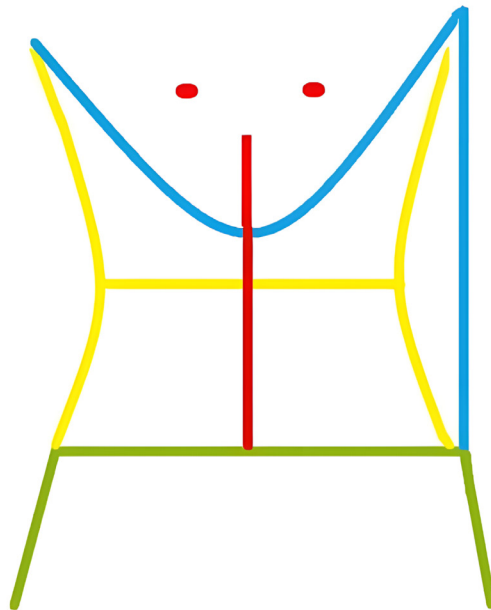


QUADERNI DEL CERM



ALEKSANDAR MUDRI

TERMINOLOGY RELATED TO THE RAISING OF DOMESTIC ANIMALS IN THE RUTHENIAN LANGUAGE OF VOJVODINA



Quaderni del CERM

Aleksandar Mudri

TERMINOLOGY RELATED TO THE
RAISING OF DOMESTIC ANIMALS IN
THE RUTHENIAN LANGUAGE
OF VOJVODINA
(cognitive linguistic approach)

Ledizioni

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Preface

It was a great privilege and honour to be awarded the prize for the best doctoral thesis written on a minority-related topic in 2023, with the title “Terminology related to the raising of domestic animals in the Ruthenian language of Vojvodina (cognitive linguistic approach)” by the Centre for Research on Minorities at the University of Insubria in Italy. This award proves to be particularly significant considering the fact that this is the first dissertation written and defended in the Ruthenian language, which coincided with years 2023 and 2024: the years when the Ruthenians in Vojvodina celebrate the 100th anniversary of the publication of the first grammar of the Ruthenian language (1923), the first weekly newspaper printed in Ruthenian (1924), and 120 years of the first book written in Vojvodinian Ruthenian language (1904).

The language of the Ruthenian people in Vojvodina has been the topic of a number of dissertations written in the Serbian language, as well as a few in Hungarian, Russian, and Japanese. The authors of these dissertations typically dealt with some aspects of the Ruthenian language applying linguistic structuralism, and they were concerned with morphology, morphosyntax, lexicography, and other related aspects¹.

1 One of these is the dissertation by Julijan Ramač titled *Predložke konstrukcije u rusinskom književnom jeziku* (‘Prepositional constructions in the Ruthenian literary language’) (1998). Another one is the dissertation *Vreme i vid u rusinskom i engleskom jeziku* (‘Time and tense in the Ruthenian and English language’) by Mihajlo Fejsa (2000). At the level of Ruthenian lexicography, some work has been done in the dissertation titled *Magyar eredetű családnév a bács-szerémi ruszinoknál* (The surnames of Hungarian origin in the Bačka-Srem Ruthenians) by Hajnalka Firis (2008). Vjačeslav Čarski wrote the dissertation titled *Rusinskij jazyk Serbii i Horvatii v svete jazykovyh kontaktov - lingvogenetičeskij aspekt* (The Ruthenian language in Serbia and Croatia in the world of language contact - a linguogenetic aspect) (2011). Finally, the most recent dissertation about the Ruthenian language was defended in Japan. The author of this dissertation titled ヴォイヴォディナ・ルシン語の移動動詞の研究—語彙体系の記述と言語接触による変化を中心に — Voivodina-Rushingo no idodoshi no kenkyu: Goitaikei no kijutsu to gengosesshoku niyoru henka wo chushin

The present work is the most recent dissertation about the Ruthenian language and the first linguistic research of this kind written completely in the Ruthenian language. In addition, this dissertation pioneers the cognitive direction in the Ruthenian linguistics, integrating an interdisciplinary methodology of language analysis. This is also the first linguistic work of this scope where both the conceptual analysis and the association method were used.

In addition to this, the importance of this dissertation lies in the development of linguistic terminology in the Ruthenian language. These terms are mainly related to contemporary cognitive-linguistic research. They are also characteristic of the Slavic and Western traditions of cognitive linguistics. Even though this is not its primary focus, this dissertation is the first one where such a topic was addressed from the contrastive aspect, since similarities and differences with other Slavic languages are highlighted in the analysis.

The dissertation can be used for further cognitive-linguistic research of the Ruthenian language, but other Slavic languages as well. The results of this research can be helpful in understanding the folk taxonomies, people's way of thinking, the creation of stereotypes, and the linguistic world image of Ruthenians in Serbia (Vojvodina). The results of the association test can be applied to a wide range of research fields beyond linguistics.

Since conceptual analysis was used to investigate phraseologisms of one thematic group and they were compared to their equivalents in other Slavic languages, this dissertation also contributes to the phraseological research of the Ruthenian language.

All this represents an important milestone for the Ruthenian community in Vojvodina for several reasons. Despite its limitations, this thesis proved that linguistic research on the one hand can meet the needs of a small community in terms of regulating the use of a language, and on the other hand, it can set some new directions for Ruthenian Studies, showing that such linguistic material can be indeed interesting and scientifically relevant to a wider audience.

The initial aim of this research was, however, considerably more

ni ("The study on the movement verbs in the Ruthenian language in Vojvodina: a description of the lexical system and an analysis of the changes influenced by the linguistic contact) is Kaname Okano, who defended his dissertation in 2020 (2020b).

modest. It was rather motivated by both my personal development goals and the desire to contribute to the transition of the Ruthenian Studies to modern scientific paradigms such as cognitive linguistics. On a personal note, this also implied challenging old patterns of thinking that needed to be abandoned in order to make this research more visible and relevant.

My interest in the plant and animal world and their representation in language began with my first scientific papers. They were shaped and conducted drawing on descriptive, structural linguistics. However, they indirectly provided insight into the closeness of the Ruthenian language with other languages of the Carpathian area which was useful for understanding development of concept, clarification of motivation or confirmation of attitudes.

The process of preparing the translation of a dissertation, as I have come to realize, is not an easy one, especially if the source language is, so to say, a small language or a language of limited diffusion. This book, therefore, in addition to my personal satisfaction, contributes to the visibility of the Ruthenian language and culture by the means of translation into a global language. In that sense, it has to be mentioned the Centre for Research on Minorities (CERM) does enormous work to increase the visibility of the small national community of Vojvodina Ruthenians and in that way allows the global scientific community to gain insight into the language and culture, more precisely the linguistic image of the world of a small, but culturally rich community.

Finally, for this achievement, I owe a debt of gratitude to my dissertation supervisor, Professor Ljudmila Popović, who wholeheartedly helped me to get acquainted with cognitive linguistics, as an inspiring field of studying language and human thought. Additionally, I am much obliged to my colleague Marina Šlemender for translating the dissertation, which was also a pioneering endeavor for her. For proofreading, corrections, and advice on adapting the text for English readers, I sincerely appreciate my colleagues Professor Diana Prodanović Stankić, Dr. Predrag Kovačević, an assistant professor, Željka Mazinjanin, and Mina Stojković.

Besides CERM, the translation and proofreading were financially supported by the Science Committee of the National Council of the Ruthenian National Minority in the Republic of Serbia, the City of Novi Sad, Secretariat for Culture, and the Provincial Secretariat for Higher Education and Scientific Research.

It is equally important to highlight the role of my family in this endeavor. Without their patience and support, this research and

then later, preparation of this manuscript, would not have been possible. For this reason I would like to thank my parents, Cecilija and Elemir. Last but not the least, without my life force and motivation, my Nataša, and my sons Andrij and Matej, any work would be meaningless, and I am forever grateful for having them by my side.

Needless to say, for all the mistakes that still remain in this book the author is solely responsible.

Ruski Krstur, Vojvodina, Serbia
September 2024

A. M.

Typographic conventions

'litteral meaning'

"figurative meaning"

/transliteration of Ruthenian word/phraseologism in latin/

examples

CONCEPT, SOURCE DOMAIN, TARGET DOMAIN

1. Introductory notes

The topic of this dissertation is the terminology related to raising of domestic animals explored through the prism of cognitive linguistics. Domestic animals are those that have been domesticated and adapted by people to meet their agricultural and household needs. These animals typically live in close association with humans, obey their owners, serve agricultural purposes, and regularly reproduce, passing on their traits to their offspring (Krajinović, Čobić, Đinkulov, 2000: 34). The concepts related to raising domestic animals serve as an important basis in forming the image of the world since they are of central importance for human survival.

The corpus that was compiled for this study consists of 196 names and 177 phraseological units related to the raising of domestic animals. The phrases and lexemes were classified based on the results of the conceptual analysis employed to outline the conceptual fields.

A hundred people took part in an association experiment. The association test contained 44 stimuli used to collect around 4400 responses were used as the material analyzed in the section about categorization, i.e. the identification of the prototypical member of each category.

The material collected through fieldwork was the preparational material of this study. However, it proved appropriate for cognitive linguistic research since the literature suggests that the linguistic image of the world, that is, the conceptsphere, should be analyzed on diverse materials that show the results of people's view on the world around them. This material consists of 996 units. In addition to lexemes, it also includes phraseologisms, poems, and anecdotes.

The primary theoretical foundation of this work is the framework of cognitive linguistics. Language reflects cognitive processes, so the research based on cognitive linguistic theories and methodologies analyzes linguistic material through the sensuous, emotional, and cognitive experience of the extralinguistic reality. Cognitive linguistics is an interdisciplinary research paradigm that was created as a result of analyzing languages as instruments

for gaining, memorizing, and transferring information about nature, people, and society (Popović, 2017: 319).

The goal of this research is to analyze fragments of Ruthenian's linguistic world image related to the conceptualization and categorization of domestic animals. With this in mind, we have analyzed the folk taxonomy, i.e. how a Ruthenian native speaker views concepts related to domestic animals and their raising. By analyzing the mechanisms of conceptualization using the material about categorization, nomination, phraseologisms, and responses to stimuli in association tests, we will demonstrate what kind of a mental image Ruthenians have about domestic animals, but also themselves and the world.

The aims of this research can be grouped into the following ones:

1. Describe the structure of the concept of a domestic animal in Ruthenian's linguistic world image.
2. Compare the encyclopedic lexical-semantic meaning of nominations of domestic animals with their cognitive conceptualizations.
3. Define the directions of metaphorization and metonymyization of the terms for domestic animals and how many of these domains also denote a person.
4. Find the cognitive mechanisms that are most often used to form the concept of domestic animals.
5. Based on the association experiment, find the core and the periphery of the association fields of domestic animals, and define the prototypical members of these categories.

