorical expression sounds more like an insult and it shows that Alex tried to warn her sister that another woman can be a threat. Example (33) showed Phil and Claire celebrating Valentine's Day by role-playing in a hotel bar. The couple decided to meet at the bar and pretend to be other people who would try to seduce each other. During the conversation between Phil and Claire, Phil refers to Claire as a "kitty" as a part of the role-play. In general, cat is an animal that is rather sweet, soft and not harmful. The use of diminutive *kitty* also signifies that it is a nice way of addressing someone, mainly by trying to show affection. However, in order to tease Claire, Phil adds that the kitty has nails, which may suggest that he views Claire (or her role-play character) as someone that is not only soft but fierce at the same time. Therefore, the women were respected by men in the sitcom.

3.3.3 Conceptual metaphors related to a MAN

Figure 9 shows the most frequent source domains that structured the target domain MAN. The identified source domains were FOOD, OBJECT, ANIMAL, FIRE, LIQUID, NATURAL PHENOMENON, CONTAINER and *etc.* The most common source domain was FOOD with 36 examples. The source domain OBJECT was identified 29 times whereas ANIMAL contained 17 examples. Other source domains were identified not as often, therefore, they contain only a few examples or less.

Figure 9. *The most frequent source domains related to the target domain of MAN*



As the source domain FOOD was the most frequent, consider examples of the conceptual metaphor MAN IS FOOD:

(34) Claire: *Honey, I thought you were gonna take out the garbage.*

(35) Claire: *Oh, Phil, sweetie.*

According to the analysis, women (sometimes other men) addressed men by calling them *honey*, *sweetheart*, *sweetie*, *sweet pea*, *sweet*, *candy* or *carrotopp*. The use of the noun *honey* was most common among Claire and Phil. Claire referred to her husband as *honey* at least 21 time. In addition, Phil was also called as *sweetie* by his spouse. Overall, the research showed that Phil was mostly named by words that are connected to food. For instance, in Example (34) Claire addresses her husband as *honey* in order to ask him to take care of the trash. In many situations Claire employed the metaphor to welcome her husband, to inquire about his well-being or to make a statement. The man was viewed as a food item, however, Phil is known to be kind, calm and loving husband, who sometimes acts slightly cluelessly. Despite that he is one of the nicest men in the family, therefore, the word *honey* suits him the most as his qualities are rather nice. Another reason why Phil was called as *honey* most often might be the fact that he sometimes acts like a child. In various situations he does not think about the outcomes; therefore, Claire tries to be nice to Phil by explaining to him his mistakes or trying to redirect his plans. Other three men, namely, Jay, Mitchell and Cameron were not frequently named in terms of food. The reason behind that might be the fact that all three men are stricter. Jay tends to hide his feelings and present himself as the head of the family. He is the oldest man in the family, therefore, he tries to be an example that others could follow. Consequently, his wife Gloria never referred to him as being a food item. Cameron and Mitchell address each other via food names a few times, however, it is rather rare. The same-sex couple

try not to stand out too much next to other family members, therefore, it might be the reason why they do not show too much affection towards each other. In Example (35) Phil feels unwell, therefore, Claire and two younger daughters decide to call firemen (women and men in the neighbourhood find them very attractive and they call firemen to help in any situation). Claire decides to put on nice clothes to look more attractive, however, after seeing that Phil complains that it is inappropriate for Claire to dress up when he is in pain. Afterwards Claire refers to him as “sweetie” to calm him down and ensure Phil that it is for her own good to look better. It is a similar situation as before, when Claire referred to her spouse in a nice way, to either ensure him or make him feel better. It just shows her affection towards her husband who is dealing with physical pain and jealousy.

Another common source domain was OBJECT. The conceptual metaphor is as follows MAN IS AN OBJECT. Examples are provided below:

(36) Jay: *What are you, **made of china**? Phil, I just want you to know I'm sorry. And whether I, uh, missed or you moved-*

(37) Cameron: *The only thing I'm picturing... is how clean the floor's gonna be when I'm done **mopping** it with you.*

The research revealed that men were referred to OBJECTS via the use of such words as *have, make, pick, steal, drag, drilling, mopping, cannon ball* and *etc.* However, some nouns were employed too in order to refer to men. In Example (36) Jay crashed his plane-toy into Phil. Afterwards Jay helped Phil to get home and tried to convince others that he did not make the plane crash into Phil on purpose. However, Phil seemed to be in great pain, therefore, Jay asked him whether he is made of china. According to Macmillan Dictionary (2022), *china* can be defined as “a thin hard clay used for making plates, cups *etc.*”. In other words, Jay referred to his son-in-law as being an item from crockery. In addition, it is known that crockery (china) is very fragile and delicate and it is easily breakable. It seems that Jay wanted to emphasize the fact that Phil is too fragile, just like china. Jay may have used the metaphor as Phil is rather clumsy and clueless man. Occasionally he makes some decisions that may seem to lack logic or he says things that make him seem to be lacking some common sense. Therefore, Jay is not very fond of him as a son-in-law and from time to time he mocks Phil. Furthermore, the use of this metaphor may imply that Phil is not viewed as masculine enough as he is referred to a fragile crockery item. In the family it seems that his wife Claire is the one that may be considered to be more masculine in the family as she seems to be the head of the family. Her decisions are mostly based on logic, she always tries to solve the problems that occur. On the other hand, Phil is quite the opposite. He is more clueless, but he is rather kind and affectionate man. He always considers the feelings of others. In general, the spouses are the opposites of each other and the opposites of common gender stereotypes.

In Example (37) there is also Jay, but with his other son-in-law Cameron. Both men decided to bond over playing tennis. However, Jay and Cameron argue over who is going to be better in the game. Cameron claims that he is going to mop the floor with Jay as if Jay would be a mop because he is going to beat his father-in-law. Therefore, Jay is made to seem like an object and that is done in order to show that Cameron might be superior in a tennis match. As stated by Winter (2020, 190), it is common that men use language to intimidate other people (male/female). Furthermore, language (e.g., use of figurative language) helps to show oneself as being confident and self-assured. Men tend to compete in order to make it clear who has more power (ibid., 190). The employed metaphor shows that Jay is not fond of both sons-in-law, namely, Cameron and Phil. However, Cameron tends to strike back more often than Phil. Phil is rather submissive to Jay and his authority. In general, all three men do not have bad relationship, they do argue from time to time, but the arguments are rather small and insignificant. All three of them try to be as masculine as possible by being dominant and authoritative, but only Jay really seems to fit the stereotypical man characteristics (e.g., being dominant, controlling, and hiding emotions).

The third most common source domain was an ANIMAL. The conceptual metaphor is as follows — MAN IS AN ANIMAL. Consider examples below:

(38) Gloria: *Good. You shouldn't. You should only care what I think. I love you, and I don't care how old you are. So, stop being a gloomy **goose**, and stop being so hard on Manny.*

(39) Cameron: *I can't help it. I'm like a **mother bear**. When I hear my cub crying, I have to run to her.*

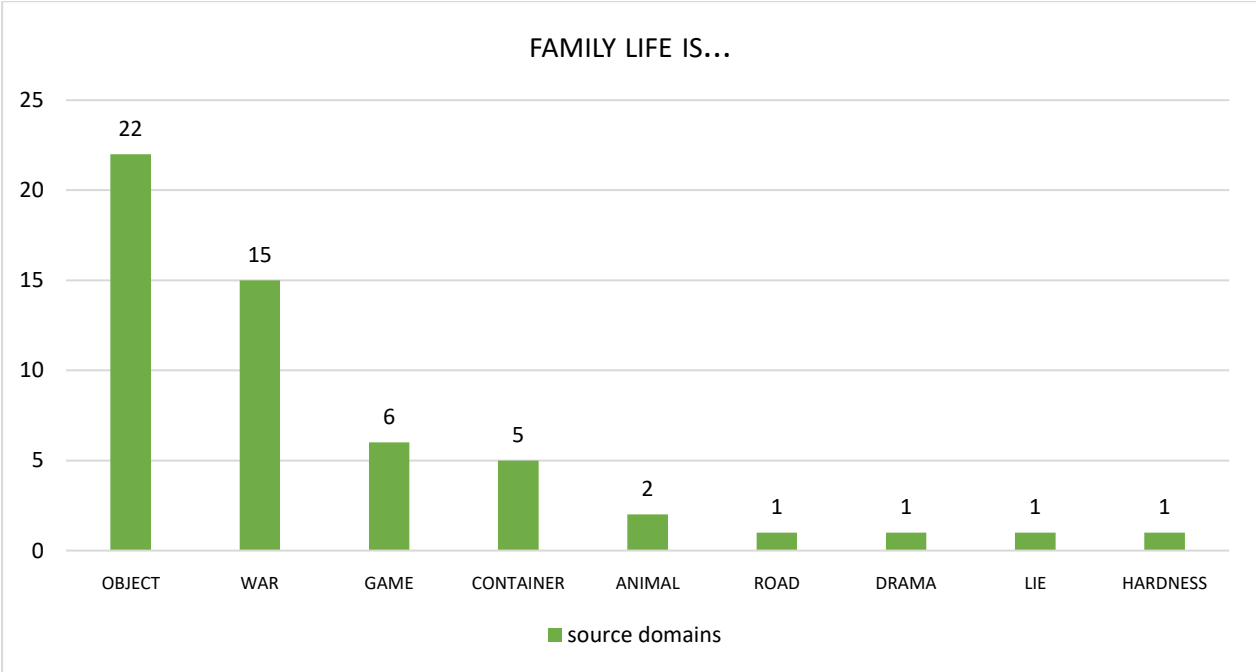
The analysis showed that men were referred to via the words *bear, cub, bitch, rat, bird etc.* It is rather interesting that women and men were not referred as much to be animals like men were. In Example (38) Manny wrote a poem to a girl he had a crush on and he wanted to read it to her. However, Jay thought it is rather foolish as he might embarrass himself in front of the girl. Manny's mother Gloria stated that Jay should not be so harsh on Manny and referred to Jay as "a gloomy goose". According to Urban Dictionary, the concept of *gloomy goose* can be defined as a "sad person". Indeed, Jay was in a bad mood, because earlier he was called old next to his younger wife, therefore, his sadness may have affected what he said to Manny reading his poem. However, Jay does not seem to resemble a goose in any way. The metaphor may have been simply used to describe Jay's mood, which was sad and it was not employed to mock the man. In Example (39) Cameron and Mitchell had a problem with making Lily falling asleep. Mitchell wanted to be stricter by letting Lilly "cry it out" by herself while Cameron wanted to run to Lily and cuddle her in order to calm her down. The couple had an argument regarding this problem and Cameron said that he is like a mother bear, who cannot resist to a crying child. It is interesting that a male referred to himself not only being an animal, but a female too. First, the animal reference may indicate that Cameron is a caring parent who cannot resist to anyone who is in pain. He

is the parent that is like a “housewife” as he takes care of home and Lily, just like a bear takes care of its cub. As he spends more time with his daughter, Cameron is more likely to rush to help her. In other words, Cameron can also be described as a “soft” person, who resembles a bear. His characteristics are more similar to a female rather than stereotypical man, who is not keen to show his emotions. On the other hand, Mitchell works as a lawyer, and he is not as much around Lily as he would like to be. Therefore, he tries to make Lily to be independent and be able to learn how to control her own emotions. Both parents of Lily are the opposites of each other, which helps the family to learn and grow.

3.3.4 Conceptual metaphors related to a FAMILY LIFE

Another prominent target domain was FAMILY LIFE. Figure 10 shows that the most frequent source domains were OBJECT, WAR, GAME, CONTAINER, ANIMAL, ROAD, DRAMA, LIE, and HARDNESS. The most common source domain OBJECT was identified 22 times during the analysis.

Figure 10. *The most frequent source domains related to the target domain of FAMILY LIFE*



Most metaphorical expressions were constructed via the use of verbs *have, get, take, keep,* and *etc.* However, other metaphors were derived via adjectives or adverbs. Consider an example below:

(40) Mitchell: *We used to do this thing in school... where they would give you an egg and you couldn't break it. And it was supposed to teach you how **hard** it was to be a parent. But the real thing, i-it's so much **harder**. You know?*

The conceptual metaphor is as follows — FAMILY LIFE IS HARDNESS. In the example Mitchell and Cameron discuss their parenting skills. They believe that they are not great parents as they are new in parenting and Lily is their adopted child. Furthermore, the couple thinks that the lack of mother may be

harmful to Lily as she might need a care from a woman. Therefore, they feel that they lack knoweldge regarding how to be a good parent. However, Mitchell explains to Cameron that it is hard to be a good parent and it is normal to make mistakes. The metaphor shows the struggles of Mitchell and Cameron being good parents. In addition, the worry is related to the fact that both of them are males who may lack stereotypical qualities of a woman (e.g., care, affection, kindness). However, this is not true as men can possess such qualities and raise the children regardless of their gender.

Consider an example in which source domain is WAR:

(41) Claire: *She was looking at my life as something... that she'd always wanted, but never had. So how's life in the **trenches**?*

The metaphors related to source domain of WAR were expressed via such words as *fight*, *defeat*, and *trenches*. The conceptual metaphor of the provided example is as follows — FAMILY LIFE IS WAR. Claire meets her high school friend Valerie and they both discuss their life achievements. Claire talks about her having a wonderful family and she assumes that Valerie is jealous of her life. Therefore, she refers to Valerie's life as being in the trenches. In other words Valerie is living in war conditions as she has no family. It is an interesting example of a metaphor as it shows how some women view a successful life. For Claire it is having a big family whereas for Valerie it is taking a high position in business. It shows that women can be whatever they want and the definiton of success may vary.

