

**LEGE ARTIS**

Language yesterday, today, tomorrow

Vol. IX. No 1 2024

**COGNITIVE CONTRAST OF POLISH AND ENGLISH PROVERBS  
WITH DOG COMPONENT****Bożena Kochman-Haładyj** *Institute of Modern Languages, University of Rzeszów, Rzeszów, Poland***Received:** 16.12.2023 **Reviewed:** 11.02.2024 and 29.02.2024**Similarity Index:** 0%**Bibliographic description:** Kochman-Haładyj, B. (2024). A cognitive contrast of Polish and English proverbs with dog components. In *Lege artis. Language yesterday, today, tomorrow*. Trnava: University of SS Cyril and Methodius in Trnava, IX (1), p. 35-66. ISSN 2453-8035 DOI: <https://doi.org/10.34135/lartis.24.9.1.03>**Abstract:** The article deals with the application of dog metaphorical concepts embodied in the proverbs of Polish and English linguo-cultures. By conducting a cross-cultural cognitive investigation of the main meaning encoded in the selected proverbs the aim of the study is directed at examining the universality of proverbs' content and the socio-cultural influences upon the use of dogs in proverbial items. Furthermore, there are shown some mechanisms affecting the conceptualization of human behaviour perceived in terms of animal behavior.**Keywords:** dog metaphors, paremiology, Polish and English paremias, universality, culture-specificity, cognitive view, metonymy, metaphonymy, contrastive analysis**1. Introduction**

Proverbs played a significant and prestigious role in the ancient world and are still treated as culturally salient linguo-cultural artifacts to our days (Cohen 1911; Mieder 2004). On the grounds of the taxonomy of proverbs researched by, e.g., Permyakov (1970) or Kuusi (1972; 1985), it is revealed that virtually every aspect of human existence is expressed in this major genre of sapiential writings. As "wisdom literature" (Kramer 1951) proverbs provide competent reviews on all the issues related to the experience of human beings.

One of the themes differentiated in the classifications of international proverb index touches the aspect of animal imagery used to describe human species. As one can read in Mieder (2020: 185), the category of animal-related proverbs has been an intensive subject of research for paremiologists and



phraseologists for almost a century. Likewise, researchers dealing specifically with linguo-cultural and folkloric studies have analysed proverbs based on animals for quite a long time. Importantly and interestingly, as evidenced by various studies of, e.g., Gordon (1958a; 1958b) and Goossens (1973), it is concluded that "the semantic field of animals must be the most productive one in proverbial metaphors" (Krikmann 2001: 11).

Despite a fairly long tradition of scholarly research on proverbs pertaining to animals, in English the first large collections began to emerge at the beginning of the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The largest known English-language database of animal-centred proverbs and quotes from around the world is Lyazidi (2012). Smaller reference books abounding in British and American paremias with the animal component are the following: Barnette (2003); Hendrickson (1983); Lamb (1985); Lyman (1983, 1994); Macrone (1995); Mieder (1993); Palmatier (1995); Steuck (1997).<sup>1</sup> Moreover, in the collections which offer a substantial number of Anglo-American proverbs, both traditional as well as modern ones, (e.g., Doyle et al. 2012; Mieder et al. 1992; Speake 2015) one can also find numerous proverbial units dealing specifically with such animals as, e.g., cat, dog, chicken, donkey, horse, rabbit, wolf. The Polish paremiographical compilations which offer a list of proverbs with reference to animal categories are, e.g., the following: Kłosińska (2004); Kłosińska et al. (2005); Krzyżanowski (1969–1978); Lipiński (1997); Masłowska & Masłowski (2005); Masłowska & Masłowski (2008). Notwithstanding, what is discernible in the Polish paremiological literature on the subject is the observation that one cannot find extensive book-length research publications specifically on animal metaphors encoded in proverbs of the Polish language, at least to the best of the author's knowledge.

Due to the fact that the present article is directed to the animal metaphors embedded in paremias of two selected linguo-cultures, it is necessary to mention secondary literature offering comparative studies. Mieder (2020: 185) provides an impressive list of publications from the past few decades where animal proverbs of two languages and cultures are analysed. From the list one can learn about comparative studies in such languages as, e.g., English-Chinese (Liu 2013), English-Kazakh (Mazhitaeva & Omasheva 2013), Persian-English (Rashidi & Ghaedi 2013), English-Bulgarian (Holandi 2011), German-Polish (Stypa 2014), German-Polish (Biadún-Grabarek 2012), to mention but a few. Nonetheless, it is noteworthy to underscore that the scholar's list of references lacks any comparative works specifically on Polish and English proverbs about human nature couched in animal imagery. Having found out about this and conducting own research in the discussed area the author of the study in question encountered only books and articles referring to cross-cultural animal concepts embodied in phraseological units in general, such as, e.g., Błajet & Błajet (2017)<sup>2</sup>; Paszenda (1998)<sup>3</sup>; Szerszunowicz (2011)<sup>4</sup>.

In view of the shortage of the cross-cultural studies specifically on animals encoded in the languages subject to analysis, but also taking into account Krikmann's (2001: 11) observation from the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century testifying to the fact that "the number of publications on animal proverbs and zoo-metaphors in proverbs is undeservedly small", the intention of the present analysis is to fill, at the very least partially, the discussed research gap. Simply put, the overall aim is to direct attention to animal metaphors, more accurately dog metaphors, embodied in Polish and English paremiographical stocks and examine them from the contrastive standpoint. The dictionaries on the basis of which it is possible to conduct comparative studies on proverbs from the selected languages and referring to various subjects – including dog's theme – are, among others, Lipiński (1997), Paczolay (2015), Pająk (2007), Radziejewski (1998), Strauss (1994), Świerczyńska (2019).

The final but important introductory note is that the theoretical basis of the analysis lies within Cognitive Semantics, which puts emphasis on universalist theories of proverb comprehension, and ethnolinguistics – also named cultural linguistics or linguoculturology – which realises the research programme directed to the description of the relation between language and history as well as social life of a given nation, in particular the correlation between language and culture. Such a conceptual foundation was dictated by the author's premeditation to exhibit in what areas dog-related proverbs from two distinct linguo-cultures share a common underlying schema of cognition, hence transmit universal conceptualisations of the world issues and in which ones reflect different cultural beliefs. Moreover, the subject-matter of the analysis, namely the dog component encapsulated in linguistic units, requires reference to cynology which denotes "the branch of zoology that studies the dog, especially its natural history" (<https://www.thefreedictionary.com/cynology>) and by virtue of which one can see the connection between reality and the messages expressed in proverbs.

The paper is organised in the following way: section 2 discusses the animal imagery in proverbs and provides the theoretical framework for the analysis – importantly, in the part a fairly new theory advocating the metaphor-metonymy interaction in proverb is clearly stated; in section 3 research material, aims, and method are delineated; section 4 characterises the imagery of a dog in Polish and English linguo-culture; the purpose of the empirical section 5 is to demonstrate the universality and culture-specificity aspects encoded in Polish and English proverbs with dog metaphors; in section 6 an attempt is made to examine the most characteristic contrastive points deriving from the analytical part; section 7 closes the paper by offering some concluding remarks and implications for future research.

## 2. The animal imagery in proverbs – theoretical framework

Animal imagery codified in proverbs dates at over four and a half millennia (Alster 1997). Given the fact that it is frequently used to describe human beings, the ANIMAL – HUMAN conceptual mapping is universally applied as a quintessential strategy to communicate human wisdom in a disguised manner. In Krikmann's (2001) semantic, structural, and typological study one can find a cross-linguistic and cross-cultural database which provides a sort of systematization of the rich proverbial material.<sup>5</sup> The scholar differentiates five prominent groups of animals of which, irrespective of regional differences, the first group is taken by domesticated animals, such as *the dog*, *the horse* and *the neat* (either *the ox* or *the cow*).<sup>6</sup> These animals are ranked as the first top three 'equally-favourite animals' due to the fact that by, among others, their longest history of domestication<sup>7</sup> they received the lion's share in the proverbial animal imagery. Such a finding comes as no surprise bearing in mind the conviction that domestic animal references are predominant over the wild animal occurrences. The predominance of domesticated animals is directly related to the man's familiarity with the natural environment and his traditional occupations, including hunting, farming or animal husbandry. Naturally, the high rating of domesticated animal species is strictly connected with the amount of knowledge that a certain linguo-culture possesses about the life and habits of a given animal. Furthermore, Krikmann's (ibid.) analysis leads to the statement that the more familiar the animal is to a man, the more prominent its paremiological imagery is.

With reference to the interpretation of animal proverbs, on the one hand, obviously, they are predicated on the observation of the animal world and show generalisations about their behaviour, and on the other, they might be interpreted in a figurative way, referring to the obvious correspondence of humans and animals' behaviour. The former meaning group lets one interpret animal proverbs in a literal sense and the latter one exhibits metaphorical messages of human interaction as social beings, and which might be applied in various circumstances. Dobrovol'skij and Piirainen (1996: 158-159) show that such animals, as e.g., dogs can take on a symbolic character in proverbs, yet surpass the mere metaphorical transference from the animal world on the behaviour and actions of human beings. Simply put, as mentioned by Mieder (2020: 188) "whether animal metaphor or animal symbol, proverbs from the animal world get their expressiveness not solely from their texts but also from their different functions in various contexts" (for more information on the importance of context in the usage of metaphorical linguistic expressions see Uberman 2022: 122).

For the analysis and interpretation of non-literal proverbs we have, as postulated by Lakoff & Turner (1989: 172), the Great Chain Metaphor, composed of the GENERIC IS SPECIFIC metaphor, which "[...] allows us to comprehend general human character traits in terms of well-understood non-human

attributes; and conversely it allows us to comprehend less well-understood aspects of the nature of animals and objects in terms of better-understood human characteristics". In other words, we can perceive human beings in terms of lower forms of existence or even understand these lower-order forms of being from the perspective of human attributes and behaviour. Importantly, in the analysis and explanation of proverbs "the domain of animal life is one of the most elaborate ones, which we use to understand the human domain" (Moreno 2005: 45). According to the mentioned theory, universality of proverbs stems from the cognitive mechanisms that the language users apply for the purpose of producing, understanding and transmitting them. Nevertheless, from a cultural perspective, the Great Chain Metaphor might be treated as a cultural model in which attributes and behaviour applying to humans, animals, plants, complex objects, and natural physical things are defined (*ibid.*).

In the metaphorical schemas, presented by Lakoff and Turner (1989: 193-194), one can learn the ways showing how we conceive animals and how we apply this folk knowledge to the construction of the schemas. Undoubtedly, the prototypical characterisation of animals is their innate ability of instinctive behaviour. However, it is commonly known that dogs, perceived as higher animals, also possess such attributes as desires, emotions and limited cognitive ability, such as memory. In accordance with the Great Chain Metaphor these interior states give rise to the specific behaviour.

The metaphorical propositions taking place in schemas for a dog show that dogs are perceived as loyal, dependable and dependent (Lakoff & Turner 1989: 193-194). In the authors' opinion this folk knowledge that is transmitted by means of proverbs is natural and consequently considered as universal. However, as underscored by Moreno (2005: 46), these propositions are not universal but common to many societies, as a result of which many proverbs coincide either in terms of perspective, form or conveyed message. Hence, there are many proverbs with equivalents across cultures, displaying universal morality and acting as a guide for the practice of virtue, which might be easily understood because of their universal underlying mental mechanisms. On the other hand, there are proverbs which exhibit their own identity signs by being tied with the place or time of origin. They are representative of a specific linguo-culture as they are related to a historic event or a local custom (*ibid.*). All in all, as postulated by Kövecses (2005: 127), conceptual metaphor's aspects are subject to variation under the influence of culturally-specific features, what the author of the present article is attempting to demonstrate.