The material used for this analysis was collected through fieldwork and the excerpting of the sources. The fieldwork was conducted for the purpose of familiarization with the folk views on the topic in question. 22 people¹ were interviewed in Ruski Krstur, Kucura, Novo Orahovo, Đurđevo, Bikić Dol, and Berkasovo². The

1 In Ruski Krstur: Irina Kozarova (1919), Ljubomir Varga (1926), Ljubomir Pap, (1939), Miron Ramač (1938), Jaroslav Nad' (1940); Kucura: Vladimir Magoč (1931), Kiril Salontaji (1935), Mikola Ujfaluši (1937), Natalija Buila (1944), Janko Buila (1942); Djurdjevo: Leona Čakan (1930), Michal Bujila (1936), Melana Kuchar (1942), Magdalena Nad' (1940), Jakim Kuchar (1943); Novo Orachovo: Amalka Kološnjaji (1941), Julijan Kološnjaji (1938), Djura Džunja (1947); Bikić Do: Michal Kapušinsky (1939), Mykola Torma (1937), Berkasovo: Leona Venčel'ovski (1933), Olga Lukačova (1950).

2 In Ruthenian Руски Керестур /Ruski Kerestur/, Коцур /Kocur/, Нове Орахово /Nove Orachovo/, Дюрдьов /Đurđov/, Бикич Дол /Bikič Dol/, and

participants were the oldest people living in said places who have raised domestic animals throughout their lives. Other important criteria were that the people spoke without impediments and had lived in these villages their entire lives.

The interviews with the participants were audio recorded and then transcribed into a Word document. While transcribing, special attention was dedicated to writing down everything accurately, i.e. to have the text of the conversation transliterated, not adapted to the modern language. A dictionary was formed based on the interviews. The transcribed material was analyzed and the terms that denote concepts related to the raising of domestic animals were extracted from it. The terms were gathered in a dictionary form. Each entry included the basic grammatical information and context, that is, a sentence where a certain term was used.

The second part of the corpus consisted of the terms for domestic animals, objects, and concepts related to their raising taken from the *Ruthenian-Serbian Dictionary* and the *Dictionary of the Ruthenian folk language* (DRFL). Additionally, since the linguistic image of the world is best reflected through phraseologisms, the phraseological units that include terms falling under the researched topic were collected from the above mentioned dictionaries as well as the *Phraseological Dictionary of the Serbo-Croatian Language: Serbo-Croatian-Ruthenian* (Kašić, Petrović, Ramač, 1987), Mikola Kočiš's study 'Idioms and phraseological expressions' (Kočiš, 1978), the *Ruthenian phraseological dictionary volume 1* (Koljesarov 1975), and MA theses in which phraseologisms were analyzed (Čižmar 2015; Rac, 2015).

The method of conceptual metaphor analysis (George Lakoff, Mark Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By* (1980); Zoltán Kövecses, *Metaphor: A Practical Introduction* (2002; 2010); George Lakoff, Mark Turner, *More than Cool Reason: A Field Guide to Poetic Metaphor* (1989); George Lakoff, *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things: What Categories Reveal about the Mind* (1987); Mark Johnson, *The body in the Mind: The Bodily Basis of Meaning, Imagination and Reason* (1987)) was used in this work to define the directions of metaphorization and conceptual fields, as well as the members of identified categories. More information about the conceptual metaphor analysis will be provided in the section *Theoretical and methodological framework*.

The association method is used as an additional analytical tool. The association test was done to determine the prototypical member of each category, i.e. the best member of each category (Rosch 1973; Rosch 1975a; Rosch 1975b; Rosch 1976; Rosch 1978; Rosch, Mervis 1975). In Ruski Krstur and Kucura, 100 people provided information about the categories of this folk taxonomy. A more detailed description of the questionnaire and the way of providing answers will be given in the third section *The Association Survey*.

The study is divided into six parts. In the first part, the topic, corpus, goals, and research methodology are presented.

In the second part, we will present the theoretical background of this cognitive linguistic research by providing some basic cognitive linguistic theories and terminology. After that, some observations of cognitive linguists about the classic theory of categorization and the development of the theory of prototypes through the research done by Ludwig Wittgenstein and Eleanor Rosch will be presented.

As part of this section related to categorization, some information about hedges and the basic level of categories will be given. In addition to categorization, we will explain the notion of conceptual metaphor as one of the basic subjects of cognitive linguistics. Various views of analyzing this metaphor, i.e. the poetic, lexical, and conceptual metaphor, system of conceptual metaphors, the primary metaphors, metonymy, and metaphonymy will be presented. Finally, at the end of this section, some attention is dedicated to the concepts of stereotypes and prototypes, both of which are very important for the understanding of the linguistic image of the world.

The directions of cognitive mechanisms (metaphor, metonymy, metaphonymy) obtained through conceptual analysis of nominations are presented in the third part. In the fourth part, the phraseologisms and conceptual fields transferred by them are presented. The fifth part offers the results of the association test used as an additional research tool to find typical members of each category. The sixth part presents the synthesis of conclusions of the previous parts. Finally, at the end, a list of used references is provided.

2. The theoretical and methodological framework

2.1. The linguistic image of the world

The linguistic image of the world consist of people's representations of external reality (judgments about the world, people, things, events) that are indicated in the linguistic units through the linguistic classification of reality, the linguistic ordering of objects and events, etc. (Popova, Sternin, 2007: 51-54). It implies the interpretation of the reality that is built into the language, and it is based on sensory perception (Štrbac, 2018: 27). The linguistic image of reality, according to Popović, is formed from the individual prototypical and collective stereotypical concepts based on the semantic and encyclopedic information (Popović, 2008: 63-64; Stefanović, 2012: 17).

Ljudmila Popović sees the linguistic image of the world as a 'complex of all semantic characteristics of the real world that is actualized in every concrete communicative situation through verbal codes of the individual members of a certain culture' (Popović, 2008: 27). According to Bartminjski, the linguistic image of the world is the result of the subjective perception, has an anthropocentric character, but is also intersubjective as it becomes socially accepted (Bartminjski, 2011: 46).

The linguistic image of the world can be direct since it is created as a result of the direct observation of reality through appropriate sensory organs and its understanding by means of abstract thinking. It can also be indirect¹ as it relies on the systems of signs to materialize and form the indirect image of the world (Štrbac, 2018: 27). Direct or cognitive² image of the world implies conceptual knowledge, multitude conceptual stereotypes which determine understanding and interpretation of certain occurrences of reality (Štrbac, 2018: 27). Since not all concepts are embodied in a language, the cognitive image of the world is wider than the lin-

1 That is the linguistic and artistic image of the world.

2 Since it is created as a result of the cognitive mechanisms.

guistic image of the world. It is the verbal result of the linguistic image.

Every language has its model of conceptualization of reality, which is why speakers of every language have a specific image of the world. Dragičević states that there should be a difference between the conceptual and linguistic image of the world as their relation is highly complex (Dragičević, 2010: 11). The difference between the conceptual and linguistic world image is that the conceptual image is richer, and consists of general, national and individual elements. The second point of distinction (national) is the topic of this research. When it comes to the conceptual image, the topic of the study concerns concepts, whereas, the linguistic image, targets linguistic units.

According to Dragičević, analyzing the national³ world image also entails analyzing the mentality of an ethnic group, since it is closely associated with world image (Dragičević, 2010: 13). Ethnic group mentality, as Dragičević says, is what we find unusual or unfamiliar in another culture, which is why a member of one ethnic group cannot say a lot about the mentality of the ethnic group they are a part of (Dragičević, 2010: 12).

Ljudmila Popović defines the difference between linguo-culturology and cognitive linguistics, in a way that outlines the direction of this study. In cognitive linguistics, research is directed from the general world image to the linguistic codes of a culture while in linguo-cultural research, the research goes from culture to individual representations or concepts (Popović, 2008: 51-52)⁴.

3 O. A. Kornilov differentiate national image of the world which is a sum of prototypes in national collective cognition from national language image of the world as a set of lexical equivalents for those prototypes (Dragičević, 2010: 12).

4 "The difference between the cognitive approach and the linguo-cultural approach to the concept of linguistic image of the reality is in the fact that the cognitive linguistic aspect of the analysis includes the individual cognitive activity of the speaker, the estimate of the part of the individual experience in the collective categorization and structuralization of the reality. Following this logic, we can specify the direction of the analysis done by cognitivists as a vector that goes from the awareness (the collective awareness that goes through the prism of the individual one) towards the linguistic codes of culture. On the other hand, the linguo-culturologists start their analysis from the culture, by dividing its whole image into individual representations, towards the concepts." (Popović, 2008: 51-52).

2.2. The naive image of the world and the integral linguistics

In his research on the integral description of a language and systematic lexicography, Yuri Apresjan reconstructs the image of the world, that is, its representation of a person which is also known as the naive image of a person (Štrbac, 2018: 28). Based on the linguistic factors: (lexemes, grammatical forms, syntactic constructions, phraseology, rules of lexical and semantic combining, etc.), he reconstructs the idea of a linguistic image of the world described in the *Языковая картина мира и системная лексикография* (*The Linguistic Picture of the World and Systemic Lexicography*) (Apresjan, 2006).

The naive image of the world differs from the scientific one. Apresjan defines it based on the assumption that every natural language reflects a particular way of conceptualization of the world which is universal, but also specific to one ethnic group (Apresjan, 1995: 352). The difference between the scientific and naive world image is in the fact that the naive image is common for all members of a community, and the scientific image changes based on the level of education and experience in a specific community (Dragičević, 2010: 11). The language reflects the naive world image because the scientific image changes faster than the language. Therefore, it is said that the linguistic expression of the world image carries with it a prescientific character (Dragičević, 2010: 12).

A person sees oneself as a dynamic and active being that engages in physical, intellectual, and narrative activities, reacts to outer and inner stimuli, and has characteristic states of noticing, wishing, knowing, thinking, feeling, etc. (Apresjan, 1995: 352). Every type of activity, state, or reaction is regulated by a particular system located in an organ that performs that activity, state, or reaction (Apresjan, 1995: 352).

2.3. The categorization and theory of prototypes

2.3.1. The classic and cognitive views of categories

The concept of categorization is one of the basic concepts of the theory of prototypes. That is the ability of a person to recognize entities as members of categories. In one of the fundamental books about cognitive linguistics *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things - What Categories Reveal about the Mind*, George Lakoff says that

every time a concept or an object is seen as a type of something, we are categorizing it (Lakoff, 1987: 5). A person usually categorizes objects unconsciously, without thinking which category an object, living being, concept, abstract entity, etc. should be placed in. He emphasizes the importance of categorization in everyday life. Lakoff sees the understanding of categorization as a helpful tool to understand the way we think and function, thus, the understanding of categorization is one of the most important thing to help us understand what makes us human (Lakoff, 1987: 6).