Consider an example with source domain GAME:

(42) Claire: *And just then, it hit me. She was jealous of me. Yes, there'd always been a little bit of a **competition** between us. This was more serious.*

The conceptual metaphor is as follows — FAMILY LIFE IS A GAME. The example is as previously introduced, Claire and Valerie discuss their life achievements. Claire states that she was always competing with Valerie over most things in life. Therefore, it can be implied that women are rather competitive over their life goals and achievements. However, it also may show that Claire might be insecure about her life and the things she had done after graduating. She is a housewife with three children, but she is unemployed. That made her worry at the beginning of meeting Valerie and she was rather happy that she “won the competition” by having a husband and three children.

3.4 Humorous metaphors

Further analysis will introduce metaphors that were humorous or ironical. The humorous or ironical gender-related metaphors were identified in different ways. In *Married...with Children* the lines were identified according to the audience laughter as it was a common thing to have live audience watching the sitcom in the 80s. However, *Modern Family* did not have live audience or pre-recorded fake audience laughter. Therefore, humorous or ironical gender-related metaphors were identified using introspection: they are based on subjective opinion of what might be funny.

After all the humorous and ironical gender-related metaphors were indicated, metaphors were identified and analysed according to the Humour Theory developed by Attardo (2015). Table 11 shows that all three phenomena were found. *Married...with Children* contained 127 humorous or ironical metaphors whereas *Modern Family* had 108 examples. Both sitcoms and the retrieved data regarding humour and irony will be presented and analysed separately.

Table 11. *Humorous metaphors*

	<i>Married...with Children</i>	<i>Modern Family</i>	Total
Metaphors that are funny in and of themselves	65	59	124
Metaphors that describe a referent that is inherently funny	46	39	85
Failed metaphors	16	11	27
Total	127	109	236

3.4.1 *Married...with Children*

To begin with, the results in *Married...with Children* were different than in *Modern Family* as the number of identified humorous and ironical metaphors varied. Metaphors that were funny in and of themselves were identified 65 times, metaphors that described a referent that was inherently funny were found 46 times and the third phenomenon which was concerned with failed metaphors contained only 16 examples. Each phenomenon will be presented by providing a few examples in this and the subsequent section of the paper.

Consider the first phenomenon, which is “metaphors that are funny in and of themselves” (see Brone *et al.* 2015, 92). Some examples of this type of humorous metaphors are given below:

(43) Al: *I can't believe it. Everybody in the world is making money.*

Peggy: *Oh, **honey**, that's not true.*

(44) Marcy: *Peggy, do you know what is going on underneath your very own roof?*

Peggy: *Well, we're **rotting** our lives away, but the kids seem to enjoy it.*

The results revealed that the word *honey* was frequently used not only to make a metaphor humorous but in order to express irony. One of the best Examples (43) — when Al complained to Peggy about his salary by saying that many people earn good salaries. However, Peggy contradicted to his statement by claiming that it is false. She meant that Al is not one of those many people, who can be proud of their wage. The conceptual metaphor is as follows — MAN IS FOOD. The metaphor *honey* seems contradictory as Peggy mocked Al. The metaphorical expression had no positive meaning as the following words were rather insulting. Therefore, it seems like irony. It is interesting as in most examples Peggy and Al were both using the food references in order to address each other in ironical way. It seems like the spouses do not get along on a daily basis and both genders humiliate or mock each other. In Example (44) Marcy asked whether Peggy was aware of her life, to which Peggy replied by saying that all of the family members were rotting their lives away. However, only the kids seemed to enjoy it. The conceptual metaphor is as follows — FAMILY LIFE IS FOOD. The metaphor suggests that family life is seen as rotten food, which keeps deteriorating. In addition, it seems that Peggy is rather unhappy being married and having children.

The second phenomenon is “metaphors that describe a referent that is inherently funny” (see Brone *et al.* 2015, 92). Consider examples below:

(45) Marcy: *You got a **nut-cracker**?*

Al: *You're looking at her.*

(46) Al: *Al loves **Piggy**.*

Peggy: *That ought'a be an 'E' Al.*

According to the analysed data, the second phenomenon was not as common as the first one. However, there were some example of humorous metaphors that were related to gender and how it was viewed. For instance, in Example (45) Marcy comes to borrow a nut-cracker from Bundies. After she asks whether they have one, Al refers to Peggy as being a nut-cracker. The conceptual metaphor is as follows — WOMAN IS AN OBJECT. The metaphor implies that Al not only objectifies his spouse, but also he seems to feel “crushed” by his own wife. It is a known fact that Peggy tends to spend the money earned by Al and she does not help much in the family. In addition, from time to time Peggy seems to take over control of the household, which might diminish Al’s masculinity as he is not the head of the family. In Example (46), Al reads the finger writing on the side of the fish. The writing said “Peggy”, but Al read it as “Piggy”. The conceptual metaphor is as follows — WOMAN IS AN ANIMAL. From the metaphorical expression it might be implied that Al viewed Peggy as an animal, namely, pig. Even though it is diminutive form of the word and it does sound nicer, it is still an animal that is rather dirty. Therefore, Al seems to have a negative opinion towards his spouse and women in general as it is not the first time he tries to insult the opposite gender.

The third phenomenon is “failed metaphors” (see Brone *et al.* 2015, 92). Consider example below:

(47) Bud: *Yeah. And you could help. You got any pictures of me on the potty you'd like to show her?*
Al: *Well, excuse us, Mr. Sensitive.*

The analysis revealed that failed metaphors were the least common phenomenon. Despite that, some of examples do show metaphors that might be involuntarily humorous. In Example (47) Bud invited a girl over to spend some time with him. However, Al decided to show Bud’s childhood pictures that Bud himself disliked. Therefore, Bud asks his father to hide the pictures. Al thought it was nothing bad to see the pictures and he referred to Bud as *Mr. Sensitive*. The conceptual metonymy is as follows — CHILD IS AN EMOTION. The metaphor fits failed metaphor category as it is exaggeration of the situation. The used metaphor suggests that Bud is considered to be too emotional or vulnerable. It appears that Al expects his son to be more masculine (e.g., not being emotional, hiding his dislikes *etc.*). It is a rather bad example of how children are expected to fit gender stereotypes and act “appropriately”.

3.4.2 Modern Family

In *Modern Family* the results differed from *Married...with Children* as the number of humorous and ironical metaphors was not the same. Metaphors that were funny in and of themselves were found 59 times, metaphors that described a referent that was inherently funny were identified 39 times and the third phenomenon related to failed metaphors contained only 11 examples. Each phenomenon will be presented via a few examples.

Consider the first phenomenon, which is “metaphors that are funny in and of themselves” (see Brone *et al.* 2015, 92). Examples are provided below:

(48) Dylan: *You know, all women should look as **tasty** as you when they're old.*

Claire: *Huh. Conflicted.*

(49) Manny: *I thought you said it made me look like my neck was **wearing** a dress.*

Jay: *That was a joke.*

The analysis showed that the word *honey* was barely used to address people in a humorous or ironical way. However, some other examples were essential as they showed how gender was perceived and whether examples can be related to humour. For example, in Example (48) Haley’s boyfriend tried to give a compliment to Claire. However, Dylan was not successful as it sounded more like an insult. He referred to Claire as being something tasty, but old. Most likely Dylan wanted to say that Claire looked great at her age, but it sounded differently as the sentence was not phrased well. The conceptual metaphor is as follows — WOMAN IS FOOD. It is insulting way to refer to a woman as she is objectified, made seem like a food item rather than a human being. In Example (49) Jay did not like his step-sons Manny’s poncho. Jay thought that other children will make fun of Manny, therefore, he told him that it would be

better not to wear it. In addition, Jay jokingly said that it seems like his neck is wearing a dress and it is not Manny himself, who is wearing the poncho. The conceptual metonymy is as follows — BODY PART IS A HUMAN BEING. In this example Manny is not viewed as a human being, he is perceived as a body part. Even though it was a joke, it might sound rude to say that to a child who appreciates and respects his culture and the items that belong to it. Another reason why Jay disliked the poncho might be the fact that it slightly resembles a dress and that might encourage other children to make fun of Manny as it is not “manly”. Furthermore, Jay is not Columbian and he is not familiar with the culture. Therefore, it is more difficult to understand it and what might be considered to be masculine.

The second phenomenon is “metaphors that describe a referent that is inherently funny” (see Brone *et al.* 2015, 92). Consider examples below:

(50) Phil: *There! Be free, **Excalibur**.*

(51) Man: *Listen, **Carrot Top**. I didn't touch you.*

The results of the second type of humorous metaphors varied, as metaphors that described a referent that was inherently funny were different. However, the most humorous referent was a man as in most cases metaphors were referring to males rather than females. In one Examples (50) Phil helped Luke to free himself as the boy had his head stuck in a banister. After Phil released Luke, he referred to him as an Excalibur. Excalibur is known to be the legendary sword that belonged to King Arthur. In addition, it was thought that the sword contained magical powers. According to the legend, Excalibur was stuck in the stone and only Arthur was able to get pull it out. The conceptual metaphor is as follows — CHILD IS A WEAPON. The employed metaphor might suggest that Luke resembled the sword that is powerful and magical whereas Phil was like Arthur who got him out. Luke occasionally gets in trouble, but he always patiently overcomes every situation. That might be the reason why Phil referred to his son as something that is powerful and at the same time masculine. In Example (51) Mitchell gets bumped with a man's car in a gas station and they both start arguing. Mitchell asked the man to apologise but instead, he called Mitchell a Carrot Top. On one hand, Mitchell seems to be referred to a vegetable — carrot. The resemblance might be established between Mitchell's hair being ginger and carrot being orange. Therefore, the conceptual metaphor is as follows — MAN IS FOOD. However, Carrot Top is a nickname of a stand-up comedian Scott Thompson. The comedian also has bright ginger hair, which may suggest that Mitchell might resemble him because of the hair color. Consequently, metaphor can be perceived in two ways. However, both interpretations share one similarity, which is color.

The third phenomenon is “failed metaphors” (see Brone *et al.* 2015, 92). Consider example below:

(52) Jay: *Of course you did. Anyway, I'm happy for you. And you should know that... I'm not here to spit in your face. I'm here to... **blow at your back**.*

According to the research results, the least common phenomenon was failed metaphors. The reason behind this might be that fact that failed metaphors are involuntarily funny or they are established in order to make it seem like they are involuntarily funny. In (52) example Jay tried to use a Spanish expression that Gloria told him before, however, it did not sound appropriately as the translation did not work out. Therefore, the idea came out differently. Jay just wanted to use a Spanish expression to show Mitchell that he supports his son for adopting a Vietnamese girl. According to Macmillan Dictionary (2022), *blow* means “if wind or air blows, the air moves”. Therefore, the conceptual metaphor could be MAN IS A NATURAL PHENOMENON. However, according to Urban Dictionary (2022), *blow your back out* means to have intercourse with someone. The metaphor turned out to be funny because it was not translated by Jay correctly and it sounded like a suggestion to his son to sleep with him. In addition, the expression was followed by everyone's silence, which contributed to metaphor being humorous.

3.5 Comparative analysis

As the study was concerned with how gender representation changed over the years, the main focus was on such target domains as CHILD, WOMAN, and MAN. The research showed that in *Married...with Children* and in *Modern Family* the most common source domains were similar: FOOD, OBJECT, and ANIMAL. THEY structured the target domains of CHILD, WOMAN and MAN.

The most frequent source domain in both sitcoms was FOOD as it was identified 129 times in *Married...with Children* and 113 times in *Modern Family*. The result was rather similar as it was common to address the partner or a child as *honey*, *sweetie*, *sweetheart* and *etc.* The food references might suggest affectionate feelings towards the addressee. However, in *Married...with Children* it was used for different purposes too. Many examples with the food references contained irony, which made the addressee lose its affectionate meaning. It was rather common use of the word between the spouses — Peggy and Al. In this way they used to mock, annoy or even insult each other and it provided a negative image of not only how gender was established but family image too. The children were also treated differently as Kelly was more often called by a food item by both parents whereas Bud barely received any kind addresses. The reason behind this was the fact that Kelly was a female, therefore, she was treated more nicely by her parents. Moreover, Kelly was supposed to be desirable by men. She is a female that is presented to be as something that all the boys crave. She is like the food that everyone wants. However, Bud is supposed to be and act as a stereotypical man and affectionate words (e.g., *honey*, *sweetheart*) should not be used to refer to him. He is supposed to be strong, dominant, confident and independent. Therefore, this might be the reason why he was not referred to be food as much. On the other hand, in *Modern Family* the usage of words related to food items were rather sincere, even though a few examples of *honey* were employed to tease another person. However, both genders seemed to treat each other with respect. All the spouses were shown as loving their families. One of the most affectionate families were Claire's as both spouses referred to each other as *honey*. However, the oldest of men — Jay barely used any food references while addressing his wife. It is rather interesting, but it does not mean that he does not appreciate his wife Gloria. It may have been a personal preference or different views. In addition, parents were more affectionate towards children. The boys in the family were treated more softly, without trying to make them fit gender stereotypes (e.g., men being confident, dominant, emotionless). The girls were able to be more independent, self-confident. In most cases children were allowed to act like they wanted to and chose their own life goals.