In relation to the second group of proverbs stated above, Milică (2012) points out that proverbs indicate a mixture of social, cultural and ideological values and the significance of such

conceptualizations varies from one culture to another. Such a generalised linguo-cultural *status quo* is evidenced in large scale-studies with animal rankings provided by, e.g., Krikmann (2001) or smaller-scale studies of, e.g., Liu (2013), Milică (2012), Moreno (2005), which call attention to the existence of remarkable cultural differences in relation to animal prominence in proverbs. On this account, a considerable amount of linguo-cultural knowledge is required to correctly interpret animal proverbs of different languages and cultures (Bertrán 2011: 301). This is so because apart from internationally disseminated proverbs, coming from the Bible or going back to classical times, there are culturally specific proverbial texts which have no exact equivalents in other linguistic systems.

Last but foremost, it is necessary to mention the fact that proverbs may be not only metaphorically conditioned.<sup>8</sup> According to more recent accounts, another cognitive mechanism that is essential for the interpretation of proverb is metonymy (Bierwiaczonek 2014; Kövecses & Radden 1999; Lemghari 2019; Panther & Thornburg 1999; Szpila 2005). For instance, Ruiz de Mendoza (2001) asserts that the relationship between the two Idealised Cognitive Models present in proverbs, referred to as specific and generic, is in a stand-for-relationship. Accordingly, instead of the GENERIC IS SPECIFIC metaphor identified by Lakoff and Turner (1989), we actually have the SPECIFIC FOR GENERIC metonymy. As stated above, in case of metaphor a more complex domain (known as the target domain) may be understood through reference to the source domain, whereas conceptual metonymy involves only one domain of experience. More elaborately, Kövecses (2006: 99) explains that "metonymy is a cognitive process in which one conceptual element or entity (thing, event, property), the vehicle, provides mental access to another conceptual entity (thing, event, property), the target, within the same frame, domain or idealized cognitive model (ICM)". Otherwise stated, since the levels of situational specification and generalisation belong to the same realm "the specific situation contained in a proverb instantiates the general meaning extracted from it" (Szpila 2005: 403). For instance, the proverb exemplifying the SPECIFIC FOR GENERIC metonymy is *There was never a conflict without a woman* (A TROUBLEMAKING WOMAN FOR A WOMAN), in which the specific situation contained in a proverb, namely a specific woman being troublemaking, provides mental access to the group of troublemaking females in general.

Interestingly and importantly, there are also proverbs which result from metaphor-metonymy interaction, that is the interplay between the two conceptual mechanisms termed by Goossens (1990) as metaphonymy.<sup>9</sup> To be more precise, as posited by Lemghari (2019: 41), besides the metonymic projection individual elements of proverbs can be interpreted metaphorically, what results in a textual co-occurrence of metaphor and metonymy in the same linguistic expression. A case in point is a proverb *A woman, a cat, and a chimney should never leave the house*, where metaphor (HUMANS ARE

ANIMALS – A WOMAN IS A CAT; HUMANS ARE INORGANIC ENTITIES – A WOMAN IS A CHIMNEY) precedes metonymy (A MEMBER OF A CATEGORY FOR THE WHOLE CATEGORY: A HOUSEWIFE FOR A WOMAN) (More examples which illustrate the two conceptual mechanisms and their interaction underlying the structure of gender-related proverbs can be found in e.g., Kochman-Haładaj & Kiełtyka 2023). In accordance with the mentioned recent theory the author of the present study supports the view that the analysed dog-related proverbs are both metaphorically and metonymically conditioned and as such they result from metaphor-metonymy interaction.

### **3. Research material, aims, and method**

Pursuant to the abovementioned, the overall objective of the study in question is directed at outlining the motif of the most representative animal, namely a dog, well familiar to a man, and applied in description of a human quality or a real-world phenomenon. The analysis' target has been set in pursuance of Kövecses' (2002: 124) ideas, earlier held by Lakoff and Turner (1989), who proves that "much of human behavior seems to be metaphorically understood in terms of ANIMAL behaviour". To put it differently and more accurately, the metaphor with a dog concept is a reflection of a well-known and conceptually mastered source domain – i.e. a dog, its being, behaviour, relationship with a human – onto a conceptualized and less known target domain – human existence and interpersonal relations. A metaphor is applied here to find out about the social reality because it can be assumed that the functioning of an animal, e.g., a dog, is much more predictable than human behaviour (Błajet & Błajet 2017: 165). Moreover, in the study an attempt is made to show that, from a cognitive perspective, the analysed proverbs besides being metaphorically conditioned, seem to be motivated by the general metonymy SPECIFIC FOR GENERIC exemplified by its instantiations verbalised as A PERSON LACKING CERTAIN CHARACTERISTICS FOR A MAN, A PERSON POSSESSING CERTAIN CHARACTERISTICS FOR A MAN and possibly a number of other metonymies realized by individual elements of the proverbs targeted. In other words, proverbs directed to a specific person transfer the universal wisdom delivered to all the people. Consequently, such proverbs result from metaphor-metonymy interaction. For these reasons, the methodology on which the analysis is based accords with the theory established by Goossens (1990) (who introduced the concept of metaphonymy) and later studied in terms of various patterns of metaphor-metonymy interaction by, e.g., Barcelona (2000), Diez (2001-2002), Lai (2008), Kochman-Haładaj & Kiełtyka (2023), Moreno (2005), Mosegosa (2010), Ruiz de Mendoza (2021), Ruiz de Mendoza and Diez (2002), Ruiz de Mendoza and Galera (2014).

The study relies on a corpus comprised of proverbs involving the HUMAN BEHAVIOUR IS CANINE BEHAVIOUR metaphor. With the aim of gaining a qualitative and contrastive basis of reference for the research, a body of Polish and English proverbs was compiled by extracting the adequate proverbial

units from Pająk (2007).<sup>10</sup> More accurately, from the given compilation proverbs related to the animal category in which both the singular and plural noun forms such as Pl. *pies/psy* and Eng. *dog/dogs* constituting the key components in the wording of a text are subject to scrutiny. Moreover, in case of constitutive elements in Polish proverbs the derivative forms of *pies* 'dog'/'*psy* 'dogs' are also taken into account. Simply put, the selection was made according to the criterion that the dog reference must feature in a paremiological utterance. The number of linguistic occurrences collected and subject to analysis is 74 proverbs in two analysed languages. Variants of the same proverb are excluded.

Upon selection of proverbs pertaining to dogs in both language systems, the main task attributed to the research study is to analyse dog metaphors embodied in the paremiographical stocks. In order to achieve the aim the investigation is directed to the variation of mappings in the HUMAN BEHAVIOUR IS CANINE BEHAVIOUR conceptual metaphor found in the selected dog proverbs. By the adoption of this research method it is possible to find out whether source and target domain mappings are the same or different in the analysed linguo-cultures. This in turn will enable to provide additional evidence to the findings of Kövecses (2005) where it is demonstrated that conceptual metaphors vary under the influence of cultural features. Therefore, regarding a secondary objective the study aims at contrasting proverbs involving Polish and English dog metaphors in order to provide further testimony to the direct influence of culture on human cognition and hence, on metaphor. Put it another way, an attempt will be made to find out which metaphors embedded in Polish and English proverbs are universal and which vary cross-culturally.

Moreover, in order to contrast dog metaphors embedded in the selected proverbs attention will be paid to the proverbs' main meaning foci which, regardless of how they might be actually applied in communication in various contexts, is defined by Kövecses (2002: 110; 2005: 11) as a "major theme" that characterizes the source domain and is mapped onto the target domain. According to the author (Ibid.), "this meaning focus is conventionally fixed and agreed-on within a speech community". In this way, the main meaning foci denoted in the chosen paremias will be contrasted with the aim of finding out the extent to which they bear positive or negative connotations.

Since the constitutive parts of the analysed proverbs are words such as Pl. *pies*/Eng. *dog* (with their plural forms, and derivatives in Polish), it is necessary to refer to the explanation of the terms in both linguo-cultures. According to *WSJP* (<https://wsjp.pl/>), *pies* 'dog' is "zwierzę domowe mające cztery łapy, ogon i wilgotny czarny nos, wydające odgłos zwany szczekaniem, hodowane przez człowieka dla towarzystwa, do pilnowania domu lub pomocy przy wykonywanych obowiązkach, uważane za wroga kota" 'a pet with four paws, a tail and a wet black nose that makes a barking noise, bred by



humans for companionship, to guard the house or to help with chores, considered an enemy of the cat.' In a metaphorical sense it is used pejoratively about "osoba, do której mówiący nastawiony jest w negatywny sposób, ponieważ uważa, że nie zasługuje ona na szacunek" 'a person towards whom the speaker has a negative attitude because he/she thinks the person does not deserve respect'.

In turn, *LDEL* (2005: 403) defines the word *dog* and describes its role as "a common four-legged animal, especially of the many varieties kept by humans as companions or for hunting, working, guarding, etc." Moreover, the dictionary informs its readers that at present dogs are considered as popular pets in Britain since the British "often give them a lot of attention and consider them to be part of the family". Nevertheless, as reported by *RHDEL* (1987: 578) the discussed term, in its metaphoric use, has a negative connotation referring to "a despicable man or youth" and in slang language it is applied to denote "an ugly, boring, or crude person".

#### **4. The imagery of a dog in Polish and English linguo-culture**

The centuries old relationship between humans and dogs yielded numerous observations pertaining to the behaviour and nature of these animals. Accordingly, various cultures started to exhibit different attitudes, at times very ambivalent about dogs. In this context it is worth quoting Lemański (2011: 52) who says that:

*"If his wisdom (e.g., a remarkable ability to find his way home or tracking animals) and loyalty were emphasized, he would become man's best friend (Greek culture), and if his extremely surrendered nature, loud barking, tenacity towards strangers and many other behaviours were observed, in common belief considered degrading (e.g., eating leftovers, tearing apart and eating carcasses), the dog became a synonym of humiliation, sometimes even a symbol of the underworld".*

Nevertheless, as stated in the paragraphs to come, the Polish and English linguo-cultures subject to contrastive dissection display, speaking on the whole, a fairly similar attitude to dogs.

Polish linguists (e.g., Kobylińska 1997; Mosiołek 1992; Mosiołek-Kłosińska 1995; Rak 2007; Raszewska-Żurek 2010; 2011; Szerszunowicz 2011) pay attention to the complexity, versatility and internal contradiction of the linguistic stereotype of the dog, or even talk about its two stereotypes, positive and negative. From a diachronic perspective, according to Raszewska-Żurek (2010), the stereotype of a dog in the Polish linguo-culture points to the fact that the positive image is much poorer and younger than the negative one. In both Old and Medium Polish only the negative representation of a dog was prevalent which might be evidenced by, e.g., stereotypical similes Pl. *klamać jak pies* [Lit. to lie as a dog], Pl. *zły jak pies* [Lit. vicious/angry as a dog] or a phrase Pl. *zejść/schodzić na psy* [Lit. to go to the dogs] used in the sense 'to become ruined, to change to a much worse condition'. The mentioned phraseological units still function in the Polish language, but their

less frequent application indicates a tendency to fall out of use, which is facilitated by a positive attitude towards these animals, contrary to the negative assessment established in the language. Nowadays, undoubtedly, due to the cultural changes the positive image of a faithful dog<sup>11</sup> expressed e.g., by a simile Pl. *wierny jak pies* [Lit. faithful as a dog] is already well attached and even seems to come to the fore in its linguo-cultural representation (Ibid.: 76-78). Furthermore, as one can read in the literature on the subject (see e.g., Lorenz 1976: 5-23) dogs became companions, indispensable family members whose value has become "purely spiritual" for most people.