In mainstream cognitive linguistic literature, authors often cite the classical theory of categorization as a way to describe the contemporary approach as the negation of the classical tradition. The primary assumptions of the classical approach to the theory of categorization defined by Aristotle in *Metaphysics* are the following (Taylor, 1995: 23-24; Popović, 2008: 32-33; Prodanović-Stankić, 2008: 13):

1. Categories are defined by means of combining necessary and sufficient characteristics;
2. The traits of the members of categories are binary⁵;
3. Categories have clear boundaries;
4. All members of a category have equal status.

Ludwig Wittgenstein was the first to raise some questions about this classical view with his analysis of games in *Philosophical Investigations* (1980). According to Wittgenstein, in contrast to the classical theory of categorization that assumes that categories have clear boundaries defined by the common properties of members of a category, the category of games does not fit into this classical mold. Some games do not have winners, and in some, it is important to be active. Due to the lack of a common property to unite all members of one category, Wittgenstein offers another term to fill in this gap, which is *family resemblances*. This term indicates that members of one category, such as the previously mentioned category of games, share diverse similar properties, but only some of them are typical for some members of that category. Therefore, it is impossible to create one clear boundary between the members of two categories. This helps us conclude that the claim of the clas-

5 Popović states that Aristotle's division of categories based on the binary principle influenced structuralism in science, e.g. in linguistics, the view of phonologists on binary phonemes (Popović, 2008: 32).

sical theory of categorization based on Aristotle's writings, where one category is structured around a group of common traits, is not justified. Wittgenstein's research shows that the view of the classical theory where *categories are defined in the sense of combining necessary and sufficient characteristics* also cannot be maintained.

A category is defined by an intersecting web of similarities. Some traits of the members of a category can be typical for that category, and every member can have only some of those traits. The same happens in a family, where members share some physical or psychological similarities, but do not need to have one characteristic or a well-defined group of common characteristics. Applying this logic, different games can belong to the same category (Lakoff, 1987: 16).

One of the conclusions Wittgenstein made in his research is that the category of games does not have strict boundaries, which can be illustrated using a more modern example of games, such as video games. Old members of this category can disappear, and new ones can emerge (Lakoff, 1987: 16). Similar cases can be illustrated with examples from categories of domestic animals. In the past, the majority of Ruthenians had at least one horse and one cow, which is not the case nowadays. This does not mean that people have forgotten about the existence of a cow or a horse as domestic animals. Yet, does the fact that children, even those living in countryside, do not recognize some domestic animals, indicate that those animals have become less prominent members of domestic animals category⁶. Due to the changes in society, the prototypical examples of this category would be a dog or a cat.

Cognitive linguistics disagrees with the classical theory of categorization on having strict and exclusive boundaries of categories, that is, on viewing categories as abstract containers with objects that can be only inside or outside of that it (Lakoff, 1987: 6). Whether something belongs to a category is decided based strictly on common properties. One drawback of this theory, which according to Lakoff had the status of an undeniable truth for far too long, is the lack of empirical confirmation (Lakoff, 1987: 6).

In the 1970s, through empirical research in several different dis-

6 This is also seen in the results of a test done by children at the end of elementary school, where they needed to count the number of breeds Ruthenians had when they first moved to today's place of living. They would not recognize a bull as the member of the same category as a cow, but rather consider it to be a separate breed.

ciplines in the humanities, there was a change of perspective regarding the theory of categorization where this concept is put at the center of the focus of research. This shift happened firstly in the research done by cognitive psychologists, and the pioneers of this work were Eleanor Rosch, Carolyn Mervis, and their collaborators. They did several psychological experiments where the participants had the task of ranking members of a specific category based on the degree to which they can be seen as their typical representatives (Goodness-Of-Exemplar). The simplest way of doing this kind of research is to first present a category to the participants, and then give them a list of its members where they have to give marks from 1 to 7 based on how good of a representative that member is. The participants were also asked to create a list of attributes of a specific category on the superordinate or superior level. This way, the best members of categories are chosen to represent their prototypes, or as they are also referred to in literature, the prototypical members that are the central members of a category (Croft, Cruse, 2004: 77). The results of the research show that some members of a category are more representative than others, i.e. some are better examples of that category. This property of a member of a category is known as centrality.

Rosch used her research about categories of colors to present her view on the classical theory of categories saying that all the members of a category cannot have the same status since it was noticed that there is a universal group of primary colors with an established hierarchy among them making some colors more of the typical representatives of the category than others. One of the most important results of Rosch's research is the discovery of the best members of a category or prototypes (Lakoff, 1987: 7). Lakoff states that based on the theory of prototypes, people's categorization is a thing of people's experience, imagination, activities and culture, as well as metaphor, metonymy and mental images (Lakoff, 1987: 8).

According to Taylor, there are two models of determining a prototype. The first model states that there is only one prototype of a given category that has the highest number of typical traits. The second one says that a category can have several prototypical members that have different traits that do not need to be similar (Taylor, 1995: 52)⁷.

⁷ According to Taylor, members of a category receive a status of a prototypical member because of the frequency, that is, how often they are

In one category, members do not have the same place but are organized into levels, and there are no clear boundaries between categories, a phenomenon referred to as *membership gradience* (Lakoff, 1987: 8). They exhibit different degrees of similarity with the prototype. Based on the degree of similarity, members of a category can be closer to the center or in its periphery making it sometimes difficult to decide with certainty whether they are members of that category or not⁸. The entities are grouped into certain categories based on their similarities, with one typical representative. While on the topic of typicality, Murphy cites frequency as one of the possible signs, e.g. when we see an animal or an object more frequently, it will be more typical for us (Murphy, 2021).

As a solution to the problem of defining the principles of representativeness, Popović proposes finding the connection between the prototype and stereotype (Popović, 2008: 36). The ranking of the elements, according to Popović, depends on the vector of prototypicality, i.e. on how many people recognize a specific member of the category as a prototype. The higher the recognition of the prototype, the closer it is positioned to the center of that category (Popović, 2008: 37-38)⁹.

As the fundamental difference between the classical and modern theory of categorization, Popović states that, in addition to physical properties, it is also necessary to include functional attribute, in other words, the purpose of a category member, which is conditioned by a subjective assessment.

2.3.2. Hedges

When talking about the view that categories are strictly defined, Taylor says that the reasons behind such a view are in formal education, but also the Bible, that is, the stories of the creation of the world that teach us that God created animal breeds and gave them names (Taylor, 1995: 75).

Some categories do not have the gradation of membership, as argued by Lakoff. He gives the example of the American senator which can be applied to any title, or position that can only be held

used in the everyday life (Taylor, 1995: 53).

8 Such a case is with the rabbit as the member of the category poultry.

9 Popović gave the research of French linguist Dubois as an example, where the prototypical member has such a status only when seen in the same way by 75% of the participants (Popović, 2008: 37-38).

by one person, e.g. the president of a country. This contrasts with, for example, the category of rich people or tall people (Lakoff, 1987: 21-22; 1973: 461). Lotfi Zadeh introduced the *fuzzy set theory* where every member of a certain category does not need to have all the characteristics of other members of the category while part of that category. In other words, his point is that no person is completely tall or short, but they are usually somewhere in between, tall or short to a certain degree ((Lakoff, 1987: 21-22; 1973: 461).

Murphy gives an interesting example about the unclear boundaries of categories, mentioning the exclusion of Pluto from the category of planets, i.e. downgrading it to a dwarf planet which led to scientists trying to establish a clear definition of a planet. Many members of the academia, or astronomers, did not accept this definition, because if it were to be accepted, it would imply that Neptun is not a planet either. Murphy concludes that the domains from which we expect a clear definition can also sometimes cause problems. Categories have unclear boundaries that can change their place over time.

To express the degree of belonging to a category, speakers can use words and expressions that Lakoff refers to as hedges. In his work *Hedges: A Study In Meaning Criteria And The Logic Of Fuzzy Concepts* (1973), Lakoff listed more than 60 hedges that can be understood as categorical concretizers of a modal nature that helps in getting a clearer picture of whether a member belongs to the category or not (Popović, 2008: 35). Besides this, hedges help in recognizing those entities that are not members of a certain category (Taylor, 1995: 78).

To analyze the hedges in our material, in the association survey which served as an additional tool for investigating members of categories of domestic animals, questions such as *That would be a good cow, horse, etc., if it had* were given. The goal of these stimuli was to analyze the hedges, or traits and elements, that are needed to see a certain domestic animal as the typical member of its category.

According to Taylor, hedges prove that the views of the classical theory of categorization are not valid (Taylor, 1995: 79-80). Hedges help us differentiate between the central and peripheral members of a category.

2.3.3. *The basic level of a category*

Many categories are parts of hierarchies, that is, webs or structures of categories that have superordinate and subordinate levels. Enti-

ties can be part of several different categories that are structured as a hierarchy, e.g. Lipizzan is part of a category of horses, livestock, domestic animals, mammals, and living beings (Murphy, 2021). The theory of prototypes is also interested in the levels of categorization since categories appear with varying levels of inclusion according to which more specific categories are placed within the more inclusive ones, thus every level of categorization is more inclusive than the previous one.

The fact that basic level category is foundation of our knowledge, Lakoff is illustrating with following:

When subjects are asked to list attributes of categories, they list very few attributes of category members at the superordinate level (furniture, vehicle, mammal); they list most of what they know at the basic level (chair, car, dog); and at the subordinate level (rocking chair, sports car, retriever) there is virtually no increase in knowledge over the basic level (Lakoff, 1987: 47).

According to Lakoff, categories of the basic level are fundamental in the sense of perception, function, communication, and organization of knowledge (Lakoff, 1987: 46-47). Categories are not only hierarchically organized from the most general to the most specific ones, but they are also organized in such a way that the cognitively fundamental ones are placed at the center of a *general-to-specific hierarchy* (Lakoff, 1987: 13). Generalization goes up to the basic level, and specialization goes down. Lakoff claims that categories of the basic level are functionally and epistemologically primary for the gestalt perception, the formation of the image, motor movement, the organization of knowledge, ease of cognitive processing and ease of linguistic expression (Lakoff, 1987: 13).

Based on the research on speech development among children, Murphy states that children typically use one word consistently which helps them learn the names of objects, but that adults in their speech also choose those words (Murphy, 2021). As he says, for instance, a person, walking through an office and seeing an office chair in front of an office desk that blocks his way will probably say "Move that chair" rather than "Move that office chair" or "Move this piece of furniture" (Murphy, 2021).