The second most common source domain was object as *Married...with Children* had 54 examples while *Modern Family* contained 80 examples. The results were not as similar, but they did not necessarily suggest that people were treated as objects more often in *Modern Family*. Both sitcoms contained lots of metaphorical expressions with such words as *have*, *get*, *take*, *make* and *etc.* These verbs were quite

commonly identified while analyzing metaphors and they do not always contain negative meaning. However, other linguistic metaphors that were related to human being presented as an object provided more relevant data. For example, in *Married...with Children* women were objectified as much as children. In some cases there was some irony used by men to refer to their spouses. It just showed that the families do not treat each other well. Siblings were also objectified each other and made insults. Even though men were objectified only a few times, still they were thought of as objects (e.g., men can be stolen by women). In *Modern Family* the objectification was different. The sitcom also contained many verbs that usually imply that a person is an object. However, the words were not used in a mean or positive way. More likely it was just an expression of thought. In some examples children were objectified, but they were referred to as something magical (e.g., *bundle of joy*). These type of metaphors suggest that children are really appreciated. Women were objectified in a few cases, but the statements were made by men that did not belong to any of the three families that were presented in the sitcom. However, some men were objectified by other men by claiming that they are not manly enough. The reason behind it may be the fact that it was done by the oldest man in the family, namely Jay, who still believed (at least partly) in old stereotypes regarding men.

The third most frequent source domain was related to an animal and it was identified 39 times in *Married...with Children* and 27 times in *Modern Family*. The results were quite similar, but the metaphor analysis showed some differences between how gender was comprehended. For example, in *Married...with Children* children were treated differently regarding their gender. Kelly was considered to be like a mindless animal while Bud possessed qualities of a dog. In addition, both siblings treated each other badly too. Women were presented as barracudas or leeches that only crave money. Furthermore, women were presented as constantly torturing men by being annoying and too attached (e.g., like a leech). Men were represented as animals even more often. In many examples men were referred to as animals that were dirty (e.g., pigs). However, men referred to themselves as being lions, the heads and providers of the family. The representation in *Modern Family* was different. In some examples siblings were slightly rude towards each other, but only on rare occasions (e.g., referred to a brother as a bitch). However, parents thought of their children as bulls, someone that is strong enough to conquer all the problems. This showed how parents supported their children and their goals. Women expressed some competitiveness between each other by using animal metaphors. Men were referred to animals that are fragile and strong. This meant that men can possess qualities that are not stereotypically masculine.

In general, the number of source domains was quite similar, but metaphor analysis showed different results of gender representation. In *Married...with Children* men and women were presented in a more negative way. Women were shown as shallow money-seekers while men were the intelligent family

providers, having some animalistic qualities. Both genders disrespected each other quite often and were shown as bad examples for younger generations. On the other hand, *Modern Family* presented different views towards gender. Women were shown as being more independent, intelligent and self-confident. In addition, they got more freedom to choose and be whoever they wanted to be. Men were represented as being able to be emotional and more fragile. Furthermore, for a man it became normal to be vulnerable but strong. The sitcom showed more positive views towards men and women, which made it more relatable and enjoyable.

Overall, both sitcoms contain quite similar results regarding humorous or ironical gender-related metaphors. In both sitcoms the most common phenomenon was “metaphors that are funny in and of themselves”. *Married...with Children* contained 127 examples of such metaphors whereas *Modern Family* had 108 examples. Furthermore, the least frequent phenomenon was “failed metaphors” as only 16 metaphors were identified in *Married...with Children* and 11 in *Modern Family*. Despite the similar number of metaphors in all three categories, there were some significant differences. For example, the words *honey* and *sweetie* were used more often ironically in *Married...with Children*. The word *honey* was used 25 times while *sweetie* was employed three times to express remarks with irony. The use of these rather affectionate words were contradicting. The sentence itself would contain information that is meant to embarrass or annoy the other gender, but the address (e.g., *honey* or *sweetie*) can be associated with something sincere. Therefore, the whole remark sounded ironical or sarcastic. The affectionate word lost its meaning. The irony was used by both spouses similarly. Furthermore, it can be said that the Bundy family seems to be rather harsh, distant, and disrespectful towards each other. Mocking, insulting and embarrassing is considered to be normal in a family and it shows how badly the family image and gender was represented a few decades ago. On the other hand, in *Modern Family* the word *honey* was employed seven times in an ironical way. However, it did not seem to contradict the information that was provided after the address as much. The family members do use some irony or sarcasm to annoy each other, but it is done by not overstepping boundaries. The lack of irony showed how different family members treat each other compared to *Married...with Children*. The last essential difference was the fact that conceptual metaphor FAMILY LIFE IS HELL was identified only in *Married...with Children* and it was regarded as humorous (according to the live audience laughter). In many cases, audience laughed at insulting remarks which contained metaphors. In addition, the remarks now might be considered as non-humorous because the humour seems too offensive. However, *Modern Family* did not contain any examples of metaphors that would be related to family life being hell or torture. The fact that audience found it humorous that family life can be terrible, just shows how differently people perceived not only gender but family relationships more than two decades ago and now. The lack of such conceptual metaphor in *Modern Family* may suggest that the attitude towards family, its members and even gender changed over the years and it became more tolerant and positive.

4. Conclusions

The aim of the thesis was to analyse how gender representation changed over more than two decades. In other words, the main focus was dedicated to finding out how figurative language disclosed the change of men and women portrayal in the sitcoms *Married...with Children* and *Modern Family* during different periods of time. Furthermore, another goal was to analyse how figuratively expressed humour contributed to revealing gender issues.

Comparative Analysis revealed that *Married...with Children* and *Modern Family* contain some similarities and differences in representing women and men. In both sitcoms the most frequent target domains were: CHILD, WOMAN and MAN. The most frequently employed source domains were the same with all three target domains FOOD, OBJECT, and ANIMAL. The food references mostly showed affectionate feeling towards women, men and children. However, the biggest difference was the fact that in *Married...with Children* such food references were used in ironical sentences (e.g., Peggy and Al). Therefore, it showed that family occasionally treated each other with disrespect. However, *Modern Family* contained only a few examples of similar cases of irony, and they were not as downgrading. Therefore, *Modern Family* used more positive metaphorical expressions towards each other. In addition, both sitcoms used similar number of metaphors where the person was referred to an object. The only more noticeable difference was that *Married...with Children* had more examples of negative objectification compared to *Modern Family*. In *Modern Family* objectified people were referred to positive things, which symbolised expression of affectionate feelings. In *Married...with Children* the source domain of an ANIMAL was presented more negatively compared to *Modern Family*. In *Married...with Children* women were seen by men as torturers, barracudas or leeches that use men for their own gain. Men were referred to by women as pigs. However, men saw themselves as lions, the most important figures in the household. In *Modern Family* the results were different. Women were named only as nice animals, by trying to show affection whereas some men referred to themselves as being strong and caring at the same time.

The analysis of humorous gender-related metaphors showed that all three phenomena of humour were identified. In *Married...with Children* 127 humorous metaphors related to gender were found whereas in *Modern Family* 108 metaphorical expressions. In *Married...with Children* and *Modern Family* the most common phenomenon was “metaphors that are funny in and of themselves”, then - “metaphors that described a referent that was inherently funny” and “failed metaphors”. The use of irony was quite common in *Married...with Children* as spouses used it to annoy or make fun of each other. Therefore, men and women were shown as people who lack respect. The most interesting fact was that live audience found it humorous, when metaphorical expressions related to gender were used to insult or mock. In *Modern Family* the use of irony was not as common because children, women and men were not keen

to make fun or mock each other. Furthermore, the gender representation via humorous gender-related metaphors was not as negative compared to *Married...with Children*. The sitcom presented the characters as people with their own flaws, but they knew how to treat each other with care and respect.

In conclusion, it can be said that *Married...with Children* (1987) and *Modern Family* (2009) contain some similarities in presenting gender as there are positive connotations towards men and women. However, as the research showed, in *Married...with Children* there are more negative metaphors that express attitudes towards men and women. For example, girl was treated in a similar way as women were. This means that she was seen as unintelligent and lazy, not being capable of achieving anything in life. Women were presented as shallow, unintelligent money-seekers, who torture their husbands. On the other hand, the boy was shown as being smarter compared to his sister and he was treated with more respect. Men were shown as dominant, emotionless and as someone that acts like an animal. In many cases irony was used to insult other gender. In *Modern Family* girls were shown as intelligent and capable of achieving any goals. In addition, women were treated with respect, they were presented as strong, intelligent and independent. Boys were presented as clueless and intelligent, being able to express their emotions. Men were shown as capable of being not only strong or dominant, but vulnerable too, which is a big change for the sitcoms set in the 80s. There were some humorous gender-related metaphors, which helped to understand how gender was viewed. Humorous metaphors showed that both genders were viewed more positively compared to *Married...with Children*. Overall, it can be stated that gender representation changed over more than two decades. *Married...with Children* seems to have an old stereotypical view of men and women while *Modern Family* is more relatable to this day as it presents modern views towards both genders as it does not try to define how men or women are supposed act according to their gender. Finally, *Married...with Children* contained more conventional metaphors whereas *Modern Family* provided more novel metaphors, which made the sitcom more interesting and enjoyable.

Further research can be conducted by analysing other episodes of both sitcoms in order to see whether gender representation changed over time in one or the other sitcom. It is known that both of the sitcoms lasted for more than a decade. Therefore, the gender representation might differ even in the sitcom itself. In addition, humorous or ironical gender-related metaphors can be also analysed to see how men and women were presented over a decade.

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Summary in Lithuanian

Pagrindinis šio darbo tikslas buvo nustatyti, kaip metaforinis lyčių vaizdavimas keitėsi per daugiau nei du dešimtmečius. Kitas šio tyrimo tikslas – ištirti, kaip humoras prisideda prie lyčių vaizdavimo per metaforas. Šiems tikslams pasiekti buvo analizuojamos JAV situacijų komedijos „Vedęs ir turi vaikų“ bei „Moderni šeima“. Visų pirma, buvo nustatomi kalbinės metaforos atvejai, kurie vaizduoja lytį. Vėliau rasti atvejai buvo susieti su konceptualiosiomis metaforomis bei nustatytos jų ideologinės implikacijos. Gauti duomenys buvo analizuoti taikant lyginamąją analizę. Tyrimo medžiagą sudaro 19 pirmojo ir antrojo „Vedęs ir turi vaikų“ sezonų epizodų, o „Moderni šeima“ medžiagą sudaro 16 pirmojo sezono epizodų. Situacijų komedijų dialogai buvo rasti internete bei tikrinami, ar transkribuotas scenarijus atitinka epizodus. Iš viso tekstyną sudaro 101,651 žodis. Tyrimas buvo atliktas taikant konceptualiosios metaforos teoriją (Lakoff ir Johnson 1980) ir kritinę metaforos analizę (Charteris-Black 2014, Koller 2019) bei adaptuotą metaforos identifikavimo procedūrą (MIPVU). Humoristinės metaforos buvo analizuojamos pritaikant S. Attardo tyrimą apie humoro raiškos būdus metaforose (Brone *et al.* 2015). Dažniausios tikslo sritys (angl. target domain) buvo: VAIKAS, MOTERIS bei VYRAS. Šioms tikslo sritims priklausė šios šaltinio sritys (angl. source domain): MAISTAS, OBJEKTAS, GYVŪNAS. Šaltinio sritys buvo išanalizuotos detaliau, paaiškinant, kodėl galimai buvo pasirinktos šios šaltinio sritys situacijų komedijose. Kitame tyrimo etape metaforos, susijusios su lyties vaizdavimu, buvo skirstomos pagal S. Attardo humoristinių metaforų klasifikaciją, kuri sudaryta iš trijų kategorijų. Iš viso buvo nustatyta 127 humoristinės metaforos „Vedęs ir turi vaikų“ bei 108 atvejai „Moderni šeima“ situacijų komedijoje. Tyrimas taip pat parodė, kad abiejuose situacijų komedijose daugiausiai humoristinių metaforų priklausė pirmajai kategorijai – „savaiame juokingos metaforos“. Humoro nustatymas metaforose, kurios vaizdavo lytį, atskleidė, jog ironija daro didelę įtaką humoro kūrimui bei lyties vaizdavimui. Situacijų komedijoje „Vedęs ir turi vaikų“ buvo rasta nemažai ironijos atvejų, kurie parodė, pagarbos trūkumą tarp vyro ir moters. Kita vertus, „Moderni šeima“ ironijos atvejų pasitaikė vos keletas. Lyginamoji analizė atskleidė, jog situacijų komedija „Vedęs ir turi vaikų“ yra labiau linkusi vaizduoti moterį ir vyrą neigiamai, t.y. moterys galvoja, jog vyrai yra žvėrys nesugebantys būti emocionalūs, o vyrai mano, kad moterys yra tinginės barakudos, kurioms rūpi tik pinigai. Kita vertus, situacijų komedijoje „Moderni šeima“ lyties vaizdavimas yra kitoks. Moterys laikomos protingomis bei darbščiomis, o vyrai vaizduojami ne tik stiprūs, bet ir gebantys reikšti emocijas. Taigi, apibendrinant galima teigti, jog moters ir vyro vaizdavimas per daugiau nei du dešimtmečius iš tiesų pasikeitė. „Moderni šeima“ pristatė naują ir modernų požiūrį į abi lytis, panaikinantį stereotipinį suvokimą, kaip turi elgtis žmonės atsižvelgiant į savo lytį.

Appendix 1. Linguistic metaphors, conceptual metaphors and examples

1. MARRIED...WITH CHILDREN

Available at: www.albundy.net/

CHILD

HUMAN BEING (CHILD) IS FOOD 24

Bye, **honey**.

