

**SELECTED ASPECTS OF ZOOSEMY:
THE CONCEPTUAL DIMENSION
ORIGIN/SOCIAL STATUS AT WORK**

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Resumen: En el presente artículo se habla del problema de la zoosemia — término que alude al proceso por el que metafóricamente se relaciona la conducta de los seres humanos con el comportamiento o la fisionomía de ciertos animales, proceso por el cual el nombre de dichos animales se extrapola para designar el carácter o el comportamiento de las personas. Basándose en los planteamientos de la lingüística cognitiva se ha propuesto que en la lengua inglesa la zoosemia actúa en siete campos semánticos, a saber: PROFESIÓN/FUNCIÓN SOCIAL, COMPORTAMIENTO/CARÁCTER, PROCEDENCIA/POSICIÓN SOCIAL, MORALIDAD, SEXUALIDAD, RASGOS INSULTANTES, APARIENCIA/RASGOS FÍSICOS. El presente trabajo se limita a estudiar el campo semántico de PROCEDENCIA/POSICIÓN SOCIAL. El material lingüístico analizado abarca lexemas procedentes no sólo de diferentes momentos históricos de la evolución de la lengua inglesa sino también de entidades lingüísticas procedentes de varios idiomas indoeuropeos (español, italiano, francés, polaco, ruso, eslovaco, alemán) y así mismo de lenguas no indoeuropeas (chino, húngaro). En la última parte del artículo se presentan las observaciones y las conclusiones derivadas de dicho análisis.

Palabras clave: zoosemia, metáfora conceptual, campo conceptual, PROCEDENCIA/POSICIÓN SOCIAL, lengua inglesa, animales domesticados.

Abstract: The present paper discusses the problem of zoosemy, understood as one of the mechanisms of semantic change whereby animal names are employed to designate human characteristics. In accordance with the main tenets of cognitive linguistics, it is postulated that the workings of zoosemy in English may be accounted for by reference to seven conceptual dimensions/spheres, i.e. profession/social function, behaviour/character, origin/social status, physical characteristics/appearance, morality, sexuality, contempt/opprobrium of which one, i.e. the conceptual dimension origin/social status, is investigated here in detail. The lexical material in focus comprises lexemes used not only in various periods of historical development of English, but also lexical units selected from other languages both Indo-European (Spanish, Italian, French, Polish, Russian, Slovak, German) and non-Indo-European (Chinese, Hungarian). The final part

of the article presents observations and conclusions drawn from the analysis of the relevant lexical material.

Keywords: zoosemy, conceptual metaphor, conceptual sphere, origin/social status, English, domesticated animals.

1. INTRODUCTION

In this paper, employing the broadly understood mechanisms of cognitive linguistics which treat semantic change as a cognitively conditioned process, we pursue the problem of what has been referred to in relevant literature as a historically universal connection between the conceptual categories HUMAN BEING and DOMESTICATED ANIMALS (see, among others, MacWhinney (1989), Kleparski (1997: 238), Hsieh (2000, 2003), Baider and Gesuato (2003), Kiełtyka (2008)). Thus, the aim of the present article is to provide a historical account of selected aspects of English **zoosemy**; that is, the process of semantic change whereby animal names are employed to designate human characteristics. Our analysis of zoosemic metaphorisation is carried out in terms of the conceptual metaphor theory (henceforth: **CMT**) (see, among others, Lakoff and Johnson (1980), Lakoff and Turner (1989)). We believe that **CMT** is a sound methodological framework which is capable of accounting for semantic change in a panchronic perspective. The theoretical approach we have chosen makes it clear that metaphors are central to the way we think about the world. They provide an essential link between our immediate experience and abstract thought and, what is more, they may not merely elucidate a point but often, without them, understanding the intangible would be impossible (see Lukeš (2005)).

As argued by MacWhinney (1989), the metaphorical extensions associated with the category HUMAN BEING point to a certain isomorphism that is established between the world of animal characteristics and the world of human characteristics. We hope to be able to show that the linguistic material analysed in the present paper allows us to formulate some observations and generalisations concerning the problem of animal metaphors and the issue of isomorphism between various subcategories of the conceptual categories HUMAN BEING and DOMESTICATED ANIMALS.

2. THE CONCEPTUAL DIMENSION ORIGIN/SOCIAL STATUS IN FOCUS

Kiełtyka (2006) noticed that the workings of English zoosemy may be accounted for by reference to seven conceptual dimensions/spheres, i.e. *PROFESSION/SOCIAL FUNCTION*, *BEHAVIOUR/CHARACTER*, *ORIGIN/SOCIAL STATUS*, *PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS/APPEARANCE*, *MORALITY*, *SEXUALITY*, *CONTEMPT/OPPROBRIUM* of which one, i.e. the conceptual dimension *ORIGIN/SOCIAL STATUS* will be investigated here in detail.

As will be pointed out, the conceptual domain *ORIGIN/SOCIAL STATUS* is closely related to the conceptual category **HUMAN BEING**. More importantly, it seems that the conceptual domain *ORIGIN/SOCIAL STATUS* may be simultaneously regarded as one of the conceptual dimensions by means of which the conceptual category **DOMESTICATED ANIMALS** is also related to the conceptual category **HUMAN BEING**. Thus, the purpose of this paper will be to discuss those aspects of the semantics of domesticated animals which are to be held responsible for mappings leading to the zoosemic shift **DOMESTICATED ANIMAL > A HUMAN BEING CHARACTERISED IN TERMS OF ORIGIN/SOCIAL STATUS**. Below we shall propose an in-depth analysis of zoosemic development of four lexical items, namely *jade*, *cur*, *mongrel* and *tyke*.

The major etymological sources (see *ODEE*, *EDME*) inform us that *jade* is of unknown origin but often assumed to be a doublet of *yaud* (Mod.Icel. *jalda* 'mare'). In its literal sense the word designates 'a sorry, ill-conditioned, wearied, or worn-out horse of inferior breed' or 'a vicious, worthless, ill-tempered horse'. This lexical item functioned productively in English from the 14th century to the 19th century. The original sense of this lexical category is accountable for in terms of an entrenchment¹ relation to the attributive path of **DOMAIN² OF SPECIES [...]** for which the attributive element (**EQUINE**) is brought to the fore, attended by the actuation of the values (**FEMALE**) and (**OLD**) presupposed for the attributive paths of **DOMAIN OF SEX [...]** and **DOMAIN OF AGE [...]** respectively. Additionally, the semantic periphery of this lexical category suggests positing an entrenchment link to such **CDs** as, **DOMAIN OF PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS AND APPEARANCE [...]**, **DOMAIN OF BEHAVIOUR [...]**, **DOMAIN OF UTILITY [...]**, **DOMAIN OF ORIGIN [...]** and **DOMAIN OF ABUSE [...]** for which the following attributive values are activated: (**BONY**), (**ILL-TEMPERED**)^(**VICIOUS**), (**WORTHLESS**)^(**WORN-OUT**), (**INFERIOR**) and (**CONTEMPTIBLE**) respectively. This

¹ The notion of entrenchment should be understood here in the way it is defined and applied by Klepanski (1997) and Kiełtyka (2008). Namely, a lexical category may be said to be entrenched in the attributive path of a given conceptual domain (CD) or set of conceptual domains (CDs) if its semantic pole is related to certain locations within the attributive path of a given CD or set of CDs.

