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THE SCOPE OF ENGLISH ZOOSEMY: THE CASE OF DOMESTICATED ANIMALS

Introduction

The aim set to this paper is to outline the phenomenon of **zoosemy**¹ (animal metaphor), operating in the history of English. In the existing literature, the issue has been touched upon in, among others, Stern (1933), Rayevska (1979), Wilkins (1981), Thornton (1989) and Kleparski (1990, 1996, 1997, 2002).² However, there is a lack of any in-depth analysis of zoosemic developments of particular subcategories of **ANIMALS** macro-category, such as, for example, **MAMMALS, BIRDS, AMPHIBIANS** or **INSECTS**. Here, we wish to concentrate merely on zoosemic developments involving the members of category **DOMESTICATED ANIMALS**. We envision a later attempt will be made to expand the scope of the issue to further historical analysis. This paper will, however, focus on sketching *what* has happened as far as animal metaphor is concerned, rather than attempting to formulate definite answers to the questions of *why* or *under what conditions* zoosemic developments have taken place.

English zoosemy: The case of domesticated animals

Thornton (1989), in her semantic analysis of the field **GOOD AND EVIL** proposes a study in which the author examines animal terms used for good and

¹ Zoosemy is understood in literature (Rayevska 1979:165) *as nicknaming from animals which means that names of animals are often used to denote human qualities.*

² Kleparski (1990, 1996, 1997, 2002) analyses selected animal terms in various languages with special reference to Hungarian (Kleparski (2002)), with the aid of both componential (e.g. Kleparski (1990)) and cognitive mechanisms (see Kleparski (1997)).

evil people. Among others, the results of the study show that out of a large group of analysed animals whose names are used in various metaphorical expressions referring to people **MAMMALS** take the definite and unchallenged lead. The results of Thornton's (1989) research, where the figures stand for the number of animals involved, are as follows (Thornton (1989:443)):

MAMMALS	51
INSECTS	8
REPTILES	8
BIRDS	8
FISH	7
ARACHNIDIS	3
AMPHIBIANS	3
CRUSTACEANS	2

The above figures clearly indicate that the category **MAMMALS** dominates in English historical zoosemy. Thornton argues that **HUMANS** are most often represented by the category **MAMMALS** because of their similarity and familiarity to mankind. On the contrary, the smallest number of animal terms used with reference to **HUMANS** is derived from the class which is probably least similar to human species, that is to say **CRUSTACEANS**. The conclusion to be drawn, at this stage, is that people tend to apply to other people most often the names of those animals to which they are the closest and/or with which they are most familiar (see Thornton (1989:444)). One may reasonably expect, judging by Thornton's (1989) analysis, that domesticated animals, owing to their ritual closeness to people, should be a category particularly richly represented in metaphorical developments targeted at the category **HUMANS**. Indeed, as we will try to show, domesticated animals play an important role in zoosemic development in various directions (amelioration, pejoration, etc.).

Domesticated animals belong to three major classes of animals, i.e., **MAMMALS**, **BIRDS** and **ARTHROPODS**. The class of **MAMMALS** includes the following families: **EQUIDAE** (e.g. *horse, mare, stallion*), **BOVIDAE** (e.g. *cow, calf, ox*), **CANIDAE** (e.g. *dog, cur, mongrel*), **SUIDAE** (e.g. *pig, hog, swine*), **FELIDAE** (e.g. *cat, pussy, tabby*), and **LEPORIDAE** (e.g. *rabbit, bunny, cony*). On the other hand, **DOMESTIC FOWL** (e.g. *chicken, cockerel, hen*), **MELEAGRIDIDAE** (e.g. *turkey, poult*) and **ANATIDAE** (e.g. *duck, gander, gosling*) belong to the class of **BIRDS**. Finally, **ARTHROPODS** are represented by the family **APOIDEA** (e.g. *bee, drone*). The table below contains the set of zoosemic data under discussion (see Glazier (1997:50–52)). The lexical items in bold have, at some point of the history of English, undergone some form of zoosemic development.