In the English culture dogs are treated as useful and lovable animals as they are blessed with "wonderful scenting powers, [...] great speed, [...] strength and endurance, [...] indomitable courage, [...] power of arranging, and facility in carrying out a preconcerted attack on [...] prey" (Dalziel 1883: 4). Their unquestionably favourable image may be attested by a phrase Eng. *faithful as a dog* or a proverb Eng. *If you want a friend, get (buy) a dog*, which alludes to the old saying *A dog is man's best friend* and which "usually suggests that in some particularly hostile and competitive setting [...], a dog will be the *only* friend that a person can hope to find – and that (human) friendship itself is a quality not only improbable but even undesirable" (Mieder 2020: 100). Beyond any doubt, dogs have played a significant role in the public and private lives in the British royal family, suffice it to mention Queen Elizabeth II's long relationship with Corgis dogs. British dogs also represent a firm character and an unconquerable spirit, e.g., the bulldog was the symbol of the British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, denoting the firm character of the British people. Moreover, as regards the English people in general, they are currently widely known for their affection for dogs (Fletcher 2018). A clear evidence for that state of affairs is, among others, the fact that the British competition "Cruft's dog show" is organised in Birmingham every year to celebrate every aspect of the role that dogs play in their lives. Be that as it may, in the past, similarly to the Polish linguo-culture, the unfavourable representation of a dog was predominant. Dogs were treated as symbols of inferiority, malice/aggression or quarrelsomeness, as exemplified by such phrases as Eng. *to go to the dogs*, Eng. *let sleeping dogs lie*, Eng. *to live like cat and dog* (Mieder 2020: 95).

Interestingly and importantly, in Polish the word *pies* 'dog' and in English the word *dog*, despite the speakers' positive view towards these animals, are often used metaphorically with negative connotations (e.g., Błajet & Błajet 2017: 169; Deignan 2003: 258). In this context it is worth repeating the opinion of Kövecses (2002: 125) who says that most animal-related metaphors "capture the negative characteristics of human beings", what is briefly referred to in the author's opinion as *objectionability* or *undesirability* (as opposed to *desirability* main meaning focus). What is also typical for both analysed linguo-cultures is the fact that both Polish and English people keep, as

mentioned above, dogs as pets, being the full-fledged subjects of family relations, though in Poland, especially in the countryside, they are also kept outside home for guarding people's houses and possessions. Furthermore, a common denominator for both Poland and the UK is that dogs are protected by the animal protection laws in the legal system (see <https://www.wetgiw.gov.pl/nadzor-weterynaryjny/ochrona-zwierzat> and [https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201213/cmselect/cmenvfru/575/575.pdf?\\_cf\\_chl\\_f\\_tk=4QCgGXaHi\\_Z1S9X0LmhJi2YrLk8z4S5C5XZYsJXcVck-1708415248-0.0-3815](https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201213/cmselect/cmenvfru/575/575.pdf?_cf_chl_f_tk=4QCgGXaHi_Z1S9X0LmhJi2YrLk8z4S5C5XZYsJXcVck-1708415248-0.0-3815) respectively).

## **5. In search of universality and culture-specificity encoded in Polish and English proverbs with dog metaphors**

One of possible examinations of dog metaphors encoded in the content of proverbial units from the contrastive standpoint is the classification according to universality vs. culture specificity aspects. As emphasized in the preceding part, the universality of proverbs results from the cognitive mechanisms that speakers apply to produce, understand and transmit them and which are consistent with the above-mentioned Great Chain Metaphor Theory (GCMT) assumptions. Nonetheless, as underscored by Moreno (2005: 46), the discussed convention, due to the interference of culture in language, is subject to potential changes. Therefore, the metaphorical propositions for, among others, animals are not universal, but common to many cultures. This is the factor which makes numerous proverbs coincide, if not in the perspective or in the form, then at least in the message along diverse linguo-cultures in the world. In compliance with that, the differentiation of proverbs into the ones which display universality and others which exhibit culture-specificity generates the paremiological division evidencing on the one hand "[...] universal morality, guide for the practice of virtue, similar in all countries, if not in the form, at least in the message", and on the other hand particularity "[...] born from a historical fact, a local custom or a specific event" (ibid.).

Besides, as previously stated, the literature on the subject shows that proverbs often convey an extreme attitude towards animals, e.g., the dog (Belkhir 2014; Błajet & Błajet 2017), which roughly might be divided into two groups: the ones in which the dog is perceived negatively (*undesirability* main meaning focus)<sup>12</sup> and those which refer to it in a favourable way (*desirability* main meaning focus), whereby the former ones are much more numerous. Interestingly enough, in the comprehensive analysis of biblical statements and proverbs about dogs carried out by Lemański (2011) it is unequivocally proved that these animals were perceived negatively and ironically already in the societies of biblical Izrael. As reported by the author (ibid., 60), the negative attitude to dogs in the societies of the biblical Izrael was influenced by the observations of dog's behaviour which was commonly believed to be degrading (e.g., returning to their excrements, eating waste and corpses,

licking the blood of victims and wounds of the sick). This, in turn, was doubtless caused by the fact that in biblical times in Palestine the majority of dogs were herds of stray and semi-wild dogs circling the cities, barking at people and terrifying with their behaviour.<sup>13</sup> And, in view of the fact that the Bible had a major influence on the distribution of common European proverbs<sup>14</sup> (Mieder 2004: 11), it is little wonder that even a cursory look at the content of Polish and English paremias analysed in the study reveals that most of their messages value the dog in a critical way. Such a perspective, nevertheless, in the current times might come as somewhat of a surprise in both linguo-cultures because according to a common phrase, Pl. *pies jest najlepszym przyjacielem człowieka* / Eng. *dog is man's best friend*. The given popular saying refers to domestic dogs and stems from millennia-long history of close relations and loyalty, friendship, as well as companionship with humans.<sup>15</sup>

Another likely categorisation of dog metaphors encoded in proverbs is that according to certain dog characteristics and behaviours which are found to be common to the proverbs of various languages. Therefore, in the paragraphs to come there is the division of dog metaphors embedded in the body of selected Polish and English proverbs which is made in line with a certain procedure, *id est.*, firstly according to concrete source domains, representing dogs' characteristics and behaviours, and secondly as per abstract target domains, signifying human features and behaviours.

As introduced earlier, Polish and English proverbs pertaining to dog metaphors are extracted from Pająk (2007). For clarity and convenient reading, all Polish and English dog-related proverbs are italicized. In case of proverbs which do not have strict counterparts in the chosen languages their equivalents are shown in square italicized brackets. Moreover, in the study there are also proverbs with the dog component which have neither counterparts nor equivalents, though in many cases proverbs of a similar message do exist in the analysed languages but do not contain the element Pl. *pies* / Eng. *dog* in the proverb's wording. Right after Polish proverbs there is a literal translation into English provided in square brackets. In the parts where target domains are discussed the meaning interpretation of proverbs coming from Polish linguo-culture (given in a single quotation mark) is provided primarily on the basis of Fliciński (2012). The main online pages consulted are, among others, *WSJP*. In turn, the meaning of English paremias is for the most part excerpted from: Wilkinson (2002), Speake (2015). The consulted web pages offering proverbs of English origin and their explanations are, among others, the following: *The Phrase Finder*, *Home Proverbs*, *UE Using English.com*, *Wiktionary*, *Dictionary by Merriam-Webster*, *Longman*, *The Free Dictionary by Farlex*, *YourIdioms.Com*, *English and Hebrew Proverbs by William Carpenter*. Finally, after the meaning of the given proverb there is the indication of the evaluative nature of the proverbial text introduced by

such abbreviations as Pos., Neg, Neu. standing for, respectively, their positive, negative or neutral reference to dogs as well as people.

And so, having a closer look at the selected Polish and English linguistic expressions directed to dogs it is disclosed that such source domains as barking, biting and quarrelling are the dog's features which are present in both paremiographical stocks and are represented, in particular the cases of barking and biting, by many instances. The observed tendency might be explained by the fact that these features are kinds of behaviours shared by all dogs regardless of the breed and geographical area, hence they are not only present in the discussed languages but universally grounded in all linguo-cultures. In the table which follows there are included 15 examples of Polish and 18 English proverbs whose source domains are dog's BARKING, BITING and QUARRELING:

Table 1. Source domains of BARKING, BITING and QUARRELING in dog metaphors contained in Polish and English proverbs. Source: own processing

Source domain (dog's behaviour/characteristics)	Polish proverbs	English proverbs	
BARKING	(1) <i>Nie na darmo (stary) pies szczeka</i> [Lit. An old dog barks not in vain]	(2) <i>An old dog barks not in vain</i>	
	(3) <i>Pies, który wiele szczeka, nie kąsa</i> [Lit. A dog that barks a lot does not bite]	(4) <i>A barking dog never bites</i>	
	(5) <i>Pies szczeka, a karawana idzie dalej</i> [Lit. The dog barks, and the caravan goes on]	(6) <i>Dogs bark, but the caravan goes on</i>	
	(7) <i>Psie głosy nie idą w niebiosy</i> [Lit. Dog's voices don't go to heaven]	(8) <i>A dog's prayer does not go up to heaven.</i>	
	(9) <i>Kto jest za psa, ten musi szczekać</i> [Lit. Who is like a dog, he must bark]	(10) <i>Why keep a dog and bark yourself?</i>	
	(11) <i>[Nie każdy na kogo psy szczekają, jest złodziejem]</i> [Lit. Not everyone whom dogs bark at is a thief]	(12) <i>All are not thieves that dogs bark at</i>	
	(13) <i>[Tak psy szczekają, jak są wycwiczone]</i> [Lit. Dogs bark as they are trained]	(14) <i>Dogs bark as they are bred</i>	
	(15) <i>Jak jeden pies szczeka, zaraz wszystkie za nim</i> [Lit. As one dog barks, then all follow him]	(16) <i>One barking dog sets the whole street a-barking</i>	
	(17) <i>Wolno psu na Pana Boga szczekać, ale ugryźć nie wolno</i> [Lit. The dog is allowed to bark at God, but not to bite]	(18) <i>[A dog may bark at God but may not bite Him]</i>	
	(19) <i>[Nie budź się za każdym razem, gdy pies zaszczeka]</i> [Lit. Don't wake up every time a dog barks]	(20) <i>Don't wake at every dog's bark</i>	
		(21) <i>Don't teach the dog bark</i>	
	BITING	(22) <i>Zdechły pies nie kąsa</i> [Lit. A dead dog does not bite]	(23) <i>Dead dogs bite not</i>
		(24) <i>Cichy pies bardziej kąsa</i> [Lit. A quiet dog bites more]	(25) <i>A still dog bites sore</i>
		(26) <i>[Każdemu psu wolno raz ukąsić]</i> [Lit. Each dog is allowed to bite once]	(27) <i>Every dog is allowed one bite</i>

