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Antonomasia in BCMS and a woman's place in the Balkan society

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Summary: Antonomasia implies two opposing semantic mechanisms: the replacement of a proper name by an appellative, epithet or periphrasis (e.g. *the Iron Lady* standing for Margaret Thatcher), or the attribution of a proper name to an appellative or a set of certain personality traits (e.g. *a Penelope* standing for a faithful, devoted wife). The aim of this paper is to show that studying antonomasia as a figure of speech driven by a cognitive metonymic and metaphoric mechanism can contribute to revealing how women are conceptualised and consequently talked about. We do so by analysing figurative antonomasia in a dataset of 307 examples extracted from Bosnian/Croatian/Montenegrin/Serbian (BCMS) webpages, although the findings are generisable to other languages as well. We show that antonomasia is frequently based on entrenched stereotypes about women and that in the collective consciousness of the BCMS speakers women are often conceptualised as (sexual) objects, typically valued by aesthetic criteria, as well as in relation to their possession of certain stereotypical female traits (self-sacrifice or subordination to others, excessive emotion but also cruelty, manipulateness, showiness, talkativeness, etc.). In addition, the analysis also revealed that a woman is principally identified through her relations with other beings (as a mother, sister, wife or lover). Our study thus confirms that studying antonomasia within gender and language studies is a goal well worth pursuing.

Keywords: antonomasia, conceptual metaphor, conceptual metonymy, conceptualisation of women

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1 Introduction

“Language and Woman’s Place”, an essay by American university professor Robin Lakoff published in the 1970s, launched a wave of feminist research into the area of language and gender equality and opened the door to new interdisciplinary research fields like gender studies or language and gender. In the years that followed, linguistic research in this area has been increasingly evolving and – in synergy with anthropology, communication science, psychology, sociology, politics – it brought new results in the interpretation of gender differences in various societies and cultures.

Departing from the premise that, as Bugarski (2005: 17) succinctly puts it, “language is not just a static frame of reference for a culture, a system for its interpretation, but also its dynamic constitutive principle”, this strand of research sparked intensive discussions into the existence of sexism in language, i.e. on gender discrimination against women, which, as a social phenomenon, is reflected in language and propagated through it. Guided by the view that “the way we feel about the things in the real world governs the way we express ourselves about these things” (Lakoff 1973: 45), interdisciplinary research in the field of language and gender aims to reveal the current state, tendencies, but also fundamental changes in the relationship between the sexes and the relationship of a particular community to them, as well as the linguistic construction of gender and gender roles. In particular, if our reality shapes our language and vice versa, then language should also reflect what women have struggled for throughout history and, to a certain extent, accomplished – social equality. Yet, findings of various studies on gender differences as reflected in and through language reveal entrenched prejudice based on the traditional value judgments on men and women, and are characterised by, as Bugarski (2005: 56) notes, a significant level of uniformity regarding the status and evaluation of both sexes, regardless of the geographical location, cultural characteristics, social structure and the degree of civilisational development of the society in which these studies were conducted.

There are two main ways that linguistic discrimination is experienced by women, Lakoff finds (1973: 46) – one has to do with how women are taught to use language and the other with how language use treats women. This has shaped the main research questions posed in gender linguistics as an interdisciplinary field: how do women talk, how do we talk about women and why?

In the way that the general use of language portrays women, Mills (2008: 11) distinguishes *overt* from indirect, *covert* sexism in the language. The latter is based on stereotypical beliefs related to the female gender and cannot be directly linked to a specific linguistic use – it is not visible on the surface of the language itself but has to be interpreted in a given context. Research on covert or indirect

sexism into the way women are spoken about, which is the focus of this paper, can be conducted using various linguistic analytical frameworks and methodologies with the aim of revealing hidden prejudice against women, allowing us to make conclusions about the ideologies behind a particular use of language. Such studies can involve, for instance, a semantic analysis and/or contrasting of lexemes and phrases; a pragmatic analysis of hedging and boosting strategies employed by women and men, respectively; a (critical) analysis of the conceptual metaphors relating to women and men or used in connection with them; a (critical) discourse analysis of how women are portrayed in various discourses, etc. – the possibilities for linguistic research seem endless, as can be witnessed from the abundant recent research on gender and language. Some of these studies have focused on metonymy, i.e. how women are metonymically presented, whereby what is important is which of their aspects/characteristics/parts are foregrounded and which are simultaneously defocused (see, for instance, Velasco-Sacristán 2010; Montashery 2013; Diabah 2016; Martin & Papadelos 2017). However, to our best knowledge, no study to date has dealt with how women are presented through *antonomasia*, a mechanism through which a common noun or a phrase is used instead of a proper name (for instance, *Iron Lady* standing for Margaret Thatcher or, by analogy, any firm, strong and decisive woman), or, vice versa, a proper name is used as a common noun (*the Margaret Thatcher of Croatia*). These processes are essentially metonymic and sometimes also metaphoric, i.e. metaphonymic, as we will see, and involve selecting paragons, which may reflect, *inter alia*, entrenched gender ideologies and stereotypes. It is precisely the aim of this paper to show the potential that the study of antonomasia may have as a research topic in the field of gender and language. To this purpose, in this paper we present a study of figurative antonomasia in Bosnian/Croatian/Montenegrin/Serbian (BCMS), whose findings may be generalisable and relevant to other languages as well.

2 Theoretical background

In this part of the paper we will present the rhetorical and cognitive accounts of antonomasia, as a figure of speech and a cognitive mechanism, respectively.

2.1 Antonomasia – a rhetorical account

Antonomasia involves replacing a common noun by a proper one and *vice versa*. This is revealed in the very etymology of the word: *anti*, which in Greek means

‘instead of’ and *onomazein* – ‘to name’ (Holmqvist & Płuciennik 2010: 373). Traditionally, it is viewed as a figure of speech but it can also be viewed as a type of conceptual metonymy or metaphor within the framework of cognitive linguistic studies.

