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LUSTA, MINT A DISZNÓ: A HUNT FOR 'CORRELATIVE' ZOOSEMY IN HUNGARIAN AND ENGLISH[1]

Introduction

It is more than twenty years ago since Nöth (1979:25) complained that in spite of the rapid growth of the number of phonological, morphological and syntactic contrastive studies, systematic semantic analyses have been extremely rare within the framework of contrastive linguistics. This paper is merely a pilot synchronic-diachronic contrastive study of the process of **zoosemy**[2] operating in Hungarian and English aided with selected data from other languages to support the points raised. Therefore, the aim set to the pages that follow is to meet the need for contrastive semantic analysis on the one hand, to formulate partial conclusions and to highlight those problems that a full-fledged study of the issue would ideally require going into on the other.

As convincingly shown in a number of works such as, Dongen (1933), Stern (1933), Schreuder (1929), Rayevskaya (1979), Hughes (1978), Wilkins (1981), Kleparski (1990,1996,1997), Persson (1996) and Persson and Bergquist (1994), the animal kingdom is one of the most powerful centres of metaphorical expansion and perennial sources of imagery.[3] The results of the studies carried out so far on the issue of **zoosemy** seem to point to the fact that most of the cases

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[1] The Hungarian simile *lusta, mint a disznó* given in the title of this paper translates into English as *as lazy as a pig* or *as sloppy as a pig*.

[2] The term ***zoosemy*** that will be used throughout this paper is used by, for example, Rayevska (1979). Other authors analysing the phenomenon in question speak of *animal metaphor*, for example Witkins (1981).

[3] Among others, animal names are frequently symbols of countries, states, cities, etc. For instance, the bull is the symbol of Spain, the cock is the symbol of both France and Portugal, and the bear is the symbol of Russia. The anchovy (Spanish *boquerón*) is the symbol of Málaga.

of animal metaphor are targeted at the conceptual category **HUMAN BEING**.[4] However, most of the studies undertaken thus far tend to focus on the mechanism of **zoosemy** operating in Indo-European languages, such as English, French, Swedish or German.[5] Thus, for example, the body of English animal metaphors analysed and quoted in Kardela and Kleparski (1990), Kleparski (1990, 1996,1997) and Persson (1996), together with other examples that may readily be quoted from other sources, seem to point to a general tendency to form evaluatively and/or emotionally charged semantic extensions from the conceptual domains **MAMMALS** and **BIRDS** and not, for example, **AMPHIBIANS, FISH**[6] or **INSECTS**. To illustrate that the working of **zoosemy** seems to be universally present in many Indo-European languages let us quote some data from Spanish,[7] Polish, German and Dutch. A number of supplementary cases from French, Russian, Welsh and Irish have been relegated to footnotes for reasons of economy.[8]

Zoosemy in Selected Indo-European Languages

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[4] For example, Kleparski's (1997) study dedicated to Mid.E. and E.Mod.E. synonyms of *girl/young woman*, shows that one of the most striking features of the E.Mod.E. lexical innovations associated with the conceptual domain **YOUNG FEMALE HUMAN BEING** is a great number of metaphorically transferred senses, mostly animal metaphors. On this issue see, for example, Kardela and Kleparski (1990:9–10).

[5] One of those studies that tackle the subject of zoosemy in languages other than Germanic and Romance is Komboj (1986). As shown by the author, the animal names formed the basis of metaphorical extension of many words in Sanskrit, particularly in compounds. For example, Sanskrit *aja,* used basically in the sense of 'goat', gave rise to a large number of metaphorical expressions such as *aja-gandhikā* meaning 'ill smelling'; the word *aśva,* primarily used in the sense 'horse, stallion', came to be metaphorically applied in the sense 'lover horse-like in strength'; the monomorphemic word *gaja,* used basically in the sense 'elephant', came to be applied in the sense 'elephant-strong person' in such compounds as, for example, *gaja-skandha,* meaning literally '(a person) having shoulders like an elephant'. Similarly, Sanskrit *uṣṭra* which means 'buffalo' in the early Vedic and 'camel' in the later literature became an element of a number of compounds used with reference to people such as, for example, *uṣṭra-karnika* 'people (collectively)'.

[6] In fact, the only expression originally associated with the conceptual category **FISH** that has been found to be secondarily associated with the category **YOUNG FEMALE HUMAN BEING** is that of *backfish. Backfish,* originally a German compound combining *backen* 'to bake' and *Fisch* 'fish' meaning, as Pfeffer and Cannon (1994) define it, 'a fish too small to be boiled but large enough to be baked'. In English, the figurative sense 'young woman' is recorded for the first time at the end of the 19th century.

[7] In collecting data from Spanish I relied chiefly on Spanish informants and Wawrzkowicz and Hiszpański (1982). In particular, I would like to express my gratitude to **Prof. Pedro Chamizo Dominguez** and **Dr Clara Molina** for providing me with examples of **zoosemy** in Spanish.

[8] The examples from Dutch, Welsh and Irish have been taken from Kleparski (1990).

SPANISH: The examples of **zoosemy** in Spanish are particularly copious and seem to involve mainly the conceptual categories <u>**MAMMALS**</u> and <u>**BIRDS**</u>. And so, the lexical item *cerdo,* the primary meaning of which is 'pig', may be used in two evaluatively marked secondary senses, that is 'ill-natured person' and 'glutton';[9] the word *perra,* the primary meaning of which is 'female dog', has exactly the same secondary meaning that the English word does, that is 'mean, spiteful woman'; *vaca,* the primary meaning of which is 'cow', is also used in the extended sense 'fat woman',[10] similarly the Spanish *foca* meaning 'seal' may also be employed with reference to obese women;[11] *becerro*, the primary meaning of which is 'calf', is used pejoratively in the sense 'stupid or stubborn person'; the word *burro,* primarily used in the sense 'donkey', is secondarily employed in the sense 'stupid, uncouth person'; the noun *cabrón,* that is basically used in the sense 'billy goat', is used secondarily in the sense 'cuckold or bastard who plays mean tricks'; *cordero,* the primary meaning of which is 'lamb', is used positively in the sense 'a good and quiet person';[12] *tigre,* meaning primarily 'tiger', is frequently employed in the sense of 'a man of exceptional sexual vigour', while female *tigresa* is used in the sense of 'vamp'; the lexical item *lince* 'lynx' may be used in the extended sense 'shrewd person'; *loba,* meaning 'female wolf' is metaphorically used with reference to women in the sense 'vamp'; the female *zorra,* meaning 'vixen', is used secondarily with a highly pejorative sense 'whore',[13] while its male counterpart *zorro* 'fox' is secondarily used in the sense 'sly, crafty man'. As far as the category <u>**BIRDS**</u> is concerned, in Spanish we find the lexical item *águila,* basically used in the sense 'eagle', which is metaphorically employed in the sense 'sharp and smart person'; the word *buitre,* the primary meaning of which is 'vulture', is employed in the extended sense 'greedy person'; *cotorra,* used primarily in the sense of 'parrot' is employed slightingly in the sense 'exceedingly talkative person'; the noun *gallina,* meaning 'hen', is a metaphorical name for a cowardly person; the lexical item *ganso* 'goose' is used in a very specialised sense 'silly person who clowns around to amuse others'; *pato,* the primary meaning of which is 'duck', may be

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[9] Cf. French *cochon* 'pig' that is used metaphorically either in the sense 'dirty, sloppy person' or in the highly derogatory sense 'mean, base person'.