² In the view of many linguists, semantic structures may be characterised relative to cognitive domains, which are —after Klepanski (1997) and Kiełtyka (2008)— understood as **CONCEPTUAL DOMAINS** which, in turn, are viewed as sets of attributive values specified for different locations within the attributive paths of CDs. According to Taylor (1989), a lexical category gets its meaning by the process of **highlighting** (or **foregrounding**) a particular location within the attributive path of a CD or a number of different CDs.

sense-thread of *jade*³ is attested by the following selected quotations from the *OED*:⁴

c1386 Be blithe though thou ryde vp-on a *Iade*, What thogh thyn hors be bothe foule and lene.



1530 *Iade* a dull horse, *galier*.

1600 You are much deceived..that thinke mine asse to be dead: for the hungrie *iade* knowing his masters necessity hath wrought this sleight.

1709 False steps but help them to renew the race, As, after stumbling, *Jades* will mend their pace.

1819 He palmed upon the owners a sorry *jade* of an ass.

In the middle of the 16th century we witness the rise of a new sense-thread attached to the word, namely —via zoosemic extension— *jade* came to be applied as a term of reprobation to a woman meaning ‘a low or shrewish woman’⁵ (‘reprehensible girl or woman’ (see *ODEE*)) or ‘a flirtatious girl like *bussy* or *minx*’ (see Wright (1898-1905: 342) and *BDPF*) (16th>19th centuries). On the other hand, Johnson (1755) defined *jade* as [...] *a sorry woman. A word of contempt noting sometimes age, but generally vice and [...] a young woman: in irony and slight contempt*.⁶ As argued by Mills (1993: 128), towards the end of the 19th century the early sense of tiredness and that of the sexual excesses of a slut were fused into the verb *to jade*; used mostly in the past tense this came to mean ‘to wear out with hard work or surfeit’.

The account of the semantics of the 16th century sense-thread of *jade* involves positing an entrenchment relation to the attributive path of **DOMAIN OF SPECIES [...]** for which the attributive value (**HUMAN**) is highlighted. This is coupled with the activation of the attributive element (**FEMALE**) specified

³ Throughout this article, following Kiełtyka (2008), we adopt the following notational convention: a continuous temporal presence of a given sense-thread is marked with a bidirectional arrow. However, if the evidence we quote has time gaps —referred to as temporal hiatus by Geeraerts (1997: 24-25) and Kleparski (1997: 250)— of more than 150 years we mark the gap with a unidirectional arrow as shown above. Additionally, it must be stressed that Geeraerts (1997: 24-25) develops the notion of semantic polygenesis, in which the same marginal meaning occurs at several points in time that are separated by a considerable period. In this respect Kleparski (1997:251) claims that the discontinuous presence of that meaning is not due to accidental gaps in the available textual sources, but that the meaning in question must have come into being independently at two points in history. It seems that the temporal hiatus in the evidence we quote —in the majority of cases— does not involve semantic polygenesis, but is rather due to accidental gaps in the available textual sources.

⁴ The earliest known printed use of a word, as recorded by the *OED*, provides an index of the date at which the term entered the language.

⁵ See also *ATWS*, *BDPF*, *LCRH* and *MDWPO*.

⁶ Consider the following quotation:

You see now and then some handsome young jades among them: the sluts have very often white teeth and black eyes (Johnson (1755)).

for DOMAIN OF SEX [...], and further attended by the actuation of the values (ADULT/YOUNG), (OF LOW ORDERS), (SHREWISH)/(FLIRTATIOUS), (WORTHLESS) and (CONTEMPTIBLE) which are presupposed for the attributive paths of the following CDs: DOMAIN OF AGE [...], DOMAIN OF ORIGIN/SOCIAL STATUS [...], DOMAIN OF CHARACTER AND BEHAVIOUR [...],⁷ DOMAIN OF UTILITY and DOMAIN OF ABUSE [...] respectively. The following selected *OED* quotations testify to this sense-thread of *jade*:

1560 Such a *jade* she is, and so curst a quean, She would out-scol'd the devil's dame I ween.

1668 [Mrs] Pierce says she [Miss Davis] is a most homely *jade* as ever she saw.

1711 You see now and then some handsome young *Jades* among them [the Gipsies].

1812 A lying, prying, jilting, thievish *jade*.

1883 A procession of scamps and *jades*, who marched through Paris wearing in mockery vestments robbed from the churches.

Interestingly, at the end of the 16th and at the outset of the 17th centuries the word⁸ was, in a similar fashion (see the evidence given below), metaphorically applied to a man as a term of reprobation (1596>1608) (see also Wright (1898-1905: 342)).⁹ According to Palmatier (1995: 215), a *jaded* person is like a worthless nag: hardened, calloused, lacking in spirit and oblivious to pleasure or pain. Thus, apart from the entrenchment relation to the attributive paths of the CDs specified in the foregoing, the semantics of this sense-thread involves the shift in the highlighting of the relevant value (FEMALE) > (MALE) specified for the attributive path of DOMAIN OF SEX [...]. This E.Mod.E. sense-thread of *jade* emerges from the following *OED* examples:

1596 What, this Gentleman will out-talke vs all. *Luc*. Sir giue him head, I know hee'l proue a *jade*.



1608 A iolly Prater, but a *jade* to doe.

⁷ It appears that —by the process of animal metaphor— *jade* may also be viewed as embodying the conceptual dimension BEHAVIOUR/CHARACTER.

⁸ As the quotations from *WTNIDU* illustrate, this lexical item is also used as a verb in the sense 'to make a *jade* of (a horse); wear out by overwork or abuse', e.g. (*WTNIDU*) 'When a horse approaches the goal, he does not, unless he is *jaded*, slacken his pace'; 'to tire by severe or tedious tasks', e.g. 'Constant repetition of often trivial material *jades* one's palate'. Mills (1989: 128) explains that the verb *to jade* is a fusion of the early sense of tiredness and that of the sexual excesses of a slut. In Shakespearian times the verb was used in the sense 'to make ridiculous or expose to scorn', e.g. 'Do not now fool myself, to let imagination *jade* me'. As an intransitive verb it means 'to become weary; lose heart, e.g. 'When I feel my Muse beginning to *jade*, I retire to the solitary fireside of my study'.

⁹ According to Partridge (2002: 610) in the 20th century Aus. English *jade* acquired the sense 'a long prison-sentence'.

Therefore, as our discussion of the semantics of *jade* shows, at the beginning of the E.Mod.E. period the analysed lexical category started to function as a zoosem related to the conceptual zones **ORIGIN/SOCIAL STATUS** (16th>19th centuries) and **BEHAVIOUR/CHARACTER** (16th>19th centuries).

Etymologically, the word *cur* corresponds to Mid.E. *curre*, Mod.Sw. and Mod. Norw. dialectal *kurre/korre* ‘a dog’. The noun *kurre/korre* is generally associated with the onomatopoeic O.N. verb *kurra* ‘to murmur, grumble’, Mod.Sw. *kurra* ‘to grumble, rumble, snarl’, Mod.Dan. *kurre* ‘to coo’. Thus, the primary sense appears to have been ‘growling or snarling beast’ but no corresponding verb appears in English, so that Mid.E. *kurre* was probably introduced from some continental source.¹⁰ Therefore, *cur* entered the English lexicon in the first half of the 13th century and started to be applied without any trace of depreciation, especially to ‘a watch-dog or shepherd’s dog’ (1225>1884). Notice that in Mod.E. this lexical category is always used as depreciative or contemptuous appellation denoting ‘a worthless, low-bred, or snappish dog’. In terms of the mechanisms adopted here, the primary sense of *cur*, apart from the activation of such conceptually central elements as (CANINE), (EPICENE), (YOUNG/ADULT) presupposed for the attributive paths of **DOMAIN OF SPECIES [...]**, **DOMAIN OF SEX [...]** and **DOMAIN OF AGE [...]** respectively, is explicable by means of an entrenchment link to the attributive paths of such peripheral **CDs** as **DOMAIN OF ORIGIN [...]**, with the value (LOW-BRED) brought to the fore, **DOMAIN OF CHARACTER AND BEHAVIOUR [...]** for which the attributive element (SNAPPISH) is activated, as well as **DOMAIN OF FUNCTIONS [...]**, **DOMAIN OF UTILITY [...]** and **DOMAIN OF ABUSE [...]** for which the following set of values gains prominence: (WATCH-DOG) ^ (SHEPHERD’S DOG), (WORTHLESS), (DEPRECIATIVE)^(CONTEMPTUOUS). The following *OED* quotations testify to this Mid.E. sense-thread of *cur*:

a1225 *Pes dogge of helle.. þe fule kur dogge.*



1884 *Cur*, a good, sharp watchdog. The word does not refer, in the least, to low breeding.