Domestic Animals			
Class	Order	Family/ Genus	Members
MAMMALS	Artiodactyls	Bovidae Genus <i>Bos</i>	Bull, bullock (castrated bull or steer), cow , maverick (unbranded range cow), heifer (young cow), buck, calf , dogie (orphaned calf), buffalo, cattle, ox , steer (neutered bull)
		Genera <i>Ovis/</i> <i>Capra</i>	Sheep , jumbuck (sheep in Australia), ewe (female sheep), ram (male sheep), wether (neutered ram) lamb (young sheep), goat, buck , billy goat (male goat), kid (young goat), doe (female goat), nanny goat (female goat)
		Suidae/ Genus <i>Sus</i>	Pig, gilt (young female pig), pork , piglet (young pig), swine, hog, sow (female pig), boar (male pig), shoat (pig under one year old)
	Perissodactyls	Equidae	Horse , cayuse (range horse), calico (horse), bronco (wild horse), broom tail (wild horse), brumby (wild horse in Australia), bay (brown horse), jade, stallion, cob , pony, steed, foal (young or newborn horse), colt (male horse before maturity), filly (female horse under four years old), palfrey, mare , charger (horse ridden in a battle), destrier (war-horse), gelding (neutered male horse), mustang (wild horse), nag (broken-down old horse, esp. female, slang any horse), palfrey (saddle horse), pinto (horse with black and white patches; piebald), pony (small breed of a horse), roan (horse of reddish-brown or black colour), (male horse), stud (male horse used for breeding), sunfisher (bucking horse, esp. one that falls on its rider), thoroughbred (racing horse), curtal, tit,

			cocktail, hilding, rip, hack, harridan
		Equidae (genus <i>Equus</i>)	Donkey (domesticated ass), jack (male donkey), jenny (female donkey), ass, cuddie, mule (sterile hybrid between a horse and a donkey, esp. between a mare and a jack), burro (domesticated ass)
	Carnivores	Canidae	Dog (<i>Canis familiaris</i>), whelp (young of dog), cur (mixed-breed dog of little value), bitch, mongrel (mixed-breed dog), mutt (slang mongrel), hound (any dog), pup (young dog), puppy (young dog), tyke, houndsfoot, pooch, turnspit, hangdog, dogbolt, trundle-tail
		Felidae	Cat (<i>Felis catus</i>), alley cat, kitten (young cat), kitty (pet name for cat), puss (any cat), pussycat (any cat, esp. one of mixed breed), pussy, calico (domesticated cat), grimalkin (old female cat), manx (tailless domestic cat), marmalade (yellow cat), queen (female cat used for breeding), seal point (cat with pale body and dark brown face), tabby (cat with swirls of dark colour on light background, esp. tiger-like stripes), tiger (domestic cat with striped tabby markings), tom (male cat)
	Lagomorphs	Leporidae	Rabbit, doe, buck, bunny, cony (small rabbit)
BIRDS (land birds and waterfowl)	Land birds	Domestic fowl	Fowl (poultry), chicken (<i>Gallus domesticus</i>), biddy (female chicken), bantam (miniature chicken), cock (male chicken over one year old), cockerel (male chicken under one year old), chick (young chicken), hen (female chicken), broody (hen sitting on eggs), poulard (spayed hen), rooster (male chicken), capon (neutered)

			rooster), chanticleer (rooster), pullet (female chicken less than one year old)
	Galliformes	Meleagrididae	turkey , tom (male turkey), poult (young turkey), gobbler (male turkey),
	Anseriformes	Anatidae	Duck (female), drake (male duck), duckling (young duck), goose (female), gander (male goose), gosling (young goose)
ARTHROPODS	Hymenoptera	Apoidea	Bee , drone (male bee that serves only for reproduction and does no work), queen (dominant mother bee in a hive), worker (sterile bee that performs work for colony)

Discussion

Even a cursory look at the table given above shows that not all of the listed animal terms undergo zoosemic development – the lexical items relevant for further discussion have been marked in bold. One of the most interesting representatives of the family **BOVIDAE** is the semantic development of *cow*. In the 16th century the word was used secondarily with reference to a timid, faint-hearted person, a coward (*OED*³ 1581 What a one shal I seeme to bee unto my Lady? will she not thinke herselfe to be coupled with a cow?). By the end of the 17th century the word started to be applied to a coarse or degraded woman, or, loosely, to any woman as a coarse form of address (*OED* 1696 *Cow*.the Emblem..of a Lazy, Dronish, beastly Woman, who is likened to a *Cow*). In the mid–19th century *cow* pejorated further on the evaluative scale to mean a female prostitute⁴ (*OED* 1891 *Cow*, a woman; a prostitute). Notice that in Australia⁵ and New Zealand *cow* denotes an objectionable person or thing, a distasteful situation (*OED* 1918 I'll get even with the cows for that). Other lexical items from the family in question which have undergone some form of zoosemic development are:

³ All English quotes and definitions are, unless otherwise stated, taken from *The Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*), Norwegian examples are adopted from *Engelsk blå ordbok* (1999) (English blue dictionary), and Russian data are borrowed from Ожегов, С.И. and Н.Ю.Шведова, *Толковый словарь русского языка*, 4-е изд., Москва 1998.