[10] French *vache* 'cow' has somewhat different connotations as it is used either in the sense 'obese, slow-moving female' or 'nasty person', particularly in the expression *vache à eau* or *peu de vache.* Likewise, French *vache* appears in the collocation *vache espagnol* in phrases like *Je parle anglais comme une vache espagnol* 'I speak English like a Spanish cow'.

[11] In French *phoque* 'seal' is used in the sense 'homosexual'.

[12] Spanish synonym for *cordero* is *borrego*. However, while the former is used amelioratively, the latter is negatively loaded as it is used in the sense 'dimwit'.

[13] *Zorra* may also mean, depending on the context of utterance, 'sly woman'. It is worth noticing that the diminutive form *zorrilla* has a very different register as it is used in the positive sense.

used metaphorically in the sense 'clumsy person'; *hormiguita*, used primarily in the sense '(little) ant', may be used in the extended sense 'a hard-working person'; the word *moscón*, the primary meaning of which is 'botfly', is applied with reference to people in the sense 'creep'; *mosquita muerta,* literally meaning 'dead (little) fly', is used in the sense 'apparently harmless person'; the word *zángano* 'drone' may be used metaphorically with reference to lazy people.[14]

POLISH: The lexical item *świnia* 'pig' opens the list of zoosemic developments related to the category **MAMMALS** in Polish. The primary meaning of *świnia* is 'pig', and the word is frequently used in the highly derogatory sense 'evil-minded, mean person',[15] while its diminutive form *świnka* 'piglet' is employed in the mildly pejorative sense 'sloppy, untidy person'; *suka,* meaning primarily 'bitch', is one of the most frequently employed abusive words in Polish applied in the sense 'mean, spiteful female', while its male counterpart, that is *pies* 'dog', is a much less negatively charged word used in the sense 'mean person';[16] *baran,* the primary meaning of which is 'ram', is used in a pejorative sense 'stupid man' or 'blind follower';[17] *cielę,* the primary meaning of which is 'calf', is used slightingly in the sense 'naive, silly person';[18] *osioł* 'ass', is metaphorically used in the sense 'silly, stupid person';[19] the word *klępa,* the primary meaning of which is 'female elk', is also a designation used in the sense 'sluttish woman'; *krowa* 'cow' is frequently employed in a transferred sense 'fat or silly woman'; *lis,* meaning 'fox', is used in the sense 'cunning, deceitful

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[14] It is worth noticing that some Spanish words change their meanings in South America. For instance, *polla* 'hen', used in the sense 'penis' in Spain, in some South American countries (e.g. Puerto Rico) it is not a bawdy word at all. Surprisingly, it means 'lottery' in Puerto Rico. Another interesting case is the Spanish word *concha* meaning 'shell' or 'tortoiseshell'. It is also the nickname of *Concepción*. It is not a bawdy word in Spain and in fact, many Spanish ladies are called *Concha* (*Conxa*, in Catalan or *Contxa*, in Basque). In contrast, in many South American countries (particularly in Argentina), *concha* means 'cunt' and it is a bawdy word. For that reason no Argentinean lady is called *Concha* and Argentinean people wonder that Spanish ladies are called *Concha* (**Prof. Chamizo Dominguez** – personal communication).

[15] Cf. Russian *свинья* [swin'ja] 'pig' used with reference to evil minded, unethical people. Also, French *cochon* 'pig' is used in the sense 'mean, evil-minded person', in such phrases as *c'est un (vilain) cochon.*

[16] It is interesting to note that Russian *сика* 'bitch' is a vulgar word that is used with reference to both men and women, for example, [– Tak eto ty, *suka..,* tak eto ty, v'ed'ma, napuskajesz jemu tuman i poisz n'eczistym z'el'jem, cztoby chodił k t'eb'e] (Gogol), or generally in the sense 'mean, impudent man' [– Słyszał: sr'ednij-to synok ich, Ignatij, v r'emontnom kotoryj sostojał, *sukoj* okazałs'a...] (Bachm'et).

[17] Cf. Russian *баран* [bar**a**n] 'ram' that is metaphorically employed in the sense 'blind follower'.

[18] Cf. French *veau* 'calf' that may be used in the secondary metaphorical sense 'milksop, stick'.

[19] Cf. Russian *осёл* [osi**oł**] 'ass, donkey' that is metaphorically used in the sense 'silly and/or stubborn person'.

man';[20] *kobyła* 'mare' is sometimes used with reference to females in the sense 'clumsy, fat woman';[21] the word *koza* 'goat' is used metaphorically with reference to females, particularly in the sense 'silly, naive (young) female'; *kociak,* the diminutive form of *kot* 'cat', primarily used in the sense 'kitten', is now a slightly archaic endearing term for a 'sexually attractive girl' or used appellatively in the sense 'darling, dear';[22] *chomik,* the primary meaning of which is 'hamster', is frequently used with reference to those people who like to collect things in the hope they will need them one day. When we sample the category **BIRDS** we find Polish *kura domowa* (literally: 'domesticated hen'), used with reference to those women who do not work professionally but merely stay at home and cater for the needs of the family; *mewka* '(little) sea-gull' is used in Polish in the extended sense 'prostitute';[23] *gęś* 'goose' is metaphorically employed in the sense 'naive, silly female'; *sowa* 'owl' may be metaphorically used in the sense 'morbid, sad-looking person'; *jastrząb,* primarily used in the sense 'vulture', is frequently used – particularly with reference to the world of business – to mean a 'rapacious person'; *ptaszek,* the diminutive form of *ptak* 'bird', is metaphorically employed as a derogatory term for men, most frequently in such collocations as *niezły ptaszek* 'quite a bit of bird' to mean an 'evil man' or 'a criminal';[24] *papuga,* meaning 'parrot', is metaphorically employed in two entirely unrelated senses, that is either 'a person who likes to repeat after others'[25] or 'attorney'; *żmija* 'serpent', is metaphorically used in the sense 'bitchy woman';[26] *żabka,* the diminutive form of *żaba* 'frog', is an endearing term used with reference to women; *żółw,* meaning primarily 'tortoise', is used in the sense 'a person who acts or moves very slowly'; *mrówka,* the primary meaning of which is 'ant', is used to mean 'a small-scale trader who smuggles goods across the border several times a day'.

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[20] Cf. Russian *лиса* [lis**a**], the primary meaning of which is 'fox', is used in the sense 'cunning, sly man'.

[21] Cf. Russian *кобыла* [kob**y**ła], the primary meaning of which is 'female horse', while the secondary sense seems to be the same as in Polish, that is 'fat, clumsy woman'.

[22] Cf. French *chat* 'cat' which is secondarily used as an endearing term in such phrases as *mon chat!/ma chate!*

[23] See also the use of Polish *sikorka* 'coalmouse' and *dzierlatka* 'crested lark' which were, until quite recently, metaphorically used with reference to young, especially lively females (see Tokarski (1990:79)).

[24] Likewise, French *oiseau* 'bird' and, in particular, the diminutive form *oisillan* 'birdie' are used metaphorically in the sense 'evil man' in such phrases as, for example, *voilá un bel oiseau/oisillon.*

[25] Cf. Russian *попугай* [popug**aj**] 'parrot' used metaphorically in the same sense as Polish *papuga*, that is 'person who likes to repeat after others'.

[26] On this issue see, for example, Kardela and Kleparski (1990:9–10).