2.4. The conceptual metaphor¹⁰

For the majority of people, metaphor is a term used to mark poetic expression, an ornament in a poem used by an author to compare two concepts, express a thought, but also to make a text unique and trigger a certain response in the reader. Such a traditional view of a metaphor has its roots in the rhetorical, or stylistic tradition presented in Aristotle's *Poetics*¹¹ (Klikovac, 2004: 10; Prodanović-Stankić, 2008: 20). However, as cognitive linguists claim, metaphor can be used in everyday speech. Let us just remember all the times we say that we work like a horse or drive a car with a certain horsepower, or when we say for a romantic couple 'They've come to the end of the road'. Similarly, when a person missed the train because they did not get married or graduate from the university on time, this metaphor stands for the missed opportunities. How many times do we say (or not) that someone is *a donkey, pig, or dog*? Why do we¹² first think of a cow that spills a full pail of milk with its back leg when talking about a person who destroys everything good they did before? All of these examples are metaphors that we use every day.

Cognitive linguistics treats all of this as a fundamental way of expressing one's thoughts and not as a need to decorate one's speech or attract the listener's or reader's attention with an unusual expression. People use their life experiences to conceptualize reality, that is, they use the familiar to denote the unfamiliar.

2.4.1. Poetic, lexical and conceptual metaphor

Depending on the perspective, a metaphor can be seen as a stylis-

10 Parts of this text are published as a segment of the work Mudri, A. (2020), "Metaforični značenja z nazvoxa domašnjix žyvtin'ox xtory še odnoša na človeka" (Metaphorical meanings derived from the names of domestic animals related to people in Ruthenian Language in Serbia), *Polyslav*, 265-273.

11 Klikovac, based on Mahon, states that the thoughts and views of Aristotle in his *Rhetorics* can be connected to the modern understanding of metaphor, but that the researchers nevertheless more often choose his explanations from *Poetics* (Klikovac, 2004: 10).

12 See explanation of metaphore in phraseologism *добра жена як тотa крава цo до полного жохтара виргне* / *dobra žena jak tota krava co do polnoho žohtara virgnje* / 'a good woman is like this cow that kicks a full pail of milk' on page 173.

tically expressive tool (poetic metaphor), a linguistic mechanism (lexical metaphor¹³), and as already mentioned, cognitive mechanism (conceptual metaphor) (Dragičević, 2010a: 147).

The basis of the lexical metaphor is the conceptual metaphor as cognitive mechanism (Halas Popović, 2017: 19). It is built on the transfer of a name from one concept to another based on similarity. The need to name a certain object or concept activates the process used to go from the conceptual level of a metaphor to the level of linguistic expressions, or lexemes (Dragičević, 2010a: 148). According to Darinka Gortan Premk, there are types of lexical metaphors in a language, that are based on form (*a neck of a guitar or a bottle*), color (*a blue Moon*), place (in Serbian *глава брда* 'the head of a hill', or Ruthenian *буяче чоло* /*bujače čolo* 'the front side of the stack of hay that resembles a bull's forehead'); transformations abstract-concrete (*sharp/dull knife: sharp/dull person*), semes of collective expression¹⁴ (*good person: good party*), and associations space-time (*short street - short days*) (Gortan Premk, 2004: 90-108; Dragičević, 2010a: 149; Halas Popović, 2017: 21).

Through the work of Lakoff and Johnson's *Metaphors We Live By* (1980), the conceptual metaphor became the object of interest in the research of cognitive linguistics. Together with metonymy and typical scenarios, this mental mechanism enables our understanding of reality (Dragičević, 2010a: 90). This is the understanding of one of the concept or conceptual domain with the help of another concept or conceptual domain. A person develops concepts about objects around them based on their physical, sensuous, and emotional experiences of those objects. This view is the result of the assumption that our thoughts are built into our bodily experiences which we acquire throughout our lives. Lakoff and Johnson state that subjective experiences, that is the understanding of an idea, is conceptualized as a sensory-motor experience, e.g. catching an object (Lejkof, Džonson, 2014: 273). The view of these authors is that source metaphors in a language are found in the conceptualization of the human body as the basis for processing the relations in reality (Popović, 2008: 14).

In addition to the experiences acquired throughout our lives,

13 Mikola M. Kočiš, Ruthenian linguist in his book *Лингвистични работи /Lingvistični roboti/ (Linguistic Works)* writes about metaphor and metonymy as a stylistic tool where a word is used in a not-original meaning (Kočiš, 1978: 101).

14 <https://www.lingvistickitermini.rs/pojmovnik/kolektivna-ekspresija/>

culture, that is, the cultural form our environment lives by, has a major role in conceptualization.

Lakoff and Johnson proposed two ways of marking conceptual metaphors. For example, in the conceptual metaphor, SIMILARITY IS CLOSENESS, the target domain SIMILARITY is related to the subject, and the source domain to the nominal part of the predicate (CLOSENESS). The mapping is depicted with the copula IS. Such a depiction of the conceptual metaphor resembles a sentence, but it is not. The purpose of this form is to make presenting, reading, and understanding the conceptual metaphor easier. The second way of depicting the conceptual metaphor is to replace the copula IS with an arrow that goes from left to right, or from the source to the target domain SIMILARITY → CLOSENESS (Lejkof, Džonson, 2014: 289).

In the process of mapping, as cognitive linguists refer to metaphorization, there are two entities, the source domain, or the concept we start from, the one that is familiar and will serve to explain the unfamiliar one, and the target domain as a concept that is explained by the source domain, or the one we want to denote (Lejkof, Džonson, 2014: 289).

By analyzing what constitutes a source and a target domain, Kövecses concludes that the source domain is most frequently clearly defined on the basis of concrete concepts, and the target domain usually includes abstract concepts (Kövecses, 2010: 18). For example, the source domain can be: THE HUMAN BODY, HEALTH, SICKNESS, ANIMALS, PLANTS, BUILDINGS and CONSTRUCTIONS, MACHINES and TOOLS, GAMES and SPORTS, MONEY and BUSINESS, COOKING and EATING, WARMTH and COLDNESS, LIGHT and DARKNESS, FORCES, MOVEMENT, and DIRECTION (Kövecses, 2010: 18-23). On the other hand, the most frequent target domains are EMOTIONS, WISHES, MORALITY, THOUGHTS, SOCIETY, POLITICS, ECONOMY, HUMAN RELATIONSHIPS, COMMUNICATION, TIME, LIFE and DEATH, RELIGION, REASONS, and ACTIONS (Kövecses, 2010: 23-27). This process goes from the concrete domain to the abstract one, and the source and target domains cannot switch places, which is referred to in cognitive linguistics as the one-way principle (Klikovac, 2004: 17). According to Popović, a person understands abstract concepts by starting from the representation of the analogous material objects, and since the conceptualization of a matter is also spatial and anthropocentric, the concepts of the abstract notions are also anthropocentric (Popović, 2008: 45).

There are three types of conceptual metaphors, based on their function. These are the structural (TIME IS MOVEMENT: *the time has*

*come*¹⁵), orientational (HEALTH IS UP: *rise from the dead*; SICKNESS IS DOWN: *fall into a coma*), and ontological metaphors (INFLATION IS AN ENTITY: *The inflation lowers our living standard* (Klikovac, 2004: 23¹⁶)). Based on the general meaning, metaphors can be seen as metaphors with a specific level where concepts are better defined (LIFE IS A JOURNEY: *to miss the last/all the trains*), and general or generic level where the concepts are very general (GENERAL IS SPECIFIC: *Bustard to him and quail to me*)¹⁷ (Klikovac, 2004: 24; Lakoff, Turner, 1989: 80-81). The metaphor of the generic level GENERIC IS SPECIFIC is interesting because it enables us to understand expressions, or the whole category of events on the basis one specific instance (Klikovac, 2004: 24).

Events, activities, emotions, and ideas get their ontological status by means of ontological metaphors (Lakoff, Johnson, 1980: 25-29; Dragičević 2010a: 90-91; Klikovac 2004: 23). The classic example of this type of metaphor is INFLATION IS ENTITY which can be seen in the expressions *The inflations lowers our living standard*, *The inflation is growing*, *We have to fight against the inflation*, etc. (Klikovac, 2004: 23). According to Klikovac, ontological metaphors help us rationalize the abstract experience by taking the concept received through the ontological metaphor and making it more concrete with the help of the structural metaphor (Klikovac, 2004: 23, based on Lakoff, Johnson, 1980: 25-29).

Based on Bergson's theory of evolution, Popović states that the ontological metaphor shows the way the intellect evolves, which is why it is based on the external or natural world (Popović, 2008: 47).

2.4.2. The systems of conceptual metaphors

As Lakoff says, some conceptual metaphors can be grouped into systems (1993). Conceptual metaphors can be organized into hierarchical systems¹⁸, such as THE STRUCTURE OF THE EVENT (*To make a step forward in medicine/science, etc.*), and THE GREAT CHAIN OF BEING (A PERSON IS AN ANIMAL: *You are a pig!*) (Klikovac, 2004: 25; Kövecses,

15 Examples from (Kövecses, 2010: 37-38).

16 More about these types of metaphors in (Lakoff, Johnson, 1980: 25-29; Dragičević, 90-91; Klikovac, 2004: 23; Kövecses, 2010: 37-40).

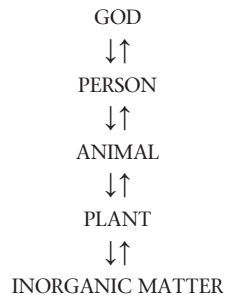
17 Literal translation of the Ruthenian proverb *йому тузок а мне препилка* /jomu tuzok a mnje prepilka/ with target domain HE GOT BIGGER THING WHILE I GOT SMALLER THING.

18 This is not a final number of the possible systems of metaphors.

2010: 149-166). These two systems of conceptual metaphors demonstrate the fundamental division of conceptual entities into the things that are stable in space and time, which are denoted with nouns (metaphor THE GREAT CHAIN OF BEING), and the conceptual relations between two entities which are denoted by verbs, adjectives, adverbs, and conjunctions on the linguistic level (metaphor THE STRUCTURE OF THE EVENT) (Kövecses, 2002: 123-124).

For our purposes, the interesting system of conceptual metaphors is the one created by Lakoff and Turner (1989) THE GREAT CHAIN OF BEING which helps us better understand the conceptual metaphor (DOMESTIC) ANIMAL IS PERSON. Here, using cognitive linguistics, the folk theory about the relations of certain concepts in the world is presented. The fundamental ideas of this theory can be traced back to Plato and Aristotle. It explains why the terms for animals are often used to determine people's characters. The metaphor THE GREAT CHAIN OF BEING can be used to explain the conceptual metaphors based on domestic animals as source domains. Such concepts assume that the traits are transferred from the lower concept to the higher one, and vice versa. This hierarchical system consists of people, animals, complex objects, and natural or physical things.