	(28) <i>Pies kamień gryzie, którym go uderzono</i> [Lit. The dog bites a stone that he was hit with]	(29) <i>The dog bites the stone, not him that throws it</i>
		(30) <i>Take a hair of a dog that bit you</i>
QUARRELLING	(31) <i>Kochają się jak pies z kotem</i> [Lit. They love each other like a dog with a cat]	(32) <i>To agree like cats and dogs</i>
		(33) <i>Two dogs strive (fight) for a bone and a third runs away with it</i>

As indicated in the table, the source domain of BARKING (contained in 10 Polish and 11 English proverbs) is the dog's behaviour that is most numerous-represented out of barking, biting and quarreling group in both Polish and English dog-related metaphors (only 1 English proverb featuring dog's barking does not have a counterpart or equivalent in Polish). The proverbs' metaphorical meanings include target domains representing such human behaviours and characteristics as:

- GIVING ADVICE/WARNING (Pl. (1) / Eng. (2) 'Someone with experience who knows what he is doing; there is a reason for his acts'; 'Warnings from the experienced are well-founded'; Pos.);
- IDLE THREATENING (Pl. (3) / Eng. (4) 'People who are loud and threatening don't back up their threats with action'; 'His threats are worse than his deeds'; Neg.);
- COMPLAINING/THREATENING/CRITICISING (Pl. (5) / Eng. (6) 'People's propensity to complain or to threaten'; 'History (or progress) moves ahead, no matter the criticism it may attract'; 'Despite various events and attempts to change the situation, life goes on in its course'; Neg.);
- DISREGARDING REQUESTS (Pl. (7) / Eng. (8) 'Requests unheard of and unworthy of fulfilment are disregarded'; Neg.);
- NOT DOING STH YOURSELF (Pl. (9) / Eng. (10) 'A comment on someone who does himself what he has employed others to do'; Neu.);
- NOT JUDGING BY APPEARANCES (Pl. (11) / Eng. (12) 'Beware of judging people by appearance. An honest man may give the impression that he is the biggest scoundrel in the world'; 'Good looks do not always go with virtue, or ugliness with sin'; Neu.);
- ACTING ACCORDING TO TRAINING (Pl. (13) / Eng. (14) 'A comment on someone who behaves according to the way he/she was raised'; Neu.);
- IMITATING OTHERS/CHORUSING THE SAME COMPLAINT (Pl. (15) / Eng. (16) 'Like dogs, if one barks, all bark'; 'They all chorus the same complaint, protest'; Neg.);
- KNOWING THE LIMITS (Pl. (17) / Eng. (18) 'It is important to know the limits of your behaviour/actions, what is allowed and what is forbidden'; Neu.);
- NOT WORRYING ABOUT CRITICAL WORDS (Pl. (19) / Eng. (20) 'It's not worth worrying about every critical remark'; Neu.).

One English proverb with the source domain of BARKING, though absent in the Polish analysed corpus in the group of proverbs with a dog component, involves the following human behaviour:

- KNOWING ONE'S STUFF (Eng. (21) 'Used with reference to someone who knows a lot about a subject or is very good at doing something'; Pos.).

BITING is the dog's behaviour which is also almost equally encountered in the corpus of Polish and English dog metaphors contained in proverbs. There have been found 4 Polish and 5 English proverbs in the given category. The metaphorical meaning is applied for such human behaviours as:

- BEING HARMLESS (Pl. (22) / Eng. (23) 'A dead person can no longer do others any harm; often used to justify murder'; Neg.);
- SILENT PEOPLE MAY BE DANGEROUS (Pl. (24) / Eng. (25) 'Calm things can still hurt you. A silent dog can easily bite you. The same happens with people that might be silent while they are thinking of how to hurt you'; Neg.);
- EVERYONE GETS THEIR CHANCE (Pl. (26) / Eng. (27) 'Liability does not attach to someone whose dog has bitten someone unless that dog has previously bitten someone else'; 'The first offence may be forgiven (From the belief that one is not legally obliged to tie up a dog until it has proved itself dangerous by biting someone'<sup>16</sup>; Neu.);
- SHIFTING THE BLAME (Pl. (28) / Eng. (29) 'People sometimes in anger shift the blame on a wrong person'; Neg.).

One English proverb, having neither dog-related counterpart nor equivalent in the Polish language, undergoes the metaphoric transfer representing the human behaviour which follows:

- CURING HANGOVER (Eng. (30) 'Mostly spoken by those who take or recommend a drink of what they were made drunk with the night before – to clear the head (An old remedy involved putting a hair on the wound)'; Neu.).

Dog's QUARRELING is another characteristic which is applied to designate human's propensity for quarrelling. The source domain of QUARRELING transferred to specific human behaviour and characteristics is found in 1 Polish and 1 English proverb:

- QUARELLING (Pl. (31) / Eng. (32) 'Live in discord, not tolerate each other, hate each other'; Neg.).

A single English dog-related proverb in the category related to quarrelling does not possess its Polish counterpart or equivalent with a dog constitutive element. The given dog's characteristic is mapped onto the following human behaviour:

- TAKING OPPORTUNITY (Eng. (33) 'Taking the opportunity in a favourable situation'; Neu.).

The table which follows includes miscellaneous source domains appearing in single dog-related proverbs (13 Polish and 28 English) encountered in corpus of the languages under study:

Table 2. Various source domains appearing in single dog-related proverbs in Polish and English.  
Source: own processing

Source domain (dog's behaviour/characteristics)	Polish proverbs	English proverbs
NOT EATING/NOT SHARING	(34) <i>Pies ogrodnika – sam nie zje i innym nie da</i> [Lit. The gardener's dog – he will not eat by himself and will not give to others]	(35) <i>Like the gardener's dog that neither eats cabbage himself nor lets anybody else</i>

BEING SILENT	(36) <i>[Strzeż się cichej wody i cichego psa]</i> [Lit. Beware of still water and a silent dog]	(37) <i>Beware of a silent dog and still water</i>
NOT EATING	(38) <i>Pies psa nie zje</i> [Lit. Dog will not eat dog]	(39) <i>Dog does not eat dog</i>
EATING	(40) <i>Dobra psu i mucha, kiedy głodny</i> [Lit. [Even] a fly is good to a dog if it's hungry]	(41) <i>Hungry dogs will eat dirty (sluttish) puddings</i>
BEING BEATEN	(42) <i>Kto chce psa uderzyć, ten zawsze kij znajdzie</i> [Lit. Who wants to hit the dog, will always find the stick]	(43) <i>A stick is quickly found to beat a dog</i>
BEING ALIVE	(44) <i>Lepszy żywy pies od zdechłego lwa</i> [Lit. Better a living dog than a dead lion]	(45) <i>A living dog is better than a dead lion</i>
RETURNING TO VOMIT	(46) <i>Wraca do nalogu jak pies do wymiocin</i> [Lit. He's back to addiction like a dog to its vomit]	(47) <i>The dog returns to its vomit</i>
BEING BEATEN/HAWLING	(48) <i>Kiedy psa kością piznie, to nie kwiczy</i> [Lit. When you beat a dog with a bone, it will not squeal]	(49) <i>A dog will not howl if you beat him with a bone</i>
HAVING FLEAS	(50) <i>Kto się kładzie spać z psami, ten wstaje z pchłami</i> [Lit. Who goes to sleep with the dogs, gets up with the fleas]	(51) <i>He that lies down with dogs must rise up with fleas</i>
BEING LOVED/RESPECTED	(52) <i>Kto mnie miłuje i pieska mego szanuje</i> [Lit. Who loves me [also] respects my dog]	(53) <i>Love me, love my dog</i>
SLEEPING/LYING		(54) <i>Let sleeping dogs lie</i>
BEING UNABLE TO LEARN		(55) <i>You can't teach an old dog new tricks</i>
BEING GOOD		(56) <i>A good dog deserves a good bone</i>
BEING HAPPY		(57) <i>Every dog has his (its) day</i>
BEING BOLD		(58) <i>Every dog is a lion at home</i>
BEING KILLED		(59) <i>There are more ways of killing a dog than by hanging</i>
CHOKING		(60) <i>You may choke a dog with pudding</i>
COMING IN		(61) <i>At open doors dogs come in</i>
BEING A HEAD		(62) <i>Better be the head of a dog than the tail of a lion</i>
BEING GOOD/BETTER		(63) <i>Brag is a good dog, but Holdfast is better</i>
FETCHING/CARRYING		(64) <i>A dog that will fetch a bone will carry a bone</i>
BEING GIVEN A NAME/BEING HANGED		(65) <i>Give a dog a bad name and hang him</i>
NOT BEING PICKY/DEPRECATING FASTIDIOUSNESS		(66) <i>Hungry dogs will eat dirty pudding</i>
NEEDING HELP		(67) <i>Help a lame dog over a stile</i>
BEING SIMILAR		(68) <i>Like master, like dog</i>
BEING SCALDED		(69) <i>A scalded dog fears cold water</i>
TAIL WAGGING		(70) <i>The tail is wagging the dog</i>
BEING OLD/ALIVE		(71) <i>There is a life in the old dog yet</i>
WORKING	(72) <i>Cztery myszy, cztery koty, a dziewiąty pies do roboty</i> [Lit. Four	



	mice, four cats, and the ninth dog to work]	
BEING VAGUE	(73) <i>Ni pies, ni ryba/wydra</i> [Lit. Neither dog nor fish / otter]	
NOT EATING	(74) <i>Nie dla psa kielbasa (nie dla kota sadło)</i> [Lit. No sausage for dogs (no fat for cats)]	

The table above includes Polish and English dog-centred proverbs employing metaphors with the target domains matching the less common dog's behaviours. As it can be easily read there exist many more examples of metaphoric dog proverbs in the English analysed corpus. In what follows there are the target domains represented by 10 single dog-related proverbs found in both analysed languages:

- BEING SELFISH (Pl. (34) / Eng. (35) 'A type of selfishness where someone prevents another having what he needs, although he does not want it himself'; Neg.);
- STAYING AWAY/BEING CAREFUL (Pl. (36) / Eng. (37) 'Calm things can still hurt you. Stagnant water can be poisonous with bacteria and a silent dog can easily bite you. The same happens with people that might be silent while they are thinking of how to hurt you'; Neg.);
- BEING LOYAL WITH COMPANIONS (Pl. (38) / Eng. (39) 'There is honour among the thieves'; Neu.);
- BEING SATISFIED WITH SMALL THINGS/BEING PICKY (Pl. (40) / Eng. (41) 'You should enjoy a small benefit, even when you did not get what you wanted'; Neu.);
- BEING AGGRESSIVE (Pl. (42) / Eng. (43) 'It is easy to find fault when you want to'; 'An excuse to justify a harsh action or opinion is easy to find'; Neg.);
- BEING HOPEFUL/OPTIMISTIC (Pl. (44) / Eng. (45) 'As long as man lives, his hope for a better future is also alive (used as words of consolation)'; Pos.);
- RETURNING TO THE SCENE OF THE CRIME/REVERTING TO FORMER BAD HABITS OR COMPANY/REPEATING FOOLISH PRACTICES (Pl. (46) / Eng. (47) 'Foolish people are apt to repeat their missteps'; Neg.);
- NOT BEING FUSSY/BEING COMFORTABLE (Pl. (48) / Eng. (49) 'Those in need are not fussy about the way in which they obtain relief'; Neu.);
- BEING CAUTIOUS/KEEPING THE RIGHT COMPANY (Pl. (50) / Eng. (51) 'You should be cautious of the company you keep. Associating with those of low reputation may not only lower your own but also lead you astray by the faulty assumptions, premises and data of the unscrupulous'; 'Bad company brings bad habits or disadvantages that are soon felt'; Neg.);
- PUTTING UP WITH FAULTS (Pl. (52) / Eng. (53) 'Said to warn someone that if they want to be in a relationship with you, they must be willing to accept everything about you'; 'If you take me, you must accept my disadvantages as well; make friends with my friends'; Pos.).