GERMAN, DUTCH: German *Schwein,* primarily used in the sense 'pig, swine', is used in the sense 'trustless, mean person';[27] the word *Kuh,* the primary meaning of which is 'cow', is frequently used in the sense 'foolish female'; *Kalb,* the primary meaning of which is 'calf', is used in the sense 'inexperienced, naive person'; the lexical item *Gans* 'goose' is used in the sense 'naive, silly woman'. When we focus our attention on Dutch we see a number of developments parallel to the ones quoted from German and indeed other languages. Thus, in Dutch *gans,* primarily used in the sense 'goose', is used in the pejoratively loaded sense 'silly, naive female'; the word *ezel* 'donkey' is used in the pejoratively marked sense 'stupid person';[28] *koe* 'cow' is currently employed in the epicene sense 'clumsy person'; *vows* meaning 'fox' – similarly to English *fox* – is used in the sense 'cunning, sly person'; *hond*, meaning primarily 'dog', is used in a pejoratively loaded sense 'mean person' or 'a person you very strongly dislike'; *paard,* the primary sense of which is 'horse', is also employed in the sense 'ugly woman'; *varken,* the primary sense of which is 'pig', is metaphorically used in the sense 'dirty person'; *pad,* the primary meaning of which is 'toad', is used in the sense 'ugly person'; *wezel,* the primary meaning of which is 'weasel', is secondarily used in the sense 'cowardly person'; *makreel* 'mackerel' is likewise used in the sense of 'coward', and the word *havik* 'hawk' is employed in the metaphorical sense 'cowardly and aggressive person'.[29]

Zoosemy in Hungarian

Obviously, although the available studies are relatively scarce, the working of **zoosemy** is by no means restricted to Indo-European languages. As shown by, for example, Larson (1984) **zoosemy** is at work in a number of American Indian languages although, perhaps quite surprisingly, very frequently the same primary meaning may have different metaphorical extensions depending on the particular Indian language.[30] Perhaps the most frequently quoted case of **zoosemy** in a number of Indo-European languages, namely *pig,* metaphorically – as evidenced in the preceding sections – used most frequently in the sense 'dirty, immoral or

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[27] However, German *Schwein* it is not altogether devoid of positive connotations, for example in German celebrations of New Year's, but also linguistically; the German expression *Du hast ein Schwein!* is used in the sense 'you are lucky'.

[28] Likewise, Irish *asal,* the primary meaning of which is 'donkey', is currently used in the sense 'foolish person'.

[29] In contrast to Dutch *havik* 'hawk', Irish *seabhac* 'hawk' is used in the positively loaded sense 'heroic person', as well as *eala,* the primary sense of which is 'swan', is used in the positively marked sense 'beautiful, attractive woman'.

[30] For subjective reasons, I refrain from using the so-called PC term *Native American*.

mean person', turns out to have different metaphorical extensions in particular Indian languages spoken in the territory of Mexico.[31] In Tzeltal – one of the Indian languages spoken in Mexico – the word the primary meaning of which is 'pig' is used metaphorically in the sense 'someone who sleeps on the ground'. In Aztec – another language spoken in Mexico – the local equivalent of English *pig* is used in the extended sense 'drunken person'. In Otomi, yet another Indian language spoken in Mexico, the equivalent of English *pig* is used in the sense 'immoral person'. Let us now concentrate on the phenomenon of **zoosemy** in one of the few non-Indo-European languages spoken in the territory of Europe, that is Hungarian.[32] Consider the data tabled below:[33]

Patkány	'rat'	'base, mean person'	Feri egy *patkány*, mert becsapott és kicsalta a pénzem.	Feri is a *rat* because he cheated on me and stole all my money.
Lajhár	'sloth'	'lazy, idle person'	Zoli egy *lajhár*, meg sem mozdul egész nap.	Zoli is a *sloth*, he wouldn't make a single move!
Papagáj	'parrot'	'person who likes repeating others' words'	Ne ismételgess folyton te *papagáj*!	Don't keep on repeating my words, you *parrot*!
Majom	'monkey'	'person who always repeats others' acts'	Nézd a *majmot*! Már megint téged utánoz.	Look at that *monkey*, he is imitating you again!
Csirke	'chicken'	'pretty girl'	Jó kis *csirke* ez az Erzsi!	Erzsi is a pretty *chick*!
Tyúk	'hen'	'(silly) female'	Detti egy hülye *tyúk*, nem ért semmit!	Detti is a stupid *hen*, she doesn't understand anything at all.
Liba	'goose'	'silly female'	Ez az ostoba *liba* ötödszörre sem érti a feladatot.	This silly *goose* does not understand the task even if you tell her five times.
Kiskakas	'young	'warlike	Folyton verekedni akar ez	This *young cock* wants to

	cock'	person, bully'	a *kiskakas*.	fight all the time.
Tetű	'louse'	'base, mean, impudent person'	Géza egy *tetű*, még egy könyvet sem adott vissza!	Géza is a *louse*, he hasn't returned any of the books he borrowed!
Kullancs	'tick'	'hanger-on'	Jani egy *kullancs*, folyton a nyakunkon log.	Jani is a *tick*, he is a hanger-on.
Féreg	'worm'	'ill-natured person'	Kati egy *féreg*. Nem akarja megmutatni a házi feladatát.	Kati is a *worm*, she doesn't want to share her homework.
Pulykatojás	'turkey egg'	'person with freckles'	Erik egy *pulykatojás*, tele van szeplővel.	Erik is a *turkey egg* covered with freckles.
Disznó	'pig'	'person who can't behave himself'	Gergő ugy viselkedett az asztalnál, mint egy *disznó*.	Gergő was behaving himself like a *pig* at the table.
Vén kecske	'old goat'	'aged, lecherous man'	Hogy bámulja a nőket a *vén kecske*, pedig már jarni is alig bir.	Look! The *old goat* is staring at the women though he can hardly walk.
Ökör	'ox'	'silly person'	Misi egy *ökör*, azt sem tudja mi az a számítógép.	Misi is an *ox*, he doesn't even know what a computer is.
Birka	'sheep'	'somebody who blindly follows others'	A sok *birka* hogy megy Tibi után!	Look, how the *sheep* follows Tibi!
Bárány	'lamb'	'innocent person'	Ez a kis ártatlan *bárány*, még nem tudhat semmit ezekről a bűnös dolgokrol.	This little *lamb* has no idea of all these sinful things.
Róka	'fox'	'sly, tricky person'	Nézd a ravasz *rókát*, megpróbál csalni!	Look, the tricky *fox* is trying to cheat!
Tehén	'cow'	'fat woman'	Ez a nő akkora *tehén*, hogy nem fér be az ajtón.	This woman is such a big *cow*; that door is not wide enough for her.
Maci	'bear'	'big, yet kind and delicate man'	Te vagy az én kis *macim*, kedvesem.	Darling, you are my little dear *bear*!
Őzike	'fawn'	'fragile, frail woman'	Éva egy kis *őzike*, a legkisebb szellő is megárt neki.	Eve is a little *fawn*. Even the smallest breeze can do harm to her.
Viziló	'hippopo-tamus'	'person with enormous body'	Mari egy *viziló*, még a fürdőkád is kicsi neki.	Mary is a *hippopotamus*, even the tub is too small for her.
Ló	'horse'	'lad, youngster'	Ilyen nagy *lovak* vagytok, és mégis úgy viselkedtek, mintha gyerekek lennétek.	You are such big *horses*, yet you behave as if you were children.
Szamár	'ass, donkey'	'foolish, silly person'	Peti egy nagy *szamár*, soha nem fogja megérteni	Peti is such an *ass*. He will never understand this