Thanks, **honey**.

Kelly, **honey**.

Sure, **honey**, go ahead.

Have a good time, **sweetheart**.

Kelly, **honey**, you want me to make you some dinner?

And be quiet, **honey**, don't wake your father!

Sure, **honey**..

Well **honey**.

That's nice, **honey**.

Come on **honey**, I know something's wrong, what is it?

Well **honey**, if they were really your friends...

Kelly **honey**, your friends are mad at you now, but you'll be a celebrity when they see the picture of daddy and me in People magazine.

Honey, there's dinner on the table right next to your sister's head.

How was your day **honey**?

Yeah, it's all coming back to me now: ungrateful redhead, **rotten** kids.

What is it, **honey**?

Uh, Kelly **honey**?

Come here a minute, **sweetheart**.

Thank you, **sweetheart**.

Bud, **honey**, be strong.

Hi **honey**.

Not this time, **honey**.

Kelly, **honey**, there is no reason for anyone to leave home.

HUMAN BEING (CHILD) IS AN OBJECT 22

You're not going to **have** any more kids.

When we **have** a child.

Do you two **have** any kids?

Get the kids and lock yourself in a room.

Why don't you have a couple of kids - they'll **suck it up** like a Hoover.

Why don't you **have** a couple of kids - they'll suck it up like a Hoover.

You little **wad!**

Steve and I can't wait until we **have** kids.

Well, if you really want to get out of town, we wouldn't mind **taking** the kids for the weekend.

For when we **have** children.

Well, they've agreed to **take** the kids for the weekend.

They'll expect us to **take** the kids again.

And you, Mr. Gannon, you **get** the children.

She's my sister and I'm willing to **give her up**...

I'm married, never wanted to **have** kids.

We'll tie Kelly up and leave her as an offering.

I **have** a husband and two kids.

I've made your breakfasts, I've **had** your children, I've even gone to the bathroom after you.

Please, Dad, **send** Kelly.

Lumber camp **toy**, or 'the other woman'.

And then she **sends me out** to chop wood.

Al, you've **got a...** lovely daughter.

HUMAN BEING (CHILD) IS AN ANIMAL 5

Oh, and Bud, don't **bite** anyone.

And I've got the forehead of a **dolphin**.

That's one smart **fish**.

I am not a **monkey!**

The lion watches over his **cubs**.

HUMAN BEING (CHILD) IS AN INSECT 1

Tough luck, **maggot**.

HUMAN BEING (CHILD) IS A ZIT 1

Get one yourself, you little **zit!**

HUMAN BEING (CHILD) IS A PLANT 1

Hey, Al, your daughter's really **blossomed**.

HUMAN BEING (CHILD) IS A BODY PART 1

*That is supposed to be a surprise, **Butthead**.*

HUMAN BEING (CHILD) IS AN ANGEL 1

*Nooo, no, it's been our pleasure, they've been little **angels**.*

HUMAN BEING (CHILD) IS A DEMON 1

*They have to see that we're not fit to care for the little **demons**.*

HUMAN BEING (CHILD) IS AN EMOTION 1

*Well, excuse us, **Mr. Sensitive**.*

WOMAN

HUMAN BEING (WOMAN) IS FOOD 42

*Peg, **honey**.*

*I think he's got it, **hon!***

*Listen, **honey***

*You must have thought I said, "**Honey**, is it okay with you if I go to the game".*

*I'm sorry, **honey***

*Get that, **hon**, will ya?*

*Shouldn't a woman have some **meat** on her bones?*

*Hi **hon!***

*No, **honey**, you didn't.*

*Oh, **honey**, that again.*

*Listen **honey***

*Oh, **honey**, we can't do that.*

*Hey **honey**, I thought of a great name for the boat.*

***Honey**, you wouldn't believe it, but underneath all that rust that kid was actually driving a '65 Mustang!*

*It's a car, **honey**.*

*It's not just a car, **honey** - it's a piece of history!*

*Come on, **honey**.*

*He was, **honey**.*

***Honey**, we can't afford to eat out now.*

***Honey**, I'm working on a car.*

*Happy Anniversary, **honey**.*

*And Peg, **sweetie**... those power tools that cost a pretty penny... was that pretty penny plastic, Peg?*

*He won't be expecting me yet. See, this is where he likes me to sit and stew in my own **juices**.*

*Oh **honey**, I hope that we grow so close that I never have to apologize to you.*

***Honey**, if I wanted to go away, even with you, it wouldn't be this weekend.*

*Well, **honey**, I bowl; you don't do anything.*

***Honey**, you don't wanna go out on Friday night.*

***Honey**, I just wanted to tell you "This Old House" is coming on.*

*Oh, hi, **Hon**.*

*Aren't they **sweet**, Al?*

*Well, she's a **pip**.*

*But she's my **pip***

*Pack your bags, **hon**.*

*Sorry I'm late, **honey**.*

*Oh **hon**.*

*"If you want my body and you think I'm sexy, come on **sugar**, let me know"...*

*Oh **honey**, not again.*

*I'm sorry, **honey**, I was talking about people who work.*

*I feel kind of like a pig, standing here, enjoying myself, staring at a poor unsuspecting woman as if she were nothing but a piece of **meat**.*

*See, women love us when we look at them like slabs of **beef**.*

*Uh, sit down, **Sweetypuss**.*

***Honey**... what's Troy's?*

HUMAN BEING (WOMAN) IS AN OBJECT 24

*You're a **nine**.*

*I'll **take** that one.*

*Me, I'm just gonna abuse her and **toss her out** in the street*

*See, if they enjoy eating and drinking at home, they never **take** you **out** anywhere*

*You know, maybe Al just doesn't **find** me attractive anymore*

*"So"?! So you don't **find** me attractive anymore?*

*You got a **nut-cracker**?*

*I've **got** a wife now*

*Besides, aren't you sick of **dragging** me along each week to be your free guest at the health club?*

*He wanted to... you know... **get** me in the back seat of the car.*

*Feel free to **cut** me **off** here anytime you'd like.*

*I thought about that, but Al and the kids would just hunt me down and **drag** me back.*
*You know, Al, this is probably none of my business but there are advantages to **having** a working wife.*
*They **gave** you me.*
*I need a man to make me **whole**.*
*Marcy, you're a **wreck**!*
***Take** me, Trevor.*
***Take** me!*
***Take** me!*
*I don't know why you **took** me here.*
*I'm sorry to keep **harping** at you.*
*Dad, are we **taking** Mom, too?*
*You're my **rock**, Peg.*
*How lucky they are that they can't **get** a woman, and they come crawling back to ya, thankful.*

HUMAN BEING (WOMAN) IS AN ANIMAL 12

*I am woman, hear me **roar***
*I thought about that, but Al and the kids would just **hunt** me down and drag me back.*
*Like a **dog** and two and three and four.*
*And what's good for the goose, is good for the **gooses's wife**.*
*There are a lot of man-hungry **barracudas** out there.*
*Well you are woman, go out and **roar**.*
*Al loves **Piggy**.*
*Yeah, and we also have wage-earners, wage-earners, **leeches** and wage-earners*
*No, it's the **frog** legs of your wife.*
*Yeah. Looks like two little **kittens** playing gently under some denim*
*Uh, sit down, **Sweetypuss**.*
*Tell her I said '**oink**'.*

HUMAN BEING (WOMAN) IS VEHICLE 3

*Marcy will **run** right **over** him like a tractor over a road*
*You have been home for one day and you are **driving** me crazy.*
*How am I **driving** you crazy?*

HUMAN BEING (WOMAN) IS A SURFACE 2

*Remember the effect it had **on** Grandma?*
*You want me back **on** my wife?*

HUMAN BEING (WOMAN) IS A CONTAINER 2

*If they can follow the same sports team all their lives, they can stay interested **in** the same women
Al, did I ever tell you that the sound of your voice irritates the hell **out** of me?*

HUMAN BEING (WOMAN) IS COLDNESS 1

*Why don't we just take a minute, relax, sit down and **cool off***

HUMAN BEING (WOMAN) IS A CHILD 1

*He said: "it's not dirt, it's Mustang juice, **baby**".*

HUMAN BEING (WOMAN) IS A BUILDING 1

*Yeah, if you want a perfect woman, you've gotta **build** her in your head*

WOMAN RIGHT IS A WEAPON 1

*It's this equality thing. It's **killing** us!*

MAN

HUMAN BEING (MAN) IS FOOD 63

*That's sweet, **honey***

*Have a nice day, **honey***

*You're very **fresh***

*So, no, I'd say I'm anything but **fresh**.*

*Hi, **honey***

*Al, **sweetie**, what's that song you hate?*

*And **Honey***

*And **Honey** I miss you*

*Hi, **honey***

*Have a nice day, **honey***

*Not this time, Peg, this time he's gonna be the little road **apple** that could!*

*How do you like my little road **apple** now, Peg?*

*Easy, **honey***

*Let's go out to eat, **honey***

*Oh yes you did, **honey**, and you were so clever.*

*Come on, **honey**.*

*I'm sorry about the car, **honey**.*

*What a **sweet** man.*

*Yeah, that **sweet** man would get me a great gift and I'll be sitting there like a jerk with nothing for him.*

*Happy Anniversary, **honey!***

*Oh, hi **honey!***

*Take it easy, **honey**, we have all night!*

*This is great, **honey**.*

*Aw, gee, we had a great time, **honey**.*

*Thank you, **honey**.*

*Hi, **honey**.*

*Oh, **honey**, I don't deserve this.*

*Oh, you are the **sweetest** man.*

*Now **honey**, I'm just gonna go upstairs and try this on and then I'll come make you a nice juicy steak, just like the dog had.*

*Okay, **honey!***

*"**Honey**, I want a VCR"?*

*Hi, **honey**.*

*Here's your breakfast, **honey**.*

*Come on, **honey**.*

*I fell for you, **sweetie**.*

*Come on, **honey** tell her about the time you shrewdly decided not to buy into that property that some sucker built the Sears Tower on.*

*There are no other men in my dream, just Phil Donahue and we feed him to the **lizard** people.*

*Hi **honey**.*

*I mean, one minute the **breadwinner** is still alive, and then the next -You have insurance, don't you, Al?*

*Well, you know, **honey**, sometimes at night I'm not sure either.*

*Hi **honey**.*

*Ohh, you are great **honey**.*

*Al, **Honey**, you promised this year we could take a real vacation.*

*Your husband really is **sweet**.*

***Honey**, maybe you should be a little nicer to these people.*

*You know, **honey**, it really is kinda romantic here.*

***Honey**, I'm in here.*

*How was your day, **honey**?*

*Come on, **honey**.*

*Oh, **honey**, that's not true.*

Look **honey**, you're still a young man, and there's plenty of chances to make it big.

Al, tell me something, **honey**.

Ohhh, **honey**.

Tell us again about Rio, **honey**.

Y'know, **honey**, I think it was real nice of you to take Marcy's advice and hire a woman to fix the refrigerator.

Bump it back this way, **honey**.

Wake up, **honey**, it's... that time.

Are you in the mood, **honey**?

Oh, and **honey**, lunch is in the supermarket.

Hi, **honey**.

Honey, I'm sure it'll work out one way or another.

Honey, would you be still?

HUMAN BEING (MAN) IS AN ANIMAL 23

Ohh. Wasn't anything that anybody else with the heart of a **lion** wouldn't have done!

And then puberty happens, and suddenly they're acting like **peacocks** and thinking they're Italian.

Kick back and **lick** our wounds.

You **dog**, you.

You were an **animal**, Al.

Steve, you're a man; lie like a **dog**!

Marcy decided to sleep in today, and, uh, me, I'm happy as a **duck** in orange sauce.

I haven't had a new bra for two years, and that **baboon** is sitting on 300 bucks?

Filthy **pig**!

And what's good for the **goose**, is good for the geese's wife.

But the **eagle** has landed.

He's an **animal**.

Well don't wait too long, **tiger**.

Mom, how do we know this **tuna** isn't dad's boss?

Madame, when **Shamu** needs a mate - you'll be there.

The **lion** watches over his cubs.

And you are my **albatross**, Al.

I feel kind of like a **pig**, standing here, enjoying myself, staring at a poor unsuspecting woman as if she were nothing but a piece of meat.

You're a **pig**, Al.

*Is that the other **pig**?*

*It's like two **rhinos** gently playing under a tarp.*

*You don't go fishing for **minnows** when you've got Moby Dick at home.*

*You don't go fishing for minnows when you've got **Moby Dick** at home.*

HUMAN BEING (MAN) IS AN OBJECT 9

*I never thought I could have this much hate for an **inanimate object**. You mean Al?*

*I'm gonna go **get** him.*

*Besides, we prefer to **put** men in the TV department.*

*Mom, I hate to tell you, but as a boyfriend-stealer myself, the best time to **get** them is right after a fight.*

*Mom, I hate to tell you, but as a **boyfriend-stealer** myself, the best time to get them is right after a fight.*

*Don't **toy** with me Marcy.*

*That's it, I just saw Judy trying to **steal** back the boyfriend I stole from her.*

*That's it, I just saw Judy trying to steal back the boyfriend I **stole** from her.*

*I **have** a husband and two kids.*

HUMAN BEING (MAN) IS DIRT 2

*I feel like **dirt**, Al.*

*And, in fact, knowing Marcy as I do, she probably lost it with dignity, because, as we all know...uh, we're **dirt**, and she's evolved.*

HUMAN BEING (MAN) IS A CHILD 2

*You look a little piqued, Al **babe***

*They're just **children** with paycheques.*

HUMAN BEING (MAN) IS COLDNESS 2

*Now Steve, we'll **cool off** right here*

Freeze!