Moreover, the table contains 18 metaphoric proverbs featuring dogs which are present only in the English language of the analysed data. In what follows there are target domains representing such human behaviours as:

- NOT MAKING TROUBLE (Eng. (54) 'Do not disturb what is satisfactory and might become awkward'; 'Avoid interfering in a situation which is currently stable'; Neu.);
- BEING UNABLE TO COPE WITH NEW IDEAS/ADAPT (Eng. (55) 'Old folk are not adaptable'; Neg.);
- DESERVING REWARD (Eng. (56) 'A loyal servant or employee deserves his reward'; Pos.);
- BEING LUCKY AND SUCCESSFUL (Eng. (57) 'Even the lowliest person has their moment of glory or luck'; 'Every dog, and by implication every person, has a period of power or influence'; Pos.);
- FEELING SAFER AND STRONGER (Eng. (58) 'We feel safer and stronger in our own environment'; 'Even the humblest has power in their home'; Pos.);
- ACHIEVING AN END (Eng. (59) 'There are more way than one to do a job'; Neu.);
- DOING THINGS IN MODERATION/WARNING AGAINST EXCESS (Eng. (60) 'A warning against excess. Too large an amount of a beneficial or useful thing or activity can be harmful or excessive'; 'You can have too much of good thing'; Neg.);
- BEING CARELESS/CARELESSNESS LEADS TO TROUBLE (Eng. (61) 'Don't be careless, undesirable things will happen'; Neg.);
- BEING SATISFIED/APPRECIATIVE (Eng. (62) 'It is better to be in a leadership position, even if the group or organization you're leading is deemed less important than others'; 'It is better to be the leader of a less prestigious group than to be a subordinate in a more prestigious one'; Neu.);
- PRAISING TENACITY AND QUIETNESS/CONDEMNING OSTENTATION (Eng. (63) 'Tenacity and quietness of manner are preferable to ostentation'; Neu.);
- BRINGING/CARRYING GOSSIP (Eng. (64) 'The same skill can be applied dishonestly as honestly; could gossip *about* as well as *to* you'; 'A gossip carries talk both ways'; Neg.);
- LOSING FAME/REPUTATION (Eng. (65) 'Goodness is not proof against calumny; a man may suffer no less from a bad reputation than from wrongdoing; damn a man's reputation and he is anybody's victim'; Neg.);
- HELPING SB IN NEED (Eng. (66) 'To help or assist someone in need in some fundamental or basic way'; 'Come to the aid of a person in need'; 'Do a dangerous deed; give help at need. 'You're a fine one to help a lame dog over a stile!' – to one who is more hindrance than help'; Pos.);
- NOT BEING PICKY/DEPRECATING FASTIDIOUSNESS (Eng. (67) 'Directed against those persons whose impetuous lusts induce them to demean themselves beneath their station'; 'The lowest classes need not be considered. They will be thankful for whatever they can get; don't be so fussy'; Neu.);
- BEING THE SAME (Eng. (68) '*People are attracted to looks and temperaments that reflect themselves or how they perceive themselves*'; Neu.);
- BEING FRIGHTENED TO DO STH AGAIN (Eng. (69) 'Used when you are frightened to do something again because you had an unpleasant experience doing it the first time'; Neg.);

- BEING CONTROLLED BY SOMEBODY LESS IMPORTANT (Eng. (70) 'Used to describe a situation in which an important or powerful person, organization, etc., is being controlled by someone or something that is much less important or powerful'; 'Of minority control, or the assumption of control by subordinates; reversal of usual roles'; Neg.);
- STILL HAVING VITALITY (Eng. (71) 'Used to say that although someone or something is old, they are still able to do something – used humorously'; Pos.).

The metaphorical meaning contained in 3 Polish proverbs, having neither dog-related counterpart nor equivalent proverbs with a dog component in English, is mapped onto such human behaviours as:

- BEING MINIMALISTIC (Pl. (72) 'A playful enumeration of a poor girl's dowry'; Neu.);
- BEING UNSUITABLE/VAGUE (Pl. (73) 'Being undefined, vague'; 'Something or someone without clear features allowing for its unambiguous definition or assignment to a specific category of objects'; Neg.);
- NOT DESERVING SOMETHING (Pl. (74) 'It's not for you; someone does not deserve something because of the place they occupy in a particular group'; Neg.).

## 6. Contrastive analysis: results and discussion

Upon the scrutiny of the chosen research material one can formulate a number of comparative and contrastive remarks. First and foremost, even a cursory look at the large number of dog-related proverbs discloses the fact that the discussed animal is given a high prominence in both linguo-cultures. The total number of Polish dog-related proverbs extracted from the corpus subject to analysis is 28 whereas the analysed English proverbs with a dog component constitute the amount of 46.

Regarding the general observations, it is necessary to underline the dog stereotype, which is dichotomous and inconsistent in both language systems, and even internally contradictory. As it stems from the analysis in the discussed dog proverbs of both language corpora the negatively-loaded image of a dog (*undesirability* main meaning focus) prevails over the positive one (*desirability* main meaning focus) in a substantial way. Altogether there are 35 dog proverbs carrying a negative meaning and 12 proverbs displaying positive characteristics, neutrality of meaning is reflected in 27 proverbial utterances. Viewing the proverbs through the lens of contrastive standpoint there are 15 Polish proverbs out of 18 and 20 in English out of 29 of an evaluative nature which show the negative characteristics of dogs and as a result of metaphor transfer onto human beings also used with negative reference to people. The unfavourable image of a dog results from the anthropocentric perception of the world displaying the conviction that the animal is worse than the man. Nevertheless, from the historical perspective it might also be concluded that the stereotype of a dog, although strongly rooted in consciousness and language, has changed over the centuries. The transformation was "fairly slow,

though it had a character of a fundamental re-evaluation – a shift from an explicitly negative image to a dual representation – still negative in most parts, but very positive in the part related to the permanent association of the dog with fidelity" (Raszewska-Żurek 2010: 78). Therefore, in both linguo-cultures there might be observed some elements of a gradual transition from anthropocentric treatment of dogs (Pl. *Wraca do nalogu jak pies do wymiocin* [Lit. He's back to addiction like a dog to its vomit] / Eng. *The dog returns to its vomit*) to an anthropomorphic view of the species, in which these animals are perceived as if they were humans in character and behaviour (Pl. *Kto mnie miłuje i pieska mego szanuje* [Lit. Who loves me [also] respects my dog] / Eng. *Love me, love my dog*).

Another major finding of a cross-cultural nature is related to the degree in which Polish and English dog proverbs express the same messages, therefore universal dogs' and humans' characteristics or show certain differences being the effect of cultural specificities. Considering the fact that Polish and English cultures are not so remote, there are numerous examples of dog metaphors encoded in proverbs (50 proverbs – 25 in Polish and 25 in English – out of total 74) which display universal messages, also common to other linguo-cultures. The discussed examples are, e.g.: Pl. *Nie na darmo stary pies szczeka* [Lit. An old dog barks not in vain] / Eng. *An old dog barks not in vain* (which can also be found in other European languages e.g., Gr. *Ein alter Hund bellt nicht umsonst* / Fr. *Un vieux chien n'aboie pas en vain* / Sp. *El perro viejo, si larda, da consejo*) (Paczolay 2015); Pl. *Pies ogrodnika – sam nie zje i innym nie da* [Lit. The gardener's dog – he will not eat by himself and will not give to others] / Eng. *Like the gardener's dog that neither eats cabbage himself nor lets anybody else* (prevalent in other languages e.g., Gr. *Der Hund, der auf dem Heu liegt, frißt es selbst nicht und läßt es auch keinem ander'n* / Fr. *Comme le chien du jardinier qui ne mange pas de choux et ne veut pas que personne en mange* / Sp. *El perro del hortelano ni come las berzas, nil as déjà comer al extraño*) (Strauss 1994). In turn, the latter group of the analysed dog proverbs gives additional evidence supporting the conviction that conceptual metaphor's aspects vary under the influence of cultural features (Kövecses 2005). Obviously, certain diversities are likely to occur because the discussed languages do not belong to the same language family. And, as it stems from the analysis the cases suggesting the direct influence of culture upon human cognition and, hence, on metaphor are paremias (3 Polish out of 28 and 21 English out of 46) which do not have a strict counterpart or equivalent in dog proverbs in the other language subject to analysis, though in many cases proverbs of a similar message do exist in the analysed linguo-cultures but merely do not include the constitutive element Pl. *pies* / Eng. *dog* in the proverbs. The cases suggesting the direct relevance between culture and human cognition in the Polish paremiological units are 3 proverbs present in a given wording and meaning only in the Polish linguo-culture, thus possessing their own national characteristics:

- Pl. *Ni pies, ni ryba/wydra* [Lit. Neither dog nor fish / otter] – as reported by *SJP PWN*, the saying *Ni pies, ni wydra* can be traced to the times of the king John III Sobieski (<https://sjp.pwn.pl/poradnia/haslo/;7911>). In turn, as one can read in *WSJP*, the authorship of the saying in the extended form *Ni pies, ni wydra, coś na kształt świdra* [Lit. Neither dog nor otter, something like a drill] is often wrongly attributed to W. Gomułka (1905-1982), the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish Workers' Party (1943-1948) and the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party (1956-1970). The oldest found certificate of a unit in print comes from 1881 (<https://wsjp.pl/haslo/podglad/21438/ni-pies-ni-wydra>). In a colloquial and pejorative sense, it is used to designate 'something or someone without clear features allowing for its unambiguous determination or assignment to a specific category of objects'.
- Pl. *Nie dla psa kielbasa (nie dla kota sadło)* [Lit. No sausage for a dog (no fat for a cat)], which, as indicated by *WSJP*, puts across the meaning that 'unfortunately, it's not for everyone, just a select few'. The phrase is an old Dominic's saying coming from *Chłopi* 'Peasants' by W. Reymont ([https://wydawnictwo.us.edu.pl/sites/wydawnictwo.us.edu.pl/files/wus\\_2023\\_nowak-kaczmarek\\_stasiak\\_czytaj\\_po\\_polsku\\_t\\_16\\_ebook\\_popr\\_red\\_dla\\_bezpl\\_ebooka\\_4.12.23.pdf](https://wydawnictwo.us.edu.pl/sites/wydawnictwo.us.edu.pl/files/wus_2023_nowak-kaczmarek_stasiak_czytaj_po_polsku_t_16_ebook_popr_red_dla_bezpl_ebooka_4.12.23.pdf)).
- Pl. *Cztery myszy, cztery koty, a dziewiąty pies do roboty* [Lit. Four mice, four cats, and the ninth dog to work]), which, according to Krzyżanowki (1969-1978) is 'a playful enumeration of a poor girl's dowry'.