			ezt feladotot.	example.
Nyúl	'rabbit'	'cowardly person'	Ne légy **nyuszi**!	Don't be a **rabbit**!
Bagoly	'owl'	1. 'person mainly active at night' 2. 'wise, experienced person'	1.Zoli egy éjszakai **bagoly**. Képtelen nappal dolgozni. 2.Kérdezd meg a bölcs **baglzot**. Mindenre tud válaszolni.	1. Zoli is a **night-owl**. He is unable to work during the day. 2. Ask the **wise owl.** He can answer any question.
Vakond	'mole'	'short-sighted person'	Kész **vakond** ez a Gergő. Semmit sem talál meg.	Gergő is such a **mole**, he can't find anything.
Szuka	'bitch'	'sex-mad female'	Nézd a büdös **szukát**, hogy kelleti magát!	Look at the stinky **bitch** trying to attract attention!
Szarka	'magpie'	'person who likes to steal (shiny) things'	Pakolj el minden mozdítható dolgot, mert ez a tolvaj **szarka** ellopja!	Put everything moveable away! The **magpie** is coming.
Kígyó	'snake'	'hypocritical double-dealing person'	Erik egy **kígyó**. Előbb rád mosolyog, majd kést döf a hátadba.	Eric is a **snake**. He smiles to you and simulataneously stabs you in the back!
Bika	'bull'	1. 'strong person' 2. 'sexually active person'	Nézd a falu **bikáját**, minden nő az ő kegyeiért verseng.	Look, the **bull** of the village, every woman is trying to win his favour.
Tacskó	'dachshund'	'inexperienced youngster'	Zoli egy éretlen **tacskó**, semmit sem tud az életről.	Zoli is an immature **dachshund.** He knows nothing about real life.
Bakkecske	'he-goat', 'billygoat'	'person unable to keep still'	Egész nap csak ugrál ez a **bakkecske**. Nem tud nyugton maradni.	He keeps on jumping all the day long. This **billygoat** is unable to keep still.
Sárkány	'dragon'	'woman who oppresses her husband, a shrew'	A feleségem egy **sárkány**, még sörözni sem enged el.	My wife is a **dragon**. She doesn't even let me have a pint with the guys.
Károgó varjú	'croaking crow'	'person who tells fortunes or spreads bad news'	Hallod a **károgó varjút**? Egész nap csak rossz híreket terjeszt.	Can you hear this **croaking-crow**? He's been telling fortunes the whole day.
Dinnye	'melon'	'silly person'	Nézd ezt a **dinnyét** már megint mást csinált, mint amit én mondtam neki.	Look at this **melon**! He's doing something completely different from what I told him to do.
Tapló	'tinder'	'silly person'	Akkora **tapló** volt ez az Aladár. Be se mutatkozott az igazgatónak.	Aladár was such a big **tinder** that he didn't say 'hello' to the headmaster.
Virágszál	'(single)	'fragile, frail	Olyan gyönge lány ez a	Márta is such a weak girl

flower'	female'	Márta. Vagy azt is mondhatnám, hogy ő egy törékeny ***virágszál.***	or even one could say that she is a ***fragile flower***.

Of course, the list of metaphorical extensions given and illustrated in the chart above is but a representative sample of the scope of **zoosemy** in Hungarian and thus provides merely a fraction of material that would be needed to form any sound basis of a fully-fledged study on the subject. However, the data collected enables us to draw certain preliminary generalisations and formulate some partial conclusions. One of the most striking observations is that the largest group of animal terms that are involved in the process of Hungarian **zoosemy** comes under the label **MAMMALS** which is exactly the same observation that was made earlier with reference to other languages (see Schreuder (1929), Hughes (1978), Wilkins (1981), Kleparski (1990,1996,1997), Persson (1996)).

In Hungarian this group includes, among others, the secondary metaphorical meanings of such lexical items as *szuka* 'bitch', which is a general derogatory term for females, especially used in the sense 'sex-mad female'; *disznó,* the primary meaning of which is 'pig', used in the secondary sense 'someone who does not know how to behave himself'; *tehén,* the primary meaning of which is 'cow', may be employed metaphorically in the sense of 'fat woman'; *ökör,* primarily meaning 'ox', is used slightingly in the sense 'silly person'; *bika,* the primary meaning of which is 'bull', is currently used in two senses, that is 'strong man' and 'sexually active person'; *birka,* meaning primarily 'sheep', is used in a mildly negatively marked sense 'somebody who blindly follows others'; *bárány,*[34] the primary meaning of which is 'lamb', is metaphorically used in the sense 'innocent person'; *viziló* 'hippopotamus', is used in an evaluatively neutral sense 'a person with enormous body'; *majom,* meaning basically 'monkey', is frequently employed in the transferred sense 'one who imitates others'; *tacskó,* which is primarily used in the sense 'dachshund', is metaphorically employed in the sense 'inexperienced person'; *vén kecske*, meaning 'old goat', is used in the pejoratively loaded sense 'old, lecherous man', *őzike,* meaning primarily 'young deer', is used in the gender-specific sense 'frail, fragile woman'; *bakkecske* meaning 'billygoat' is used in the sense 'person unable to keep still'; *róka,* the primary meaning of which is 'fox', is used metaphorically in the sense 'sly, cunning person'; *maci* 'bear' is metaphorically used as an endearing term for a 'big, yet delicate, kind man';[35] *ló,* the primary meaning of which is

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[34] Hungarian *bárány* may have been borrowed from one of the Slavonic languages; the word appears as *beran* in Czech, *boran* in Russian and *baran* in Polish. Notice that in Polish *baran* is used in the pejoratively marked sense 'stupid person, gawk' (see Brückner's *Słownik etymologiczny języka polskiego*).

[35] In fact, there are two words meaning 'bear' in Hungarian, the other being *medve* which, however, is not used as an endearing term. In contrast to the semantics of the Hungarian *maci,*

'horse', is metaphorically used in the sense 'lad, youngster'; *szamár,* the primary meaning of which is 'donkey, ass', is used in the pejoratively marked sense 'silly person';[36] *patkány,* the primary meaning of which is 'rat', is used in a strongly negative sense 'mean, base person'; *nyúl*, meaning 'rabbit', is a slighting term employed in the sense 'cowardly person'; *vakond,* the primary meaning of which is 'mole', is used in the sense 'short-sighted person' and finally, *lajhár,* the primary meaning of which is 'sloth', is used in the secondary sense 'lazy, idle person'.

Apart from a number of parallels that are discernible when we compare Hungarian **zoosemy** to examples of animal metaphor in Spanish, Polish, Dutch, German, French, Russian, Irish and Welsh, one also notices a great number of parallels to English **zoosemy** that has been very influential in the history of English.[37] First and foremost, as shown by the data collected in the *OED*, the immediate correspondences are evident in a number of terms denoting animals from the family ***CANIDAE***. And so, the history of English *bitch* goes back to O.E. period when the word was used exclusively in the sense 'female dog' (*Biccean* meolc. /c.1000/).[38] The semantic development of the word went in two directions; on the one hand, in the 16th century the original meaning of *bitch* underwent generalisation as the word came to be used with reference to females of other species of quadrupeds, e.g. fox, wolf, etc. What we are mainly interested in here is that already in the 14th century *bitch* started to be applied in the evaluatively charged sense 'lewd, unchaste woman' (Whom calleste thou queine, skabde *biche*? /?a.1400/).[39] Another representative of the category in question is the lexical item *hound* which in Anglo-Saxon times meant 'dog'. The word has, almost since its beginnings, been used opprobriously or contemptuously of people (Boy, false *Hound:* if you haue writ your Annales true, 'tis there, That [etc.]. /1607/). Another example from the history of English is the case of *turnspit*, meaning originally in the 16th century 'dog kept to turn a roasting spit', which soon afterwards extended its meaning to mean 'boy whose job is to turn a

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'bear' > 'big, yet delicate man', Russian *медведь* [miedwi**e**d'] meaning primarily 'bear', is used with reference to clumsy or uncouth people. Likewise, French *ours* 'bear' is used in the sense 'uncultured, ill-bred man'.