⁴ See Mills (1989:55).

⁵ In contrast, in Norwegian *ku* 'cow' is used in the secondary sense 'a person with a big appetite'.

- *heifer* applied figuratively to a wife or to any woman or girl as a depreciatory term;
- *bull* denoting a policeman (U.S. slang);
- *bullock* which is a slang term applied in Australian cities to a countryman or bushman;
- *maverick* – a masterless person; one who is roving and casual; an independent person; an individualist; applied specifically in the U.S. to a politician who will not affiliate with a regular political party;
- *buck* – a jolly, dashing fellow; a dandy, fop, ‘fast’ man;
- *calf* – applied to human beings: a stupid fellow, a dolt; sometimes a meek, inoffensive person;
- *cattle* – applied by slaveholders to their slaves;
- *ox* – a fool (especially in the phrase *to make an ox of someone*).

Within the genus *Ovis* the following zoosemic developments have taken place:

- *sheep* – a person who is as stupid, timid, or poor-spirited as a sheep;
- *ram* – a sexually aggressive man; a lecher;
- *wether* – applied to a man; a eunuch;
- *lamb* – one who is as meek, gentle, innocent or weak as a lamb;
- *goat* – a licentious man;
- *kid* – a child, especially a young child.

As far as the family **SUIDAE** is concerned, one of the most spectacular cases is the historical development of *pig*. As noted by Mills (1989:188), in the 16th century *pig*⁶ was applied, usually opprobriously, to a person or other animal due to the characteristics typical of pigs, i.e. stubborn, greedy, mean, dirty and shit-revelling. In the 19th century the word was frequently applied to police officers⁷ (*OED* 1874 *Pig*, a policeman; an informer. The word is now almost exclusively applied by London thieves to a plain-clothes man, or a ‘nose’). Besides, *pig* can also be used in a derisive way (*OED* 1906 ‘Pigs to you!’ said Benno, with incredible scorn). Other zoosemic developments within this family include:

- *gilt* – a thief or burglar;
- *swine* – applied opprobriously to a sensual, degraded, or coarse person; also as a mere term of contempt or abuse;
- *hog* – applied opprobriously to a person; a coarse, self-indulgent, gluttonous, or filthy person;

⁶ Likewise in Norwegian *gris* ‘pig’ describes ‘a filthy and slovenly person’, e.g. *Slutt og gris sånn, din gris* ‘Stop messing up everything, you pig’.

⁷ Interestingly, in Polish policemen are not referred to as *pigs* but as *dogs*. On the other hand, in German the word *Schwein* ‘pig’ does not have any negative connotations – it represents luck, e.g. *Du hast eine Schwein gehabt* means ‘You are lucky’.

- *pork* – (in the 17th century) applied opprobriously to an uncultured person;
- *sow* – applied to persons (male or female) as a term of abuse, opprobrium, or reproach, especially to a fat, clumsy, or slovenly woman;
- *boar* – applied figuratively or heraldically to persons;
- *shoat* – an idle, worthless person.

In the family **EQUIDAE**⁸ one of the most intriguing zoosemic developments is that of *nag*. As evidenced by the *OED*, the word appeared in the English lexicon in the 14th century, first to denote a small riding horse or pony, and later an inferior, unsound horse. In the 16th century *nag* became a term of abuse applied mostly to women (*OED* 1598 Hence lewd nags away, Goe read each poast, ..Then to Priapus gardens). By the late 19th century *naggie* was a slang term for any woman. It must be pointed out that the category **EQUIDAE** is particularly rich with zoosemic extensions. Apart from *nag*, other lexical items which have undergone metaphorisation targeted at the conceptual category **HUMANS** are the following: *horse, jade, stallion, cob, foal, colt, filly, mare*⁹, *gelding, mustang, stud, thoroughbred, curtal, tit, cocktail, hilding, rip, hack* and *harridan*.¹⁰ Additionally, there is a small group of quadrupeds of the horse kind within the **EQUIDAE** family in which zoosemic development operated on a large scale. The group includes:

- *donkey* – used for a stupid or silly person;
- *ass* – used as a term of reproach: an ignorant fellow, a perverse fool, a conceited dolt;
- *cuddie (cuddy)* – a stupid fellow;
- *mule* – a stupid or obstinate person.