As far as English instances are concerned there are many more proverbs, to be more exact 21, extracted from the analysed corpus which do not have Polish parallel paremias with the analysed constitutive element. In order to illustrate the discussed observation, let us look at the English most representative examples of proverbs whose origin decides about their national uniqueness and manifests culture-specificity:

- Eng. *Let sleeping dogs lie* – the proverb derives from the long-standing observation of the fact that dogs are often unpredictable when they are suddenly disturbed. According to *The Phrase Finder* (<https://www.phrases.org.uk/meanings/let-sleeping-dogs-lie.html>), one of the first who put this notion into print was Geoffrey Chaucer in *Troilus and Criseyde*, circa 1380. The literal meaning of the expression acted as a warning about the risk of waking a potentially dangerous animal and with the progression of time it turned metaphorical to indicate 'leave well alone'. In the 16<sup>th</sup> century the phrase was included as a proverb in John Heywood's definitive *A Dialogue conteynyng the nomber in effect of all the Prouerbes in the Englishe tongue* and in the 18<sup>th</sup> century it was frequently associated with a British politician Sir Robert Walpole. The current wording of the proverb appeared in the 19<sup>th</sup> century *The London Magazine*.

- Eng. *You can't teach an old dog new tricks* – as indicated by *THE IDIOMS Largest idioms dictionary* (<https://www.theidioms.com/you-cant-teach-an-old-dog-new-tricks/>), the phrase originated by Heywood in 1546 and is considered as one of the oldest idioms of old English. The oldest written record of the expression comes from John Fitzherbert's *The boke of husbandry*, 1534.
- Eng. *A good dog deserves a good bone* – as one can read in Manser (2002), the proverb appeared in *A Tale of a Tub* by Ben Jonson, 1633, although it was first recorded in 1611 by Randle Cotgrave in *A dictionary of the French and English tongues*.
- Eng. *Every dog has his (its) day* – as explained by *The Phrase Finder* (<https://www.phrases.org.uk/meanings/every-dog-has-its-day.html>), the phrase is recorded as being first uttered by Queen Elizabeth I, though it was already a well-known proverb back then. It was recorded as a proverb by an English writer John Heywood in the 1562 edition *A Dialogue conteinyng the nomber in effect of all the Prouerbes in the Englishe tongue and it was also used by Shakespeare in Hamlet*, 1603.
- Eng. *Brag is a good dog, but Holdfast is better* – as reported by *Encyclopedia.com* (<https://www.encyclopedia.com/humanities/dictionaries-thesauruses-pictures-and-press-releases/brag-good-dog-holdfast-better>), the expression was recorded from the 18<sup>th</sup> century, though Shakespeare already applied a similar phrase in *Henry V* in 1599.
- Eng. *Give a dog a bad name and hang him* – according to *ODP*, the proverb was first recorded, with different wording, in the 18<sup>th</sup> century or before (see also Manser 2002). In 1706, John Stevens (an English captain, Hispanist and translator) documented it as *Give a Dog an ill name and his work is done*. In 1721, James Kelly had it as a Scottish proverb – *Give a Dog an ill Name, and he'll soon be hanged*. The proverb is used with reference to those who raise an ill name on a man on purpose to prevent his advancement. In Virginia, it appeared as an old saying in the *Norfolk Herald* in 1803 – *Give a dog a bad name and hang him*. Moreover, the saying is the title of Chapter 13 of Dickens' novel *Our Mutual Friend*.
- Eng. *The tail is wagging the dog* – as stated in *MWD* (<https://www.merriam-webster.com/wordplay/wag-the-dog-idiom-meaning>), its earliest use is recorded in the 1858 play *Our American Cousin* by English playwright Tom Taylor.

Obviously, the Polish and English proverbs without their counterparts or equivalents in the other analysed language are the outcomes of the countries' different historical and cultural inheritance. Their origin makes them rooted in a specific linguo-culture, thereby constituting linguistic items of the national heritage handed down from generation to generation. Nevertheless, as mentioned in the foregoing discussion, the analysed proverbs of both languages do possess proverbs/sayings of a similar message, yet containing other key words than Pl. *pies* / Eng. *dog* in the proverb's wording. A

case in point is, e.g., Eng. *Two dogs strive for a bone, a third runs away with it* which has a Polish equivalent proverb of a similar meaning, i.e. 'Taking the opportunity in a favourable situation', though not containing the key word *pies* 'dog' – *Gdzie dwóch się bije, tam trzeci korzysta* [Lit. Where two fight, the third benefits]. Another example is an English proverbial utterance *Let sleeping dogs lie*, whose meaning resembles the sense-thread of a Polish proverb *Nie wywołuj wilka z lasu* [Lit. Don't call the wolf out of the woods]. In both cases the proverbs mean 'Do not disturb what is satisfactory and might become awkward' or 'Avoid interfering in a situation which is currently stable'. In turn, a Polish proverb *Ni pies, ni ryba/wydra* [Lit. Neither dog nor fish / otter] has an English equivalent in the idiom *Neither fish nor fowl*, which also stands for 'Neither one thing nor another; not belonging to any suitable class or description; not recognizable or characteristic of any one particular thing'.

Other findings of a contrastive and comparative character encountered upon a closer scrutiny concern the cases in which proverbs have an identical meaning and almost matching form in both Polish and English dog metaphors, as documented in e.g., Pl. *Lepszy żywy pies od zdechłego lwa* [Lit. Better a living dog than a dead lion] / Eng. *A living dog is better than a dead lion* as well as proverbs which have the same meaning but their forms slightly differ, as exemplified in Pl. *Kiedy psa kością piznie, to nie kwiczy* [Lit. When you beat a dog with a bone, it will not squeal] / Eng. *A dog will not howl if you beat him with a bone*. Moreover, there are examples when a certain proverb in one of the analysed languages does not have a strict counterpart or equivalent dog-related proverb in the other language, e.g., *Every dog has his (its) day*, which is found in English but not in Polish (though the cases displaying cultural characteristics were already discussed above).

Finally yet importantly, from the cognitive perspective there emerge some mechanisms affecting the conceptualization of human behaviour perceived in terms of animal behaviour encountered in both Polish and English proverbs, namely metaphor, metonymy and the interaction of both tools, that is, metaphonymy. Cases in point are, among others, metaphorically conditioned proverbs such as for instance Pl. *Nie na darmo stary pies szczeka* [Lit. An old dog barks not in vain] / Eng. *An old dog barks not in vain*. The given Polish and English linguistic occurrences constitute the examples of the GENERIC IS SPECIFIC metaphor highlighting common generic structure in specific concepts which are based on correspondences/mappings between the source and the target. However, when the proverbs are uttered in a specific context and with reference to a particular person, they can be interpreted metonymically in terms of the SPECIFIC FOR GENERIC metonymy, according to which someone with experience who knows what he is doing and having a reason for his acts provides mental access to the group of such people in general. Accordingly, the quoted proverbial units in both languages, as

well as many other examples provided in the study, arise out of the interaction of metaphor and metonymy.

The figure 1. below exhibits the interpretation of an English proverbs *An old dog barks not in vain* which actually might also be applied in the same form to its Polish equivalent *Nie na darmo stary pies szczeka*. As can be noticed, the analysis involves two stages, these of metaphor and metonymy. The metaphor stage is centred around the HUMANS ARE ANIMALS schema, which is followed by the metonymy stage verbalised as SPECIFIC FOR GENERIC – BARKING NOT IN VAIN FOR KNOWING WHAT ONE IS DOING AND HAVING THE REASON FOR ONE'S ACTS.

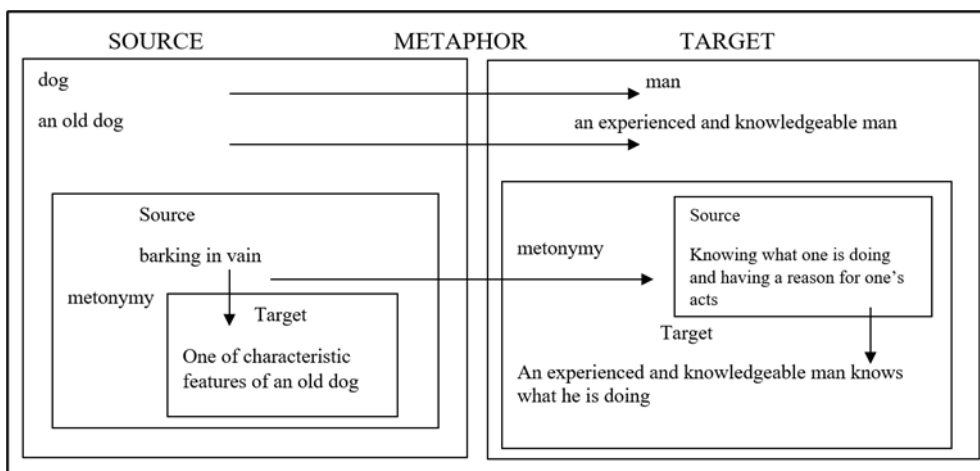


Figure 1. Metaphor-metonymy interaction motivating the proverb *An old dog barks not in vain*  
 Source: own processing based on earlier findings in Kochman-Haładaj & Kiełtyka (2023)

The diagram rendered in the foregoing is a joint representation of the metonymic reduction of one of the correspondences of a metaphoric source and the metonymic expansion of one of the correspondences of a metaphoric target. In particular, it is feature-highlighting in the source domain of metaphor that manifests the metonymy. More precisely, a particular feature in the animal domain, that is barking, is profiled which results in the metonymic reduction of one of the correspondences of a metaphoric source. Interestingly enough, barking belongs to prototypical behaviour characteristic of dogs and it is mapped to the target domain of man. Now, the invariance principle<sup>17</sup> of metaphorical mapping will give rise to similar behaviour to be highlighted in the target domain, that is man's knowing what he is doing and having a reason for his acts. This desirable pattern featuring the man who is experienced and knowledgeable is projected to other situations in which older men's knowledge and experience are valued and this results from the metonymic expansion of one of the correspondences of a metaphoric target; or SPECIFIC FOR GENERIC metonymy.



## 7. Conclusions

Bearing in mind a fairly large number of the analysed dog-related metaphors encapsulated in proverbs (28 Polish and 46 English linguistic utterances) it is possible to form several observations stemming from a more careful examination. First of all, as it can be inferred from the investigation the semantic field of animals is indeed a very productive one in proverbial metaphors. The analysis of the selected subject provides additional evidence to support the fact that animal metaphors in proverbs have been commonly used to depict certain behavioural traits pertaining to human beings. Constituting both compelling and challenging material for scrutiny they are not only used to reveal a certain worldview but also serve, among others, as a satire of the human misconduct. What is also concluded from the analysis is the confirmation of the fact that most animal-related metaphors capture the negative characteristics of human beings. In the study a substantial number of negatively-loaded proverbs with the dog constitutive element (35 negative, 12 positive and 27 neutral proverbs) give a further testimony to the mentioned tendency.