Originally, *antonomasia* (Latin: *pronominatio*) implied only the replacement of a proper noun with a common one – *species pro individuo* (e.g. *The Poet*, standing for Homer or Virgil; or *The Orator*, standing for Demosthenes or Cicero), but it was later extended to include a figure of speech created by the opposite semantic mechanism – attribution of a proper name to an appellative, i.e. a trait or set of particular traits – *individuum pro specie*. Thus, in *antonomasia*, a proper name is not used in order to identify an individual, but rather to characterise that individual. For example, *Medea* may be any jealous and vindictive woman since the character of this sorceress from Greek mythology is perceived in the collective consciousness as a prototype of a woman who is characterised by these traits. This type of *antonomasia* was noted by Dutch rhetorician Vossius in the 17th century, which is why some call it the *Vossian antonomasia*, while the first type is often called the *real* or *ancient antonomasia* (Benčić 1995: 196; Popović et al. 2007: 47; Grgić & Nikolić 2011a: 130).

In the literature, however, for both types of *antonomasia* there are other terms as well: for example, Bagić (2012: 54–56) classifies *antonomasia* into that of *a proper name* (further subdivided into lexicalised and non-lexicalised¹) and that of *a common name*. According to him, *antonomasia* of a proper name is present when the name of a real or fictitious person, place, area or product, becomes a value attribute, a sign of possessing a certain characteristic. Usually this is the case with the names of inventors, scientists, artists or well-known literary figures which are used as common nouns and have entered our general vocabulary. They, *inter alia*, denote persons (*barbarian, patron, Einstein*), plants (*begonia, degenius, iris*), units of measurement (*tesla, ampere, newton*), etc. Antonomastic concepts, Bagić (2012: 55) concludes, thus participate in the storage of important facts in the collective memory.

Lexicalised *antonomasias* are called *eponyms* in linguistics. These are proper nouns generalised to the point that speakers do not often recognise a proper name in them. Most often, these are inventions or discoveries named after their inventors, historical periods, artistic trends named after their founders or some features named after the persons who were characterised by them. Bagić (2012: 55) illustrates lexicalised *antonomasias* of a proper name with the following examples:

¹ By *lexicalisation* the author broadly understands the process of formation of new lexical units, as recognised in a dictionary.

asphalt, boycott, zeppelin, fiasco, guillotine, hooligan, quisling, mentor, nicotine, sandwich, silhouette, volcano, etc. We note that it is not a coincidence that these were all derived from male names. A phenomenon similar to eponymisation is that of phraseologisation of a proper name. It is created by using a Vossian antonomasia within a phrase (e.g. *Pyrrhic victory, open Pandora's box*). These phrases are in no way different from other anthroponym phrases, which means that their proper names, like the ones that eponyms are based on, have lost their referentiality and figurativeness (cf. Grgić & Nikolić 2011a: 28).

The appellative, i.e. the periphrasis name, can sometimes be lexicalised or phraseologised as well. A typical example of this is *the iron lady*, carrying the meaning of the common noun *prime minister*, as well as the figurative meaning of a strong, determined, energetic woman, regardless of the political context. In such cases, we may speak of desemantisation of the periphrasis name *the Iron Lady* as an antonomasia for Margaret Thatcher (cf. Kovačević 2020: 23), as well as a sort of an overlap between real and Vossian antonomasia, which shows that this basic binary division also has its borderline cases. We will return to this later in the paper.

While conventional eponymised and phraseologised antonomasias are not, as a rule, characterised by the transposed, i.e. figurative meaning, non-lexicalised antonomasias of a proper name are. As Bagić (2012: 55) explains, in those types of antonomasia the semantics of the expression is built through a conscious – serious or ironic – generalisation of a proper noun. Thus, a person with a gift for painting or music, might be designated as a *Picasso* or a *Mozart*². For proper communication in such cases, as Bagić goes on to state, it is necessary for the participants in the communication process to recognise the meanings attributed to the proper names used. As a further illustration, the author mentions the literary characters of *Don Juan* and *Penelope*, who “antagonistically denote a seducer and a faithful, virtuous wife.”

Non-lexicalised antonomasias can be characterised by a greater or lesser degree of figurativeness, which entails recognition by a wider audience. Thus, we can speak of highly stylistic antonomasia, which shows the ingenuity of a writer or speaker (cf. Bagić 2010: 7) without intending to be understandable to a wider audience. They are a characteristic of literary artistic expression, although they can also be found in the journalistic style as well. Similar to them are contextual antonomasias (cf. Lausberg 1990: 72; Grgić & Nikolić 2011b: 28), understood only in a given context, which require an informed audience. In addition to these, there are antonomasias based on characters and personalities, as part of the gen-

2 Similar to the example cited by Enos (1996: 445): “Your Romeo phoned.”

erally shared knowledge. They are not completely lexicalised and are not particularly stylistic, but it could be argued that they are in common use and that their meaning is recognisable to a wider cultural circle.

If we compare the aforementioned classifications of antonomasia and take figurativity as the main criterion, we can classify antonomasia as shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Types of antonomasia according to figurativity

Figurative antonomasia	Non-figurative antonomasia
Ancient/real/antonomasia of a common noun	Lexicalised antonomasia of a proper noun (eponym)
Vossian/non-lexicalised/ antonomasia of a proper noun	Phraseologised antonomasia of a proper noun

The figurative and the phraseologised antonomasia of a proper name are typically capitalised in written texts, whereas lexicalised antonomasias, as a rule, are written in lower case, bearing in mind that they fall under the category of common nouns.

As suggested in the introduction, in this paper we are interested in figurative antonomasia, which means that we will explore both the figurative types – ancient and Vossian.

2.2 Antonomasia – a cognitive account

The terms introduced thus far point to the rhetorical nature of antonomasia and the linguistic mechanism behind the lexical level of this phenomenon. On the other hand, within the framework of cognitive linguistic studies, antonomasia may be viewed in relation to conceptual metaphor and metonymy. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) posit both metaphor and metonymy as conceptual processes, i.e. cognitive mechanisms. Metaphor involves mapping of a source domain (which is typically grounded in experience) onto a target domain (a more complex, typically abstract concept, that needs to be understood in terms of something closer and more familiar). Thus, we think of *time* in terms of *money* (the metaphor TIME IS MONEY), of *life* in terms of a *journey* (LIFE IS A JOURNEY) or of *love* in terms of *war* (LOVE IS WAR), which are cognitive analogies linguistically expressed in a number of linguistic expressions (*spend/invest time; go through life; he won her love...*). On the other hand, when it comes to metonymy, both the source and the target are from the same domain – for instance, in the sentence *She is just a pretty face*, the

phrase *pretty face* is metonymically used within the general mechanism PART FOR THE WHOLE. The two are close and similar, which is why Lakoff and Johnson (1980) originally saw metonymy as part of metaphor.