By the process of animal metaphorisation, at the end of the 16th century *cur* was first applied as a term of contempt with reference to ‘a surly, ill-bred, low or cowardly fellow’¹¹ (1590>1870).¹² As pointed out by Palmatier (1995: 106), figuratively, a *cur* is a contemptible or cowardly person — i.e., one who is as

¹⁰ The combination *kur-dogge* must have entered English lexicon considerably earlier than *kurre/cur*.

¹¹ See also *ATWS*, *EWPO*, *IRCD* and *WNWD*.

¹² According to Partridge (2002: 1273), the context *turn cur* was —in the 19th>20th centuries— used in the sense ‘to turn informer or King’s (or Queen’s) evidence’. Likewise, *turn dog* in Aus. English was employed in the sense ‘to inform to the police’ (19th>20th centuries). See Mod. Pol. *piesek* ‘dim. dog’ which designates ‘an informer’.

brave as a barking dog (seen in the proverb *Barking dogs seldom bite*). On the other hand, Rawson (1989: 112) concludes that today the *cur* is a mongrel and the word is never intended as a compliment when applied to a human being.¹³ The account of this sense involves the highlighting of such conceptually central elements as (HUMAN), (EPICENE) and (YOUNG/ADULT) specified for the attributive paths of DOMAIN OF SPECIES [...], DOMAIN OF SEX [...] and DOMAIN OF AGE [...], attended by the actuation of the peripheral values (LOW)^(ILL-BRED), (SURLY)^(COWARDLY) and (CONTEMPTIBLE) presupposed for the attributive paths of the following CDs: DOMAIN OF ORIGIN AND SOCIAL STATUS [...], DOMAIN OF CHARACTER AND BEHAVIOUR [...] and DOMAIN OF ABUSE [...]. This sense-thread of *cur* emerges from the following OED quotations:

1590 Out dog, out *cur*, thou driu'st me past the bounds of maidens patience.



1870 That I may drive away These *curs*, brought hither by an evil fate.

Therefore, it emerges from our discussion of *cur* that at the beginning of the E.Mod.E. period (16th century>Mod.E.) the analysed lexical category started to function as a term related to the conceptual zones *ORIGIN/SOCIAL STATUS*, *BEHAVIOUR/CHARACTER* and *CONTEMPT/OPPROBRIUM*.

The lexical category *mongrel* is formed from the I.E. root *meng-/mang-/mong-* 'to mix' (cf. *meng/mong* 'to mingle' which corresponds to Pro.Ger. **man-gjan*, O.E. *mengan*, O.N. *menga*, Mod.Du. *mengen*, Mod.G. *mengen*, Mod.Sw. *mänga*), and the suffix *-rel*. In English, the word was first recorded at the close of the 15th century, in the sense 'the offspring of two different breeds of dog' (1486>1882). In Mod.E. *mongrel* designates primarily 'a dog of no definable breed, resulting from various crossings'.¹⁴ In terms of the mechanisms adopted here, the primary sense of *mongrel*—apart from the highlighting of such conceptually central elements as (CANINE), (EPICENE), (YOUNG/ADULT) presupposed for the attributive paths of DOMAIN OF SPECIES [...], DOMAIN OF SEX [...] and DOMAIN OF AGE [...] respectively—is explicable in terms of an entrenchment link to the attributive path of the conceptually peripheral DOMAIN OF ORIGIN [...] for which the value (OFFSPRING OF TWO DIFFERENT BREEDS OF DOG) gains prominence. The following OED quotations illustrate the historically primary sense-thread of *mongrel* (15th>19th centuries):

¹³ Consider the following example:

1594-95 Out, dog! Out, *cur*! Thou drivest me past the bound of maiden's patience (William Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*).

¹⁴ Notice that in the 17th>19th centuries, as the OED examples confirm, *mongrel* started to be employed in the sense 'an animal or plant resulting from the crossing of different breeds or kinds':

1677 *Canis..Lyciscus*, a *Mongrel*, engendered of a Wolf and a Bitch. > 1879 This crossing itself is differently named according to whether it takes place between different races or different species. In the first case it produces a *mongrel*, in the second a hybrid.

1486 A Grehownd, a Bastard, a *Mengrell*, a Mastyfe.

1573 Of mastiues and *mungrels*.



1882 ‘What kind of dogs did you see in your travels?’ ‘Two or three very fine breeds of *mongrels*’.

By the process of zoosemic extension, at the end of the 16th century *mongrel* started to be applied to people as a term of contempt or abuse (1585>1764). The account of the rise of this sense involves the activation of the conceptually central values (HUMAN), (EPICENE) and (YOUNG/ADULT) forming parts of the attributive paths of such **CDs** as **DOMAIN OF SPECIES [...]**, **DOMAIN OF SEX [...]** and **DOMAIN OF AGE [...]**, respectively, attended by the highlighting of the relevant location within the attributive path of **DOMAIN OF ABUSE [...]**, with the element (CONTEMPTIBLE) brought to the fore. This sense-thread of *mongrel* is attested by the following *OED* quotations (16th>18th centuries):

a1585 Gleyd gangrell, auld *mangrell* to the hangrell, and sa pyne.

1647 To the intent that this barking *mungrel* may not delude the ignorant with his pedling trash.

1764 Is that your manners, you *mongrel*?

It must be emphasised that in this case the working of the mechanism of zoosemy was so intense that already in the first half of the 16th century—in disparaging use—*mongrel* started to be used in the sense ‘the offspring of parents of different nationalities or of high and low birth’ (1542>1898). To account for this sense-thread of the word—apart from the link to the already specified **CDs** and attributive values—one may speak of the rise of an entrenchment relation to the attributive path of **DOMAIN OF ORIGIN AND SOCIAL STATUS [...]** for which the attributive value (OFFSPRING OF PARENTS OF DIFFERENT NATIONALITIES OR OF HIGH AND LOW BIRTH) is highlighted and **DOMAIN OF ABUSE [...]**, with the element (DISPARAGING) activated. The following *OED* quotations illustrate this sense-thread of *mongrel* (16th>19th centuries):

1542 By the waie of reuilyng or despite, lai yng to the charge of the same Antisthenes that he was a *moungreell*, and had to his father a citezen of Athenes, but to his mother a woman of a barbarous or saluage countree.