With reference to the above-mentioned prevalence of negatively-tinted content in the proverbs featuring dogs and viewing them from a cynological perspective, it needs to be emphasised that there exists some relation between real world and the messages embodied in the analysed proverbs. More precisely, although the system analysis is conducted on the undifferentiated chronologically paremiology (the chronology of proverbs is fairly difficult to study), it can be inferred that the role as well as perception of a dog changed historically. In the past, this animal was only used for, among others, hunting, guarding the backyard and treated as an inferior creature whereas with the passage of time dog's image was slightly modified so that it became important in people's life due to its, e.g., social dimension (for illustrative examples see part 6).

By conducting a cross-cultural cognitive scrutiny of the main meaning encoded in proverbs of the discussed language systems the socio-cultural influences upon the use of dogs are subject to the examination. The research study takes the advantage of the Great Chain of Being Theory proposed by Lakoff and Turner (1989), and accounted for, by among others, Kövecses (2002), assuming the universality of human and animals' categorisation as well as their relationships. A cognitive view makes it possible to obtain not only the universal principles underlying the cognition of proverbs but also background knowledge and cultural beliefs they depict. All in all, the similarities found in the metaphorical meaning of Polish and English dog proverbs indicate the existence in some deeper layer of the actual unity of human experience, regardless of the differences between people living in different cultures. As it stems from the analysis there are 50 proverbs – 25 Polish and 25 English – out of 74 in which the metaphorical propositions for dogs are common to both languages. Otherwise

stated, these are the paremias whose messages coincide in the perspective and very often in the form in both language systems. In turn, as proven in the study it is also possible to obtain background knowledge as well as cultural beliefs linguistic occurrences depict. The exhibition of such culture-specificity is found in 24 proverbs – 3 Polish and 21 English – out of total 74, which display particularity born either from a historical fact, a local custom or a specific event (see part 6). Nonetheless, it is important to note that a more extensive study of a cross-cultural nature including languages from other and more remote parts of the world would certainly provide a more accurate picture of the discussed issue.

Thus, on the basis of the foregoing analysis, lying within the branch of paremiology as well as cognitive semantics, there have been shown some mechanisms affecting the conceptualization of human behaviour recognised with regard to animal behaviour. More precisely, the analysis focuses on the mappings involved in the HUMAN BEHAVIOUR IS CANINE BEHAVIOUR metaphor in selected Polish and English proverbs pertaining to dogs. Due to the working of the GENERIC IS SPECIFIC metaphor, which highlights common generic structure in specific concepts, it is possible to view and understand animals' instinctive behaviour in terms of human character. Moreover, on account of the conceptual nature of proverbs, as it stems from the analysis, the analysed examples are metonymic in character and as such, they visualise the general conceptual metonymy SPECIFIC FOR GENERIC. In relation to that the mutual operation of metaphor and metonymy, otherwise called metaphonymy, is clearly visible (see part 6). Therefore, as a result of these conceptual mechanisms offered by the cognitive approach the figurative application of dog-related proverbs may successfully be employed to explain the motivation behind them.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> The collection of the English-language publications on animal proverbs is taken from Mieder (2020: 185-186).

<sup>2</sup> The study of Błajet & Błajet (2017) entitled "A metaphor with the dog motif – about the closeness of distant cultures" concerns Polish and Iranian (Persian, Tajik and Shughni) proverbs, idiomatic and proverbial phrases and sayings about the dog, where the dog theme is used in order to clarify certain human traits and phenomena of the real world.

<sup>3</sup> Paszenda's study (1998) addresses, *inter alia*, representation of a dog in phraseological units depicting human unhappiness in English, Polish and German, in view of the anthropocentric character of language.

<sup>4</sup> The publication by Szerszunowicz (2011) encompasses Polish, English and Italian single-word faunal metaphors and phraseological units with the exclusion of proverbs.

<sup>5</sup> The research material consists of almost 40,000 proverbs proper and proverbial phrases from about 60 different nations and ethnoses (Krikmann 2001: 11).

<sup>6</sup> For other occurrences of animal terms included in proverbs see Krikmann (2001).

<sup>7</sup> As reported in Lemański (2011: 51), the domestication of a dog, one of the earliest human domesticated animals, happened back in the Stone Age most probably in the areas of ancient Near East.

<sup>8</sup> The paragraphs which follow in this part are taken from Kochman-Haładaj & Kiełtyka (2023). They have been paraphrased and supplemented with additional information.

<sup>9</sup> The mutual operation of conceptual metaphor and metonymy and its various patterns have been analysed by, e.g., Barcelona (2000), Díez (2001-2002), Kiełtyka and Grząśko (2022), Kochman-Haładaj and Kiełtyka (2023), Masegosa (2010), Moreno (2005), Lai (2008), Ruiz de Mendoza (2021), Ruiz de Mendoza and Díez (2002), Ruiz de Mendoza and Galera (2014), Stashko et al. (2022).

<sup>10</sup> The dictionary contains more than 3600 English proverbs (including those of American origin) and in a separate part more than 1900 Polish proverbs, sayings, sentences and proverbial phrases. Note that other proverb compilations which could constitute additional basis for the research, yet of a much more in-depth formula, are: Radziejewski (1998), Świerczyńska (2019).

<sup>11</sup> The linguo-cultural analysis of dog's faithfulness and attachment to humans embodied in, among others, Polish and English phraseology is described by Szerszunowicz (2011: 223).

<sup>12</sup> According to Kövecses (2002: 125), the main meaning focus of the HUMAN BEHAVIOUR IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR metaphor is *objectionability* or *undesirability*, though there are metaphors whose main meaning focus is *desirability*.

<sup>13</sup> The overwhelmingly negative use of animal metaphors in language is claimed by, among others, Belkhir (2014), which is, nevertheless, in opposition to speakers' positive attitudes towards animals.

<sup>14</sup> The subject of faunal imageries included in the Book of Proverbs is raised by Forti (2008), where the negative representation of, among others, dog is discussed.

<sup>15</sup> The history of a dog as a man's best friend is described in a book by Bringsværd (2020) where one can find many myths, legends, fairy tales, folk tales, as well as interesting facts about his relationship with a human.

<sup>16</sup> The proverb is based on the old English common law rule (dating at least from the 17<sup>th</sup> century) by which the keeper of a domestic animal was not liable for harm done by it unless he knew its vicious propensities (*Oxford dictionary of proverbs*).

<sup>17</sup> According to the Extended Invariance Principle proposed by Ruiz de Mendoza (1998), "generic structure of the source domain of a metaphor should be consistent with the inherent structure of the target domain" (Diez 2001-2: 48).

### List of abbreviations

Eng. – English

Gr. – German

Fr. – French

LDEL – Longman dictionary of English language and culture

Lit. – literally

MWD – Merriam Webster dictionary

Neg. – negative

Neu. – neutral

ODP – Oxford dictionary of proverbs

Pl. – Polish

Pos. – positive

RHDEL – Random house dictionary of the English language

SJP PWN – Słownik języka polskiego PWN

Sp. – Spanish

WSJP – Wielki słownik języka polskiego

### References

1. *A dictionary of American proverbs*. (1992). Mieder, W., Kingsbury, S.A. & Harder, K.B. (eds.) New York: Oxford University Press.
2. Alster, B. (1997). *Proverbs of the ancient Sumer, the world's earliest collections*, 2 vols. Bethesda, Maryland: CDL Press.
3. Barcelona, A. (2000). The cognitive theory of metaphor and metonymy. In *Metaphor and metonymy at the crossroads. A cognitive perspective*, p. 1-28.
4. Barnette, M. (2003). *Dog days and dandelions. A lively guide to the animal meanings behind everyday words*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
5. Belkhir, S. (2014). Cultural influence on the use of DOG concepts in English and Kabyle proverbs. In *Metaphor and intercultural communication*, p. 131-145.
6. Bertrán, P. (2011). Zoo-symbolism and metaphoric competence. In *Research on phraseology in Europe and Asia: Focal issues of phraseological studies*, 1, p. 191-314.


7. Biadún-Grabarek, H. (2012). Einige Aspekte der Wiedergabe deutscher Sprichwörter im Polnischen am Beispiel ausgewählter Sprichwörter mit dem Tiernamen Esel. In *Fragen der Phraseologie, Lexikologie und Syntax*. Biadún-Grabarek, H. (ed.). Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, p. 33-51.
8. Bierwiazzonek, B. (2014). Conceptual blending in the interpretation of proverbs. In *Linguistica Silesiana*, 35, p. 101-117.
9. Błajet, Z. & Błajet, P. (2017). Metafora z motywem psa, czyli o bliskości odległych kultur. In *Edukacja międzykulturowa*, 1 (6), p. 163-181.
10. Bringsværd, T. Á. (2020). *Hau. Psy, pieski i bestie w baśniach, mitach i wierzeniach*. Translation by Milena Skoczko. Warszawa: Marginesy.
11. Cohen, A. (1911). *Ancient Jewish proverbs*. London: John Murray.
12. Deignan, A. (2003). Metaphorical expressions and culture: an indirect link. In *Metaphor and symbol*. 18 (4), p. 255–271.
13. Diez, O. (2001-2002). Metaphor, metonymy, and image schemas: An analysis of conceptual interaction patterns. In *Journal of English studies*, 3, p. 47-63.
14. *Dictionary by Merriam-Webster*. Available at: <https://www.merriam-webster.com/>
15. Doyle, Ch.C., Wolfgang, M. & Shapiro, F. R. (2012). *Dictionary of modern proverbs*. New Haven – London: Yale University Press.
16. *Encyclopedia.com*. Available at: <https://www.encyclopedia.com/>
17. *English and Hebrew proverbs by William Carpenter*. Available at: [https://books.google.pl/books/about/Old\\_English\\_and\\_Hebrew\\_Proverbs\\_explaine.html?id=ollE-prQLn4C&redir\\_esc=y](https://books.google.pl/books/about/Old_English_and_Hebrew_Proverbs_explaine.html?id=ollE-prQLn4C&redir_esc=y)
18. Fletcher, T.E. & Platt, L. (2018). (Just) a walk with the dog? Animal geographies and negotiating walking spaces. *Social and cultural geography*, 19 (2), p. 211-229.
19. Flexner, S. B. (1987). *The Random house dictionary of the English language*. Beirut: Random House.
20. Fliciński, P. (2012). *Współczesny słownik frazeologiczny*. Poznań: Wydawnictwo IBIS.
21. Forti, T. (2008). *Animal imagery in the book of proverbs*. Leiden – Boston: Brill.
22. Goossens, G.H. (1973). Chamula Tzotzil proverbs: Neither fish nor fowl. In *Meaning in Mayan languages: Ethnolinguistic studies*. Edmonson, Munro S. (ed.). The Hague, Paris: Mouton, p. 205-231.
23. Goossens, L. (1990). Metaphonymy: The interaction of metaphor and metonymy in expressions for linguistic action. *Cognitive linguistics*, 1 (3), p. 323-342.
24. Gordon, E.I. (1958a). Sumerian animal proverbs and fables: "Collection five". In *Journal of Cuneiform studies*, 12 (1), p. 1-21.
25. Gordon, E.I. (1958b). Sumerian animal proverbs and fables: "Collection five" (Conclusion). In *Journal of Cuneiform studies*, 12 (2), p. 43-75.
26. Hendrickson, R. (1983). *Animal crackers. A bestial lexicon*. New York: Penguin Books.
27. Holandi, R. (2011). Language symbolism in animalistic phraseology (A contrastive study on English and Bulgarian). In *Linguo-cultural competence and phraseological motivation*. Pamies [Bertrán], A. & Dobrovol'skij, D. (eds.). Baltmannsweiler: Schneider Verlag Hohengehren, p. 255-270.
28. *Home proverbs*. Available at: <https://www.hallofpeople.com/en/proverbs.php?id=1081>