What is called ancient antonomasia can be seen as a cognitive mechanism of metonymy – THE PROPERTY OF AN INDIVIDUAL FOR AN INDIVIDUAL, as argued by Holmqvist and Pluciennik (2010), who provide the following examples: *The Thunderer* (for Zeus) and *The-Swift-Footed* (for Achilles), where the metonymic processes are obvious. In Vossian antonomasia, a somewhat different mechanism is at work, Holmqvist and Pluciennik (2010) suggest. Lakoff defines *paragons* as a form of metonymic, “reference-point” reasoning, as we “comprehend categories in terms of individual members who represent either an ideal or its opposite” (1987: 87), and provides examples of some linguistic expressions driven by this mechanism: *a regular Babe Ruth, another Willie Mays, the Cadillac of vacuum cleaners...* Under Barcelona’s (2003, 2004) framework, we can understand antonomasia as the metonymy STEREOTYPICAL/PROTOTYPICAL MEMBER OF A CATEGORY FOR THE CATEGORY (under the general mechanism of PART FOR THE WHOLE). He provides the following example: *There have not been many Shakespeares lately*, where *a Shakespeare* represents a stereotypical member of the class *talented writers* and stands for the entire category, i.e. any talented writer.

Brdar & Brdar-Szabó (2001: 40) also link antonomasia with metonymy and metaphor, explaining that what sets antonomasia apart is the fact that it is always based on a proper name, as its starting point or its intended reference, but that the cognitive process underlying it is no different from that of metaphor and metonymy. This is why these authors argue that real or ancient antonomasia is actually a special form of metonymic mapping which takes place within one parent domain and selects “one prominent and relevant property to refer to the holder of the properties”, while in Vossian antonomasia they argue that there is, additionally, a metaphorical mapping between two conceptual domains, where “a part of the structure of the source domain is directly mapped onto the target domain” (Brdar & Brdar-Szabó 2001: 44–46). Brdar & Brdar-Szabó (2007: 131) argue that their view on the matter is “alternative and even complementary” to that of Barcelona (2003, 2004). They concur that the process of figuratively using proper names is essentially metonymic in nature; however, according to them, this process also frequently combines metaphorical and metonymic mappings, i.e. it is *metaphonymic* in character (cf. Goossens 1990). Metaphorical mappings are more obvious in an example such as *the Bill Clinton of Hollywood*, where the postmodifier *of Hollywood* includes a transfer into a different domain (the source and the target domains are not the same as in metonymy; Brdar & Brdar-Szabó 2007).

What all the authors agree on is that ancient/real antonomasia is typically metonymic in nature and that the Vossian type is also basically metonymic, but

that this mechanism is more complex as it frequently includes metaphorical mappings as well.

3 Data and method

Antonomasia is not realised in any distinct linguistic patterns, which is why, in general, a good method for its automatic extraction does not exist. When it comes to ancient/real antonomasia, which is typically purely metonymic, automatic extraction is not possible at all from a corpus not annotated for metonymy (no such corpus exists for BCMS), as there is no way to predict what parts, qualities and aspects of a person may be foregrounded and be used as a proper name. In the case of Vossian antonomasia, a complex automatic method of extraction from an electronic corpus has recently been devised for the English language (Fischer & Jäschke 2020), which looks for constructions of the type “the + proper name + of + a certain domain”, such as in *the Michael Jordan of greatness*. This method, however, is not directly applicable to BCMS, due to structural differences between English and BCMS (BCMS is highly inflected and has no articles). However, Fischer & Jäschke's (2020) extraction endeavour can help us apply a semi-automatic search in BCMS, as their results showed what the most common postmodifiers in Vossian antonomasias³ in English are. These include constructions such as: of his/her time/day/generation, of + a country name (e.g. *China*), of + a time period (e.g. *21st century*), of + a social field (e.g. *business, basketball, ballet...*), which are likely to occur in other languages in a similar form. Fischer and Jäschke's extraction resulted in only 2,646 instances of antonomasia from a 1.8-million-word corpus, which indicates that a manual search of a lengthy corpus would be very time-consuming. Bearing in mind the aim of this paper, which is limited to showing the potential of studying antonomasia to reveal gender stereotypes and ideologies without intending to accurately examine its statistical presence in the BCMS language, we opted for a semi-automated extraction method, which we describe below.

The following steps were taken:

1. We manually searched through several lexicographic materials to extract instances of antonomasia which have already been recorded in the BCMS linguistic literature and resources. These include: *The Phraseological Dictionary of Croatian or Serbian* (Matešić 1982), *Phraseological Dictionary of Serbian*

³ See <https://vossanto.weltliteratur.net/emnlp-ijcnlp2019/statistics.html>. Last accessed: 11/04/2020.

- (Otašević 2012), and the *Eponymic Lexicon* (Mršić 2000), as well as the literature on this topic (referred to in this paper).
2. We then searched the BCMS webpages (by means of the Google Search Engine) using the Internet as a corpus. We used the Internet as a corpus bearing in mind that currently there is no single BCMS corpus available (there are some corpora for Serbian and Croatian, whereas Bosnian and Montenegrin are hugely underresourced when it comes to linguistic data). We looked for the antonomasias we found in step 1, in order to extract examples containing them and examine their use in context.
 3. To find additional examples in which antonomasia was used, we also searched the BCMS webpages that use the postmodifiers found by Fischer & Jäschke (2020), using search strings such as “he/she is the * of Serbia/Croatia/Bosnia/Hercegovina/Montenegro”, “he/she is the * of his/her/our generation/times...”, “he/she is the * of football/basketball/business/fashion...”, etc. We also adapted some of these modifiers into premodifiers, which proved particularly fruitful in our search (“he/she is the Bosnian/Hercegovian/Croatian/Montenegrin/Serbian...”).

This procedure yielded a dataset of 307 examples containing antonomasia, containing a total of 4,943 words. As a result of the extraction procedure applied, the dataset primarily contains antonomasias which are international in character, which, keeping in mind the aim of our study, is useful, as the results can be generalised to other languages.

4 Conceptualisation of woman via figurative antonomasia

The analysis section of the paper is divided into two parts in which we separately deal with two basic types of antonomasia, as explained above.