[36] Hungarian word *csacsi* is a less offensive equivalent of *szamár* which is used in the endearing sense, for example, *Hát nem érted te kis csacsi?* (Oh, don't you understand you little *donkey*?).

[37] As evidenced by the studies carried out by Bäck (1934) and Odenstedt (1995) one can hardly speak of the working of animal metaphor during the O.E. period. The material analysed in Kleparski (1997) shows that the process was particularly active from the L.Mid.E. period onwards.

[38] All illustrative quotations have been taken from the *OED* and the *OED Supplement.*

[39] The dictionaries of present-day English show that today *bitch* is rarely used in its highly derogatory sense 'promiscuous woman'. The *OED Supplement* confirms that in present-day English *bitch* tends to be most frequently used in the sense 'mean, malicious, treacherous woman'.

roasting spit', and was frequently used as a term of contempt (Leonarda.. passed for a very decent plain cook; but a mere *turnspit* to dame Jacintha. /1809/).

As far as the family **SUIDAE** is concerned – the type of animal metaphor clearly represented in Hungarian – one finds a number of parallel developments in English. The English *pig,* originally in Mid.E. used in the sense 'the young of swine', already in the 16th century started to be used contemptuously or opprobriously with reference to people of both sexes (The pretie *pigge*, laying her sweet burden about his necke. /a.1586/).[40] Another word in this category is *swine*, an Anglo-Saxon word, although used figuratively already in Anglo-Saxon texts, started to be regularly used in the meaning 'sensual, degraded or coarse man' from the 14th century onward (This foule *Swine* is now euen in the Centry of this Isle. /1594/). Likewise *sow*, another Anglo-Saxon word, has from the early 16th century been applied as a term of abuse to both sexes, especially to women meaning 'fat, clumsy or slovenly woman' (*Sow*, an inelegant female, a dirty wench. /1852/).[41] Finally, this category of zoosemic developments includes *pork* which originally meant 'swine, hog' and could, in the 17th century, be used opprobriously in the sense 'uncultured person' (I mean not to dispute Philosophy with this *Pork*, who never read any. /1645/).

The **zoosemy** based on **EQUUS** family terms is particularly richly represented in the history of English. *Horse* itself, an Anglo-Saxon word,[42] from the 16th century has been applied contemptuously or playfully to people, with reference to various qualities of the quadruped (If I tell thee a Lye, spit in my face, call me *Horse*. /1596/).[43] Another example here is *pack-horse*, meaning originally 'horse used for carrying things', present in English from the 15th century, was used in the 17th and 18th centuries in the secondary metaphorical meaning 'drudge' (I'll be *pack-horse* to none of them. /1768/). The female *mare*, present in English since Anglo-Saxon times, was from the 14th century frequently used contemptuously with reference to women (And shame hyt ys euer aywhate To be kalled 'a prestes *mare*'. /1303/). The lexical item *stallion*, present in English from the 14th century, developed in the 16th century two evaluatively

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[40] Obviously, for modern Westerners *pig* is primarily a symbol of uncleanness but it often represented fertility and prosperity in the cultures of antiquity. For example, from Malta we retain a depiction of a sow nursing 13 piglets. In the Eleusinian mysteries of Greece the pig was the sacred animal sacrificed to the goddess Demeter (see Biedermann (1992) and Evans (1992)).

[41] Notice also that Welsh *hwch,* the primary meaning of which is 'sow' *buwch,* primarily used in the sense 'cow' and *gast* 'bitch' are all derogatory terms used with reference to females.

[42] Ideally, one would have to take into consideration all historical synonyms of the lexical items analysed. And so, for example in the 14th century poem *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* there are numerous poetical synonyms of *horse* such as, for example, *blonk, caole, corsour, fole, horse, mounture* and *stede* (see Burchfield (1987:122)).

[43] Psychological symbology sees the horse as a noble and intelligent creature, but one easily disturbed or frightened.

loaded meanings, i.e., 'man of lascivious life' ([They] thinke it more mete for wanton wagtaile weston to be turned out for a *stalaunt* than to vse ani kinde of communication among worthi ladies. /1533/), and also 'courtesan' (Then folloed the worshipfull Bride.. But a stale *stallion*.. God wot, and an il smelling, wes she. /1575/);[44] *hackney*, meaning 'ambling horse', was in the 16th and 17th centuries used in the meaning 'prostitute' (Venus.. that taught the women of Cyprus to set vp a Stewes too hyre out them selues as *hackneies* for gaine. /1579/). Another word in this category is *harridan* meaning 'old horse' that acquired in English the sense '(decayed) strumpet' (*Harridan*, one that is half Whore, half Bawd. /a.1700/); *nag*, present in English from Chaucer's time, originally meant 'small riding horse', but in the 16th and 17th centuries is evidenced to have been used as a term of abuse for both sexes (Hence lewd *nags* away, Goe read each poast,.. Then to Priapus gardens [...]. /1598/).[45]

As far as other members of the **MAMMALS** category are concerned we find the word *sheep* which, already in its beginnings, was applied figuratively or similatively to people and, from the 16th century, the word has been used to mean 'stupid, timid person' (I know he would not be a Wolfe, But that he sees the Romans are but *Sheepe*. /1601/).[46] The word *rabbit*, present in the English lexicon since the 14th century, has been applied contemptuously to people (Away, you horson upright *Rabbet* away. /1597/). Likewise, *cony* that has been present in English since the 13th century, originally meaning 'rabbit', developed in the 16th century a new meaning 'dupe, victim' (In *Coni*-catching law He that is coosned [is called] the Connie. /1592/).

The body of Hungarian zoosemy tabled above shows that there is a fair number of metaphorical transfers of terms associated originally with the conceptual category **BIRDS**. For example, Hungarian *papagáj*[47] 'parrot' is metaphorically employed in the sense 'person who likes to imitate others'.[48] Another representative of the *AVES* family is the lexical item *csirke* 'chicken', used metaphorically in the sense 'pretty girl', while *tyúk,* primarily used in the

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[44] Certain negative associations associated with *horse* may be due to the fact that the early Church Fathers found the animal haughty and lascivious (it was said to neigh longingly when it saw a woman).

[45] Examples quoted in this section have been taken from Kleparski (1990) and Schultz (1975).

[46] The symbolic associations of sheep viewed as a harmless or even stupid creature are evident in many other languages. The sheep, one of the first domesticated animals, had to be watched over by shepherds and thus it came to symbolise helplessness in the face of any and all predators. The innocence of sheep is further intensified in the symbolism of lamb.

[47] Hungarian *papagáj* may have been directly borrowed from German *Papagei* (cf. also Italian *papagallo,* O.C.S. *papug* and Russian *papugaj*).