1708 He’s of a right Breed both by Father and Mother, no *Mungril*.

1870 Men..of every race, *mongrels* almost to a man.



1898 Neither do the Arab *mongrels*..bear any too good a reputation.

Moreover, from the middle of the 16th century —in transferred applications— *mongrel*¹⁵ was more or less contemptuously used to designate a person of mixed or undefined opinions or official position (1554>1713). Similarly to the previous two senses in the case of which the same conceptually central **CDs** are involved, the account of this sense-thread of *mongrel* necessitates positing entrenchment links to the relevant locations within the attributive paths of the conceptually peripheral **DOMAIN OF CHARACTER AND BEHAVIOUR [...]**, with the conceptual element (**ONE OF MIXED OR UNDEFINED OPINIONS**) actuated and **DOMAIN OF ABUSE [...]** for which the value (**CONTEMPTIBLE**) is prominent. The following *OED* examples from the E.Mod.E. period testify to this novel sense-thread of *mongrel* (16th>18th centuries):

1554 A weak brother seeth you, as *mungrrels* mingling yourselves with the Papists in their idolatry.



1713 *Mongrils* in faction, poor faint-hearted traitors!

Additionally, at the beginning of the 17th century, *mongrel* started to be employed ‘as an abusive epithet for a person’ (1605>1720).¹⁶ Interestingly, Rawson (1989: 254) points out that as a generalised epithet, *mongrel* was the functional equivalent of *bastard*. The explication of this sense involves the highlighting of the peripheral attributive value (**CONTEMPTIBLE**) presupposed for the attributive path of **DOMAIN OF ABUSE [...]**, as well as an entrenchment link to the three central **CDs** specified above. The following *OED* quotations illustrate this sense-thread of *mongrel*:

1605 A Knaue, a Rascall,..and the Sonne and Heire of a *Mungrill* Bitch.



1720 Perfidious *mongrel* slave!

Furthermore, at the beginning of the 17th century, *mongrel* in disparaging use started to designate ‘people of mixed race or nationality’ (1606>1879). Therefore, to account for this sense-thread of the word one must posit the existence of entrenchment nodes to the peripheral attributive paths of **DOMAIN OF ORIGIN AND SOCIAL STATUS [...]** for which the value (**ONE OF MIXED RACE OR NATIONALITY**) gains prominence, as well as **DOMAIN OF ABUSE [...]**, with the element (**DISPARAGING**) activated. This sense-thread of *mongrel* emerges from the following *OED* quotations (17th>19th centuries):

¹⁵ In the 17th>19th centuries *mongrel* also denoted ‘a cross’, e.g. 1613 Whose Religion was a *mongrell* of the Greekish, Egyptian, and their own. > 1864 Some cart, or dilapidated *mongrel* between cart and basket.

¹⁶ According to *DVT* and Partridge (2002: 748), in the 18th century *mongrel* developed the sense ‘a sponger; a hanger-on among cheats’ (1720>1890).

1606 Diuers *mongrell* Gaules no better than halfe Barbarians.



1879 Men..unsophisticated by the debilitating Hellenism of a mongrel population.

Finally, at the close of the 16th, chiefly in contemptuous use, *mongrel*¹⁷ started to be applied to persons, things and classes to express the idea of mixed origin, nature or character (1581>1884). This sense is accountable for in terms of an entrenchment link to the attributive paths of such conceptually central **CDs** as **DOMAIN OF SPECIES** [...], with the attributive value (**HUMAN**) brought to the fore, or, in the case of things, **DOMAIN OF INANIMATE ENTITIES** [...] for which the attributive value (**THING**) is highlighted, attended by the actuation of the elements (**EPICENE**) and (**YOUNG/ADULT**) presupposed for the attributive paths of **DOMAIN OF SEX** [...] and **DOMAIN OF AGE** [...] respectively. As far as the peripheral information involved in the construal of this sense-thread is concerned, one may speak of the activation of the elements (**ONE OF MIXED ORIGIN**) and (**CONTEMPTIBLE**) forming parts of the attributive paths of **DOMAIN OF ORIGIN** [...] and **DOMAIN OF ABUSE** [...]. The following *OED* data illustrate this sense-thread of *mongrel* (16th>19th centuries):

1581 Neither the admiration and commiseration, nor the right sportfulness, is by their *mongrell* Tragy-comedie obtained.

1645 He [the king] calls those, who have deserted their trust in Parliament,.. by the name of a base, mutinous, and *mongrell* Parliament.



1884 A subservient peerage, elastic principles, and a *mongrel* policy.

Thus, it emerges from our discussion of the semantics of *mongrel* that at the outset of the E.Mod.E. period the analysed lexical category started to function as a term related not only to the conceptual zone *ORIGIN/SOCIAL STATUS* (16th>19th centuries), but also to the conceptual spheres *BEHAVIOUR/CHARACTER* (16th>18th centuries) and *CONTEMPT/OPPROBRIUM* (16th>19th centuries).

As the *OED* and *ODEE* inform us, the lexical item *tyke* corresponds to ON. *tik* 'bitch', and is akin to Mod.Norw. *tik* 'vixen', Mod.Sw. dialectal *tik* and older Da. *tig*. This lexical category was first recorded in English at the beginning of the 15th century and was employed in the sense 'a low-bred or coarse dog, a cur/mongrel' (1400>1861). In terms of the mechanisms adopted here, the primary sense of *tyke*, apart from the foregrounding of such conceptually central elements as (**CANINE**) (**EPICENE**), (**ADULT**) presupposed for the attributive paths

¹⁷ In the 17th century it was first 'applied to a word formed of elements from different languages, or to a dialect made up of different languages' (17th>19th centuries), e.g. **1610** A *mongrell* name halfe Saxon and halfe Latin. > **1871** If they spoke their own language, it bewrayed them by its *mongrel* dialect.

of DOMAIN OF SPECIES [...], DOMAIN OF SEX [...] and DOMAIN OF AGE [...] respectively, is accountable for in terms of an entrenchment link to the attributive path of the conceptually peripheral DOMAIN OF ORIGIN [...] for which the attributive value (LOW-BRED) gains prominence, attended by DOMAIN OF BEHAVIOUR [...] with the attributive element (COARSE) activated and DOMAIN OF ABUSE [...] for which the attributive value (CONTEMPTIBLE) is brought to the fore. The following *OED* quotations testify to this sense-thread of *tyke*:

c1400 Says Charls: ‘Þou false hethyn hownde,..aythire of thies dayes Ilyke Hase þou stolen a waye lyke a *tyke*’.



1861 Toby was the most utterly shabby, vulgar, mean-looking cur I ever beheld — in one word, a *tyke*.

Likewise, at the beginning of the 15th century —by the process of animal metaphorisation— the word started to be employed in the sense ‘a low-bred, lazy, mean, surly or ill-mannered fellow’¹⁸ (15th century>Mod.E.).¹⁹ In Mod.E. *tyke* is also used in playful reproof with reference to a child, especially a small boy (U.S.).²⁰ The account of this sense involves the highlighting of the conceptually central values (HUMAN), (EPICENE), (ADULT/YOUNG) forming parts of the attributive paths of such **CDs** as DOMAIN OF SPECIES [...], DOMAIN OF SEX [...] and DOMAIN OF AGE [...], respectively, attended by the activation of the relevant locations within the attributive paths of DOMAIN OF CHARACTER AND BEHAVIOUR [...] with the conceptual elements (LAZY)^(MEAN)^(SURLY)^(ILL-MANNERED) foregrounded, coupled with the actuation of the attributive value (LOW-BRED) presupposed for the attributive path of DOMAIN OF ORIGIN AND SOCIAL STATUS [...], as well as the highlighting of the attributive element (SMALL) specifiable for the attributive path of DOMAIN OF PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS AND APPEARANCE [...]. These sense-threads of *tyke* emerge from the following *OED* quotations:

?a1400 Hewe downe hertly þone heythene *tykes*!

a1500 Lyther *tyke*,...thy deedes are done.

1599 Base *Tyke*, cal’st thou mee Hoste?

1681 Yet many utterly mislikes, That butcher Presbyterian *tykes* Should flee upon their throats and faces.



1825 *Tike* or *Tyke*, a person of bad character, a blunt or vulgar fellow.