4.1 Real antonomasia

Real antonomasia involves selecting a characteristic trait to refer to the holder of that trait, as suggested above. Thus, a person is equated with the trait characterising them. We found that this type of antonomasia was frequent in newspaper discourse, most commonly in the headlines of newspaper articles. A typical example of real antonomasia based on a female anthroponym is that of the *Iron*

Lady, another name for Margaret Thatcher, the first female Prime Minister of the United Kingdom (example 1). This well-known antonomasia has been very productive and has expanded its meaning to a great extent. The phrase *iron lady* (BCMS: *čelična/željezna (železna)/gvozena le(j)di*) today can be used to denote any female president or prime minister of a country (example 2), but also, generally, a decisive woman, successful not only in politics but in other social spheres as well (example 3):

- (1) Ne, Tereza Mej nije kao “Čelična lejdi”, kao Merkel je⁴
‘No, Teresa May is not like the “Iron Lady”, she is like Merkel’
- (2) Može li Crna Gora dobiti “čeličnu lejdi”?⁵
‘Can Montenegro get its “iron lady”?’
- (3) Leontina Vukomanović, *čelična leđi* naše estrade.⁶
‘Leontina Vukomanović, the iron lady of our show business’

Whereas the example 1 illustrates the real figurative antonomasia, the phrase *iron lady* can rather be classified as a Vossian lexicalised antonomasia in the example 2 or Vossian phraseologised antonomasia in the example 3, given that the periphrasis name is used as a common noun with the meaning of *a prime minister* or *a firm, decisive and strict woman*. The semantic process “property of an individual for an individual” is not the same for the *Iron Lady* referring to Margaret Thatcher herself and for the *iron lady* referring to any other woman since her. If we paraphrase the example 2, we can recognise a reference in it to the *iron lady of Montenegro*, which reveals a Vossian mechanism. Such borderline cases between the real and Vossian antonomasia have not been accounted for in the literature thus far.

What also seems to be interesting about the quoted antonomasia is its underlying effective contrast between the literal meaning of the ‘iron lady’ and the stereotype of a woman as the weaker, gentler gender. This antonomasia first appeared in a Soviet newspaper (originally: *železnaja dama*), where it was used with negative connotations (Martinez 2015: 203). Thatcher immediately accepted the nickname and turned it into her favor (Moore 2013: 710). However, the subconscious experience of a discrepancy between what is denoted by the noun ‘lady’

⁴ https://www.b92.net/info/vesti/index.php?yyyy=2016&mm=07&dd=12&nav_category=78&nav_id=1154451. Last accessed: 12/07/2016.

⁵ <https://www.slobodnaevropa.org/a/crna-gora-vlast-zene/28997903.html>. Last accessed: 15/01/2018.

⁶ <http://www.svevesti.com/a102909-leontina-vukomanovi%C4%87-%C4%8Deli%C4%8Dna-leđi-na%C5%A1e-estrade>. Last accessed: 18/09/2008.

and the trait denoted by the noun-derived adjective 'iron', which in a figurative sense means *steadfast* and *decisive*, exposes other stereotypes about a woman: a lady is not expected to be firm and strong and, vice-versa, a strong-willed woman is not expected to be beautiful (beauty is typically associated with the term *lady*). This is apparent in the examples 4 and 5:

- (4) *Čelična, ali lejdi: Uvek u suknji i štiklama*⁷
 'Of iron, but a lady: Always in a skirt and high-heels'
- (5) *Čelična lejdi, ni lepa ni zgodna: životna priča uspešne žene Meril Strip*⁸
 'Iron lady, neither pretty nor beautiful: the life story of a successful woman, Meryl Streep'

At this point we will note that this antonomasia has several different varieties in BCMS. It came about as a calque of a phrase of Russian origin, which was also accepted in English in its literal translation (the *Iron Lady/iron lady*). In BCMS, the following forms appear (sorted by frequency): *čelična le(j)di*; *čelična dama*; *željezna/železna dama*; *željezna/železna le(j)di*; *gvozdена le(j)di*; *gvozdена dama*. The use of the adjective *čelična* ('of steel') prevails and not the translation of the original adjective: *gvozdена, željezna* ('of iron'). It is interesting that the use of the original noun *lady* prevails as well – it was just adapted through transcription into *le(j)di*. That is not the only use of this loanword in BCMS, we also find it accompanying the name of Diana, the Princess of Wales – *Lejdi Dajana* or *Lejdi Di*. The noun *lejdi* in BCMS evokes sophistication, tenderness and elegance as qualities of a lady.

Many of the metonymic antonomasias based on the substitution of an anthroponym by an appellative which we have encountered while constructing our corpus, confirm the assumption that a woman may be conceptualised as a (sexual) object through her identification with some of her physical characteristics (examples 6, 7), as well as of her identification through her relationship with others (examples 8, 9, 10):

- (6) *Ne zovu je bez razloga The Body!*⁹
 'They don't call her *The Body* for no reason!'
 [This is a reference to Elle Macpherson and her body.]

⁷ <http://mondo.me/a487178/Magazin/Lifestyle/Celicna-ali-lejdi-Uvek-u-suknji-i-stiklama.html>. Last accessed: 27/11/2015.

⁸ <https://stil.kurir.rs/celebrities/vip-prica/35554/celicna-lejdi-ni-lepa-ni-zgodna-zivotna-prica-u-spesne-zene-meril-strip>. Last accessed: 16/10/2015.

⁹ <https://www.vecernji.hr/showbiz/elle-mcphearson-slavi-51-rodendan-997661/komentari>. Last accessed: 29/03/2015.

- (7) *Crni panter* i modna revolucionarka¹⁰
 ‘*Black panther* and a fashion revolutionary’
 [This is a reference to Naomi Campbell, which foregrounds her skin colour and body constitution.]
- (8) *I srpska majka* je uz orlove: Srbija igra prvu utakmicu na Mundijalu, a ovako ih folk diva bodri¹¹.
 ‘*The Serbian mother* is also supporting the Eagles: Serbia plays first match at the World Championship and the folk diva is cheering them on’
 [This is a reference to the folk singer Svetlana Ceca Ražnatović, from the perspective of the Serbian media.]
- (9) *Udovica ratnog zločinca* u Tivoliju: “Dobro večer Hrvatska!”¹²
 ‘*Widow of a war criminal* in Tivoli: “Good evening, Croatia!”’
 [This is a reference to the folk singer Svetlana Ceca Ražnatović, from the perspective of Croatian media.]
- (10) *Prva sestra* se ponovo oglašila o poziv suda¹³
 ‘*The First sister* ignores a court summons again’
 [This is a reference to Ana Đukanović, sister of the then Prime Minister of Montenegro.]