The modified schema of the metaphor THE GREAT CHAIN OF BEING is presented in the literature (Novokmet, 2017: 51; Kiełtyka, Kleparski: 2005) as follows: it has five levels in two directions and it looks like this:



This can be illustrated by examples used by other authors as well. For example, the metaphor A PERSON IS AN ANIMAL¹⁹, or *This person is a*

19 The metaphors where source or target domains are animals are discussed by Lakoff, Turner 1989, *More than cool reason. A field Guide to Poetic Metaphor*; Kövecses, Zoltán, 2010; *Metaphor: A practical introduction*; Martsa, S, 2003, *Conceptual mappings in the ethnobiological categorization*

pig (Novokmet, 2017: 5) illustrates the transfer of the traits from an animal to a person, or from a higher concept in the metaphor THE GREAT CHAIN OF BEING to the lower one. The opposite direction, from the lower concept to the higher one, can help us understand the metaphorical mapping of AN ANIMAL IS A PERSON, or, the expression *a faithful dog* where an animal receives a trait of a person.

Kövecses states that the domain of animals is a very productive source domain because people are often understood through the characteristics of animals even though metaphorical extensions based on animals as source domain do not need to relate only to people, which Kövecses illustrates with an English example *It will be a bitch to pull this boat out of the water* where the word *bitch* denotes a difficult situation (A DIFFICULT SITUATION IS A SINGLE FEMALE ANIMAL) (Kövecses, 2010: 19).

According to Kövecses, the animal metaphors most commonly denote negative characteristics which is why he concludes that the main focus of these metaphors is objectivization (Kövecses, 2002: 154). The conceptualization in this system goes from the lower domain to the higher one when people are conceptualized as animals or inanimate objects (Novokmet, 2017: 101).

2.4.3. Primary metaphors

In the study titled *About the conceptual metaphor*, Lakoff and Johnson ask why a metaphor is learned and what mechanism lies behind that metaphorical judgment (Lejkof, Džonson, 2014: 274). Using the results of Johnson, Grady, Narayanan, Turner, and Fauconnier, they present a unified theory of conceptual metaphor through four parts (the theory of conflation, the theory of primary metaphor, neuron theory of metaphor, and the theory of conceptual unification).

The theory of conflation, which is based on the experience of babies, holds that subjective experiences and subjective judgments

of animals; Kiełtyka, Kleparski, *The ups and downs of the Great Chain of Being: the case of canine zoosemy in the history of English*; Barcelona 2002, *Clarifying and applying the notions of metaphor and metonymy within cognitive linguistics*; Milić, G. 2011, *Ljudi kao domaće životinje u engleskom i hrvatskom jeziku; kognitivnolingvistički pristup; Pristup zoosemiji u okviru teorije konceptualne metafore i metonimije*, 2013; Prodanović-Stankić, Diana, 2004, *Metafore s nazivima životinja u engleskom i srpskom jeziku*; 2008, *Životinje u poslovice na engleskom i srpskom jeziku*.

flow down together through sensory and motor experience. For example, babies have a subjective experience of close connection with sensory experience, such as warmth (because a mother carries her baby close to her body where it feels warm) (Lejkof, Džonson, 2014: 274). According to the author of this theory, Christopher Johnson, the conceptual metaphor is formed in two stages. The first stage is that of conflation, that is following the connection between active domains that are not separated, which happens with domains of perception and cognition. The second stage is the separation when domains are separated into the source and target metaphorical domain (Lejkof, Džonson, 2014: 274).

According to Grady, there is a primary metaphor, or an atomic metaphor that is the integral part of a complex or molecular metaphor. Complex metaphors are created from primary ones through conventional conceptual unification, which means that smaller metaphorical parts fit into the bigger whole. This theory is connected to the previous one. Grady investigates whether conceptual metaphors have an experiential basis. Using the example THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS, he argues that correlational metaphors are made of simpler primary metaphors that are based on experience (Grady, 1997: 84-85; Čizmar, 2016: 33-34).

The neuronic theory of metaphor assumes that the “togetherness created during this period of conflation is expressed on the levels of neurons, through their simultaneous activations, whose result is the creation of the long-lasting neuronic connections between the neuronic webs that mark different conceptual domains”. Metaphorical correlations start from our bodily functions (sensory and motor system of the body) and are realized through the neuronic connections. Primary metaphors are the neuronic connections that learn through simultaneous activity. These neuronic relations are found in the parts of the brain in the regions in charge of the sensuous and motoric experience, and the subjective experience. In the process of mapping, the sensuous and motoric experience is the source domain, and the subjective experience is the target one.

According to the theory of conceptual unification, different conceptual domains can simultaneously be activated to form connections that lead to new conclusions (Lejkof, Džonson, 2014: 275).

Lakoff and Johnson write that primary metaphors represent mappings from the source to the target domain, where the structure of the conclusion is retained, which is the most important trait of metaphors (Lejkof, Džonson, 2014: 289). Primary metaphors

are like atoms used to build molecules, or complex molecular metaphors that are conceptualized in a stable manner, or instilled over a long period (Lejkof, Džonson, 2014: 291). They form a big part of our conceptual system, which is why they have a strong influence on our thoughts, shape our dreams, etc. (Lejkof, Džonson, 2014: 291).

2.4.4. *Metonymy*

There are three levels of analyzing metonymy. Like in the case of metaphor, metonymy can be seen as a stylistic expressive tool, as a lexical tool, and as a cognitive mechanism. Conceptual metaphor is the fundamental one, and the other two are built on top of it (Dragičević, 2010a: 163)²⁰.

Like conceptual metaphor, metonymy plays an important role as a tool of conceptualization (Dragičević, 2010a: 91). This is a cognitive process where one conceptual entity (source) enables the mental connection with the other conceptual entity (target) inside the same domain or an idealized cognitive model (Dragičević, 2010a: 91; Kövecses, 2010: 173)²¹. Rasulić²² states that metonymy is primarily a process of thinking and understanding, and secondarily a linguistic process. This conceptual mechanism independent of the linguistic realization enables a shorter path in the cognitive process (Rasulić, 2010: 52; Kövecses, Radden, 1998, Panther, Thornburg, 2007)²³.

According to Kövecses, the source and target domain in metonymy are close to each other in the conceptual space, which

20 There is also a view where metonymy is a more fundamental mechanism than metaphor (Štrbac, 2017: 224).

21 The traditional view of metonymy claims that the two entities are contiguously related, or that the two entities are in each other's proximity. Kövecses uses a bit more precise description saying that transportation entities can allow the mental access to the target entity if the two entities belong to the same domain, or as Lakoff puts it, to the idealized cognitive model (ICM) (Kövecses, 2010: 173).

22 Based on the analysis of the metonymic patterns from the literature, the author concludes that one of the important characteristics of metonymic conceptualization is the antropocentricity, since the patterns where a PERSON appears are numerous, various, and flexible (Rasulić, 2010: 58).

23 More about metonymy in (Goossens, 2003; Radden, 2003).

is the main characteristic of these domains (Dragičević, 2010a: 91; Kövecses, 2010: 173). Kövecses suggests naming the entity that directs the attention or allows mental access to the other entity as the vehicle entity, and the entity that the attention is directed to as the target entity. The author warns that such a term should not be confused with the target domain used to denote a part of conceptual mapping (Kövecses, 2010: 173). For example, when someone prepares roasted meat from a domestic animal, say, chicken and we refer to it with the term for this animal (*We are going to eat chicken for our holiday dinner*), then the vehicle entity would be CHICKEN, and the meal made from a chicken would be the target entity (ROASTED CHICKEN).

According to Dragičević, the best examples of metonymy can be found in phraseologisms (e.g. to roll up your sleeves), where to understand one concept, a whole image or the segment that represents its manifestation is brought to the attention (Dragičević 2010a: 163).

The similarity between metaphor and metonymy propelled scholars to analyze their differences (Goossens, 1990; Radden, 2003; Barcelona, 2003a; 2003b; 2003c). In the literature, four main differences between conceptual metaphor and metonymy are listed (Dragičević 2010: 162).

In metonymy, connection is formed from within one domain, and in metaphor, between two domains. When the term for a domestic animal, for example, a goat, is used to also refer to an object used for sewing trees, we have the process of mapping from the domain of domestic animals to the domain of tools. On the other hand, an animal can be named after its color. So, for example, a goat of a white color can be named Whitey (Била /Bila/). Kövecses gives an example when a work of a certain author is referred to by his/her name, e.g. *Did you read Tamaš*²⁴? (Kövecses, 2010: 183). This does not mean we can read a certain person, like Tamaš or Shakespeare, but we can read their works. A similar situation is found in the example *We are going to eat chicken for our holiday dinner* where we do not think that there will be a live chicken offered at the dinner, but roasted meat prepared as a meal.

The type of relations²⁵. With metaphor, this criterion refers to

24 Julian Tamaš, Ruthenian contemporary writer and retired university professor.

25 Rasulić states that the main types of metonymic relation are spatial, temporal, and causative-consequential relation (Rasulić, 2010: 51).

the similarity of domains, while in the case of metonymy, it is based on proximity. Kövecses differentiate between two types of metonymy. These are the relation part - whole and part - part. The first relation is used when one whole domain is connected with one part of that domain, e.g. the name of the horse *Лисак* /Lisak/, *Гвиздаш* /Hvizdaš/ based on its characteristic detail on the forehead in the shape of a white patch /Lisak/ or star /Hvizdaš/. The second relation is characteristic of the connections between entities that are parts of the same domain (Kövecses, 2010: 179). A typical example that Kövecses gives is one that illustrates the metonymic relation between a whole and part such as when one uses the name “America” to refer to the USA, where the whole (the continent) relates to a part (one country on that continent)²⁶. The same applies to England, used to refer to Great Britain, where a part (a state) refers to a whole²⁷ (the federal state) (Kövecses, 2010: 179)²⁸.

Conceptual metonymy, as Dragičević says, is realized between two concepts, between linguistic units and concepts, or events in reality. On the other hand, conceptual metaphor is realized between concepts (Dragičević 2010: 162).

The conceptual metonymy is not as direct as the conceptual metaphor, which is illustrated in the literature with the difference in the directness of the examples THE AUTHOR FOR THE WORK (*Did you read Shakespeare?*) for metonymy, and LOVE FOR TRAVEL for metaphor which is seen in the language in several forms, e.g. *This relationship is going down a dead-end street, Their paths split*²⁹ (Klikovac, 2004: 13).

2.4.5. Metaphonymy

Since it is difficult to differentiate between metaphor and metonymy, Radden suggests having a scale between metaphor and

26 The term *active zone* is used to describe the metonymic pattern of wholeness for wholeness. Kövecses gives two examples, *He hit me* and *The car needs to be washed*, where the wholeness “he” and “car” are used for parts of the whole that represent the active zone, or “fist” and “the body of the car” (Kövecses, 2010: 179).