¹⁸ Wright (1898-1905: 145) argues that in the 19th century *tyke* was used as a term of reproach in the sense ‘a rough, ill-mannered, churlish fellow’ but also ‘an overgrown man or beast; an awkward, clumsy fellow; an odd, queer person’.

¹⁹ According to Partridge (2002: 1233), in the 19th century *tiker/tyker* was used in the sense ‘a man who takes charge of dogs’.

²⁰ See Wright (1898-1905: 145).

1942 If you think the present Gestapo is brutal, just wait until these little *tykes*..grow up and become the rulers of Victorious Germany.

The process of zoosemic extension continued and at the beginning of the 18th century the word *tyke* became a nickname for a Yorkshireman²¹ (1700>1901). According to the *OED*, originally this sense of the lexical item was opprobrious, but now it is accepted and owned (see the quotation below). One may speculate that it may have arisen from the fact that in Yorkshire *tyke* is in common use for *dog*. In order to account for the semantics of this sense-thread, apart from the well-pronounced link to the already specified peripheral **CDs** and attributive values, one can speak of the rise of an entrenchment relation to the attributive path of **DOMAIN OF ORIGIN AND SOCIAL STATUS [...]** for which the attributive value (**YORKSHIREMAN**) is brought to the fore and **DOMAIN OF ABUSE/ COMPLIMENTS [...]** with the attributive element (**OPPROBRIOUS**)/(**COMPLIMENTARY**) clearly activated. The following selected *OED* quotations illustrate this sense-thread of *tyke*:

a1700 *Yorkshire-Tike*, a Yorkshire manner of Man.



1901 By common consent, whatever its origin may have been, '*tyke*', applied to a Yorkshireman, is taken in the complimentary sense.

As the *OED* informs us, since the first half of the 20th century the word has come to designate 'a Roman Catholic' in Aus. and N.Z. slang (1941>1981). The explication of this dialectal sense-thread involves the process of foregrounding of the conceptually peripheral attributive value (**ROMAN CATHOLIC**) presupposed for the attributive path of **DOMAIN OF PROFESSIONS/SOCIAL FUNCTIONS [...]** coupled with the activation of the conceptual element (**OPPROBRIOUS**) specifiable for the attributive path of **DOMAIN OF ABUSE [...]**, as well as an entrenchment link to the three conceptually central **CDs** mentioned above. This sense-thread of *tyke* emerges from the following *OED* data:

1941 *Tike, tyke*, a Roman Catholic.



1981 Once it fell to me to..explain to a pair of Jehovah's Witnesses that we were all good Catholics in this house... 'At least the *tikes* have got some style... Shall I nail a crucifix on the door?'

Therefore, as our discussion of *tyke* shows, starting with the beginning of the E.Mod.E. period the analysed lexical category began to function as a term embodying not only the conceptual dimension *ORIGIN/SOCIAL STATUS*, but also the

²¹ According to Wright (1898-1905: 145), in the 19th century *tyke* was a sobriquet applied to a Yorkshireman.

conceptual spheres *BEHAVIOUR/CHARACTER, APPEARANCE/PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS* and *PROFESSIONS/SOCIAL FUNCTIONS*.

The analysed material clearly shows that by the process of zoosemic extension animal names undergo the process of metaphorisation via the conceptual dimension *ORIGIN/SOCIAL STATUS* and give rise to shifts in meaning targeted at the various locations of the conceptual category **HUMAN BEING**.

Having interpreted such metaphorical contexts as *S/he is perceived as a jade*, *S/he is perceived as a cur*, *S/he is perceived as a mongrel* and *S/he is perceived as a tyke* in terms of the mechanisms of the **GREAT CHAIN OF BEING** (henceforth: **GCB**), analysed in detail by Kiełtyka (2008), we may postulate a number of observations. Evidently, the human character traits of being (**SHREWISH**), (**CONTEMPTIBLE**), (**OF LOW ORDERS**), (**SURLY**), (**COWARDLY**), etc. are metaphorically mapped onto the conventional schema for the jade, cur, mongrel and tyke to create our commonplace schema of the targeted animals. In other words, the contexts:

S/he is perceived as a jade,
S/he is perceived as a cur,
S/he is perceived as a mongrel
 and *S/he is perceived as a tyke* convey the following meanings:

'She is a shrewish and contemptible woman'/ 'He is a worthless and contemptible man' (*jade*),
 'S/he is a low, ill-bred, surly, cowardly and contemptible person' (*cur*),
 'S/he is the offspring of parents of different nationalities, or of high and low birth' (*mongrel*)
 and 'S/he is perceived as a low-bred, mean, surly, ill-mannered person' (*tyke*), respectively.

What is really metaphorical about the contexts in question is that the steadfastness of a person's (**SHREWISHNESS**), (**CONTEMPTIBILITY**), etc. is understood in terms of the rigidity of the jade, cur and mongrel's animal instinct. It needs stressing that animals referred to as jades are thought of as (**OLD**), (**BONY**), (**WORN-OUT**), (**ILL-CONDITIONED**), (**WORTHLESS**), (**INFERIOR**) and, in general, (**CONTEMPTIBLE**), curs are regarded as (**WORTHLESS**), (**LOW-BRED**) or (**SNAPPISH**) dogs, mongrels are viewed as dogs (**OF NO DEFINABLE BREED**) while tykes are (**LOW-BRED**) and (**COARSE**) dogs. These elements are thought of as the quintessential properties metaphorically applied to their respective animals by humans.

In the **CMT** framework adopted here, metaphors are analysed as stable and systematic relationships between two conceptual domains (see Grady, Oakley and Coulson (1999)). Therefore, in the metaphorical contexts *S/he is perceived as a jade*, *S/he is perceived as a cur*, *S/he is perceived as a mongrel* and *S/he is perceived as a tyke* the conceptual structures from the source domain of equine and canine physical attributes are used to encode human physical attributes in the

target domain. In other words, particular elements of the source and target domains, e.g. equine and canine qualities of being an (OLD), (BONY), (WORN-OUT), (ILL-CONDITIONED), (WORTHLESS), (INFERIOR) horse and (WORTHLESS), (LOW-BRED), (SNAPPISH), (OF NO DEFINABLE BREED) or (COARSE) dog, and human qualities of being (SHREWISH), (CONTEMPTIBLE), (OF LOW ORDERS), (SURLY), (COWARDLY), (OF LOW SOCIAL STATUS), (ILL-MANNERED), etc. are highlighted through the rise of the relevant conceptual metaphor: a mapping which indicates how elements in the two domains line up with each other. Notice that in this metaphor, equine and canine physical structures have been put into correspondence with human physical structures. Because the mapping is principled, such human attributive values as (LOW SOCIAL STATUS), (SHREWSHNESS), (ILL-MANNEREDNESS) and (CONTEMPTIBILITY) are associated with such equine and canine attributive elements as (LOW ORIGIN), (POOR APPEARANCE), (WORTHLESSNESS) and (INFERIORITY).

3. IN SEARCH OF PARALLELS IN THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH

Understandably, many other animal species primarily related to the conceptual category **DOMESTICATED ANIMALS** are also subject to zoosemic extension. Specifically, Mod.E. the lexical categories linked to the **EQUIDAE** and **SUIDAE** families that have undergone some form of metaphorical development embodying the conceptual dimension *ORIGIN/SOCIAL STATUS* are as follows: *cayuse*, *thoroughbred*, *cocktail* and *pork*.