In the example 6 we find a direct transfer of a real antonomasia in its original form (*The Body*), whereas in the example 7 we note the mechanism of calquing, i.e. word-for-word literal translation (*Crni Panter* coming from *Black Panther*). Both of these come from English, whereas the antonomasias in the examples 8–10 were originally coined in BCMS.

We came across a number of real antonomasias containing the noun ‘*kraljica*’ (queen): *Kraljica popa* (*The Pop Queen*), standing for Madonna; *Kraljica soula* – (*The Soul Queen*) – Aretha Franklin; *Kraljica džez* (*The Jazz Queen*) and *Prva dama pjesme* (*The First Lady of the Song*) – Ella Fitzgerald. These are women who left a significant mark on their genres in the music industry. We also came across

10 <http://www.pressonline.rs/vesti/Revija/178599/crni-panter-i-modna-revolucionarka.html>. Last accessed: 1/10/2011.

11 <https://www.espreso.rs/showbiz/zvezde/262163/i-srpska-majka-je-uz-orlove-srbija-igra-prvu-utakmicu-na-mundijalu-a-ovako-ih-folk-diva-bodri-video>. Last accessed: 17/06/2018.

12 <https://www.express.hr/life/udovica-ratnog-zlocinca-u-tivoliju-dobro-vece-hrvatska-15446>. Last accessed: 28/04/2018.

13 <https://www.dan.co.me/?nivo=3&rubrika=Hronika&clanak=572284&datum=2016-11-09>. Last accessed: 9/11/2016.

other antonomasias built via the noun *queen*, which, almost as a rule, are connected with the world of fashion and aesthetics:

- (11) Od *kraljice botoksa* do čelične lejdi. Kako žive zemlje koje vode žene.¹⁴
 ‘From *botox queen* to iron lady. What is life like in the countries led by women’
- (12) *Kraljica mode* i kraljica Engleske zajedno na reviji¹⁵
 ‘*The fashion queen* and the queen of England together at a fashion show’

In both the examples above (11 and 12), the mechanism of calquing is present (as was also in 7, discussed earlier). Judging by our dataset, real antonomasias are frequently derived from English and the mechanism of calquing is often employed.

The antonomasias in 11 and 12 are based on the metaphor WOMAN AS AN ARISTOCRAT, which places a woman above the level of common people (López Rodríguez 2008). At the same time, they are basically metonymic, as the feature of being above the others is selected to stand for a woman – it seems that metaphor and metonymy are inextricably linked in many cases of antonomasia. Historically, queens generally obtained privileges and status from their marriages, i.e. the relationship with their husbands, the kings. It is unclear whether this relation/position is evoked at all in the modern usage of *queen* to represent an accomplished woman.

In contemporary BCMS, *queen* forms an integral part of the popular jargon antonomasia *žena, majka, kraljica* (a wife, a mother, a queen), which draws on another stereotypical representation of a woman whose sole sense of existence, in a patriarchal society, is reflected in the roles of a wife and a mother. Only when she accomplishes these two roles, and at the same time manages to take care of herself and her physical appearance, can she be fully valued and accomplished at a professional level, having achieved the ideal of a “perfect trinity”, which makes a perfect, modern woman – *a wife, a mother, a queen*:

- (13) *Žena, majka, kraljica*: Nitko ne vjeruje koliko je djece rodila ova ljepotica¹⁶

¹⁴ <https://www.blic.rs/vesti/svet/od-kraljice-botoksa-do-celicne-lejdi-kako-zive-zemlje-koje-vo-de-zene/6gyqvw6>. Last accessed: 18/01/2015.

¹⁵ <https://noizz.rs/noizz-fashion/kraljica-mode-i-kraljica-engleske-zajedno-na-reviji/jph15nx>. Last accessed: 21/02/2018.

¹⁶ <https://www.maxportal.hr/magazin/zena-majka-kraljica-nitko-ne-vjeruje-koliko-je-djece-ro-dila-ova-ljepotica/>. Last accessed: 21/10/2017.

'A wife, a mother, a queen: Nobody believes how many children this beauty has given birth to'

- (14) Angelina (31) je žena, majka, kraljica: Ima 4 dece, završila je fakultet i sve postiže sa lakoćom.¹⁷

'Angelina is a wife, a mother, a queen: She has 4 children, has graduated from college and achieves everything with ease'

4.2 Vossian antonomasia

When it comes to the Vossian antonomasias which have permanently entered the dictionaries and the collective memory of most speakers of a certain cultural circle, the proper names in them are clearly recognisable and are usually capitalised in spelling. They are not particularly stylistic – they symbolise a particular trait or set of features and, as such, they are petrified in a language, not necessarily requiring the knowledge of an encyclopaedic framework. For example, the results of a questionnaire we conducted amongst our students in preparation for this study showed that an overwhelming majority of our respondents know that *Mother Theresa* stands for a woman who is kind, unselfish and morally good, although a vast majority of them do not know who exactly Mother Theresa was. The same was with *Joan of Arc* and *Mata Hari*, for instance.

Vossian antonomasias can reduce an individual to only one or a few traits that become inseparable from their name. Here, as Grgić and Nikolić (2011a: 130–131) emphasise, one cannot speak of a mere substitution of a common name by a proper name, as, in fact, the use of antonomasia introduces certain connotations. Let us look at the following example from the dataset:

- (15) Ja neznam da li ce biti prva ali ce biti jednog dana trener u wnba. Ona zasluzuje vec sad ali boze sreće bice to jednog dana. Ona je pitbul zenske kosarke ona je mocart ona je cak noris ona je ajnstajn u kosarci. I bilo sta drugo da sam rekao ne bih pogresio ona je Djokovic u zenskoj kosarci i hvala bogu da je imamo.¹⁸

'I don't know whether she will be the first, but one day she will be a coach in WNBA. She deserves it now, but, God willing, she will be that one day. She is the pit-bull of women's basketball, she is the Mozart, she

¹⁷ <https://www.telegraf.rs/vesti/srbija/2942807-angelina-31-je-zena-majka-kraljica-ima-4-dece-zavrila-je-fakultet-i-sve-postize-sa-lakocom-foto>. Last accessed: 14/03/2018.