27 This is a synecdoche, a subtype of metonymy (Popović, 2010: 670-671).

28 Kövecses also lists other idealized cognitive models, such as the constitutional ICM (the material constituting an object for the object: *wood* for “the forest”) (Kövecses, 2010: 180).

29 The examples were taken from Klikovac (2000: 13).

metonymy with metonymy-based metaphor as a separate category in the middle of the scale (Radden, 2003: 93). He proposes to view both cognitive mechanisms as prototypical categories that are at the opposite ends of a continuum (Radden, 2003: 93). Metaphors based on metonymy represent that unclear and fuzzy part in the middle of the continuum since they are close both to the metonymic and metaphorical ends of the continuum.

Cognitive linguistics uses the term *metaphtonymy*, a term originated by Louis Goossens (1990) to describe examples that involve both metaphor and metonymy.

Metaphtonymy is the mapping between two conceptual domains that are based on one conceptual domain or they can be reduced to one conceptual domain (Radden, 2003: 93). According to Radden, we can differentiate between metaphtonymy where common experiences are the basis of the two domains formed on the correlation, complementarity, and comparison of two entities (Radden, 2003: 95-98), that are connected via implication in communication (Radden, 2003: 98-101), with a connection based on the structures of categories (Radden, 2003: 101-102), or the cultural model (Radden, 2003: 103-105).

As the basic types of metaphtonymy, Goossens lists the integrated (metonymy inside metaphor, or metaphor inside metonymy) and cumulative metaphtonymy (metaphor with metonymy, or metonymy with metaphor) (Dragičević, 2005: 185-191; Dragičević, 2010a: 163-167; Goossens, 1990: 323-340)³⁰.

In cognitive linguistics, the term *iconicity* is also used to describe such examples of the cognitive process. Based on the material involving animal terms in the Serbian language, Slobodan Novokmet detects, besides metaphor and metonymy, the examples of metaphtonymy that can be seen in our material as well:

коњ /*konj*/ (3. a. wooden, stone statue of a horse, a statue of a horse in general; b. a sport, a chess piece in the shape of a horsehead);

коњић /*konjić*/ (2. a. a chess piece);

ороз /*oroz*/ (2. a weathercock on the roof);

петао /*petao*/ (6. a piggybank in the shape of a rooster to put money into, 3. a weathercock on the roof or chimney);

певчић /*pevčić*/ (2. Children's instrument in the shape of a small rooster);

петлић /*petlić*/ (2. b. children's toy in the shape of a rooster that makes a crowing sound). (Novokmet 2017: 170).

30 More about the types and examples in Goossens (1990: 323-340).

As Novokmet says, these objects symbolize a specific animal, and they are “the realization of their appearance in a different material sense” (Novokmet, 2017: 171). Objects that resemble a certain animal, that is, the source and target domain, belong to the domains that are categorically separated (animate/inanimate sphere), so Novokmet sees these examples as instances of metaphor within metonymy (Novokmet, 2017: 171).

2.5. Stereotype, prototypes, concepts

It is well known that animals are frequently used in swearwords, yet the question is whether every language or every culture has the same view of animals. Also, the question arises whether some animals have only negative predispositions, that is, whether they are used to convey only negative characteristics of a person, or they can also have positive ones. Furthermore, we ask if the same animals can be the source domain for both positive and negative characterizations as well as what motivates us to see a certain animal as good, hardworking, stupid, mean, lazy, etc.

The view of animals as stupid, lazy, smart, or hardworking is based on the subjective view of a person, which is a stereotypical meaning. According to Mislava Bertoša, a person sees an animal as a resource that can be used, thus, they have a positive view of domestic animals, whereas wild animals are marked as negative and often seen as harmful (Bertoša, 1999: 64). The construction of a stereotypical model depends on the tradition that has an important role in continuing and maintaining the stereotype about a certain animal. Bertoša states that stereotypes in a language are transferred through secondary realizations or phraseologisms, and the speakers of the language transfer them to future generations, who accept those linguistic units without questioning them and demonstrating their linguistic competence and belonging the culture they are a part of (Bertoša, 1999: 65).

While discussing the differences between the prototype and stereotype, Ljudmila Popović writes the following:

“The prototype is the most striking example of the personal experience of the speaker, stored in their episodic memory and measured according to the value scale of the subjective denotative space between the positive and negative side of the individual value scale (Popović, 2008: 37-38).”

According to Popović, the prototype is formed in childhood, when a child tries to evaluate reality based on personal value prin-

ciples, and in that way, puts itself in the matrix of reality, or finds its place in the world (Popović, 2008: 63).

On the other hand, Popović sees stereotypes as associative prototypes, or someone else's experience related to the fragment of the extralinguistic reality, and by adopting it, the speaker gains the fragment of the collective conventional linguistic world image (Popović, 2008: 63).

The linguistic image of the world is formed from individual prototypical and collective stereotypical concepts based on semantic and encyclopedic information (Popović, 2008: 63).

Popova and Sternin use the semantic-cognitive approach to show that the most efficient linguistic-cognitive research has the direction of language → concept (Popova, Sternin, 2007: 23). The analysis of the linguistic means is the most efficient and simplest way of highlighting the characteristics and model of the concept (Popova, Sternin, 2007: 16).

A concept can be understood as the basic functional unit of the linguistic image of reality, as the association field that can incorporate collective stereotypical representations as well as the individual prototypical frames about reality. It is actualized in a specific situation of cognition and communication (Popović, 2008: 59). The totality of the linguistic means used to verbalize a concept represents its nomination field, and part of it consists of words for naming certain concepts, synonyms, common terms, phraseological units, expressions, exclamations, metaphorical nominations, association fields, etc. (Popova, Sternin, 2007: 66-71; Štrbac, 2018: 21).

It carries the encyclopedic information about a concept that it represents, as the result of cognitive activity of individuality and community, as Popova and Sternin say. They proceed to suggest that it is a discrete mental creation (or the basic unit of thoughts) with a relatively organized internal structure (Popova, Sternin, 2007: 34).

According to Sternin, the structure of a concept consists of macro-components (encyclopedic field and interpretative field) that represent an image or representation formed as a result of a person's sensory abilities. The encyclopedic field consists of information that is part of the life experience of the speaker of a language. This information is formed from various life situations, such as the process of learning, in indirect contact with a conceptualized object or concept. The interpretational field is formed from individual understanding or a person's marking of a concept (Sternin,

2008: 8-20). The complexity of the structure of the concept allows the differentiation between the basic concept, such as the core or center of the structure, and the components³¹ that are products of culture, tradition, national or personal experience, which are on the periphery of the structure (Maslov, 2011: 54-55).

The following types of concepts are listed in the literature, and the differences between them are based on the way reality is depicted in our consciousness: representation, schema, concept, frame, scenario, and gestalt. The frame is made of several components that represent the total knowledge about an object or occurrence. The scenario represents several consecutive episodes. Gestalt is a complex thought structure that organizes a variety of different occurrences in consciousness (Popova, Sternin, 2007: 117-119).

A more detailed image of a concept can be received through a detailed description of the nomination field of a certain concept which means analyzing the lexical and associative fields, context, or literature as well as texts (Štrbac, 2018: 32). According to Popov and Sternin, it is important to describe the notion of a semantic space since it represents only a part of the sphere that is denoted by linguistic signs (Popova, Sternin, 2007: 55-62). Therefore, we included the analysis of the mechanisms of conceptualization in our analysis, carried out on the material of transferred meanings, analysis of phraseologisms, categorization, and association fields.

31 Maslova states that besides the conceptual value and grade, a concept consists from the following components: universality, national culture, a persons life in a specific cultural environment, society that depends on the person being part of a certain social group, group that depends on the speaker being part of a certain age or sex group, individuality formed under the influence of personal and unique traits, such as education, upbringing, psychological traits, etc. (Maslova, 2011: 54-55).

3. Conceptual analysis of lexemes regarding domestic animal raising

3.1. Analysis

In this chapter, typical directions of metaphorical mappings will be presented, based on the corpus analysis in this research. In order to present the results, the most frequent directions will be listed first.

DIRECTIONS OF COGNITIVE MECHANISMS IN THE METAPHORICAL MAPPINGS EFFECT

I DOMESTIC ANIMALS

1. DOMESTIC ANIMALS → ANIMALS
2. DOMESTIC ANIMAL, OBJECT → PERSON
 - 2.1. PERSON'S PHYSICAL APPEARANCE
 - 2.2. DESCRIPTION OF PEOPLE
 - 2.3. STATE OF THE HUMAN BODY (DEATH OR PHYSICAL IMPAIRMENT)
 - 2.4. PERSON'S ACTIONS AND BEHAVIORS
 - 2.5. INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS
 - 2.6. SOCIAL CHARACTERIZATION OF A PERSON
3. DOMESTIC ANIMAL → PLANT (PHYTONYM)
4. DOMESTIC ANIMAL → INSECT
5. DOMESTIC ANIMAL → DISEASE
6. DOMESTIC ANIMAL → OBJECT
7. DOMESTIC ANIMAL → CLOTHES
8. DOMESTIC ANIMAL → NATURAL AND ATMOSPHERIC PHENOMENA
9. DOMESTIC ANIMAL → CUSTOMS, COOKING, TOYS

10. DOMESTIC ANIMAL → FOOD

II PERSON

PERSON → DOMESTIC ANIMAL

III OBJECT

OBJECT → DOMESTIC ANIMAL

IV TERMS RELATED TO A DOMESTIC ANIMAL

TERMS RELATED TO A DOMESTIC ANIMAL → SPACE

V UNCLASSIFIED EXAMPLES

I DOMESTIC ANIMALS

1. DOMESTIC ANIMAL → ANIMAL

The examples of the figurative meaning in the direction DOMESTIC ANIMAL → ANIMAL will be presented in this group of metaphorical extensions. Parts of bodies of domestic animals such as the bull's eye (*волово очко*¹ /volovo očko/), the voice (*татач* /gagač/), or the details on the animals' bodies like a white patch (*Лисак* /Lisak/) or a star-shaped patch (*Гвиздаш* /Hvizdaš/) are considered to be part of the source domain. These animals' names were created through an association with a specific domestic animal, where something familiar was used for the nominalization of the unfamiliar or less familiar thing. Additionally, some examples show the influence of other languages on Ruthenian.

In the analysis of animals' and plants' names that have figurative meanings created from the source domain DOMESTIC ANIMAL, it is important to check if the name is a translation of the Latin name. Such examples were created under the influence of Christianity and they represent the civilizational level of the linguistic image. Apart from the civilizational, there are also universal, national-cultural, social, and individual levels of the world's linguistic image.