The category **CANIDAE** is represented by a small group of terms related primarily to the category **DOMESTICATED ANIMALS** from which the following lexical items are used metaphorically:

- *dog*¹¹ – in reproach, abuse, or contempt: a worthless, despicable, surly, or cowardly fellow;
- *whelp* – a young child of either sex;
- *cur* – a term of contempt: a surly, ill-bred, low, or cowardly fellow;
- *mongrel* – applied to persons as a term of contempt or abuse;

⁸ Kieľtyka (this volume), attempts at a detailed analysis of the category of **EQUIDAE**.

⁹ In Russian *кобыла* ‘mare’ is commonly used with the secondary meaning ‘a tall, clumsy woman’, e.g. *Хотя сестра Тани неукляжая кобыла, все парбни хотели с ней танцевать* ‘Although Tania’s sister is a clumsy mare, all the boys wanted to dance with her’.

¹⁰ For further details see Kieľtyka (this volume).

¹¹ In Russian *собака* ‘dog’ denotes ‘a bad, uncultivated person’, e.g. *И бить меня не имеешь права, собака ты паршивая!* (Горький) ‘And you have no right to beat me, you lousy dog!’ On the other hand, Norwegian *hund* ‘dog’ developed the meaning of ‘a faithful and loyal person’, e.g. *Jeg kan alltid stole på deg. Du er så trofast som en hund* ‘I can always count on you. You are as faithful as a dog’.

- *mutt* – one who is stupid, ignorant, awkward, blundering, incompetent, or the like; a blockhead, dullard, or fool; also, non-pejoratively, a person, fellow;
- *hound* – applied opprobriously or contemptuously to a man: a detested, mean, or despicable man; a low, greedy, or drunken fellow;
- *pup* – applied contemptuously to a person; a youthful or inexperienced person, a beginner; a young ‘blood’;
- *puppy* – applied to a person as a term of contempt; especially, in modern use, a vain, empty-headed, impertinent young man,¹² a fop, a coxcomb;
- *turnspit* – a boy or man whose office was to turn the spit; also used as a term of contempt;
- *tyke* – applied opprobriously to a man (rarely with similar force to a woman): a low-bred, lazy, mean, surly, or ill-mannered fellow; a boor;
- *houndsfoot* – a scoundrel, a rascal, a worthless fellow;
- *trundle-tail* – applied contemptuously to a person;
- *dogbolt* – contemptible fellow, mean wretch;
- *hangdog* – a despicable or degraded fellow fit only to hang a dog, or to be hanged like a dog.

The oldest and the most spectacular zoosemic development within the category in question is that of *bitch*. The word entered English in the 11th century meaning ‘a female dog’. By the early 15th century it had become a standard term used opprobriously of a lewd or sensual woman (*OED* 1400 Whom calleste thou queine, skabde *biche*?). According to the *OED*, it was also applied to men but, then, it tended to be less opprobrious and somewhat whimsical having the modern sense of *dog* (*OED* 1916 Is your lazy *bitch* of a brother gone yet?). In present day English the word *bitch* does not seem to have lost its early associations of lewdness (*OED* 1956 That’s how it is on this *bitch* of an earth).

In the category **FELIDAE** we can distinguish a number of terms which are involved in the process of metaphorisation, probably the most striking being that of *cat*. As Mills (1989:40) put it, *the word may have noble origins but over the centuries it has tended to have extremely negative connotations when specifically associated with women*. This lexical item had entered English by the 12th century and already in the 13th century *cat*¹³ was used as a term of contempt of any human being, especially the one who scratches like a

¹² Similarly Polish *szczeniak* ‘puppy’ is used in the secondary sense ‘a young inexperienced impertinent person’. On the other hand, Norwegian *hundevalp* ‘puppy’ developed the secondary meaning of ‘a little, sweet, innocent person’, e.g. *Så søt han er. Akkurat som en hundevalp* ‘How sweet he is. Just like a little *puppy*’.