¹⁸ <https://www.kurir.rs/sport/kosarka/1872753/video-ekskluzivno-marina-maljkovic-privatno-o-selektoru-kosarkasica-znate-skoro-sve-ali-ovo-ne>. Last accessed: 25/07/2015.

is the Chuck Norris, she is the Einstein of basketball. Whatever else I may have said would not be a mistake; she is the Djokovic of women's basketball and thank God that we have her.'

In 15, a (in all probability) male commentator under the alias "Mr" comments on a female basketball coach from Serbia, Marina Maljković¹⁹, by choosing a number of paragons to compliment her on her achievements. Not hiding his enthusiasm for her, he sees her as the *Mozart/Chuck Norris/Einstein/Djokovic*²⁰ of women's basketball, where all the selected paragons of accomplishment from all these various fields are men. In addition, she is metaphorically likened to a pit-bull, an aggressive dog, and, as can be deduced from the context, this, too, is supposed to be a compliment. In the four complimentary antonomasias and one metaphor used, the commentator found no female paragon worthy of being paralleled to Marina Maljković – a female paragon would simply have been too weak a comparison to the commentator's mind.

The first part of the analysis in this section consisted of extracting the Vossian antonomasias which are established in BCMS, from the materials listed in the Data and Method section – step 1. We categorised them into those based on male and female names, which implies attributing a male or a female anthroponym to a particular appellative or a particular set of traits. We then arranged them depending on whether they carried rather positive or rather negative connotations in the dataset we have compiled, as well as in the dictionary entries and the literature defining them – the latter proved more useful in deciding whether an antonomasia carried rather positive or rather negative connotations and the examples from the dataset served to confirm the descriptions from the entries made by the lexicographers. The results are presented in Table 2 (as most of the names are international, their English versions are provided):

¹⁹ Marina Maljković was the coach of Serbia's national basketball women's team for six years. Her achievements include the national team's winning the European Championship and a bronze medal at the Rio Olympics.

²⁰ In the BCMS region, jokes centering around Chuck Norris typically include absurd and hyperbolic claims about his strength and toughness; Novak Djoković is a renowned Serbian tennis player, well-known in the world and especially in the BCMS region.

Table 2: Vossian antonomasias already established in BCMS

* signifies that an antonomasia was used for both men and women in our corpus

Antonomasias based on male names		Antonomasias based on female names	
Positive connotations	Negative connotations	Positive connotations	Negative connotations
<i>Apollo</i> – a handsome man	<i>Judas*</i> , <i>Brutus</i> , <i>Quisling*</i> – a traitor	<i>Aphrodite</i> , (pocket) <i>Venus</i> – a beautiful woman	<i>Barbie</i> – a doll-like blonde
<i>Einstein*</i> – a clever person	<i>Kerber</i> – a strict guard; a rigid, inflexible person	<i>Joan of Arc</i> – an embodiment of patriotism and feminine courage, sacrifice	<i>Baba Yaga/Baba Roga*</i> – an ugly, evil woman/person
<i>Cicero</i> – an excellent orator	<i>Methuselah</i> – a very old person	<i>Mother Theresa*</i> – a generous, unselfish woman/person	<i>Big Bertha</i> – an obese woman
<i>Don Juan, Casanova</i> – a great lover, seducer, womaniser	<i>Narcissus*</i> – a vane, narcissistic person	<i>Penelope</i> – a faithful wife	<i>Frau Gabriela, Radio Mileva*</i> – a gossip woman/person
<i>Don Quixote</i> – an idealist, an enthusiast	<i>Doubting Thomas*</i> – a person prone to doubt	<i>Semiramis</i> – a wise woman	<i>Cassandra</i> – one predicting misfortune or disaster
<i>James Bond</i> – a skilled undercover agent		<i>Fairy Raviojla (orig. Vila Raviojla)</i> – a woman with very long hair	<i>Xantipa</i> – a grumpy, evil, quarrelsome wife
<i>Fangio*, Schumacher*</i> – a person who drives well			<i>Lady Magbeth</i> – a cruel, manipulative woman
<i>Hercules, Superman, Rambo</i> – a strong man			<i>Lolita</i> – a prematurely sexually mature girl, prone to relationships with men quite older than herself; a very young or young-looking sensual woman
<i>Croesus, Rockefeller, Bill Gates</i> – a rich man			<i>Mata Hari</i> – a spy, an informer
<i>Mozart</i> – a virtuoso in an area			<i>Medea</i> – a jealous, vindictive woman

<i>Midas*</i> – a man who successfully makes money	<i>Mesalina</i> – a rude, cruel, lavish woman
<i>Romeo</i> – a young man in love, a lover	<i>Olive</i> – an awkward-looking, tall woman
<i>Sancho Pansa</i> – a loyal friend, companion; a prosaic, cunning and resourceful man	<i>Cinderella*</i> – a person doing household chores; a person who works hard; whose work is exploited
<i>Solomon</i> – a wise person	

The antonomasias in Table 2 broadly come from historical, biblical, mythological, literary and some classic popular culture sources. They are based on real or fictitious characters belonging to the realm of culture and a vast majority of them are international. As for female antonomasias, in the corpus we noted that some of them are widely recognisable only within the BCMS linguistic and cultural area, as part of a regional cultural and historical heritage preserved in the collective memory (*Frau Gabriela*, *Radio Mileva*, *Vila Raviojla*).

As can be seen in Table 2, there is an asymmetry in the connotations borne by the male and the female antonomasias. It is noticeable that male anthroponyms as antonomasias typically carry more positive connotations than the female ones do. We also note that male proper names generally carry a wide range of traits considered positive: intelligence, wisdom, dexterity, skills in different fields, resourcefulness, strength, wealth, loyalty in friendship, physical beauty. If we compare that to the positive female antonomasias, apart from noting a disproportion in the number of antonomasias we found, we also notice a substantial lack of parallelisms. While, on the one hand, the qualities of a man which make him a great lover and womaniser are largely seen positively in the BCMS region, judging by the examples from our dataset (*Casanova*, *Don Juan*), on the other hand, marital loyalty (*Penelope*) is appreciated in women. In addition, judging by the positive female antonomasias and the examples from our dataset, it could be concluded that the sacrifice of a woman (*Mother Teresa*, *Joan of Arc*) and her beauty, i.e. physical appearance (*Aphrodite*, (*pocket*) *Venus*, *Fairy Raviojla*) are valued. Analysing the female antonomasias from both the columns, we notice, in fact, that many of them refer to the characteristics of physical appearance, either with positive or negative connotations (*Aphrodite*, (*pocket*) *Venus*, *Barbie*, *Big Bertha*, *Olive*, *Fairy Raviojla*) as opposed to just one *Apollo* as the embodiment of male physical beauty. The fact that a number of women found their place in the collective memory due to certain

aspects of their physical appearance (beauty, bodily constitution, height, awkwardness, grace, obesity, hair length, hair color, doll-look) may suggest that a woman is often valued on the basis of her aesthetic characteristics.