The extension of meaning or derivation based on metaphorical meanings of the given lexeme is typically based on source do-

1 Names written in Ruthenian Cyrillic will first be given in Latin in round brackets, parentheses /pes/, and then in single quotation marks 'dog', a literal English translation will be enabled.

mains in which domestic animals play an important role. In these cases they can have the form of a noun or a hybrid lexeme structure *adjective + noun*. The nominal part of this structure can be a zoonym or an animal's body part. The adjectival part is a possessive adjective formed from the name of a domestic animal that specifies the body part of the domestic animal representing the basis and cause of motivation.

The terms *волово очко* /volovo očko/ 'bull's eye' and *пша риба* /pša riba/ 'dog's fish' are hybrid forms². The bird Eurasian wren (*Troglodytes troglodytes* L) can be as big as 9 or 10 cm. It has a round shape, so the basis of this figurative meaning can be in the similarity of the height and shape (maybe even color), or the comparison, i.e. the bird that is as big as the bull's eye. According to Timko Đitko, this term can also be found in the Ukrainian language, *волове око* /volove oko/, *волове очко* /volove očko/ (Timko Đitko, 2016: 78)³.

Here, metaphorical mapping is based on the distinctive detail, where the bull's eye was telling enough for the nominalization of this animal. Interestingly, this term was also used for the nominalization of the plant *Viola tricolor*, eng. wild pansy (Ramač, 2017 I: 226; Timko, 1997: 93; Timko Đitko, 2016: 61), which will be discussed in more detail in the section where the target domain is PLANTS.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

волово очко

A BROWN BULL'S EYE → SMALL BROWN BIRD

The frog's early development phases are presented with the hybrid item *пша риба* /pša riba/, where the adjective *пша* /pša/ is derived from the name for the domestic animal *пес* /pes/ 'dog' > adjectiv *пши -а, -е* /pši/; and describes the noun *риба* /riba/ 'fish'. The look of the frog in that stage of development probably ap-

2 These units have a syntagmatic structure yet are close to the words based on their characteristics. Beside this term, Tvrtko Prčić, also uses the term phrasal noun (Prčić, 2016: 163). Some other examples from our data are *пша вишня* /pša višnja/ 'dogs cherry', *пше грозно* /pše hrozno/ 'dogs grape', *пши јазики* /pši jaziki/ 'dogs tongues', *водови бужак* /vodovi bujak/ 'water's bull', *пша риба* /pša riba/ 'dogs fish' etc.

3 Compare: slc. dial. *volovo očko*, pol. *wołowe oczko* (Timko Đitko, 2016: 78).

peared unusual to people. In that phase, the frog resembles a fish but is transforming into a frog. So, the frog may be described with the adjective *ниа* /pša/ to mean something bad, not right, or more precisely not as it is supposed to be, stunted. The etymology of the word *заниец* /zapšec/ 'stunted' can explain the motivation behind that figurative meaning. *Dictionary of the Folk Ruthenian Language*⁴ ('Словник народного руского языка') based on the definitions and examples of the Polish equivalent (*zepsuć*, 'break; make worse') and the Ukrainian one (*зіпсувати*, 'same'), as well as several etymological dictionaries, states that the word *заниец* /zapšec/ is derived from the word *нес* /pes/ (Ramač, 2017 II: 477). In Slavic languages, as seen from these examples, it represents a negative trait and the derived words can mean something useless, bad, or lazy. The image of a dog as a negative one and the derived words from that domain are common in the Ruthenian language. For example, in the conceptual field of 'Negative characteristics of a person', a dog as a source domain appears most often. In older Ruthenian's linguistic image, a dog represents very low values and characteristic traits which can be seen in the phraseologies (*подли як нес* /podli jak pes/ 'lazy as a dog', *цигані як нес* /ciganji jak pes/ 'lies like a dog', etc), as well as in nominalizations, for example when converted to verbs as in *пониец* /popšec/ or *заниец* /zapšec/. On the other hand, the adjective *ниш*, -а, -е /pši/ in examples *ниа вишня* /pša višnja/, *нише грозно* /pše hrozno/, *ниш язики* /pši jaziki/ which denote plants, carries the meaning *poisonous* (Timko Đitko, 2016: 31). This view of a dog can be interpreted as a source one, from the time before this animal was domesticated and lived as a stray, hungry, dirty, etc. The term *ниа риба* /pša riba/ can be understood as a metaphor whose goal is to highlight the characteristics of a stunted or underdeveloped fish, ie. sort of fish. Such processes are referred to as hedges, where a peripheral category of a fish is discussed.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

ниа риба

SORT OF FISH → PHASE IN FROG'S EARLY DEVELOPMENT

Metaphorical mapping can be based on voice too. The bird

4 In the following text, the abbreviation DFRL will be used.

Botaurus stellaris L.⁵ *great bittern* is known as *водови бужак* /*vodovi bujak*/'waterly bull' where the result of the metaphorical process from the source to the target domain is based on the voice, as the voice of this bird resembles that of a bull.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

водови бужак

VOICE OF A BULL → A BIRD WITH A VOICE SIMILAR TO BULLS

Metonymical extensions are also part of this thematic field where a certain part of the animal inspired the metonymical process. For example, the geese's voice *rara* /*gaga*/ is the source domain transferred to the name for the male geese *гараг*⁷/*gagač*/. Onomatopoeia, or imitation of the animal's sound, which represents metonymy was first used, and then the name for this animal was created as a source domain of metonymy.

Conceptual metonymy mapping schema

гараг

VOICE OF AN ANIMAL → NAME FOR THE ANIMAL

Male and female horses with a white patch (*Лисак*, *Лиска* /*Lisak*, *Liska*/) on their foreheads were also named through the process of metonymy. Based on the body traits, the name *Гвиздаи*⁸ /*Hvizdaš*/ has to be emphasized, which is used to refer to a horse with a white patch in the form of a star (Rsn. *звезда*) on its forehead. Shape that

5 It can be noticed that the Latin term also shows an association with a domestic animal (compare *Botaurus stellaris* L. and *Bos taurus*). The question is whether the obvious characteristic of a bird with a voice similar to a bull was a motivation in Latin and Slavic independently, or it appeared in the Slavic languages as a result of a translation and later modification from Latin.

6 Compare: Ukr. *водяний бугай*, Slc. dial. *vodny bujak*, Pl. *wodny bąk*, Serb. *водени бик* (Timko Đitko, 2016: 102).

7 *гараг* /*gagač*/ m. 'gander', only in Hnatjuk. Slc. *gagačka* f. 'goose' (Ramač, 2017 I: 295).

8 In Srem, as reported, Ruthenians used the Serbian term *Звездан* /*Zvezdan*/, and hybrid form *цветкасти конь* /*cvetkasti konj*/.

resembles flower induce names *Ружа* /Ruža/ 'Rose', *Цвета* /Cveta/ 'Flower'. The difference between the terms is in the shape that motivated their creations. In the first one, it was the shape of a square similar to a patch, the second, it was the shape resembling a star, and in the third, shape of a flower.

Conceptual metonymy mapping schema

Лисак, Лиска, Гвиздаш, Ружа, Цвета

A DISTINCTIVE DETAIL ON THE ANIMAL → A NAME FOR AN ANIMAL

The names of the animals are also a result of the metonymical process, mostly for cows (*Белка* /Belka/, *Билка* /Bilka/, *Жуя* /Žuja/, *Ридя* /Ridja/, *Тарка* /Tarka/, *Цифра* /Cifra/, *Шарена* /Šarena/, *Шара* /Šara/, *Жучко* /Žučko/) but also horses (*Ридя*), where the color of the animal is the main source of motivation. Two types of horse names can be differentiated from this. The first one is motivated by the color of the horse and it is referred to every horse of that color (*чилаш* /čilaš/, *богар* /bogar/)⁹. The second is the horse's personal name which is at the same time a common name for all the horses of the same color (*Ридя* /Ridja/).

It should be kept in mind that labeling animals with colors can be a result of a metaphorical process with other meanings. For example, Milka Ivić in her work *O zelenom konju* describes what color is the *green horse* ('zeleni konj', in the Serbian language). As a possible explanation, she states that this color could have been used to refer to a young horse. But over time this primary meaning was neglected on the count of the following connotation 'dark spots/patches on a white background' (Ivić, 1995: 87-101). Ljudmila Popović in her work *Опозиција „сјајно” - „без сјаја” као основа категоризације назива за боје у словенском фолклору* uses examples from Serbian, Russian and Ukrainian folk texts from the 19th century to show how the terms for colors in Slavic folklore are basically conditioned by antithesis 'shiny' - 'not shiny'. The author shows that this understanding of the colors does not match with the one stated by Brent Berlin and Paul Key on the universal categorization of colors which is based on the extraction of the terms

9 Edita Andrić discusses the colors of horses in the Serbian and Hungarian language in her work *Tanulmányok a magyar és szerb színnevekről* *Studije o nazivima boja u mađarskom i srpskom jeziku* (Andrić, 2020).

from the general continuum organized on the principle of 'light' - 'dark' (Popović, 2012: 7-41). Popović stated that in the language of folklore same colors can have both, positive and negative connotations, depending on the context and presence of the features of light in their perception (Popović, 2012: 9).¹⁰

Conceptual metonymy mapping schema

Белка, Билка, Ботар, Жуя, Жучко, Ридя, Тарка, Шарена, Цифра, Шара

COLOR OF THE ANIMAL → A NAME FOR AN ANIMAL

The motivation for the metonymical process can also be the state of the animal, more precisely its age (*Стара*¹¹ /Stara/ 'old cow', *яловка* /jalovka/ 'heifer', *первиска*¹² /perviska/ 'bred heifer'), the outer look of the animal, or its size (*Мали* /mali/ 'small'), the product which is the result of the physiological processes of the animal, like producing milk (*Милка* /Milka/) or animal's function (*дойка* /dojka/ 'a nursing cow, an animal producing milk', *пращара* /praščara/ 'sow, a pig that gives birth to piglets'). The cow's name *Milka* can also be seen as a result of precedent texts, i.e. the influence of advertisements for certain products. The term *пращара* is not a name for a pig, but a term for a doer of an action.

Conceptual metonymy mapping schema

Стара

OLD AGE OF THE ANIMAL → THE NAME FOR THE ANIMAL

яловка

STATE OF THE YOUNG ANIMAL (INFERTILITY) → THE NAME OF THE ANIMAL

¹⁰ The author wrote about this topic in her work *Prototypical and Stereotypical Color in Slavic Languages: Models Based on Folklore* (2007).

¹¹ Seeing these examples, it seems that such terms are used only for the adult animals, or more specifically, the old ones.