[48] To express the act of repeating other people's words or ideas without properly understanding them the verb *szajkóz* is used in Hungarian, which is a denominal verb from the name of the bird *szajkó* 'jay' although the noun itself is not applied metaphorically.

sense 'hen', is employed to mean 'silly female'. Hungarian *liba*, meaning 'goose', is also employed in the evaluatively loaded sense 'silly female'. The male equivalent of Hungarian *hen,* that is *kiskakas,* used primarily in the sense 'young cock', is metaphorically employed in the sense 'warlike person, bully'. The word *pulykatojás,* meaning primarily 'turkey egg', is used with reference to freckled people. Interestingly enough, Hungarian *bagoly,* meaning 'owl', is metaphorically used in two senses, that is 'person mainly active at night' and 'wise, experienced person'. The next word in this category *szarka* 'magpie', is employed in a transferred sense 'person who likes to steal (shiny) things'. Finally, Hungarian *károgó varjú,* meaning primarily 'croaking crow', is metaphorically used in the sense 'person who tells fortunes or spreads bad news'.

Likewise, one observes that English lexical items primarily embedded in the conceptual category **BIRDS** are very frequently used to derive evaluatively loaded meanings. The word *bird* itself, already in the Middle English period, acquired the meaning 'maiden, girl' ([Mary] pat blisful *bird* [...] of grace. /a.1300/); the lexical item *quail* meaning 'migratory bird allied to the partridge', acquired in the 17th century a novel meaning 'courtesan' (Several coated *Quails,* and lac'd Mutton. /1694/); another word in this category is *vulture,* present in English since Chaucer's time, and though used figuratively earlier, developed in the 17th century a new negatively loaded sense 'vile, rapacious person' (Ye dregs of baseness, *vultures* amongst men, That tyre upon the hearts of generous spirits. /1613/); *jay,* the name of common European bird present in the English language since the 14th century, has since the 16th century been used in the evaluatively loaded meanings 'woman of light character', 'fool' or 'simpleton' (You stood by.. and listened while that *jay* snapped and screamed at me. /1886/); the lexical item *wagtail*, present in English since the 16th century, developed in the same century a negatively charged sense 'whore' (If therefore thou make not thy mistress a gold finch, thou mayst chance to find her a *wagtaile.* /1592/); the word *dove*, present in the English language since the 12th century, developed in Shakespeare's time a new meaning 'innocent, silly person' (Tut she's a Lambe, a *Doue*, a foole to him. /1596/); *puffin*, 'a sea-bird having a large curiously furrowed bill', present in the English language since the 14th century, started in the 17th century to function as a contemptuous name for a person puffed with vanity or pride (Before.. that swoln *Puffin* rose to that growth and immense grandure. /1661/); *peacock*, present in the English language since the 14th century, from its beginnings has been used in the extended meaning 'vain-glorious man' (Thre syppes are for the hycock, And six more for the chyckock, Thus maye my praty *pyckock,* Recouer by and by. /1538/); *parakeet* 'a kind of parrot', present in English since the 16th century, developed even in the same century a novel meaning 'chattery person' (Some young *Parackettoes* now nursing up in the Universities. /1650/); *parrot*, present in English since the 16th century, in the same century developed an extended meaning 'unintelligently

imitative person' (Speake out *Parrotte*, in what place doth Luther subuerte the dueties of vertue? /1581/). Finally, the word *pigeon,* meaning originally from the 15th century 'young dove' developed, in the following century, a novel meaning 'simpleton, dupe' (As wily a *pigeon*, as the cunning Goldsmith, that accused his neighbour, and condemned himselfe. /1593/).

Other species of animals are poorly represented in comparison to the body of Hungarian zoosemic developments associated primarily with the categories **MAMMALS** and **BIRDS**. For example, Hungarian *féreg,* the primary meaning of which is 'worm', is figuratively used in the negatively charged sense 'ill-natured person'.[49] Another case is the word *tetű* 'louse' used in the pejoratively marked sense 'mean, impudent person'.[50] Finally, the word *kullancs,* meaning 'tick', is figuratively used in the sense 'hanger on'. Likewise, there are a few examples of **FOOD** terms and **PLANT** terms figuratively applied to convey various qualities of the human race. The Hungarian word *dinnye,* meaning 'melon', is applied secondarily with reference to people in the sense 'silly person', while the word *virágszál* that is primarily used in the sense '(single) flower' is metaphorically used in the sense 'fragile, frail female'.[51]

It is worth noting that English metaphorical extensions in the conceptual category **FOOD** have been particularly copious. For example, *egg*, an Anglo-Saxon word, was applied contemptuously to young people by Shakespeare (What you *Egge*? Yong fry of Treachery. /1605/); *potato*, a word of Haitian origin, present in English since the 16th century, in the 19th century came to be applied contemptuously or humorously to people (That fire-eating Milesian, that very hot *potato* Mr. H. Grattan. /1845/); *pumpkin*, present in English from the 17th century, developed in the 19th century the evaluatively charged sense 'stupid, self-important person' (I wish to rid myself of this *pumpkin* of a body. /1878/); *sourock,* meaning 'the common sorrel', present in the English language from the 15th century, was in the 18th century used figuratively with reference to sour-

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[49] Diachronically, it might be important that *féreg* originally meant 'wolf'.

[50] Likewise, English metaphorical extensions involving the category **INSECTS** are fairly infrequent. One of the examples that may be quoted here is the history of the word *caterpillar*, present in English from the 15th century, which already in its beginnings could be used figuratively in the extended meaning 'rapacious person' (*Pilleris*, robberies, extorcioneris. /1475/). Likewise, *locust*, present in the English lexicon since the 12th century, from the 16th century started to be used figuratively for persons of devouring or destructive propensities (An army of *locusts*, in the form of.. customhouse-officers.. and other functionaries fell upon all the countries occupied by the French troops. /1840/).

[51] In collecting the data for Kleparski (1997) I found only one example of E.Mid.E. **plantosemy**. Romance *tendril,* which appeared in English in the 16th century in the sense 'young shoot or sprout of a plant', developed in the 17th century the secondary sense 'young girl'. Obviously, as in many cases of **zoosemy** discussed in this paper, the basis for the formation of the metaphorical sense may have been provided by the salience of the attributive element (YOUNG).

tempered people (Ye *sourocks*, haffines fool, ha'f knave! Wha hate a dance or sang. /1723/); *mutton*, present in English since the 13th century, in the 16th century started to be used in the novel meaning 'prostitute' (The old lecher hath gotten holy *mutton* to him, a Nunne, my Lord. /c.1590/).[52]

Discussion

The immediate conclusion that may be formulated is that Hungarian **zoosemy** bears many quantitative and qualitative resemblances to the body of animal metaphors that have occurred in the history of English and other Indo-European languages. In this sense – one could say – Hungarian is very much an Indo-European language. The cases of English and Hungarian animal metaphor discussed here may be qualified, following Aarts and Calbert (1973:241), as **experiential metaphorical extensions**, that is those cases of derivation of novel meanings where the experience that human beings have of the concept denoted by the primary meaning of a lexical item enables them to relate a part of this meaning to another concept or class of objects, in our case to the conceptual category **HUMAN BEING**.