Negative antonomasias such as *Xantipa*, *Radio Mileva*, *Frau Gabriela*, *Medea*, *Lady Magbeth*, point to some entrenched prejudices about women: a woman may be seen as nagging, gossipy, jealous, vindictive – all these traits are stereotypically associated with women in these antonomasias.

The analysis of antonomasias based on female names also suggests that a woman is frequently identified through her relationships with men and other beings. *Lolita* is *Lolita* because she attracts men who like very young women or women of a childish beauty; *Mata Hari*'s main weapon in espionage is her beauty and sensuality, which she uses to seduce men and thus obtain the desired information; *Medea* is a woman abandoned by a man, who is capable of the most cruel of acts which she commits out of humiliation and jealousy; *Lady Magbeth*, on the other hand, is the embodiment of a stereotypical female malice, able to blind a man and lead him to commit various (evil) deeds.

Very often, antonomasias (especially those international ones) are accompanied by an attribute that transfers them from an international context into a national one:

- (16) *Hrvatska Lolita* u medijima je izjavljivala kako voli starije muškarce, ali nema sreće u ljubavi.²¹
'Croatia's *Lolita* has said in the media that she loves older men, but has had no luck in love.'
- (17) Mora se priznati da je Nives puno više napora uložila u probitak na srpskoj "sceni". Upravo je ona bila prva koja je krenula u normalizaciju odnosa sa Srbijom. Ova *srpsko-hrvatska Mata Hari* znala je da najbolja diplomacija do jučer zaraćenih strana ide preko kreveta [...]²²
'It must be admitted that Nives put much more effort into making a breakthrough on the Serbian "stage". It was she who was the first to start normalising relations with Serbia. This *Serbo-Croatian Mata Hari* knew that the best diplomacy between yesterday's enemies involves a bed [...]

21 <https://www.jutarnji.hr/arhiva/super-silva-vodila-bih-ljubav-s-prijateljicom-ali-me-ona-ne-z-eli/3325784/>. Last accessed: 7/05/2016.

22 <https://www.index.hr/magazin/clanak/video-nives-celzijus-prsata-starleta-estradnog-polus-vijeta/364073.aspx>. Last accessed: 6/11/2007.

- (18) Ona je *srpska Jovanka Orleanka*, najodlikovanija žena u istoriji ratovanja! Da li ste zaboravili njena hrabra dela?/ Nasuprot slavi koju je doživela u vreme svojih herojskih podviga, potomci su često zaboravu prepuštali uspomenu na neustrašivu ženu-ratnika.²³
 ‘She is *Serbian Joan of Arc*, the most decorated woman in the history of war! Have you forgotten her courageous deeds?/ Contrary to the glory she experienced during her heroic deeds, the descendants have often forgotten to remember this fearless *woman-warrior*.’

Our dataset is too limited for a reliable statistical analysis; however, we can safely note that there is an inverse proportion between positive and negative antonomasias based on male and female names, respectively. Additionally, we notice that a number of antonomasias containing a male name can also be used for a woman. Specifically, if a woman is very intelligent, she can be an *Einstein*; if she drives well, she is likened to *Fangio*; if she is vane, then she can be called a *Narcissus*; any traitor is a *Judas*, etc. On the other hand, only a few antonomasias based on a female name can refer to a man and, as a rule, they have negative connotations. For instance, *Cinderella* can refer to a hen-pecked husband, one doing housework; *Radio Mileva* can be a male gossip; whereas *Baba Yaga* is an evil, scary person. It would seem, therefore, that the mere comparison of a man to a woman is offensive to men. As Glušica finds (2006: 8), in a still rather patriarchal Montenegrin society (and, we may add, the similar goes for the other countries in the region), “to say that a man with no qualities or with flaws, which certainly cannot be just female but are generally human, is ‘a woman’ is a great insult”. The same, however, is not valid *vice versa* – it is a compliment for a woman to say that she is a man (Glušica 2006: 8; Bratić & Vuković-Stamatović 2017: 52; Perović 2017: 59), because that would mean that she is decisive, strong, resourceful and honest.

This type of search dominantly yielded the more classic instances of antonomasia, as well as some containing names which went global a few decades ago (such as *Superman*, *Rambo*, *Bill Gates*...). In order to obtain a more recent corpus of antonomasias, we additionally used the method of semi-automatic extraction from the Internet, as described in the Data and Method section (step 3), which

²³ <https://zena.blic.rs/porodica/ona-je-srpska-jovanka-orleanka-najodlikovanija-zena-u-istoriji-ratovanja-da-li-ste-zaboravili-njena-hrabra-dela/>we9w1t1. Last accessed: 24/04/2017.

resulted in a number of antonomasias drawing on the more recent cultural references, presented in Table 3. The instances already recorded in the previous table are excluded from it. Again, the antonomasias were broadly classified into those carrying rather positive and those carrying rather negative connotations. For lack of dictionary and literature definitions in this case, our judgment on their connotative polarity was made based on our dataset in which each of the antonomasias is typically represented by 3 to 5 examples. Bearing in mind this rather limited dataset, our classification may be crude in some cases – a larger dataset would certainly be able to paint a more complex picture of the usage of some antonomasias, as well as, perhaps, point to some other properties some of them could stand for. This consideration and limitation should be borne in mind when reading the ensuing table and the accompanying analysis.