As evidenced by *WTNIDU*, *cayuse* originally designating ‘a Waiilatpuan people of Washington and Oregon; a member of such people’ (18th>21st centuries), is said to have been borrowed from the language of the Chinook Indians of Oregon and secondarily applied to ‘a native range horse’ or —as conjectured by the *OED*— ‘a common Indian pony’ (1841>1962). All major etymological sources (see, for example, *ODEE*, *EDME*) agree that the Germanic *thoroughbred* is formed from the adjective *thorough* (O.E. *þuruh*) and the past participle of the verb *breed* (O.E. *brédan/bróedan*, Mod.G. *brüten*, corresponding to Pro. Ger. **brôdjan* ‘warmth, fostering heat, hatching, brood’). In its primary historical sense *thoroughbred* started —in the 18th century— to designate ‘a thoroughly educated or accomplished person’²² (1701>1882), and later it was employed in the evaluatively positive sense ‘a well-born, well-bred, or thoroughly trained person’ (1864>1894).²³ It was at the end of the 18th century that *thoroughbred*

²² The following *OED* evidence testifies to this sense-thread of *thoroughbred*:

1701 A *through-bred* Soldier weighs all present Circumstances, and all possible Contingents. > **1882** He never handled a gun like a *thoroughbred* sportsman.

²³ Consider the following *OED* quotations:

1864 It is hardly possible for a man brought up amidst European..associations to realize the idea conceived of him..by a *thorough-bred* Hindoo. > **1894** There is rather a paucity of *thoroughbreds* among the Methodists.

was first used in the secondary sense 'a horse of pure breed or stock' (1796>21st century).²⁴

According to the *OED* and *ODEE*, the lexical category *cocktail*, being of Germanic origin, is composed of *cock* (cf. O.E. *coccl/coc/kok*) and *tail* (cf. O.E. *tæcel/tæcl*, Mod.Sw. *tagel*, Mod.G. *Zagel/Zael* 'tail'). In the 19th century the word was used in the sense 'a horse of racing stamp and qualities, but not a thoroughbred' (1808>1875) and —by metaphorical extension— it developed the sense 'a person assuming the position of a gentleman, but deficient in thorough gentlemanly breeding' (1854>1887).²⁵ Moreover, Partridge (2002: 234) argues that in the 19th>early 20th centuries *cocktail* was used in a highly opprobrious sense 'a harlot', from about 1855>20th century — 'a person of energy and promptness but not a thoroughbred' and, finally, from about 1860>20th century it was employed in the sense 'a coward'. The Romance *pork* (see Mod.Fr. *porc*, Mod.It. *porco*, Mod.Sp. *puerco* and —ultimately— L. *porc-us* 'swine, hog'), entered the English lexicon in the 15th century, meaning 'a swine, a hog, a pig' (1400>1887). In the 17th century —by the process of zoosemic extension— *pork* was applied opprobriously to 'an uncultured person' (17th>20th centuries).²⁶

4. TOWARDS PARALLELS IN OTHER LANGUAGES: POLISH, CHINESE, ITALIAN, FRENCH, HUNGARIAN, RUSSLAN, SLOVAK AND SPANISH

In Mod.Pol. a number of metaphorical developments related to the conceptual zone *ORIGIN/SOCIAL STATUS* can easily be singled out. And so, *kundel* 'a mongrel' is currently used in the extended sense 'a contemptible human being'. Similarly, the word *burek*, in its primary sense being a derogative designation for a mongrel dog is —by the process of zoosemy— metaphorically used in the

Palmatier (1995:385) points out that *a sign of good breeding* is an indication of 'class' in either a thoroughbred horse or a thoroughbred person (see also *BDPF*). On the other hand, according to the *OED*, in the 20th century *thoroughbred* acquired the sense 'a first-rate motorcar, bicycle, or other vehicle' which emerges from the following example:

1908 This machine [bicycle] and all the thorough-breds..are now..treated before enamelling to the special Coslett non-rusting process, which preserves the metal from all corrosion.

²⁴ As argued by Palmatier (1995:385), technically, a *thoroughbred* is a horse whose lineage goes back to an English mare and an Arabian stallion; but in America a *thoroughbred* is determined not so much by foreign ancestry as by descent from at least one racehorse with a great *track record*.

²⁵ This sense-thread emerges from the following *OED* quotations:

1854 Such a selfish, insolent coxcomb as that, such a *cocktail*. > **1887** His *cocktails* who blunder into liaisons with barmaids.

²⁶ This sense-thread is testified by the following *OED* example:

1645 I mean not to dispute Philosophy with this *Pork*, who never read any.

Partridge (2002:912) observes that from the 18th>early 20th centuries *pork* was used metaphorically in the sense 'women as food for men's lust' and the context *cry pork* meant 'to act as an undertaker's tout' (18th>mid-19th centuries). Moreover, the context *pork and beans* 'a tinned food frequent in the army' was from / has been since 1916 applied by New Zealanders to Portuguese soldiers.

sense 'a farmer as a representative of a lower class'. The lexical category *kobyła* 'an old mare of low origin' is a metaphorical designation for 'a contemptible female'. In a similar way, *świnia* 'a pig' which represents the animal thought of as both low and dirty is used secondarily with reference to a person having no manners, e.g. *jeść jak świnia* 'eat like a pig'. Likewise, *świnka* 'dim. a piglet' is used in the morally evaluative sense 'an obscene person'.²⁷

As pointed out by Hsieh (2000: 88-89), in Mod.Chinese the dog is associated primarily with inferiority and low social status. The Mod.Chinese word *gou* 狗, whose primary sense is 'dog' may be secondarily employed in the extended sense 'a bondsman, serf'. In terms of the mechanisms adopted in this work, the secondary sense-thread of this lexical category can be understood in terms of an entrenchment relation to the attributive path of the **DOMAIN OF ORIGIN/SOCIAL FUNCTION [...]** for which the element (LOW) is highlighted. Likewise, the Mod.Chinese *ji* 雞 'a chicken, hen' connotes inferiority and low social status. Secondarily, the word may be used in the sense 'a low, unimportant person' and 'an unimportant thing/mere nothing'.

One might also mention some occupations or human behaviours embodying the conceptual dimension *PROFESSION/SOCIAL FUNCTION* which are commonly viewed as socially contemptible and despised and are thus related to the conceptual zone *ORIGIN/SOCIAL STATUS*. In this connection let us consider animal names from many languages which are secondarily employed in the sense 'a prostitute' or 'a thief': Spanish²⁸ *araña* 'a spider; a whore', *lagarta* 'a female lizard; a whore, tart', *penco* 'a hack, nag; a whore' (Canary Islands), *perra* 'a bitch; a whore', *zángana* 'a drone; a whore' (Nicaragua), *zorra* 'a vixen; whore', Polish²⁹ *flądra* 'a flounder; whore', *piesek* 'dim. a dog; an informer', *kobyła* 'a hack; an experienced prostitute', *pszczółka* 'dim. a bee; a courtesan', *orzeł* 'an eagle' in thieves' slang currently applied in the sense 'an experienced thief'; *ptak* 'a bird' — secondarily 'a criminal'; *kanar* 'aug. a canary' and metaphorically 'a ticket inspector'; *bocian* 'a stork' and also 'a slow player'; *jeleń* 'a deer' and secondarily 'an inexperienced player'; *papuga* 'a parrot' and secondarily, informally 'a lawyer'; *pająk*³⁰ 'a spider' metaphorically 'a policeman with a radar'; *biedronka* 'lady-bird', *ćma* 'a moth', *kuna* 'a marten', *mewka* 'a (little) sea-gull' are all terms used in the sense 'a prostitute'; *jeleń* 'a deer' in its extended sense functions as 'a prostitute's client'; Mod.Russ. *заяц* 'a hare' > 'a passenger without a valid ticket: a stowaway/a fare

²⁷ Interestingly, *dachowiec* 'not a purebred cat' corresponding to Mod.E. *tiler*, originally, 'one that covers roofs with tiles', and metaphorically 'not a purebred cat that frequents the tiles of roofs' developed no metaphorical extension.