The greatest number of Hungarian animal terms that have undergone the process of metaphorisation belong to the conceptual category of **MAMMALS:** *disznó* 'pig' > 'person who can't behave himself', *majom* 'monkey' > 'person who imitates others' acts', *vén kecske* 'old goat' > 'old lecherous man', *lajhár* 'sloth' > 'lazy, idle person', *patkány* 'rat' > 'base, mean person', *ökör* 'ox' > 'silly person', *birka* 'sheep' > 'somebody who follows blindly others', *bárány* 'lamb' > 'innocent person', *róka* 'fox' > 'sly, cunning person', *tehén* 'cow' > 'fat woman', *bika* 'bull' > 'strong person' or 'sexually active person', *maci* 'bear' > 'big yet kind and delicate man', *őzike* 'fawn' > 'frail, fragile woman', *viziló* 'hippopotamus' > 'person with enormous body', *ló* 'horse' > 'lad, youngster', *szamár* 'ass, donkey' > 'foolish, silly person', *nyúl* 'rabbit' > 'cowardly person',

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[52] Consider also the following currently used derivatives associated with the conceptual category **FOOD:** *peach* which is today used in the meaning 'beautiful, attractive female', *big cheese* which may be employed in the sense 'important, respectable person', *applepie* used in the meaning 'dear, beloved person', *dish* often used in the sense '(sexually) attractive female', *crumpet* which is used in the sense 'sexually attractive woman', *cheesecake* meaning 'feminine charm on provocative display', *lemon* which in B.E. slang is used in the sense 'foolish, incompetent person', *pudding* meaning 'uninteresting, dull person'. It is worth noting that French seems to abound in what one may refer to as cases of **foodsemy**. There are a number of food terms metaphorically used of human beings such as, for example, *tarte* 'tart', used in the sense 'foolish person', *echalotte* 'spring onion', used in the sense 'skinny person', *poire* 'pear' employed in the sense 'naive, silly person' and *andouille* 'kind of sausage', used in the sense 'imbecile'. For further examples see, among others, Mills (1989) and Wallin-Ashcroft (2000).
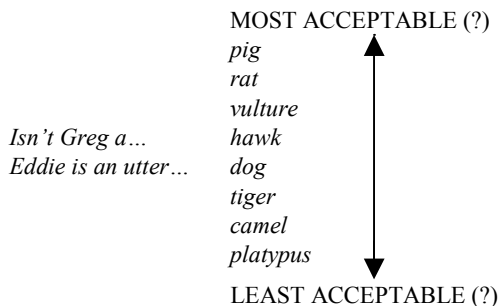
szuka 'female dog' > 'sex-mad woman', *tacskó* 'dachshund' > 'inexperienced youngster', *bakkecske* 'billygoat' > 'person unable to keep still' and *vakond* 'mole', used in the sense 'short-sighted person'. There are also a number of animal terms that are primarily associated with the category **BIRDS**. This number includes such lexical items as *papagáj* 'parrot' > 'person who likes to repeat others' acts', *csirke* 'chicken' > 'pretty girl', *tyúk* 'hen' > 'silly female', *liba* 'goose' > silly female', *kiskakas* 'young cock' > 'warlike person, bully', *bagoly* 'owl' > 'a person mainly active at night' or 'wise, experienced person', *károgó varjú* 'croaking crow' > 'person who tells fortunes'. The informants that have been consulted provided a small number of lexical items associated with other kinds of animals such as, for example, *kullancs* 'tick', secondarily employed in the sense 'hanger on', *féreg* 'worm' used in the sense 'ill-natured person', *tetű* 'louse' used in the extended sense 'base, mean, impudent person', *kígyó* 'snake' used metaphorically in the sense 'hypocritical, double-dealing person'. The Hungarian informants provided also some examples of **plantosemy**, that is *tapló* 'tinder', used in the secondary sense 'silly person', *dinnye* 'melon', used in the sense 'silly person', and *virágszál* 'single flower', used in the metaphorical sense 'frail, fragile woman'.

The results of our study confirm that the greatest number of lexical items that undergo zoosemic development belong primarily to the conceptual categories **MAMMALS** and **BIRDS** which is probably due to the fact that these two classes are most familiar to mankind. The finding that man tends to apply to himself most often the names of those animals to which he is closest or which he is most familiar with seems only natural. As noted by Krzeszowski (1997:73), higher forms of animal life such as birds, fishes and, in particular, mammals are more prototypical than other animals. Moreover, certain higher animals (e.g. dogs, horses and cats) are believed to be capable of entering into emotional relations with humans. Be that as it may, there is no doubt that human beings experience various emotions and shape certain attitudes with relation to animals that surround them. However, one could find counterexamples to this generally plausible thesis. Aitchison (1987:146) discusses the metaphorical use of *dinosaur* in a context like *His boss is a dinosaur*, and claims that in this case of **zoosemy** the use of *dinosaur* does not refer to the most important characteristics of dinosaurs, that they are extinct and have enormous body, but rather to some additional piece of knowledge which people have about these animals, for example the species probably died out because it was slow-moving and failed to adapt to new conditions. In general, notice that the values emerging at the animate level may be either positive or negative (faithfulness, wisdom, fear, disgust, etc.), and these are often subconsciously transposed onto human level.

Just as Berlin and Kay's (1969) pioneering study on colour terms destroyed the myth that semantic mapping in languages is totally arbitrary, our short contrastive study has added yet one minor point to destroying the myth that

semantic associations and the paths of metaphorisation processes are totally unpredictable. Leech (1981:214) argues that animal metaphors used in predications about human beings can be placed on what he refers to as a scale of acceptability, as in the following diagram:

MOST ACCEPTABLE (?)
pig
rat
vulture

Isn't Greg a…   *hawk*
Eddie is an utter…   *dog*
tiger
camel
platypus
LEAST ACCEPTABLE (?)

I feel that one should rather speak here of broadly understood **cultural expectedness** versus **cultural unexpectedness** rather than acceptability versus unacceptability.[53] Thornton (1989:435) supposes that much of this cultural expectedness is in some way linked with the ritual value of the animal category concerned. For example, the fact that in many languages *lamb* forms the basis of such metaphoric extensions as 'innocent, naive person', may ultimately be linked to the fact that Israelites sacrificed the animal to escape the tenth plague that God meted out to Egypt for refusing to let Moses and his people go, as well as the image of Christ, who seeks lambs who have gone astray or the image of lamb between the wolves in the Praetextatus catacomb.

By noting the culturally stereotyped features connected with various members of the category **ANIMALS** we can explain why certain animal names are used metaphorically with reference to humans. It seems that the contrastive cross-cultural study of **zoosemy** of the type proposed here may contribute to the study of social and animal stereotypes. Of course, unlike social stereotypes that are subject to change over time, some of the animal stereotypes seem to be universal and these animal stereotypes are reflected in social stereotypes. Notice also that – generally speaking – if a referent is not commonly present in a given culture and hence language as, for example, crocodile, panda, kangaroo[54] in English or Hungarian, there is not much use and motivation for a word which designates it to be used metaphorically.

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[53] Cf. Persson (1990:173).

[54] Of course, this is not an over-all rule. Spanish *canguro* 'kangaroo' is used in the secondary sense 'babysitter'. This meaning may have arisen due to the fact that there is a Spanish TV series, which is entitled *Canguros* (*Babysitters*) and kangaroos – obviously – are not part of the Spanish culture.

One must stress the importance of the pragmatic zone in the working of semantic change in general and animal metaphor in particular. Our study of **zoosemy** confirms the observation made by Stern (1933:320), that animal names used for people are often depreciative, more or less abusive appellations, and the element of similarity is either a quality that is reprehensible or contemptible in itself, or else a quality that is neutral or favourable in an animal, but becomes reprehensible in a human being or for human beings. One could say that the use of animal metaphors, especially those that are pejoratively loaded, provides a way of 'othering' the person to which they are applied, that is demoting them to the level of animals.