HUMAN BEING (MAN) IS A BODY PART 2

*Ah, gee, Al, I don't like to **butt** into your business...*

*Then why do they call him a great man and they call you **butthead**?*

HUMAN BEING (MAN) IS A LIQUID 1

*Now just a second Al, 'cause I've reached my **boiling** point.*

HUMAN BEING (MAN) IS HAIR 1

*You're about as sharp as a **bag of wet hair**, but you're a decent guy.*

HUMAN BEING (MAN) IS A FICTIONAL CHARACTER 1

*I've got the forearms of a **Jabba** man.*

HUMAN BEING (MAN) IS HARDNESS 1

*Don't be so **hard** on yourself.*

HUMAN BEING (MAN) IS A NATURAL PHENOMENON 1

*There he is. My little **Mount St. Helens***

OTHER

FAMILY LIFE IS AN OBJECT 15

*You've **got** a good thing going*

*It was rough for us, and we **made** it*

*we **have** a couple married forty-seven years*

*Naaaah, just going to **have** a little sex with the wife!*

*Now you've **taken** an innocent life!*

*Ah, I **had** a fight with my wife.*

*We **had** this big fight...*

*You **had** a fight, didn't you?.*

*Look, we did **have** a fight, but don't worry.*

*Life **stinks!***

*Life will **stink** tomorrow.*

*We **had** sex today.*

*Well, we're **broke** again, kids*

*We **had** sex today.*

*Well, I used to live in a building with a lot of married people. Sure, the sex was great during the day, but it **got** lonely at night.*

FAMILY LIFE IS A GAME 8

*It's a low blow, but you **win***

*Peg! You **won**, there's no need to spike the ball*

*See, you're obviously new to the **married game**.*

*You, my friend, are losing **fatherhood points**.*

*Steve, we're married men. We all **gamble**.*

*Does Mom know Dad **payed** us?*

*Dad know Mom **payed** us?*

*Can't stand that a woman **won**, huh?*

FAMILY LIFE IS FOOD 6

Oh, isn't that sweet?

Oh, that's so sweet.

*I remember one Mothers' Day, they surprised me with the **sweetest**-- oh no, that wasn't them, I saw that on TV.*

*Aww, that's **sweet** Al, but I can't go without you.*

*How **sweet** of you, Peg.*

*Well, we're **rotting** our lives away, but the kids seem to enjoy it.*

FAMILY LIFE IS HELL 5

*Then my life would go back to the normal **hell** it always was*

*Peggy, and you bring a crappy present home, like uh, that picture frame, your life will be a **living hell**.*

*Sorry we ever moved next door to the **devil's spawning ground**.*

*Peggy can't you see what **hell** my life's becoming?*

*Time to **torture** me, I'm home!*

FAMILY LIFE IS WORK 3

*You've **got** a heck of a piece of clay here to work with.*

*See, the first thing I learned on my sixteen-year tour of **duty**, was that women live for presents.*

*In this house I'm the **boss** and I make the financial decisions.*

FAMILY LIFE IS A CONTAINER 2

*You need something to **fill up** your life*

*I miss my **empty** life.*

FAMILY LIFE IS A BUILDING 1

*We went **through** this before, we got me into a lot of trouble*

FAMILY LIFE IS PRISON 1

*What you have there is what I like to call a "**Get Out Of Jail Free**" card.*

*I was being **punished**, much as sex with you must actually be like.*

FAMILY LIFE IS A TRAGEDY 1

*It is the **tragedy** of our times that a housewife has to beg for what she's entitled to.*

FAMILY LIFE IS A HEAVEN 1

*It's **heaven** on earth.*

FAMILY LIFE IS DOWN 1

*The best thing to do would be to bed her **down** first.*

FAMILY LIFE IS WAR 1

*Al, it wasn't worth **fighting** about*

FAMILY LIFE IS A FIRE 1

*Uh, look. It's obvious that things are **heating up** here a little bit too much*

FAMILY LIFE IS A SURFACE 1

*Our relationship is based **on** honesty.*

FAMILY LIFE IS DIRT 1

*The first day you talked **dirty** to me.*

FRIEND IS AN OBJECT 8

*They've lived here two months and they **have** no friends*

*We've lived here fifteen years, and we **have** no friends*

*Al, I want to **have** friends.*

*You're implying it's my fault you **have** no friends?*

*That's why we **have** no friends*

*I thought we **had** no friends*

*But Al, these are the only friends I've **got**.*

*So what your tryna tell me is, that I **have** no friends.*

BODY PART IS A LIQUID 2

*Your lips are like **wine** and I wanna get drunk tonight.*

*Hey, I'm **pouring** out my heart here!*

BODY PART IS FOOD 2

*Nah, I'm cool. Peggy must be **eating** her heart out.*

***Eat** your heart out, Peg.*

BODY PART IS AN OBJECT 2

*I'm sure you've been told this before, but you **have** the feet of a movie star.*

*Cause no matter what she says, if you don't get her a present, you're gonna **break** her heart.*

BODY PART IS A PLANT 1

*"Gee your hips look **succulent**"?*

BODY PART IS A HUMAN BEING 1

*Marcy, he's **undressing** me with his eyes*

BODY PART IS A FRIEND 1

*And Al, if you should feel a sudden sharp pain where you sit, that's just your friend, my **foot**.*

BODY IS GLASS 1

*I watched while your wife tried to **shatter** my wife's hourglass figure.*

ARGUMENT IS A CONTAINER 1

*Oh yes you are, and you cannot walk **out** on this argument.*

ARGUMENT IS A HUMAN BEING 1

*The books says whenever we feel an argument **coming on***

LOVE IS A CONTAINER 1

*I guess that's why I fell **in** love with him*

LOVE IS AN ANIMAL 1

*Love **bite**.*

VEHICLE IS A CHILD 3

*Let's get out in that garage and strip the rust off this **baby**.*

*Remember, I used to have one of these **babies**.*

*Come on, let's take this **baby** for a spin!*

CLOTHING ITEM IS A BUILDING 2

*Remember: a man's **castle** is his pants*

*I listened to your "man's **castle** is **in** his pants".*

ROOM IS AN OBJECT 3

*She's **got** one: she's got the kitchen!*

*She's got one: she's **got** the kitchen!*

*He **has** the kitchen!*

ROOM IS A NEST 1

*C'mon, Marcy, let's get the phonebook and pick a nice, cheap little **lovenest**.*

POWER IS AN OBJECT 2

*She's **got** the power*

*I make the money and I **have** no power*

MONEY IS A LANGUAGE 1

*Ooh, I just love it when you talk **spending** to me.*

JOB IS A HUMAN BEING 1

*I guess I can just **kiss** this job goodbye.*

BIRTH IS A RIDE 1

*Child Birth and River Rafting - Two of Nature's **Bumpy Rides**.*

PROBLEM IS A BODY PART 1

*Let's **face** it*

NERVE IS AN OBJECT 1

*You've **got** a lot of nerve*

BRAIN IS AN OBJECT 1

Nope, gotta **have** a brain

VEHICLE IS A HUMAN BEING 1

*Oh, gee, I **loved** that car.*

BLOOD IS A CONTAINER 1

*Cars are **in** their blood.*

DATE IS AN OBJECT 1

*I thought you **had** a date.*

BOAT IS A HUMAN BEING 1

*We're gonna sail the great lakes on that **baby**, just you and me.*

HOPE IS AN OBJECT 1

*But you **give** us hope.*

DREAM IS AN OBJECT 1

*So once again, a woman **gives up** her dream for a man.*

MONEY IS AN OBJECT 1

*I **make** the money and I have no power*

PRIVACY IS AN OBJECT 1

*and you **had** the privacy to do whatever you wanted to?*

HAIR IS AN OBJECT 1

*I'll steal bleach before I **give up** my bloneness*

STATEMENT IS AN OBJECT 1

*A point that obviously wasn't **taken** too seriously*

PROBLEM IS AN OBJECT 1

*Anyway, we decided to **let it go** and forgive you*

ENERGY IS A NATURAL PHENOMENON 1

*Here **comes** another wave*

DIET IS DEATH 1

*Bud, this could be the **end of life** as we know it (Bud refers to diet)*

MOOD IS A CONTAINER 1

*I'm **in** the mood for..love.*

P.M.S. IS AN OBJECT 1

*Do you **have** P.M.S.?*

CHANCE IS A BULLET 1

*Yeah, the kid's gonna have a real **shot** at life*

CHANCE IS AN OBJECT 1

*Yeah, the kid's gonna have a real **shot** at life*

FIGHT IS A CONTAINER 1

*Look let's not get **into** a fight about this*

DESIRE IS AN OBJECT 1

*You'd just **get** her taut with desire*

2. MODERN FAMILY

Available at: www.transcripts.foreverdreaming.org/

CHILD

HUMAN BEING (CHILD) IS FOOD 43

Honey, your mom isn't always as cool about things...

*Let me see the little **pot sticker***

*Come on, **honey**, grab the block*

*Nothing. We were doing nothing, and he was a very **sweet** boy, which you might have known if you bothered to get to know him*

*Dylan's a **sweet** boy*

*So you invite Dylan over to dinner tonight, and if he's as **sweet***

*You are a cutie **pie***

*You are a cutie **pie***

***Honey**, you moving out?*

*Haley, **honey**- Don't forget, the driving instructor is picking you up from school.*

*All right, **sweetie**, this happens.*

*Keep moving, **sweetheart**.*

*Seeing him out there **slicing** those kids to pieces, you know, it gets to ya.*

***Honey**, you said you'd go to your grandfather's tonight.*

***Sweetie**, you made a commitment.*

*Hi, **honey**.*

*She is so **sweet**.*

*Okay, **honey**.*

*Just be the **sweet**, wonderful little boy that you are.*

***Sweet** little boy.*

***Sweetie**, that does not look safe.*

*It turns out I'm not the **sweet** guy or the funny guy.*

***Sweetie**?*

*What happened? What happened, **honey**?*

*Oh, he's a **sweetie**.*

*How's the little **fortune cookie**?*

*Sure, **honey**.*

Oh, sweetie.

*I know, **sweet pea**.*

*That's disturbing, **sweetie**.*

*Haley, **honey**, I really wish you would give me a hand with all this laundry.*

*Is it really too much to ask that he stay a **sweet**, innocent kid... forever?*

***Honey**, you gotta focus.*

*Haley, **sweetie**, wake up.*

*Oh, my gosh. Are you okay, **honey**?*

*I'm sorry, **honey**.*

*Oh, Haley, **sweetie**, did you find your shoes?*

***Honey**, like*

***Sweetie**, we need to get you some shoes for the dance tonight.*

*That's more than three breaths, **honey**.*

*You know, **honey**, I think I know why you don't wanna go tonight.*

***Sweetheart**, you're a beautiful girl.*

***Honey**, if they don't, then you do the exact same thing I told your sister, okay?*

HUMAN BEING (CHILD) IS AN OBJECT 28

*Phil, would you **get** them?*

*You got to **take** that kid **out**!*

*You want to **take** him **out**?*

*We decided we really wanted to **have** a baby*

*You're 15, it's the 1st time you've **had** a boy over*

*We **tore** you away from everything you know, but things are normal.*

*I want you to know, I'm not enjoying this, but this is an important lesson that you're learning. **Soak** it.*

*And how awesome would it be to **have** a fake brother who's really my nephew?*

*I'm gonna go **get** Lily ready...*

*Haley **had** her first boy over today*

*No, Dad, it's...I **got** her.*

*We're a couple straight golfing buddies who just decided to **have** a kid together*

*My dad's **taking** me on space mountain*

*We **have** Lily*

***Put** her in a dress, and she disappears*

*From the minute we get up at 7:00 till we **drop 'em off** at school, it is go, go, go.*

*Can't he **pick me up** someplace else?*

*I, uh, just **dropped** Manny off at school, and I realized...*

*I just **dropped** Manny off at school.*

*So we should **crush** Manny's spirit... and destroy everything that makes him who he is.*

*I know you're not supposed to care, but it's kind of cool to **have** a kid in your house who's the best at something.*

*She's our little **miracle**.*

*So, can we **take** you and Caroline out for ice cream?*

*Of course we would love to **have** the baby*

*That was supposed to be the good thing about **having** a kid in the house again.*

*In the car or I **put** you in the trunk!*

*Five months later, we... were... four months away from having this little **bundle of joy**.*

*She wanted me to get married and **have** kids.*

HUMAN BEING (CHILD) IS AN ANIMAL 6

*The little **bitch** shot me!*

*He's like a **bullfighter**.*

*Okay, so, take back your sword... and go fight this girl like a **bull**.*

*What do you want for your birthday, big **dog**?*

*Or the other two will **rat** 'em out.*

*I see these kids running around at the park, and they look like **sharks**.*

HUMAN BEING (CHILD) IS A SURFACE 1

*Why are you always **on** me about everything?!*

HUMAN BEING (CHILD) IS A WEAPON 1

*There! Be free, **Excalibur***

HUMAN BEING (CHILD) IS HARDNESS 1

*So stop being a gloomy goose, and stop being so **hard** on Manny.*

HUMAN BEING (CHILD) IS A TARGET 1

*Haley, stop making yourself such an easy **target**.*

HUMAN BEING (CHILD) IS POWER 1

*Ooh, **raise the roof**, Lily*

HUMAN BEING (CHILD) IS AN ANGEL 1

*Like a little **angel***

WOMAN

HUMAN BEING (WOMAN) IS FOOD 34

Honey, honey.