²⁸ See Chamizo Domínguez and Zawislawska (2006: 163).

²⁹ See Zimnowoda (2003: 106).

³⁰ In contrast, Mod.Russ. *паук* 'a spider' is used in the sense 'a greedy person'.

dodger'³¹, бабочка 'a butterfly' > 'a prostitute' and Mod.Slovak³² *straka* 'a magpie' > 'a thief', Hungarian *szarka* 'a magpie' > 'a thief', *éjszakai pillangó* 'a night butterfly' > 'a whore'.

As shown by Baider and Gesuato (2003), Mod.Fr. and Mod.It. employ a number of words from the conceptual category DOMESTICATED ANIMALS which enter the metaphorical path embodying both the conceptual dimension *PROFESSION/SOCIAL FUNCTION* and the conceptual zone *ORIGIN/SOCIAL STATUS*. Specifically, the following animal terms have acquired the secondary sense 'a prostitute' in Mod.Fr.³³ *vache* 'a cow'; *poule* 'a hen', being a constituent part of *poule de luxe*; *pouliche* 'a filly'; *canasson* 'an old horse'; *carne* or *charogne* 'a carcass; a bad horse'. In Mod.It. prostitutes are referred to as *scozzonata* 'a tamed, trained horse; *cicca* (regional) 'a hen'; *giumenta* 'a mare'; *vacca* 'a cow'; *frisona* 'a cow'; *troia* (regional) 'a sow'; *troione* 'aug. sow'; *pecora* 'a sheep'; *cagna* 'a bitch'; *gatta* 'a cat'; *zoccola* 'a female sewer rat'; *pantegana* 'a big female rat'; *gabbiana* 'a female sea gull'.

As far as the names of wild animals are concerned, in both French and Italian one finds a substantial number of zoosemic terms which entered the metaphorical path embodying the conceptual zones *PROFESSION/SOCIAL FUNCTION* and *ORIGIN/SOCIAL STATUS*. For example, the following lexical categories are employed in the sense 'a prostitute' in Mod.Fr.: *grue* 'a crane'; *guenon* 'a monkey', while *luciola* 'a firefly'; *farfalla* 'a butterfly' and *lupa* 'a vixen' are Mod.It. zoosems used to designate women of dubious morals.

5. CONCLUDING REMARKS

One of the emerging observations is that the semantics of the zoosems analysed in this article seems to have a prototypical nature in that new sense-threads are to a varying extent continuations of older ones. Simultaneously, the process of semantic change is non-linear and allows for more than one new sense development at a time. This may be visualised by means of the diagram below (based on the methodological apparatus proposed by Geeraerts (1983)), which shows the mutual correlations of the panchronically sketched senses of *mongrel*. Thus, according to the *OED* the lexeme has the following main senses:

³¹ In this paper Russian examples are, unless otherwise indicated, quoted from Ожерев and Шведова (1998) (*ТСПЯ*), Hungarian data are taken from Kleparski (2002) and *English-Hungarian Online Dictionary* and, the source of Spanish examples is *English-Spanish Online Dictionary (ESOD)*, while Polish data are quoted from *Słownik języka polskiego PWN (SJP)* and *Słownik języka polskiego PAN (SJPP)*.

³² All Slovak data are taken from *Online English Slovak Dictionary* available at www.learnslovak.com/english-slovak-dictionary.html

³³ Additionally, Mod.Fr. *poulet* 'chicken' in metaphorical use is employed in the sense 'police/a police officer' and *poulain* 'young horse' is secondarily used in the extended sense 'a disciple/a pupil of a guru'.

- (1) 'the offspring of two different breeds of dog' (15th>19th centuries)
- (2) 'applied to persons as a term of contempt or abuse' (16th>18th centuries)
- (3) 'the offspring of parents of different nationalities' (16th>19th centuries)
- (4) 'a person of mixed or undefined opinions' (16th>18th centuries)
- (5) 'an abusive epithet for a person' (17th>18th centuries)
- (6) 'a person of mixed race or nationality' (17th>19th centuries)
- (7) 'an animal or plant resulting from the crossing of different breeds' (17th>19th centuries)

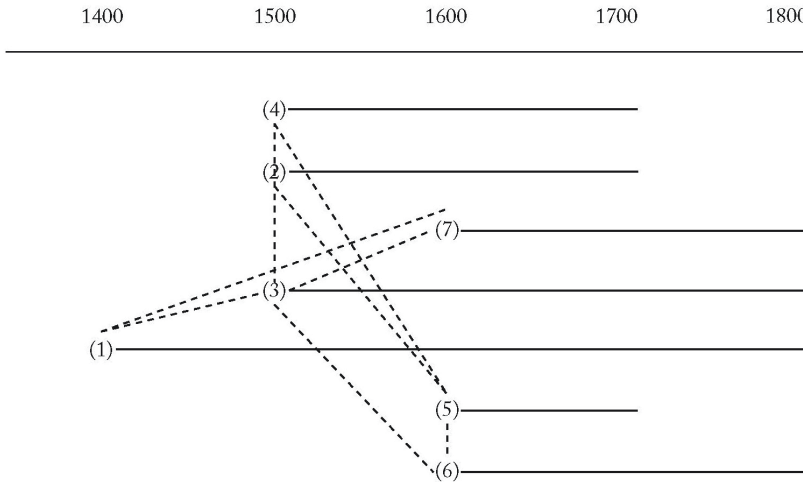


Figure 1. A prototypical structure of *mongrel*.

As can be noticed, all the sense-threads involved seem to be mutually inter-related and explicable in terms of the process of semantic extension. According to, among others, Łozowski (2000: 102), semantic changes take place by modification of some characteristics of the old sense in the new one. Specifically, many extended senses are said to form peripheries surrounded by new senses. Thus, the mechanism of semantic change is not to be regarded as a linear progression of senses, where a new meaning may arise only when the old one ceases to exist, but, quite the opposite, the process displays characteristics of a prototypical structure with blurred edges of internally dynamic categories.

What is more, in the framework adopted here not only particular lexical categories are believed to display a prototypical nature, but also sets of conceptually interrelated lexemes forming conceptual categories are said to form radial structures, which resemble the structure of a prototype. Thus, the *zoo-*sems analysed in this section may be argued to form the following radial structure:

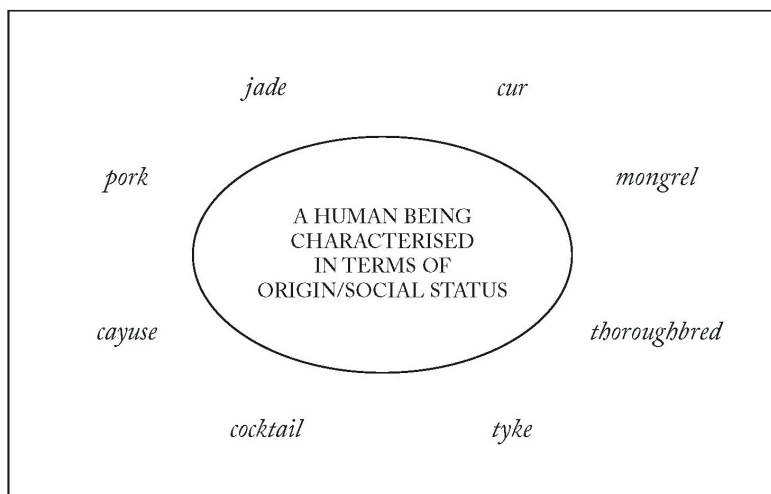


Figure 2. A radial structure illustrating the relationship between the conceptual categories HUMAN BEING/DOMESTICATED ANIMAL and the conceptual dimension ORIGIN/SOCIAL STATUS.