The results of our study provide support for evidence given in, among others, Kleparski (1990,1997), Kleparski and Kardela (1990), Wilkins (1981) Chamizo Dominguez and Sánchez Benedito (2000) that in many cases of the working of **zoosemy** the outcome of the process of 'othering' is the rise of insulting terms. So, from a pragmatic point of view there seems to exist a human tendency to describe derogatory features in people by means of animal imagery. One may argue that insulting is part and parcel of Indo-European culture which is evidenced in the scope and spectrum of animal metaphor in English, Spanish, Polish, German, Dutch, Russian and Hungarian which – although does not belong to the family of Indo-European languages – exhibits very much Indo-European evaluatively motivated zoosemic developments.[55] To use the traditional terminology one could say that connotative uses of animal terms do not seem to be influenced by the typological belongingness of individual languages, but rather by the experiences of local people with real-world animals and also, at least in regional and cultural units such as Europe, by the common cultural legacy.[56] In short, it seems that the scope of Hungarian **zoosemy** is determined by the cultural zone Hungarian language and its speakers belong to.

Pursuing the importance of the pragmatic zone further, one also notices that in the Indo-European cultural zone pigs, for example, are archetypally fat animals, and the view of pigs also includes the element of dirtiness, greediness and unpleasantness, that is general negative evaluation. In English – and arguably other languages, too – this archetypal view of pig is not merely evidenced by the history of the word *pig*, as presented in the *OED,* but it finds

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[55] See, in particular, Hungarian *szuka* 'bitch' > 'female who likes sex', *disznó* 'pig' > someone who does not know how to behave himself", *tehén* 'cow' > 'fat woman', *ökör* 'ox' > 'silly person', *birka* 'sheep' > 'somebody who blindly follows others', *van checks* 'old goat' > 'old, lecherous man', *róka,* 'fox' > 'sly, cunning person', *szamár* 'donkey, ass' > 'silly person', *patkány* 'rat' > 'mean, base person', *nyúl* 'rabbit' > 'cowardly person', *lajhár* 'sloth' > 'lazy, idle person', *tyúk* 'hen' > 'silly female', *liba* 'goose' > 'silly female', *szarka* 'magpie' > 'person who likes to nip (shiny) things'. On insulting terms in English see, in particular, Chamizo Dominguez and Sánchez Benedito (2000).

[56] **Prof. Martsa Sándor** – personal communication.

support in the entire spectrum of *pig*-related current phraseological units. Here we find a number of idiomatic expressions such as, for example, *a pig in a poke* 'a blind bargain', *Bartholomew pig* 'obese person', to *bring one's pig to a pretty market* 'to make a very bad bargain', *to go to pigs and whistles* 'to be ruined', *to be pig-headed* 'to be obstinate', *pigs in clover* 'people who have money but do not know how to behave decently', *to pig it* 'to live in a slovenly piggish fashion', all of which contain varying degrees of negative evaluation.

By noting such features associated with pigs and other animals in a number of Indo-European languages one may find partial evidence in explaining why a particular word, such as *pig* gets used metaphorically as a term of disparagement. However, it is not to be supposed that the same straightforward zoosemic metaphors are forthcoming in every society. If we take another look at Spanish *cerdo* 'pig' we see that it is usually used according to its derogatory or pejorative meanings, but there are exceptions to this rule. For instance, in the Spanish saying *Más cristianos hizo el jamón* (or *capón*, according to a different version) *que la Santa Inquisición* (literally: 'The ham made more Christians than the Holy Inquisition did'), *jamón* 'ham' is used as a metonymy for *cerdo* 'pig'. Wilkins (1981:30) informs us that perhaps the most surprising metaphorical extension of *pig* takes place in Papua New Guinea where the equivalent of the English word has definitely positive marking as it connotes wealth. This is partly due to the fact that ownership of pigs signifies wealth. Moreover, pigs are not grown to be consumed but are grown to be given away so as to increase the chains of obligation with respect to the person who is giving the pigs (see Rappaport (1968:59)). In this sense the non-Indo-European Hungarian exhibits very much Indo-European metaphorics of both *pig* and other animal terms involved in the process of **zoosemy**, mainly due to the fact that it draws on the conceptual categories of **MAMMALS** and **BIRDS**, most frequently drawn upon in the zoosemic developments in other Indo-European languages.[57]

The comparison of Hungarian and English data seems to point to a tendency for female terms in English to be more likely to become pejorative and more likely to acquire sexual connotations and less likely to be transferable to a male. Take, for example, the English pair *dog/bitch* the first of which is only sometimes contemptuously used for males in half-serious chiding as in *He is a sly dog!* or *Oh, you are a clever dog!* However, *dog* has recently been transferred

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[57] It is worth noticing that similarly to Polish, where many of the names of birds evoke negative attributive values such as, for example, *gęś* 'goose', *dudek* 'hoopoe', *gawron* 'rook' which, according to Tokarski (1990:79), associate with such values as (STUPIDITY) or (NAIVETY), English bird-metaphors are frequently associated with evaluatively negative elements, e.g., (UNSTABLE) in the case of *quail* 'unstable, amorous female' and (RAPACIOUS), (GREEDY) in the case of *vulture*, used in the sense 'rapacious and greedy person'. Likewise, Hungarian bird metaphors *tyúk,* 'hen', *liba* 'goose', *kiskakas,* 'young cock', *szarka* 'magpie' all associate with such attributive values as (STUPIDITY), (NAIVETY), (RAPACIOUSNESS) and (THEFT).

to women and it occurs only in negative contexts meaning either 'woman inferior in looks' or 'prostitute'. In contrast to *dog,* the use of *bitch* with reference to women has always been abusive either in the sense 'malicious, spiteful woman' or 'lewd, immoral woman'. This does not seem to be the case in Hungarian although to verify this hypothesis one would have to rely on wider data on the one hand, and go into diachronic senses associated with other animal terms in the history of Hungarian on the other.

Another interesting topic for further research would be to undertake a contrastive study of **zoosemy** in the context of 'false friends'. When metaphorical or euphemistic uses do not coincide in two or more natural languages, false friends arise. A paradigmatic example is the one of 'camel'. The different words for 'camel' in the various European languages (Spanish *camello,* French *chameau,* German *Kamel* and Portuguese *camelo*),[58] are etymologically related and mean literally the same animal, that is 'camel'. For that reason those names are not false friends at all, when they are used literally. Nevertheless, when used metaphorically, they become actual false friends. Namely, when the German word *Kamel* is used to refer to a human being (particularly in the idiom *Ich Kamel!*), it means 'stupid' or 'silly', probably because camels are the paradigm of stupidity in the German *Weltanschauung*. By contrast, the Spanish word *camello* used metaphorically means 'drug pusher'. In English and French the role of traffickers of small quantities of drugs is typically not played by *camels* or *chameaux*, respectively, but by *mules*. Finally, the metaphorical role which is played by a German *Kamel,* is typically played by a Spanish *burro* 'ass', a French *âne*, and a British *ass*.[59]

For want of access to diachronic data in Hungarian this study can hardly be qualified as diachronic. However, it is ultimately diachronic semantics that should seek to illuminate the history of thought to which language provides access; with the increased understanding of semantic systems and the processes involved in semantic change historical linguistics can proceed to formulate ample conclusions both about **semantic systems** and **cultural systems**. The meanderings of Indo-European and non-Indo-European **zoosemy** provide, I believe, one of the paths to meet this end.

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[58] The Portuguese word *camelo* is also a false friend with regard to the Spanish one *camelo* ('hoax').

[59] **Prof. P. Chamizo Dominguez** – personal communication.

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