¹³ In Norwegian *katt* ‘cat’ refers to a cunning person, e.g. *Du er like listig som en katt* ‘You are just as cunning as a cat’. In contrast, Russian *кошка* ‘cat’ is used to refer to an exceptional and independent person, e.g. *Вася ни с кем не считается; он есть кошка, которая гуляет сама по себе* ‘Vasia ignores others; he is a *cat* who walks his own paths’.

cat (*OED* 1225 • e *cat* of helle claude euer toward hire). By the 15th century the meaning of the word pejorated to become slang for a common female prostitute (*OED* 1401 Be ware of Cristis curse, and of *cattis* tailis). In the 20th century *cat* lost its sexual connotations, but continued to be a denigrating epithet when used of a spiteful or backbiting woman (*OED* 1926 Buy nothin’... It’s you kind of *cats* that make it tough on us, buyin’ chuck). As a slang expression *cat* denotes an expert in, or one expertly appreciative of, jazz (*OED* 1958 ‘It’s got beat and a lot of excitement,’ said one teenage ‘cat’ I talked to); but also a ‘regular guy’, fellow, man (*OED* 1959 At-*dam*, man, you’re the selfishest *kat* I seen yet). Other metaphorically used terms from this category include:

- *alley cat* – a slut, prostitute (slang);
- *kitten* – applied to a young girl, with implication of playfulness or skittishness; a girl-friend; a young woman; often as a form of address;
- *puss* – applied to a girl or woman; formerly, as a term of contempt or reproach, in current use, playfully, as a familiar term of endearment, often connoting slyness;
- *pussycat* – applied to a person; now especially one who is attractive, amiable, or submissive;
- *pussy* – applied to a girl or woman: also, a finicky, old-maidish, or effeminate boy or man; a homosexual;
- *tabby* – an old or elderly maiden lady: a dyslogistic appellation; often with a half-humorous attribution of certain qualities of the cat; sometimes applied to any spiteful or ill-natured female gossip or tattler; an attractive young woman or girl.

The conceptual category **LEPORIDAE** comprises only one domesticated animal, namely, *rabbit* with a few terms denoting this animal. The very word *rabbit*, which entered the English lexicon during the course of the 14th century, can be applied contemptuously to a person; (slang) a poor performer at any game; a novice; (*OED* 1927 Fencing is no more considered to be a feeble pastime for ‘*Rabbits*’, for those boys who cannot play the more vigorous games of youth). The word *bunny* entered the English lexicon in the 17th century and already at that time came to be applied to women and children as a term of endearment (*OED* 1606 Sweet Peg. my honey, my *bunny*, my duck, my dear). In the 1960s the noun acquired a new meaning – that of a night-club hostess dressed in a costume which is partly imitative of a rabbit (1963 These *bunnies* are the newest import to London night-club life from America). Another historical name for a rabbit is *cony*, which has been present in English since the 13th century and – in the 16th century – became a term of endearment for a woman (He calleth me his whytyng, His nobbes and his *conny*, 1553 Ah sweete lambe and *coney*) and later, but still in the same century developed a new

meaning of ‘a dupe, a gull; a victim’ (1592 In Coni-catching law He that is coosned [is called] the *Connie*).

In the category **DOMESTIC FOWL** one finds a number of evaluatively marked terms which include such lexical items as:

- *fowl* – a slang expression used for ‘a troublesome sailor, one unamenable to discipline’;
- *biddy* – ‘a woman, usually with derogatory implication’; ‘used chiefly in U.S. for an Irish maid-servant’;
- *bantam* – ‘applied to battalions, etc., of small-sized soldiers’;
- *cock* – ‘one who arouses slumberers, a watchman of the night; applied to ministers of religion’; ‘leader, head, chief man, ruling spirit; formerly, also, victor’;
- *cockerel* – ‘applied to a young man’;
- *chick*¹⁴ – ‘applied to human offspring’, ‘a girl; a young woman’;
- *hen*¹⁵ – used for a wife, woman, female humorously or colloquially; a hen-hearted person of either sex;
- *broody* – of a person: contemplative, (sullenly) meditative; feeling depressed or moody; of a woman: feeling a maternal desire to have a(nother) baby;
- *rooster* – an informer;
- *capon* – used of men as a type of dullness, and a term of reproach; a eunuch.