*Honey, **honey**.*

Honey?

*You know, **honey**, there's a gun in the footlocker in the garage*

*Who could blame you, **honey?***

*Hey, **honey***

*You're getting better, **sweetheart***

*You sure do, **honey**.*

*Hi, **honey**.*

*He's awesome, **honey**.*

*Oh, **honey**, always call us.*

***Honey**, relax.*

***Honey**, let me know if you get low on supplies.*

*Hi, **honey**.*

***Honey**, come on*

***Honey**, come here.*

Honey?

***Honey**, I just need a little bit of time.*

*Brittany, hurry, **honey**.*

***Honey**, honey, honey.*

*Honey, **honey**, honey.*

*Honey, honey, **honey**.*

***Honey**, I know, I know.*

Honey?

*This- **Honey**- Uh, no.*

*Well, **honey**, when it comes to anything electronic, you're not exactly the best student.*

*No, **honey**, you're missing the point.*

*The **yummy** mommy, mama*

*Oh, **honey**, you will.*

*Hello, **cannoli** canoe*

*You know, all women should look as **tasty** as you when they're old.*

Bye, **honey**.

Honey, take off your coat!

Honey- Claire, you remember Tom Mickleson from the office and his wife, Susan.

HUMAN BEING (WOMAN) IS AN OBJECT 22

Oh, it's okay for you to **take** an older lover?

Well, we'll have to **have** you over sometime

No, we are never **having** her over.

I just can't **give** myself to him sexually

I'm about to **embark** on a new journey

Don't **get** me wrong

I **got** Gloria!

I **got** Gloria!

I **got** Gloria!

I **got** Gloria

I will **steal** you, steal you

I will steal you, **steal** you

We really love **having** you and Manny in our family.

So, can we **take** you and Caroline out for ice cream?

You're here to **take** Haley to the party, right?

She's a complete **package**.

Mom is **sinking** fast

Let's just call Gloria and **have** her deal with it, okay?

I didn't **take** her

Anyway, what I'm trying to say... is **having** a mother isn't always what it's cracked up to be.

Hello, cannoli **canoe**.

Manny can **reclaim** the love of his life.

Women with big **rear ends** live longer

HUMAN BEING (WOMAN) IS AN ANIMAL 4

The kids are gone, the **nest** is empty.

Hot **reptile chick**

She tries to take what's mine, girlfriend's gonna get **stung**.

Pretty **kitty** has nails

HUMAN BEING (WOMAN) IS FIRE 3

*She's a beautiful, **hot** woman, and you're not exactly... You know.*

***Hot** reptile chick.*

*Your **hot**, young wife doesn't like your doll.*

HUMAN BEING (WOMAN) IS MEDICINE 2

*What, did you **take** your Claire pill?*

*She's the one acting like a **pill**.*

HUMAN BEING (WOMAN) IS A NATURAL PHENOMENON 2

*You **blew** it.*

*No way, **Mother Nature***

HUMAN BEING (WOMAN) IS DANGER 1

*She's a **danger** to us all.*

HUMAN BEING (WOMAN) IS A BODY PART 1

*I'm the **head** of Europe.*

HUMAN BEING (WOMAN) IS PORN 1

*You're all the **porn** I need.*

MAN

HUMAN BEING (MAN) IS FOOD 36

***Honey**, do you have anything to say to your daughter about her skirt?*

Honey?

*Well, **honey**, please, Let's try to remember that I'm your wife.*

*The eye **candy** here can't leave the house without spending 20 minutes in front of the mirror*

***Honey**, I thought you were gonna take out the garbage*

*Hi, **honey***

*Phil? **Honey**...*

*All right, **sweetheart**, come on*

*Aw, **sweetheart***

***Honey**, are you okay?*

*Oh, **sweetie**, I love it.*

*You're so **sweet** and nice*

***Sweetie**, that's a rock wall.*

*Listen, **carrotop***

*Thanks, **honey**.*

*Actually, **honey**, you did kinda shoot your mouth off.*

***Sweetie**, you okay?*

*Oh, **honey**.*

***Honey**, breathe.*

*No, **sweetie**.*

*Oh, Phil, **sweetie**.*

*Hey, **honey**.*

***Honey**, I'm just gonna run them to school*

***Honey**, it's fine.*

*Sorry, **sweetie**.*

***Sweet pea**, let's not talk about Ling.*

*I just met the **sweetest** guy named Cameron*

*Phil, **honey**?*

***Honey**- Hey!*

*Hey, **honey**.*

***Sweetie**.*

*Hi, **honey**.*

*Uh, **sweetie**-*

***Honey**- Honey, remember when the salesman told us... that the Sienna was built with the whole family in mind?*

*Honey- **Honey**, remember when the salesman told us... that the Sienna was built with the whole family in mind?*

***Honey**, this isn't a job interview.*

HUMAN BEING (MAN) IS AN OBJECT 29

*She **has** a boyfriend.*

*What are you, **made of china**?*

*Gloria didn't **steal** me*

*And by then, Mitch had brought Cam home, so I was **golden**.*

*The whole **kit and caboodle**, I think, really*

*You're totally my type, dangerous, **gettable***

*Cam said he'd **pick up** dad at a gay bar.*

Cannonball!

*I'm **half-scared**.*

*That's acting like a natural **shoehorn***

*Stop **drilling**.*

*But nobody gets off **The Rock**.*

*I'm the ass-kicking clown... that'll twist you like a **balloon animal**.*

*Anyway, thanks for **having** me over, having me for dinner, letting me do my laundry.*

*Anyway, thanks for having me over, **having** me for dinner, letting me do my laundry.*

*But maybe it's a good thing that he **has** the two of us.*

*Ah, he's **dragging** you, huh?*

*I love that you try and help the world, and I'm very lucky to **have** you in my life.*

*I mean, men must **throw** themselves at you every day.*

*I **got** a gay son and a Chinese granddaughter.*

*There he is- the **steely**, grizzled veteran... ready to do battle with the plucky upstart*

*But I was a little **thrown** by you touching me.*

*Here I am thinking that my dad actually respects me as a lawyer, and really you're just **throwing** me to the wolves.*

*I **have** one in Paris. Um, I have Paris, New York, Miami. I have a fourth one.*

*I have one in Paris. Um, I **have** Paris, New York, Miami. I have a fourth one.*

*I have one in Paris. Um, I have Paris, New York, Miami. I **have** a fourth one.*

*The only thing I'm picturing... is how clean the floor's gonna be when I'm done **mopping** it with you.*

*You wanna be that **rock** that they can grab ahold of in a stormy sea. Actually, a rock would sink.*

*And if you ask me, **having** two fathers who care as much as you do... makes Lily the luckiest little girl in the world.*

HUMAN BEING (MAN) IS AN ANIMAL 17

*So stop being a gloomy **goose**, and stop being so hard on Manny.*

*I would have killed with this crowd, But you had to clip my **wings**, which you used to be the wind beneath*

*I'll be in the **den***

*Big **bear**!*

*Oh, my baby **cub**!*

*Pay up, **bitches** .*

*It's like he's feeding a baby **bird***

*Son of a **bitch**.*

*Son of a **bitch**.*

*Son of a **bitch**.*

*I'm like a mother **bear**. When I hear my cub crying, I have to run to her.*

*I'm like a mother bear. When I hear my **cub** crying, I have to run to her.*

*Except you're not a **bear**.*

*If I wanted to be married to a **wild** man, I would have stayed with Javier.*

*You're gonna be fighting men off with a **stick**.*

*There he is- the steely, **grizzled** veteran... ready to do battle with the plucky upstart.*

*Jay and I are both gym **rats**.*

HUMAN BEING (MAN) IS FIRE 4

*You're **smoking hot**.*

*I was **Fire**, because of the red hair, and Claire was Nice, because it was ironic and she wasn't.*

*The firemen in our town have a reputation for being **hot**.*

*Two things **flaming** at once.*

HUMAN BEING (MAN) IS A BUILDING 2

*You **open** yourself up to lawsuits.*

*And, uh, I just want you to know that you can **open** up to me, that I'm gonna do all I can to help you.*

HUMAN BEING (MAN) IS A NATURAL PHENOMENON 3

*I'm here to... **blow** at your back.*

*I would have killed with this crowd, But you had to clip my wings, which you used to be the **wind** beneath*

*It makes you look like the **sun**.*

HUMAN BEING (MAN) IS LIQUID 3

*Instead of letting your feelings out, you bury them, and then they **bubble up** later in hurtful ways.*

***Bubbling**.*

*Hurtful **bubbling**.*

HUMAN BEING (MAN) IS A CONTAINER 2

*Instead of **letting** your feelings **out**, you bury them, and then they bubble up later in hurtful ways.*

*Can't believe she's **into** this guy.*

HUMAN BEING (MAN) IS A WOMAN 1

*Oh my God, you're such a **girl**.*

HUMAN BEING (MAN) IS A SMOKE 1

*You're **smoking hot**.*

HUMAN BEING (MAN) IS MEDICINE 1

*I'm sorry for being such a **pill**, okay?*

HUMAN BEING (MAN) IS DOWN 1

*What a **downer***

HUMAN BEING (MAN) IS A BODY PART 1

Ass.

HUMAN BEING (MAN) IS AN EMOTION 1

*And things are still good with Phil the **Thrill**?*

HUMAN BEING (MAN) IS A LIFE 1

*They're the **life** of the party.*

HUMAN BEING (MAN) IS AN ANGEL 1

*The guy sings like an **angel**.*

GENDER IS NOT CLEAR

HUMAN BEING IS AN ANIMAL 6

*But, apparently, your body does a **nesting**, very maternal, primal thing where it retains nutrients.*

*Because of me, who's not a ma's boy, but is a caring person with wisdom and emotional insight, so make a note, **bitches***

*If you tell them they have **wings**, they will believe they can fly*

*If you tell them they have wings, they will believe they can **fly**.*

*I had a buddy, went to Woodstock, believed he could **fly***

***Bear** hug!*

HUMAN BEING IS A SURFACE 2

*And shame **on** you*

*Was my mom hard **on** me growing up?*

OTHER

FAMILY LIFE IS AN OBJECT 22

*Been trying all my life to **get** it right.*

*Everyone, we **have** a new family joining us today*

*You got to **hang** in there... Because when all is said and done.....90% of being a dad -- Just showing up*

*I'm all about **taking** it to the next level*

*Thought you were all about **keeping** it real*

*But the whole point of **keeping** it real is so you can take it to the next level*

*But the whole point of keeping it real is so you can **take** it to the next level*

*You haven't exactly **taken** it to the next level with my dad*

*I'm just trying to **piece** this family back together*

*The kind of confidence that you get from **having** a family like this*

*As far as I'm concerned, mum and dad **had** sex two times.*

*And it was supposed to teach you how **hard** it was to be a parent.*

*But the real thing, i-it's so much **harder**.*

*But you should know, it's **hard** on the people who love you.*

***Hardware** is forever.*

*Dylan's far too sophisticated to get **sucked in...** by a single lady with tons of cool tattoos.*

*Now I've **got** a family of liars and smokers.*

*I **have** a wonderful family, a beautiful home.*

*Kinda **wrecking** it.*

*In Oregon, the state legislature ratified a, uh, bill... that from now on it is a crime... to **have** sex in Oregon with a farm animal.*

*I **had** a very complicated relationship with my mother.*

FAMILY LIFE IS WAR 15

*It seemed like all we did was **fight** and make love, fight and make love, fight and make love.*

*It seemed like all we did was fight and make love, **fight** and make love, fight and make love.*

*It seemed like all we did was fight and make love, fight and make love, **fight** and make love.*

*I could **defeat** you if it came to a physical confrontation.*

*Alex, why are you **fighting** me on this?*

*I bet it seems kind of silly now what you were **fighting** about.*

*Now my mom and my sister are **fighting**.*

*Don't **fight** it, Haley.*

*We got into a **fight**.*

*Hell, I'm probably **fighting** with your mom more than I'm fighting with Gloria on this thing.*

*Hell, I'm probably fighting with your mom more than I'm **fighting** with Gloria on this thing.*

*But I didn't mean for anyone to **fight**.*

*Admit **defeat**.*

*So how's life in the **trenches**?*

*Let's not **fight**.*

FAMILY LIFE IS A GAME 6

*Maybe Alex doesn't want to **compete** with her big sister*

*We **dropped the ball** a little bit on that one*

*I'm gonna hate **losing** you to another woman.*

*You'll never **lose** me, Mom.*

*Some guys just do not know how to **play** it.*

*Yes, there'd always been a little bit of a **competition** between us.*

FAMILY LIFE IS A CONTAINER 5

*The thing about me and Jay is our relationship's... always been **stuck** in that, um- that primal place where it started*