Let us stress again that certain aspects of instinctive animal behaviour, their origin or physical characteristics are highlighted and mapped on the category HUMAN BEING giving rise to a number of zoosems in the case of which the relation to the conceptual dimension *ORIGIN/SOCIAL STATUS* is said to trigger semantic change.

From the analysis of the linguistic material carried out in this paper a number of other preliminary conclusions can be derived. First, the process whereby the names of domesticated animals start to designate origin/social status is not only typical for English but may be said to be equally productive in other languages such as, for example, Polish, where *kundel* ‘mongrel’ is used in the extended sense ‘a contemptible human being’; *burek*, in its primary sense being a derogative designation for a mongrel dog, is —by the process of zoosemy— metaphorically used in the sense ‘a farmer as a representative of a lower class’; *kobyta* ‘an old mare of low origin’ and metaphorically ‘a contemptible female’; or Mod. Chinese, where, for example, *gou* 狗 ‘dog’ may be secondarily employed in the extended sense ‘a bondsman, serf’. Thus, it should be stressed that the secondary sense-threads of the lexical categories mentioned here may be understood in terms of an entrenchment relation to the attributive path of the **DOMAIN OF ORIGIN/SOCIAL FUNCTION** [...] for which the element (LOW) is brought to the fore.

Secondly, the analysis of the English data shows that —interestingly— it is the families EQUIDAE and CANIDAE, and not FELIDAE, that are the most frequently employed source of terms embodying the conceptual dimension *ORIGIN/SOCIAL STATUS*. The number of analysed animal terms (*jade*, *cur*, *mongrel*, *tyke*,

thoroughbred, cocktail, cayuse, pork) that in the history of English have undergone zoosemic shift initiated by the conceptual dimension in question is considerably smaller than in the case of the conceptual dimension *PROFESSION/SOCIAL FUNCTION*. However, one feels justified in claiming that although the mechanism of zoosemy involving the conceptual dimension *ORIGIN/SOCIAL STATUS* is not so common, one may certainly speak about a certain degree of productivity of the said conceptual dimension in the process of animal metaphor.

Thirdly, as mentioned earlier, the process of metaphorisation discernible in the analysis of the data in the present paper is bi-directional; that is, both the shift *ANIMAL > HUMAN* and *HUMAN > ANIMAL* are potentially involved. Bearing in mind the fact that the structure of the **GCB** is characterised by bi-directionality, which involves upward and downward mapping of attributes, it needs to be emphasised that zoosems related to the conceptual dimension *ORIGIN/SOCIAL FUNCTION* might potentially represent two metaphors coherent with the structure of the **GCB**, that is *<A HUMAN BEING IS AN ANIMAL>* and *<AN ANIMAL IS A HUMAN BEING >*. However, it is only the latter metaphor; the process which involves the shift in the directionality of mapping from a lower to a higher level on the **GCB**, that becomes involved here. The zoosemic extension embodying the conceptual dimension *ORIGIN/SOCIAL FUNCTION* comprises the following cases:

JADE: *<A LOW OR SHREWISH WOMAN IS PERCEIVED AS A JADE> (16th>19th centuries)*

<A FLIRTATIOUS GIRL LIKE HUSSY OR MINX IS PERCEIVED AS A JADE> (16th>19th centuries)

<A CONTEMPTIBLE, WORTHLESS MAN IS PERCEIVED AS A JADE> (16th>17th centuries)

CUR: *<A LOW, ILL-BRED, SURLY, COWARDLY AND CONTEMPTIBLE HUMAN BEING IS PERCEIVED AS A CUR> (16th>19th centuries)*

MONGREL: *<OFFSPRING OF PARENTS OF DIFFERENT NATIONALITIES OR OF HIGH AND LOW BIRTH IS PERCEIVED AS A MONGREL> (16th>19th centuries)*

<ONE OF MIXED OR UNDEFINED OPINIONS IS PERCEIVED AS A MONGREL> (16th>18th centuries)

<ONE OF MIXED RACE OR NATIONALITY IS PERCEIVED AS A MONGREL> (17th>19th centuries)

<A PERSON OF MIXED ORIGIN IS PERCEIVED AS A MONGREL> (16th>19th centuries)

<A CONTEMPTIBLE THING OR PERSON IS PERCEIVED AS A MONGREL> (16th>19th centuries)

- TYKE:** <A LOW-BRED, LAZY, MEAN, SURLY AND ILL-MANNERED PERSON IS PERCEIVED AS A TYKE> (15th century>Mod.E.)
 <A ROMAN CATHOLIC IS PERCEIVED AS A TYKE> (20th century)
 <A YORKSHIREMAN IS PERCEIVED AS A TYKE> (18th>20th centuries)

Additionally, it must be pointed out that the list of metaphors illustrated above includes both simple (uni-thread) cases, e.g. <A LOW, ILL-BRED, SURLY, COWARDLY AND CONTEMPTIBLE HUMAN BEING IS PERCEIVED AS A CUR> and complex (multi-thread) examples, e.g. <A LOW OR SHREWISH WOMAN IS PERCEIVED AS A JADE>, <A FLIRTATIOUS GIRL LIKE HUSSY OR MINX IS PERCEIVED AS A JADE>, <A CONTEMPTIBLE, WORTHLESS MAN IS PERCEIVED AS A JADE>. As argued in Kieftyka (2008), a large number of multi-thread metaphors points clearly to the fact that the mechanism of zoosemy is by no means internally uniform, but rather gradual and multidirectional, based on our knowledge, experience and perception of the world. Semantic change is, therefore, as is frequently emphasised in the literature on the subject, a mechanism which is deeply rooted in experience and based on graduality and developmental processes.

Finally, it needs to be stressed that some of the metaphors analysed in this article are evaluative in character; that is, either pejorative or ameliorative, e.g. <A LOW, ILL-BRED, SURLY, COWARDLY AND CONTEMPTIBLE HUMAN BEING IS PERCEIVED AS A CUR>, others like, for example, <A FLIRTATIOUS GIRL IS PERCEIVED AS A JADE> are to be regarded as positive, or at least neutral; that is, devoid of evaluatively negative load, still others —however rare— like, for example, <A YORKSHIREMAN IS PERCEIVED AS A TYKE> may even be classified as (mildly) complimentary.

Last but not least, it must be noted that not all of the metaphorical extensions analysed in this paper are related exclusively to the conceptual dimension *ORIGIN/SOCIAL STATUS*. On the contrary, some of the metaphors subject to our analysis are also linked to other conceptual spheres, e.g. the conceptual zone *BEHAVIOUR/CHARACTER* (<A LOW-BRED, LAZY, MEAN, SURLY AND ILL-MANNERED PERSON IS PERCEIVED AS A TYKE>, <ONE OF MIXED OR UNDEFINED OPINIONS IS PERCEIVED AS A MONGREL>, <A FLIRTATIOUS GIRL LIKE HUSSY OR MINX IS PERCEIVED AS A JADE>), *CONTEMPT/OPPROBRIUM* (<A LOW OR SHREWISH WOMAN IS PERCEIVED AS A JADE>). Clearly, this points to the fact that meaning construal may be said to be based on cross-domain mappings involving several different conceptual dimensions.

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