Probably the most striking zoosemic development within the category **DOMESTIC FOWL** is that of *chicken*. The word entered English lexicon already in the 10th century and only in the 15th century was first used metaphorically of ‘human offspring: a child’ (1400 The churles *chekyne* hade chaungyde his armes). In the 17th century the word was first applied to a person who is cowardly and as timorous or defenceless as a chicken (1633 Not finding the Defendants to be *Chikins*, to be afraid of every cloud or kite). As late as the 18th century *chicken* appeared as a term for ‘a youthful person: one young and inexperienced’ (1711 You ought to consider you are now past a *Chicken*; this Humour, which was well enough in a Girl, is insufferable in one of your Motherly Character).

The family **MELEAGRIDIDAE** is represented merely by *poult* – a child; a youth and the family **ANATIDAE**, in which only a handful of zoosemic developments can be detected, has the following representatives:

- *duck* – a term of endearment; a fellow, ‘customer’ in U.S. slang;
- *lame duck* – a disabled person or thing, one who cannot meet his financial engagements; a defaulter (Stock Exchange slang);

¹⁴ In Hungarian *csirke* ‘chick’ is used to describe a pretty girl, e.g. Jó kis *csirke* ez az Erzsi! ‘Erzsi is a pretty *chick*!’

¹⁵ In contrast, in Norwegian the word *tyúk* ‘hen’ is used for a silly female, e.g. *Detti egy hülye tyúk, nem ért semmit!* ‘Detti is a stupid *hen*, she doesn’t understand anything at all’.

- *duckling* – a term of endearment;
- *goose*¹⁶ is applied to people with allusion to the alleged stupidity of the goose to refer to a foolish person, a simpleton;
- *gander* – a dull or stupid person; a fool, simpleton; ‘a married man; in America one not living with his wife; a grass-widower’ (American slang);
- *gosling* – a foolish, inexperienced person; one who is young and ‘green’.

The last subcategory belonging to **DOMESTICATED ANIMALS** is the family **APOIDEA** which includes: *bee* used to denote a sweet writer, a busy worker; in allusion to the social character of the insect (originally in U.S.): a meeting of neighbours to unite their labours for the benefit of one of their number; e.g. as is done still in some parts, when the farmers unite to get in each other’s harvests in succession; usually preceded by a word defining the purpose of the meeting, as, e.g. *apple-bee*, *drone* – a non-worker; a lazy idler, a sluggard.

As can be inferred the conceptual category **DOMESTICATED ANIMALS** is richly represented in terms of zoosemic developments. However, what is worth noting is the fact that the majority of metaphorically marked terms originate in the class of **MAMMALS**: the orders **ARTIDACTYLS**, **PERISSODACTYLS** and **CARNIVORES** and not in the class of **BIRDS** or **ARTHROPODS** where one can find merely a handful of animal metaphors targeted at the category of **HUMANS**.

Conclusion

In the foregoing an attempt was made to outline and exemplify the scope of English zoosemy on the basis of the category **DOMESTICATED ANIMALS**. Our findings confirm the observation made earlier by such authors as Stern (1933), Rayevska (1979), Wilkins (1981), Thornton (1989), Kleparski (1990, 1996, 1997, 2002), that the animal kingdom is one of the most powerful centres of metaphorical expansion where most of the cases of animal metaphor are projected at the conceptual category **HUMAN BEING**.

This paper merely describes the present situation and makes no attempt to answer any questions pertaining to the heart of the matter. It remains, therefore, for further research to find and formulate at least partial answers to the questions of conditions and causes of zoosemic change in related languages, whether the zoosemic change operated equally productively in all periods in the history of English, i.e. Old English, Middle English, Modern English, or whether the list of zoosemic developments includes the same selection of animals in related

¹⁶ In Russian, *гусь* ‘goose’ denotes ‘a stupid or naive woman’, e.g. Вас Курчаев подослал? – Нет, мы с ним поругались. Он тоже гусь порядочный, вроде вас (Островский). ‘Has Kurchaiev sent you here? – No, we’ve quarrelled with him. He is also a good *goose* like you’.

languages. Finally, one is intuitively justified in saying that zoosemic derivations are not entirely unmotivated. One feels that in those historical developments which involve metaphor there is a need for some, however tenuous, relation between the broadly understood derivational base and the derived meaning. Hence, the ultimate goal of any analysis targeted at zoosemic developments should be to shed some light on the nature and cognitive basis of such metaphoric derivations.

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