*Being **in** a relationship is pretending to enjoy your partner's interests*

*I feel like Manny and I are not welcome **in** this family.*

*We really love having you and Manny **in** our family.*

*Will they **fit in**?*

FAMILY LIFE IS AN ANIMAL 2

*From me, he learns how to be spontaneous, **grab** life by the throat.*

*Well, we do a little throat **grabbing** ourselves around here, you know.*

FAMILY LIFE IS A ROAD 1

*There may be some **bumps** along the way.*

FAMILY LIFE IS DRAMA 1

*There's kind of a lot of **drama***

FAMILY LIFE IS A LIE 1

***Shot a ray of hope** into this gloomy suburban lie?*

FAMILY LIFE IS HARDNESS 1

*Honestly, at first, it was **hard**.*

*Don't you see how **hard** this is for me?*

FRIEND IS AN OBJECT 4

*I'm **having** a friend over today.*

*And then, trust me, she'll be the most loyal friend you've ever **had**.*

*I **had** a buddy, went to Woodstock, believed he could fly*

*'Cause you **have** no friends.*

FRIENDSHIP IS A SHIP 1

*You're kind of **wrecking** it..*

FRIENDSHIP IS AN OBJECT 1

*So we're **torn**.*

BODY PART IS AN OBJECT 6

*I **gave** her my heart*

*Haley, what your mom is worried about is you **getting** your heart broken*

*I'm telling you, it **rips** your heart **out**.*

*"Stupid" is not following your heart and **taking** a chance on love.*

*I believe you have something that belongs to me. My **heart**.*

*I'm off to **win** the heart of my beloved.*

BODY PART IS A CONTAINER 3

*You be the wind **in** his back, not the spit in his face.*

*You be the wind in his back, not the spit **in** his face.*

*And you should know that... I'm not here to spit **in** your face.*

BODY PART IS A HUMAN BEING 3

*Let the eyes do the **work**.*

*I thought you said it made me look like my neck was **wearing** a dress.*

*I **love** your ass.*

BODY PART IS AN ANIMAL 2

*But that's how I make my **horsey** go*

*Make that **horsey** move*

BODY PART IS A SATELLITE 2

*All the time you've spent in a locker room, this can't be your first **moon landing**.*

*Your father and I had a **moon landing** in the locker room.*

BODY IS A NEST 1

*But, apparently, your body does a **nesting**, very maternal, primal thing where it retains nutrients.*

BODY PART IS A FICTIONAL CHARACTER 1

*Breasts are like these **scary, mystical things**... that he's drawn to like Frodo to Mordor.*

BODY PART IS A GLASS 1

*Meanwhile, stateside, another **storm** was **brewing**... in my heart.*

LOVE IS AN OBJECT 6

*When did we **jump** to love?*

*It's not the day you **run away** from love. It's the day you track it down, tie it up and take it home.*

*It's not the day you run away from love. It's the day you **track it down**, tie it up and take it home.*

*It's not the day you run away from love. It's the day you track it down, **tie it up** and take it home.*

*It's not the day you run away from love. It's the day you track it down, tie it up and **take it** home.*

*Um, because he's a huge queen and he **has** a big crush on you.*

LOVE IS A NATURAL PHENOMENON 1

*Meanwhile, stateside, another storm was **brewing**... in my heart.*

LOVE IS A CONTAINER 1

*He **fell in** love to a break-up song.*

LOVE IS A LAKE 1

*"My love is **deeper** than the Great Lakes."*

LOVE IS A COMPETITION 1

*I'm off to **win** the heart of my beloved.*

LOVE IS A ROPE 1

*Love is what **binds** us*

ARGUMENT IS AN OBJECT 4

*Luke, Alex, why don't you **take** it outside, okay?*

*Not **making** this easy*

*Listen... I would love to **get** this thing behind us, but Gloria would never forgive me if I pulled a fast one on her*

*Then you got a lumpy **rug**.*

ARGUMENT IS A NATURAL PHENOMENON 1

*So, there's no part of you that wants to **clear the air** with your sister?*

ARGUMENT IS A BUILDING 1

*Can I step **in** here?*

ARGUMENT IS AN EXPLOSION 1

*Gloria, that **blow-up** with the other mom, why do you have to do things like that?*

ARGUMENT IS DOWN 1

*I'm just saying, you could **take it down** here a little bit, that's all*

UNIVERSE IS A HUMAN BEING 1

*The universe is cold and **loveless**.*

UNIVERSE IS COLDNESS 1

*The universe is **cold** and loveless.*

BEHAVIOUR IS FOOD 2

*That is so **sweet**.*

*That's the **sweetest** thing anyone's ever done for me.*

FEELING IS AN OBJECT 2

*If you **have** any feelings you'd like to express*

*I only did it because I **had** the feelings, I just didn't know how to show 'em.*

SOCIETY IS A CONTAINER 2

*You mean you want to **fit in** and not terrify the villagers?*

*I just want him to **fit in***

FREEDOM IS AN OBJECT 2

***Giving** them the freedom to be whatever they want to be...*

*No, I **took** your freedom*

SEDUCTION IS JACKPOT 1

*Oh, **jackpot**.*

SOUL IS LIQUID 1

*I **poured** my heart and soul into a poem, left it on her desk.*

BODY PART IS LIQUID 1

*I **poured** my heart and soul into a poem, left it on her desk.*

PASSION IS A HUMAN BEING 1

*Rekindled fires of a **dying** passion?*

PASSION IS FIRE 1

*Rekindled **fires** of a dying passion?*

PASSION IS AN OBJECT 1

*Hey, as long as my boy **follows** his passion*

TOUCHING IS FUEL 1

*No, to you it's like **rocket fuel***

CRITICISM IS AN OBJECT 1

*She can't **take** criticism about her driving*

MIND IS A CONTAINER 1

*I couldn't get Luke **out** of my mind.*

HOPE IS A BULLET 1

***Shot a ray of hope** into this gloomy suburban lie?*

HUMOUR IS AN OBJECT 1

*She's always **had** a dark sense of humor*

RESENTMENT IS AN OBJECT 1

*I might still be **holding** a little resentment, but that's... embarrassing and petty and it's not a good color on me.*

STRENGTH IS AN OBJECT 1

*We each **have** our own strengths.*

CHILDHOOD IS SURVIVAL 1

*Babies are designed to **survive** new parents, so stop worrying.*

SPIRIT IS AN OBJECT 1

*So we should **crush** Manny's spirit... and destroy everything that makes him who he is.*

HOMOSEXUAL IS AN OBJECT 1

*I **kept** the whole gay thing very under wraps.*

FIRE IS AN OBJECT 1

*That's where he **gets** his fire*

FIGHT IS A CONTAINER 1

*Luke got **in** a fight*

KNOWLEDGE IS A DRINK 1

*He's just curious, that's all. He's got this almost scientific mind with a **thirst** for knowledge*

CONFIDENCE IS A WEAPON 1

*It's that she's **got** this killer confidence*

URGE IS AN OBJECT 1

*Boys **get** urges*

WORD IS A BULLET 1

*I won't freak out. **Shoot***

EMOTION IS FOOD 1

*And added the secret **ingredient** of caring?*

PRIDE IS AN OBJECT 1

*In my culture, men **take** great pride in doing physical labor*

CONTROL IS A CONTAINER 1

*I was... **out** of control growing up*

MATERNITY IS A FIGHT 1

*You can't **fight** it*

EMOTION IS AN OBJECT 1

*You'd **get** mad*

BIKE IS A HUMAN BEING 1

*Certain members of this family don't think you can **take care** of this bad boy*

Appendix 2. Humorous metaphors related to gender, conceptual metaphors and examples

1. MARRIED... WITH CHILDREN

1. Metaphors that are funny in and of themselves

HUMAN BEING (CHILD) IS FOOD

- Thanks, **honey**. (irony)
- And be quiet, **honey**, don't wake your father! (irony)
- My life is over.
That's nice, **honey**. If you're hungry, there's sandwiches on the table and little fish bits on the floor. (irony)

HUMAN BEING (CHILD) IS AN OBJECT

- You little **wad**! You thief! You Nazi Fascist psychopath!
- Ah, you dirty, **shifless bag of** –
- She's my sister and I'm willing to **give her up**...
- Hurry up, Bud! Never wanted to get married - I'm married, never wanted to **have** kids - I got two of 'em. How the hell did this happen?
- I know what it is to be alone. I **have** a husband and two kids. But I don't go around killing them. I mean, I might if I didn't have TV.

HUMAN BEING (CHILD) IS AN ANIMAL

- Oh, and Bud, don't **bite** anyone.

HUMAN BEING (WOMAN) IS FOOD

- Peg, **honey**. (irony)
- I think he's got it, **hon**! (irony)
- Listen, **honey** (irony)
- You must have thought I said, "**Honey**, is it okay with you if I go to the game". (irony)
- I'm sorry, **honey** (irony)
- No, **honey**, you didn't. (irony)
- Oh, **honey**, we can't do that. (irony)
- And Peg, **sweetie**... those power tools that cost a pretty penny... was that pretty penny plastic, Peg? (irony)
- He won't be expecting me yet. See, this is where he likes me to sit and stew in my own **juices**.
- **Honey**, if I wanted to go away, even with you, it wouldn't be this weekend. (irony)
- Well, **honey**, I bowl; you don't do anything. (irony)
- **Honey**, you don't wanna go out on Friday night. (irony)
- I'm sorry, **honey**, I was talking about people who work. (irony)
- I feel kind of like a pig, standing here, enjoying myself, staring at a poor unsuspecting woman as if she were nothing but a piece of **meat**. (irony)
- See, women love us when we look at them like slabs of **beef**. (irony)

HUMAN BEING (WOMAN) IS AN ANIMAL

- I am woman, hear me **roar**
- Well you are woman, go out and **roar**.

HUMAN BEING (WOMAN) IS AN OBJECT

- *I need a man to make me **whole**.*

HUMAN BEING (WOMAN) IS A BUILDING

- *Yeah, if you want a perfect woman, you've gotta **build** her in your head*

HUMAN BEING (MAN) IS FOOD

- *That's sweet, **honey** (irony)*
- *So, no, I'd say I'm anything but **fresh**. (irony)*
- *Al, **sweetie**, what's that song you hate? (irony)*
- *And **Honey** (irony)*
- *And **Honey** I miss you (irony)*
- *Have a nice day, **honey** (irony)*
- *Oh yes you did, **honey**, and you were so clever. (irony)*
- *Thank you, **honey**. (irony)*
- *I fell for you, **sweetie**. (irony)*
- *Come on, **honey** tell her about the time you shrewdly decided not to buy into that property that some sucker built the Sears Tower on. (irony)*
- *There are no other men in my dream, just Phil Donahue and we feed him to the **lizard** people.*
- *Oh, **honey**, that's not true. (irony)*
- *Look **honey**, you're still a young man, and there's plenty of chances to make it big. (irony)*
- *Al, tell me something, **honey**. (irony)*
- ***Honey**, would you be still? (irony)*

HUMAN BEING (MAN) IS AN ANIMAL

- *I haven't had a new bra for two years, and that **baboon** is sitting on 300 bucks?*

HUMAN BEING (MAN) IS HAIR

- *You're about as sharp as a **bag of wet hair**, but you're a decent guy.*

HUMAN BEING (MAN) IS A FICTIONAL CHARACTER

- *I've got the forearms of a **Jabba** man.*

FAMILY LIFE IS FOOD

- *I remember one Mothers' Day, they surprised me with the **sweetest**-- oh no, that wasn't them, I saw that on TV.*
- *Well, we're **rotting** our lives away, but the kids seem to enjoy it.*

FAMILY LIFE IS HELL

- *Then my life would go back to the normal **hell** it always was*
- *Peggy, and you bring a crappy present home, like uh, that picture frame, your life will be a **living hell**.*
- *Sorry we ever moved next door to the **devil's spawning ground**.*
- *Peggy can't you see what **hell** my life's becoming?*
- *Time to **torture** me, I'm home!*

FAMILY LIFE IS A TRAGEDY

- *It is the **tragedy** of our times that a housewife has to beg for what she's entitled to.*

FAMILY LIFE IS A HEAVEN

- *It's **heaven** on earth. (irony)*

BODY PART IS FOOD

- ***Eat** your heart out, Peg.*

BODY PART IS A FRIEND

- *And Al, if you should feel a sudden sharp pain where you sit, that's just your friend, my **foot**.*

CLOTHING ITEM IS A BUILDING

- *Remember: a man's **castle** is his pants*

ROOM IS AN OBJECT

- *He **has** the kitchen!*

ROOM IS A NEST

- *C'mon, Marcy, let's get the phonebook and pick a nice, cheap little **lovenest**.*

JOB IS A HUMAN BEING

- *I guess I can just **kiss** this job goodbye.*

BIRTH IS A RIDE

- *Child Birth and River Rafting - Two of Nature's **Bumpy Rides**.*

HAIR IS AN OBJECT

- *I'll steal bleach before I **give up** my bloneness*

DIET IS DEATH

- *Bud, this could be the **end of life** as we know it (Bud refers to diet)*

P.M.S. IS AN OBJECT

- *Do you **have P.M.S.**? (refers to a man having p.m.s.)*

2. Metaphors that describe a referent that is inherently funny

HUMAN BEING (CHILD) IS FOOD

- *Yeah, it's all coming back to me now: ungrateful redhead, **rotten** kids.*

HUMAN BEING (CHILD) IS AN OBJECT

- *Why don't you have a couple of kids - they'll **suck it up** like a Hoover*
- *I want you to tell Uncle Steve what your guidance counsellor said what career you'd be best suited for.
Lumber camp **toy**, or 'the other woman'.*

HUMAN BEING (CHILD) IS AN ANIMAL

- *And I've got the forehead of a **dolphin**.*
- *That's one smart **fish**.*
- *I am not a **monkey**!*
- *The lion watches over his **cubs**.*