Table 3: Vossian antonomasias extracted from the internet

** signifies that an antonomasia was used for both men and women in our corpus*

Antonomasias based on male names		Antonomasias based on female names	
Positive connotations	Negative connotations	Positive connotations	Negative connotations
<i>Jason Statham, Chuck Norris*, Tyson, Bruce Lee</i> – a strong man/person who knows how to fight well	<i>Putin</i> – a politician prone to dictatorship	<i>Kim Kardashian, Monica Bellucci, Angelina Jolie, Cindy Crawford, Nicole Kidman, Ashley Graham, Selena Gomez, Lara Croft, Sophia Loren, Claudia Schiffer, Shakira, Irina Shayk, Jennifer Lopez</i> – a woman of particular, attractive physical appearance	<i>Paris Hilton</i> – a woman carelessly spending wealth she has not acquired
<i>Novak Djokovic*</i> – a successful tennisplayer/athlete	<i>Silvio Berlusconi</i> – a controversial politician and businessman	<i>Madonna, Lady Gaga</i> – a successful and eccentric music business woman	<i>Hillary Clinton*</i> – a political candidate who has lost elections
<i>Michael Jordan, James LeBrone, Kevin Durant</i> – an excellent basketball player	<i>Pablo Escobar*</i> – a powerful and wealthy criminal, a drug lord	<i>Adele, Maria Callas, Amy Winehouse</i> – an excellent female singer	

<i>Cristiano Ronaldo, Lionel Messi, Arjen Robben, Maurizio Sarri, Neymar da Silva Santos</i> – an excellent football player	<i>Marine Le Pen</i> – a right-wing female politician ²⁴
<i>Antonio Banderas, Bali Bey</i> – a handsome man	<i>Conchita Wurst*</i> – used for a man who looks like a woman
<i>Christian Grey</i> – a handsome man, a seducer	
<i>Jamie Oliver</i> – a great cook	
<i>Spiderman*</i> – a flexible person, able to perform unusual body movements	
<i>Santa Claus</i> – a generous man	
<i>Charles de Gaulle, Nelson Mandela</i> – a good, reputable politician	
<i>Che Guevara</i> – a revolutionary	
<i>Julian Assange*</i> – a person seeking asylum at a foreign embassy	
<i>Justin Bieber*</i> – a successful and attractive teenage singer	

The results from Table 3 are comparable to those from Table 2. Again, bearing in mind the restricted dataset we have been able to obtain, the statistical analysis

²⁴ Marine Le Pen is mentioned in some Serbian media, as well as in the comments of readers, as an antonomasia for a determined and brave female politician, a patriot. A possible explanation for the positive connotations encountered in the dataset can be found in the attitudes of this French politician regarding the issue of Kosovo, which coincide with the view of Serbian official Kosovo policy.

here would be of limited value and would not allow for generalisations; still, we will mention some basic quantitative details that describe our dataset as they could point to certain tendencies noticeable in the results.

We find that 28 vs. 20 antonomasias are based on male and female names respectively, with most of them coming from the Western culture. As for those based on female names, half of them are based on the names of women known for their particularly attractive physical appearance (the most common amongst these was *Kim Kardashian*, followed by *Monica Bellucci*). On the other hand, we find comparably fewer antonomasias based on this aspect in the men's category – two fictitious ones (*Christian Grey* and *Bali Bey*²⁵) and a real one (*Antonio Banderas*). This finding confirms the importance of this particular aspect for women in the BCMS language and culture.

Seven male names are used to designate a woman in the corpus (*Escobar*, *Assange*, *Justin Bieber*, *Spiderman*, *Tupac*, *Djokovic* and *Chuck Norris*), whereas there are two instances of a female name used for men – *Hilary Clinton*, standing for a losing political candidate, used negatively, and *Conchita Wurst*, a transgender winner of the Eurovision Song Contest, standing for a man who looks like a woman, used positively in the news articles we found but still mixed with controversial connotations.

A few women were used as paragons of certain virtues and excellence (like *Adele*, *Maria Callas* and *Amy Winehouse* as paragon singers), whereas this was common in the men's category, especially when it came to sports (for football there were 5 paragons, including *Ronaldo* and *Messi*, for basketball there were 3, *Jordan*, *LeBrone* and *Durant*), but also for cooking (*Jamie Oliver*), fighting skills (*Bruce Lee*, *Tyson*, *Jason Statham*) and politics (*de Gaulle*, *Mandela*).

Due to the method of extraction, we obtained an international set of antonomasias in Table 3; most of them were used positively, as those international characters were seen as global paragons of certain skills or characteristics, and any resemblance of national characters to them was typically viewed as a compliment.

²⁵ A character from the Turkish TV soap opera *The Magnificent Century*, played by an actor who is generally considered handsome.

5 Conclusion

In the paper we dealt with two types of figurative antonomasia, in an effort to see whether there are hidden signs of indirect sexism and entrenched stereotypes about women under the surface of this linguistic figure and the mental mechanism driving it. The analysis of the established antonomasias revealed that they were largely based on stereotypes and confirmed that women in the collective consciousness of the BCMS speakers are often conceptualised as (sexual) objects, valued by aesthetic criteria, as well as in relation to their possession of certain stereotypical female traits (self-sacrifice or subordination to others, excessive emotion but also cruelty, manipulateness, showiness, talkativeness, etc.). In addition, this analysis also revealed that in this regional culture women are also identified through their relations with other beings – thus, a woman is identified as a *mother*, *sister*, *wife*, *lover*, *queen*.

Bearing in mind that antonomasia is not merely a substitute for a name but that it also implies an introduction of certain connotations, we found that male anthroponyms carried more positive connotations compared to the female ones and that, in general, the traits suggested by them were more diverse than those symbolised by the female proper names, which were often reduced to the domain of aesthetics. This fact may point to some discrimination against women, encoded in language in this way. Additionally, while male names were used to denote women relatively often, this was rarely the case the other way around and, if it happened, it typically involved negative connotations.

The classification into real and Vossian antonomasia proved to be fuzzy in some cases, as we were presented with some borderline cases which could only be analysed in their context. Our study thus points to a need for a discourse approach to antonomasia and perhaps redefining the present classifications to account for such cases more precisely.

The analysis also showed that many instances of antonomasia included both metonymic and metaphoric mappings, which confirms the findings from the literature on Vossian antonomasia (Brdar & Brdar-Szabó 2001, 2007; Holmqvist & Pluciennik 2010); however, while the literature suggested the purely metonymic nature of real antonomasia (e.g. Holmqvist & Pluciennik 2010), we found this disputable as some of the examples involved additional, metaphorical mappings. It is safe to say that just studying metonymies or metaphors in language and gender studies would not be enough to account for all what antonomasia covers, as its underlying cognitive mechanism is rather a complex one.

We believe we have presented sufficient evidence to justify the study of antonomasia in its own right in this field of research and we hope that this will be further corroborated in future research of this phenomenon in other languages.

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