29. Kiełtyka, R. & Grząsko, A. (2022). In search of cognitive motivation for semantic change: The case of words that originate from body parts. In *Lege artis. Language yesterday, today, tomorrow*. Trnava: University of SS Cyril and Methodius in Trnava, VII (2), Special issue, p. 88-109.
30. Kłosińska, A., Sobol, E. & Stankiewicz, A. (2005). *Wielki słownik frazeologiczny PWN z przysłowiami*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN.
31. Kłosińska, K. (2004). *Słownik przysłów czyli przysłownik*, Warszawa: Świat Książki.
32. Kochman-Haładyj, B. & Kiełtyka, R. (2023). Paradigm shift in the representation of women in Anglo-American paremiology – a cognitive semantics perspective. *Studies in logic, grammar and rhetoric*, 68, p. 41-77.
33. Kövecses, Z. (2006). *Language, mind and culture: A practical introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
34. Kövecses, Z. (2002). *Metaphor. A practical introduction*. New York – Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,
35. Kövecses, Z. (2005). *Metaphor in culture. Universality and variation*. New York – Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
36. Kövecses, Z. & Radden, G. (1999). Towards a theory of metonymy. In *Metonymy in language and thought*. Panther, K-U & Radden, G. (eds.). Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, p. 17-59.
37. Kramer, S.N. (1985). Sumerian wisdom literature: A preliminary survey. In *Bulletin of the American schools of oriental research*, 122, p. 28-31.
38. Krikmann, A. (2001). Proverbs on animal identity: Typological memoirs. In *Folklore*, 17, p. 7-84. Available at: <https://www.folklore.ee/folklore/vol17/proverbs.pdf>
39. Krzyżanowski, J. (1969–1978). *Nowa księga przysłów i wyrażeń przysłowiowych polskich*, 1-4. Warszawa.
40. Kuusi, M. (1972). *Towards an international-type-system of proverbs*. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia.
41. Kuusi, M. (coord.). (1985). *Proverbia septentrionalia*. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia.
42. Lai, H-L. (2008). Understanding and classifying two-part allegorical sayings: Metonymy, metaphor, and cultural constraints. In *Journal of pragmatics*, 40 (3), p. 454-474.
43. Lakoff, G. & Turner, M. (1989). *More than cool Reason: A field guide to poetic metaphor*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
44. Lamb, G.F. (1985). *Animal quotations*. Illustrations by William Rushton. Harlow, Essex: Longman Group.
45. Lemghari, E. M. (2019). A metonymic-based account of the semiotic status of proverbs: Against the "deproverbialization thesis". In *The linguistics journal*, 13 (1), p. 30-51.
46. Lipiński, M. (ed.). (1997). *Dictionary of 1000 Polish proverbs*. New York: Hippocrene books.
47. Liu, J. (2013). A Comparative study of English and Chinese animal proverbs – From the perspective of metaphors. In *Theory and practice in language studies*, 3 (10), p. 1844-1849.
48. *Longman*. Available at: <https://www.ldoceonline.com/dictionary>
49. Lorenz, K. (1976). *I tak człowiek trafił na psa*. Warszawa: W.A.B.
50. Lyazidi, R. (2012). *Animal proverbs and quotes kingdom. Domestic animals*. Parker, Colorado: Outskirts Press.
51. Lyman, D. (1994). *Dictionary of animal words and phrases*. Middle Village, New York: Jonathan David.
52. Lyman, D. (1983). *The animal things we say*. Middle Village, New York: Jonathan David.
53. Macrone, M. (1995). *Animalogies. "A fine kettle of fish" and 150 other animal expressions*. Illustrations by Thorina Rose. New York: Doubleday.
54. Manser, M.H. (2002). *The facts on file dictionary of proverbs*. New York: In imprint of Infobase Publishing.

55. Masegosa, A.G. (2010). Metaphoric complexes: A Spanish-English contrastive analysis of metaphor and metonymy in interaction. In *RESLA*, 23, p. 175-193.
56. Masłowska, D. & Masłowski, W. (2005). *Wielka księga myśli polskiej*. Warszawa: KDC Klub Dla Ciebie.
57. Masłowska, D. & Masłowski, W. (2008). *Wielka księga przysłów polskich*. Warszawa: KDC Klub Dla Ciebie
58. Mazhitaeva, S. & Omasheva, Z. (2013). Polysemantics of zoomorphic images in proverbs and sayings of the English and Kazakh languages. In *European researcher*, 58 (9), p. 2247-2251.
59. Mieder, W. (1993). *Howl like a wolf: Animal proverbs*. Illustrations by Chris Cart. Shelburne, Vermont: The New England Press.
60. Mieder, W. (2004). *Proverbs: A handbook*. Westport, Connecticut – London: Greenwood Press.
61. Mieder, W. (2020). *The worldview of modern American proverbs*. New York – Bern – Berlin, – Brussels – Vienna – Oxford – Warsaw: Peter lang.
62. Milică, I. (2012). Animal metaphors in proverbs, paper presented at the *International Conference Cognitive Linguistics in the World: Situated and Embodied Approaches*. Albert-Ludwigs-Universität, Freiburg im Breisgau, Germany, October 10-12. Available at: [https://www.academia.edu/33037088/Animal\\_Metaphors\\_in\\_Proverbs](https://www.academia.edu/33037088/Animal_Metaphors_in_Proverbs)
63. Moreno, A. I. (2005). An analysis of the cognitive dimension of proverbs in English and Spanish: The conceptual power of language reflecting popular beliefs. In *SKASE journal of theoretical linguistics*, 2, p. 42-54.
64. Paczolay, G. (2015). *Többnyelvű szólás és közmondásgyűjtemény – 340 közmondás magyar, angol, észt, francia, német, olasz, lengyel, portugál, spanyol és latin nyelven / 340 proverbs in 10 Languages*. Budapest: Tinta Könyvkiadó.
65. Pająk, Cz. (2007). *Dictionary of proverbs and sayings. English-Polish. Polish-English*. Warszawa: Wiedza Powszechna.
66. Palmatier, R. (1995) *Speaking of animals: A dictionary of animal metaphors*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.
67. Panther, K.-U. & Thornburg, L. (1999). The potentiality for actuality metonymy in English and Hungarian. In *Metonymy in language and thought*, p. 333-357.
68. Paszenda, J. (1998). The dog, pig and other animals in phraseological units depicting human unhappiness in English, Polish and German, in view of the anthropocentric character of language. In *Topics in phraseology*, 1, p. 91-119.
69. Permyakov, G.L. (1970). *From proverb to folk-tale. Notes on the general theory of cliché*. Moscow: Nauka.
70. Radziejewski, D. (1998). *Angielsko-polski słownik przysłów, powiedzeń, aforyzmów i cytatów*. Włocławek: Altravox Press.
71. Rashidi, N. & Ghaedi, H. (2013). Contrastive discourse analysis of Persian and English animal proverbs. In *Babel*, 59, p. 1-24.
72. Reymond, W.S. *Chłopi*. Część I: Jesień. Available at: [https://wydawnictwo.us.edu.pl/sites/wydawnictwo.us.edu.pl/files/wus\\_2023\\_nowak-kaczmarek\\_stasiak\\_czytaj\\_po\\_polsku\\_t\\_16\\_ebook\\_popr\\_red\\_dla\\_bezpl\\_ebooka\\_4.12.23.pdf](https://wydawnictwo.us.edu.pl/sites/wydawnictwo.us.edu.pl/files/wus_2023_nowak-kaczmarek_stasiak_czytaj_po_polsku_t_16_ebook_popr_red_dla_bezpl_ebooka_4.12.23.pdf)
73. Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez, F.J. (2021). Conceptual metonymy theory revisited: Some definitional and taxonomic issues. In *The Routledge handbook of cognitive linguistics*. Wen, X. & Taylor, J. (eds.), p. 204-227. London – New York: Routledge.
74. Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez, F.J. (2001). Metonymy and the grammar. In *Language and communication* 21 (4), p. 321-357. ABC
75. Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez, F.J. (1998). On the nature of blending as a cognitive phenomenon. In *Journal of pragmatics*, 30 (3), p. 259-274.

76. Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez, F.J. & Díez, V.O.I. (2002). Patterns of conceptual interaction. In *Metaphor and metonymy in comparison and contrast*, p. 489-532.
77. Ruiz de Mendoza, F., & Galera, A. (2014). *Cognitive modeling: A linguistic perspective*. Philadelphia, PA: John Benjamins.
78. Speake, J. (2015). *Oxford dictionary of proverbs*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
79. Stashko, H., Čábyová, E. & Jurišová, V. (2022). Slogans in English and Slovak advertisements: Stylistic aspect. In *Lege artis. Language yesterday, today, tomorrow*. Trnava: University of SS Cyril and Methodius in Trnava, VII (2), p. 76-115.
80. Steuck, U. (1997). *One thousand and more animal proverbs*. London: Minerva Press.
81. Strauss, E. (1994). *Dictionary of European proverbs*. London; New York: Routledge.
82. Stypa, H. (2014). *Zoologismen im Deutschen und ihre polnischen Entsprechungen*. Bydgoszcz: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Kazimierza Wielkiego Bydgoszcz.
83. Summers, D. (ed). (2005). *Longman dictionary of English language and culture*. London: Pearson Education.
84. Szerszunowicz, J. (2011). *Obraz człowieka w polskich, angielskich i włoskich leksykalnych i frazeologicznych jednostkach faunicznych*. Białystok: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu w Białymstoku.
85. Szpila, G. (2005). Metonymic operations in Polish proverbs. In *Proverbium*, 22, p. 403-414.
86. *The free dictionary by Farlex*. Available at: <https://pl.thefreedictionary.com/>
87. *The phrase finder*. Available at: <https://www.phrases.org.uk/>
88. Uberman, A. (2022). Metaphors describing America in Obama's first presidential campaign – a case study of the presidential memoir A promised land. In *Lege artis. Language yesterday, today, tomorrow. The journal of University of SS Cyril and Methodius in Trnava*. Trnava: University of SS Cyril and Methodius in Trnava, VII (2), p. 116-151.
89. *UE using English.com*. Available at: <https://www.usingenglish.com/>
90. Wilkinson, P. R. (2002). *Thesaurus of traditional English metaphors*. London and New York: Routledge.
91. *WSJP*. Available at: <https://wsjp.pl/>
92. *YourIdioms.Com*. Available at: <https://www.youridioms.com/en/>

Contact data:

	<p><i>name:</i> <i>academic title/rank:</i></p> <p><i>department:</i> <i>institution:</i></p> <p><i>e-mail:</i> <i>fields of interest:</i></p>	<p><b>Bożena Kochman-Haladyj</b>          PhD in Linguistics          Assistant Professor          Institute of Modern Languages          University of Rzeszów          Al. mjr W. Kopisto 2b, 35-315 Rzeszów,          Poland  <a href="mailto:bkochman@ur.edu.pl">bkochman@ur.edu.pl</a>          paremiology, contrastive paremiology, linguo-          culturology, cognitive linguistics,          axiolinguistics</p>
---	--	--