HUMAN BEING (CHILD) IS AN OFFERING

- *We'll tie Kelly up and leave her as an **offering**.*

HUMAN BEING (CHILD) IS AN INSECT

- *Tough luck, **maggot***

HUMAN BEING (CHILD) IS A ZIT

- *Get one yourself, you little **zit!***

HUMAN BEING (CHILD) IS A BODY PART

- *That is supposed to be a surprise, **Butthead**.*

HUMAN BEING (CHILD) IS AN ANGEL

- *Nooo, no, it's been our pleasure, they've been little **angels**.*

HUMAN BEING (WOMAN) IS FOOD

- *Well, she's a **pip**.*
- *But she's my **pip***

HUMAN BEING (WOMAN) IS AN OBJECT

- *You got a **nut-cracker?**
You're looking at her.*
- *Marcy, you're a **wreck!***

HUMAN BEING (WOMAN) IS AN ANIMAL

- *And what's good for the goose, is good for the **gooses's wife**.*
- *Al loves **Piggy**.*
- *Yeah, and we also have wage-earners, wage-earners, **leeches** and wage-earners*
- *No, it's the **frog** legs of your wife.*
- *Yeah. Looks like two little **kittens** playing gently under some denim*

HUMAN BEING (WOMAN) IS VEHICLE

- *Marcy will run right over him like a **tractor** over a road*

HUMAN BEING (WOMAN) IS A FOOTWEAR ITEM

- *You're a **nine**. (refers to a shoe size)*

HUMAN BEING (MAN) IS FOOD

- *Not this time, Peg, this time he's gonna be the little road **apple** that could!*
- *How do you like my little road **apple** now, Peg?*
- *I mean, one minute the **breadwinner** is still alive, and then the next -You have insurance, don't you, Al? (irony)*

HUMAN BEING (MAN) IS AN ANIMAL

- *And then puberty happens, and suddenly they're acting like **peacocks** and thinking they're Italian.*
- *You **dog**, you.*
- *You were an **animal**, Al.*
- *Steve, you're a man; lie like a **dog!***

- *Marcy decided to sleep in today, and, uh, me, I'm happy as a **duck** in orange sauce.*
- *Filthy **pig**!*
- *And what's good for the **goose**, is good for the geese's wife.*
- *He's an **animal**.*
- *Well don't wait too long, **tiger**.*
- *Mom, how do we know this **tuna** isn't dad's boss?*
- *And you are my **albatross**, Al.*
- *I feel kind of like a **pig**, standing here, enjoying myself, staring at a poor unsuspecting woman as if she were nothing but a piece of meat.*
- *You're a **pig**, Al.*
- *Is that the other **pig**?*
- *It's like two **rhinos** gently playing under a tarp.*
- *You don't go fishing for **minnows** when you've got Moby Dick at home.*

HUMAN BEING (MAN) IS DIRT

- *And, in fact, knowing Marcy as I do, she probably lost it with dignity, because, as we all know...uh, we're **dirt**, and she's evolved.*

HUMAN BEING (MAN) IS A CHILD

- *They're just **children** with paycheques.*

HUMAN BEING (MAN) IS A BODY PART

- *Then why do they call him a great man and they call you **butthead**?*

HUMAN BEING (MAN) IS A NATURAL PHENOMENON

- *There he is. My little **Mount St. Helens***

3. Failed metaphors (metaphors that are involuntarily funny, or that are produced pretending to be involuntarily funny)

HUMAN BEING (CHILD) IS A DEMON

- *They have to see that we're not fit to care for the little **demons**.*

HUMAN BEING (CHILD) IS AN EMOTION

- *Well, excuse us, **Mr. Sensitive**.*

HUMAN BEING (WOMAN) IS FOOD/ HUMAN BEING (WOMAN) IS AN ANIMAL

- *Shouldn't a woman have some **meat** on her bones?*
- *"If you want my body and you think I'm sexy, come on **sugar**, let me know"...*

HUMAN BEING (WOMAN) IS AN ANIMAL

- *Tell her I said '**oink**'.*
- *Uh, sit down, **Sweetypuss**.*

WOMAN RIGHT IS A WEAPON

- *It's this equality thing. It's **killing** us! (women having more rights)*

HUMAN BEING (MAN) IS AN ANIMAL

- *You don't go fishing for minnows when you've got **Moby Dick** at home.*

HUMAN BEING (MAN) IS AN OBJECT

- *I never thought I could have this much hate for an **inanimate object**. You mean Al?*

HUMAN BEING (MAN) IS A BODY PART

- *Ah, gee, Al, I don't like to **butt** into your business...*

FAMILY LIFE IS AN OBJECT

- *Life **stinks!***
- *Life will **stink** tomorrow.*

FAMILY LIFE IS A GAME

- *You, my friend, are losing **fatherhood points**.*

FAMILY LIFE IS A CONTAINER

- *I miss my **empty** life.*

BODY PART IS A PLANT

- *"Gee your hips look **succulent**"?*

MONEY IS A LANGUAGE

- *Ooh, I just love it when you talk **spending** to me.*

2. MODERN FAMILY

1. Metaphors that are funny in and of themselves

HUMAN BEING (CHILD) IS FOOD

- *Honey, you moving out? (irony)*
- *Seeing him out there **slicing** those kids to pieces, you know, it gets to ya.*
- *That's disturbing, **sweetie**.*
- *That's more than three breaths, **honey**.*

HUMAN BEING (CHILD) IS AN OBJECT

- *You want to **take him out**?*
- ***Put** her in a dress, and she disappears*
- *From the minute we get up at 7:00 till we **drop 'em off** at school, it is go, go, go.*
- *In the car or I **put** you in the trunk!*
- *Five months later, we... were... four months away from having this little **bundle of joy**.*

HUMAN BEING (WOMAN) IS FOOD

- *Who could blame you, **honey**? (irony)*
- *You sure do, **honey**. (irony)*
- *You know, all women should look as **tasty** as you when they're old.*

HUMAN BEING (WOMAN) IS AN OBJECT

- *Oh, it's okay for you to **take** an older lover?*
- *I just can't **give** myself to him sexually*
- *I **got** Gloria!*
- *I **got** Gloria!*
- *I **got** Gloria!*
- *I **got** Gloria*
- *I will **steal** you, steal you*
- *I will steal you, **steal** you*
- *Manny can **reclaim** the love of his life.*

HUMAN BEING (WOMAN) IS AN ANIMAL

- *The kids are gone, the **nest** is empty.*

HUMAN BEING (WOMAN) IS MEDICINE

- *What, did you **take** your Claire pill?*

HUMAN BEING (WOMAN) IS A SHIP

- *I'm about to **embark** on a new journey*
- *Mom is **sinking** fast*

HUMAN BEING (WOMAN) IS DANGER

- *She's a **danger** to us all.*

HUMAN BEING (WOMAN) IS A VEHICLE

- *Women with big **rear** ends live longer*

HUMAN BEING (MAN) IS FOOD

- *Well, **honey**, please, Let's try to remember that I'm your wife (irony)*
- *Phil? **Honey**... (irony)*
- ***Honey**, this isn't a job interview. (irony)*

HUMAN BEING (MAN) IS AN OBJECT

- *Gloria didn't **steal** me*
- *The only thing I'm picturing... is how clean the floor's gonna be when I'm done **mopping** it with you.*

HUMAN BEING (MAN) IS AN ANIMAL

- *I would have killed with this crowd, But you had to clip my **wings**, which you used to be the wind beneath*
- *I'll be in the **den***
- *It's like he's feeding a baby **bird***
- *I'm like a mother bear. When I hear my **cub** crying, I have to run to her.*
- *Except you're not a **bear**.*

HUMAN BEING (MAN) IS LIQUID

- ***Bubbling**.*

HUMAN BEING (MAN) IS AN INSTRUMENT

- *Stop **drilling**.*

HUMAN BEING (MAN) IS A VEHICLE

- *I **drive** women crazy*

HUMAN BEING (MAN) IS STEEL

- *There he is- the **steely**, grizzled veteran... ready to do battle with the plucky upstart*

HUMAN BEING IS AN ANIMAL

- *I had a buddy, went to Woodstock, believed he could **fly***
- ***Bear** hug!*

FAMILY LIFE IS AN OBJECT

- *In Oregon, the state legislature ratified a, uh, bill... that from now on it is a crime... to **have** sex in Oregon with a farm animal.*

FAMILY LIFE IS WAR

- *So how's life in the **trenches**?*

FAMILY LIFE IS A GAME

- *We **dropped the ball** a little bit on that one*

FAMILY LIFE IS AN ANIMAL

- *Well, we do a little **throat grabbing** ourselves around here, you know.*

BODY PART IS A CONTAINER

- *You be the wind **in** his back, not the spit in his face.*
- *You be the wind in his back, not the spit **in** his face.*
- *And you should know that... I'm not here to spit **in** your face.*

BODY PART IS A HUMAN BEING

- *Let the eyes do the **work**.*
- *I thought you said it made me look like my neck was **wearing** a dress.*
- *I **love** your ass.*

BODY PART IS AN ANIMAL

- *But that's how I make my **horsey** go*
- *Make that **horsey** move*

BODY PART IS A SATELLITE

- *All the time you've spent in a locker room, this can't be your first **moon landing**.*
- *Your father and I had a **moon landing** in the locker room.*

BODY PART IS A FICTIONAL CHARACTER

- *Breasts are like these **scary, mystical things**... that he's drawn to like Frodo to Mordor.*

EMOTION IS FOOD

- *And added the secret **ingredient** of caring?*

2. Metaphors that describe a referent that is inherently funny

HUMAN BEING (CHILD) IS FOOD

- *Let me see the little **pot sticker***
- *How's the little **fortune cookie**?*

HUMAN BEING (CHILD) IS AN ANIMAL

- *The little **bitch** shot me!*
- *He's like a **bullfighter**.*
- *Okay, so, take back your sword... and go fight this girl like a **bull**.*
- *What do you want for your birthday, big **dog**?*
- *I see these kids running around at the park, and they look like **sharks**.*

HUMAN BEING (CHILD) IS A WEAPON

- *There! Be free, **Excalibur***

HUMAN BEING (WOMAN) IS FOOD

- *The **yummy** mommy, mama*

HUMAN BEING (WOMAN) IS AN ANIMAL

- *Hot **reptile chick***
- *Pretty **kitty** has nails*

HUMAN BEING (WOMAN) IS FIRE

- *She's a beautiful, **hot** woman, and you're not exactly... You know.*
- *Your **hot**, young wife doesn't like your doll.*

HUMAN BEING (WOMAN) IS MEDICINE

- *She's the one acting like a **pill**.*

HUMAN BEING (WOMAN) IS A NATURAL PHENOMENON

- *No way, **Mother Nature***

HUMAN BEING (WOMAN) IS A BODY PART

- *I'm the **head** of Europe.*

HUMAN BEING (MAN) IS FOOD

- *The eye **candy** here can't leave the house without spending 20 minutes in front of the mirror 22 p.*
- *Listen, **carrottop***
- *Oh, **honey**. (irony)*

HUMAN BEING (MAN) IS AN OBJECT

- ***Cannonball!***
- *That's acting like a natural **shoehorn***
- *I'm the ass-kicking clown... that'll twist you like a **balloon animal**.*

HUMAN BEING (MAN) IS AN ANIMAL

- *So stop being a gloomy **goose**, and stop being so hard on Manny.*
- *Big **bear!***
- *Oh, my baby **cub!***
- *Pay up, **bitches***
- *Son of a **bitch**.*
- *Son of a **bitch**.*
- *Son of a **bitch**.*
- *I'm like a mother bear. When I hear my **cub** crying, I have to run to her.*
- *There he is- the steely, **grizzled** veteran... ready to do battle with the plucky upstart.*
- *Jay and I are both gym **rats**.*

HUMAN BEING (MAN) IS FIRE

- *I was **Fire**, because of the red hair, and Claire was Nice, because it was ironic and she wasn't.*

HUMAN BEING (MAN) IS A NATURAL PHENOMENON

- *It makes you look like the **sun**.*

HUMAN BEING (MAN) IS A ROCK

- *But nobody gets off **The Rock**.*

HUMAN BEING (MAN) IS A WOMAN

- *Oh my God, you're such a **girl**.*

HUMAN BEING (MAN) IS A BODY PART

- *Ass.*

HUMAN BEING (MAN) IS AN EMOTION

- *And things are still good with Phil the **Thrill**?*

HUMAN BEING IS AN ANIMAL

- *Because of me, who's not a ma's boy, but is a caring person with wisdom and emotional insight, so make a note, **bitches***

3. Failed metaphors (metaphors that are involuntarily funny, or that are produced pretending to be involuntarily funny)

HUMAN BEING (CHILD) IS AN OBJECT

- *I want you to know, I'm not enjoying this, but this is an important lesson that you're learning. **Soak** it.*

HUMAN BEING (WOMAN) IS FOOD/ HUMAN BEING (WOMAN) IS AN OBJECT

- *Hello, **cannoli canoe**.*

HUMAN BEING (WOMAN) IS PORN

- *You're all the **porn** I need*

HUMAN BEING (MAN) IS AN OBJECT

- *What are you, **made of china**?*
- *The whole **kit and caboodle**, I think, really*
- *You're totally my type, dangerous, **gettable***
- *I'm **half-scared**.*

HUMAN BEING (MAN) IS A BUILDING

- *You **open** yourself up to lawsuits.*
- *And, uh, I just want you to know that you can **open** up to me, that I'm gonna do all I can to help you.*

HUMAN BEING (MAN) IS A NATURAL PHENOMENON

- *I'm here to... **blow** at your back.*

HUMAN BEING IS AN ANIMAL/ BODY IS A NEST

- *But, apparently, your body does a **nesting**, very maternal, primal thing where it retains nutrients.*