¹² The term *первиска* 'bred heifer, a cow that is pregnant for the first time' is a suffixal derivat of a numerat *первий* and a simplified consonant group -тк-: ukr. *первістка* (Ramač, 2017 II: 140; Timko Đitko, 2016: 11, 121, 130) (Bilodid, VI 1975: 119) <http://sum.in.ua/p/6/119/2>

первиска

STATE OF AN ANIMAL, HEIFER THAT IS PREGNANT FOR THE FIRST TIME IS KNOWN AS A BRED HEIFER → THE NAME OF THE ANIMAL

Мали

SIZE OF AN ANIMAL → THE NAME OF THE ANIMAL

Милка

PRODUCT OF AN ANIMAL → THE NAME OF THE ANIMAL

Some other examples, such as the source domain *дойка* /dojka/ and *прашчара* /praščara/, are essentially based on metonymical process that focuses on function, and then served as a basis for metaphorical mapping.

Conceptual metonymy mapping schema

дойка

FUNCTION OF AN ANIMAL → TERM FOR A DOER OF AN ANIMAL'S FUNCTION

прашчара

MAIN FUNCTION OF AN ANIMAL → NAME OF THE ANIMAL

In the metonymical process based on the goal, where the goal is to catch a rat (Rsn. *паткань* /patkanj/), the terms *патканьош* m. /patkanjoš/ and *патканьошка* f. /patkanjoška/ were created.

Conceptual metonymy mapping schema

патканьош, патканьошка

ANIMAL'S FUNCTION RESULT/GOAL → TERM/NAME FOR A DOER OF AN ANIMAL'S FUNCTION

A horse with one regular and one small testicle is in the Ruthenian language in Vojvodina referred to as *нутрак* /nutrak/. This term can be illustrative for several metaphorical transfers where the

target domain can be ANIMAL OR MAN. Since some breeds of domestic animals are castrated¹³, this term is also for the castrated males as they share similar features to the previously described animals.

Metaphorical mapping based on this source domain can also be transferred to childless people or those hungry for love. *Dictionary of the Folk Ruthenian Language* marks this meaning as an attempt to ridicule such people (Ramač, 2017 I: 827).

Conceptual metaphor mapping schem

нутрак

ANIMAL WITH A NATURAL DEFECT / IMPERFECTION → ANIMAL WITH A ARTIFICIAL DEFECT / IMPERFECTION

The term *качка черкотка* /kačka čerkotka/ was omitted from the analysis as it cannot be determined whether or not it was formed based on the association with the domestic animal goose. It might

13 Castration involves the removal or inactivation of the testicles in male animals. In males, this procedure is known as orchietomy, while in females, it is referred to as ovariectomy, which involves the removal of the ovaries (Kos, 2008: 2). Castration is performed on strong male animals (stallion, bull) to make them calmer and more docile for fieldworks and being fed in order to provide meat. Besides this, castration can also be performed to avoid unpleasant odors of meat after slaughter, like in the case of pigs. Kos states that castration can also be performed as a form of therapy or cure for illnesses. When it comes to pets, castration is often performed to manage aggression in animals - for example, to prevent dogs from spraying around the house (Kos, 2008: 2).

This procedure can be performed at any stage of the animal's life, but it is generally recommended to perform it while the animal is young, e.g. a foal 1 - 3 years, billy goats and rams 2 months, and roosters 2 - 3 months. The timing for castrating calves varies based on whether the animal is destined for slaughter (around 3 months) or for work (6 to 12 months).

According to the interviewed Ruthenians, castration was performed on bulls, stallions, barrows, billy goats and rams. There is no information available regarding the castration of dogs, cats or roosters. The terms for castrated male domestic animals were based on whether the procedure was performed independently or with veterinary assistance. This category includes the terms horse, ox and boar. Together with the non-castrated males used for reproduction, they form the following pairs: stallion-gelding, bull-ox, barrows-boars.

be more probable that this is a general term used to mark an animal's breed.

The term *морска крава* /morska krava/ can be found in other Slavic languages as well, such as Serbian, Polish, Slovak, and Ukrainian. Nevertheless, it is assumed that the name came into Ruthenian through the influence of Serbian. What is peculiar about this term is that it is formed with two words, where one is an adjective that more closely specifies the animal's habitat (*морска* 'in/from the sea') which is why we know this is not a domestic animal (*крава* 'cow') but a wild one that has some characteristics of a domestic one. Such terms arise from a scientific need for a name of the breed *Halicora dugong* or *Sirenia* (*морска крава*) and *Hippopotamus amphibius* (*морски конь*). The term *морски конь* /morski konj/ is a translation from the Ancient Greek. The metaphor is based on the physical appearance, that is the neck and the head of this animal resemble the ones of a horse.

2. DOMESTIC ANIMAL, AN OBJECT¹⁴ → MAN

In direction of metaphorical mapping DOMESTIC ANIMAL, OBJECT → PERSON following concepts will be presented: PERSON'S PHYSICAL APPEARANCE; DESCRIPTION OF PEOPLE; STATE OF THE HUMAN BODY (DEATH OR PHYSICAL IMPAIRMENT); PERSON'S ACTIONS AND BEHAVIORS; INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS; SOCIAL CHARACTERIZATION OF A PERSON.

2.1. Person's physical appearance

With the image of a STALLION, A NON-CASTRATED HORSE USED FOR INSEMINATION, metaphorical mapping is created where the target domain is a (SEXUALLY) ATTRACTIVE MAN. Additionally, the same source domain is used when transferring to the target domain of describing a man's action, which is A SEXUALLY ACTIVE MAN.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

вайчак

NON-CASTRATED HORSE USED FOR INSEMINATION → SEXUALITY OF A MAN

14 An object from the domain of domestic animal growth and raising.

Metaphorical mapping based on the source domain animal with a natural defect / imperfection (нутрак /nutrak/ 'ridgling') can also be transferred to infertility, childless people or those hungry for love. *Dictionary of the Folk Ruthenian Language* marks this meaning as an attempt to ridicule such people (Ramač, 2017 I: 827).

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

нутрак

AN ANIMAL WITH A NATURAL DEFECT / IMPERFECTION → AN INFERTILE MAN

UNTIDY APPEARANCE

The bad or untidy look of a person is usually metaphorically presented with the use of the domestic animal pig ('швиня' /švinja/) or piglet ('праше' /praše/). These animals are dirty as they live in mud and dig through dirt with their snouts. Additionally, people feed pigs to use them as meat sources so they give them large amounts of food, making pigs gain a lot of weight fairly quickly. This makes them an obvious illustration of dirtiness and obesity. The source domain PIG transfers the target domain UNCLEAN OR OBESE PERSON which is part of the conceptual field of a person's physical appearance. As will be seen in the analysis, uncleanliness can also be conceptualized as a description of a moral trait that allows the use of a previous example with the pig to describe a person of low moral standards. The metaphorical extension with the noun *праше* is also part of this group and it refers to a child with a dirty face.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

швиня

PIG → UNTIDY APPEARANCE OF A MAN

швиня

PIG → UNCLEAN OR OBESE PERSON

праше

PIGLET → CHILD WITH A DIRTY FACE

An untidy look can refer to the hair. A person who has thick and unbrushed hair is described with a source domain of a Hungarian-origin word БУНДАШ¹⁵ /bundaš/ which is a dog with thick and long hair.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

бундаш

DOG WITH THICK AND LONG HAIR → A PERSON WITH THICK AND UNBRUSHED HAIR

The target domain CHILD'S HAIRSTYLE can also be reached through the metaphorical extension of *когуцик* /kohucik/ 'literally cockerel; a hairstyle, a specific way to style children's hair.' This secondary nomination is based on the similarity between the child's hairstyle and the top of the rooster's head, the comb. Since this term refers to children's hair, the name received a diminutive form.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

когуцик

ROOSTER'S HEAD, THE COMB → CHILD'S HAIRSTYLE

For metaphorical mapping where the goal is to present A TALL PERSON, an object *доронга* /doronga/ is used. That object is a thill found on several agricultural tools dragged by horses where the animals were tied up to pull the machine. Since *доронга* has to be long, it serves perfectly as a metaphorical illustration of a tall person.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

доронга

LONG LOG, THILL → TALL PERSON

15 The term for a dog of such physical appearance can also, through the process of metonymy, be a name for a dog of similar looks (similar to Лиска /Liska/, Билка /Bilka/).

Part of this conceptual field is the metaphorical mapping that transfers the meaning of an appearance of one part of the human body, such as *гуше цело* /huše celo/ 'body of a goose', where the target domain is the SKIN'S LOOK, that is the look of a person's skin covered with goosebumps as a result of the cold or fear. The motivation behind this is not completely transparent.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

гуше цело

BODY OF A GOOSE → PERSON'S SKIN AS A RESULT OF THE COLD OR FEAR

With the conversion to the verb, from the term *буяк* /bujak/ 'bull', the word *забуячиц ше* /zabujačić še/ was created, which as a result of metaphorization transfers the meaning of growing up to be a strong man or developing quickly from a boy to a man.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

забуячиц ше

TO BECOME A BULL → GROWING UP TO BE A STRONG MAN / DEVELOPING QUICKLY FROM A BOY TO A MAN

BODY PARTS

Body parts of domestic animals are common source domains of metaphorical mapping that describe the person's physical appearance. However, these terms usually cannot be traced back exclusively to domestic animals. For example, the words *пазури* /pazuri/, *писки* /piski/, *лаби* /labi/, and *кловаки* /klovaki/ are used to name body parts of both domestic and wild animals. Only a few of such terms can be recognized as only connected to domestic animals.

The term for cow's stomach is *бамбух* /bambuch/ which is used to mockingly refer to a man's large stomach.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

бамбух

COW'S STOMACH → LARGE STOMACH OF A PERSON

2.2. Description of people

The conceptual field DESCRIPTION OF PEOPLE consists of metaphorical mapping which transfers the meaning of spendthrift (*вишилїц ше* /višiljic še/), pride (*корнажиц ше* /kornažic še/, *кондашиц ше* /kondašic še/), fear (*заяц* /zajac/, *куруплах* /kuriplach/), bad character (*скоцени* /skoceni/).

SPENDTHRIFT

A person who spends a lot of money can be illustrated with the verb *вишилїц ше* /višiljic še/ 'push out of yourself the placenta and intestine', the process typical of females when giving birth.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

вишилїц ше

THE PROCESS OF HEAVY MEDICAL CASE → SPENDTHRIFT, TO SPEND A LOT

The same verb is part of several different target domains, where it forms various concepts, such as *вишилїц ше* /višiljic še/ ESPECIALLY DIFFICULT WORK DONE BY A PERSON.

PRIDE

Pride can be presented with words related to pigs. Converting the noun *корназ* 'uncastrated male pig' into a verb, the term *корнажиц ше* /kornažic še/ was formed, whose metaphorical extension transfers the meaning of pridefulness or the behavior of acting superior. Pridefulness can also be described with the verb *кондашиц ше* /kondašic še/ 'act as if more important and wiser than everyone else' which is derived through the same process but using the noun *кондаш* /kondaš/ 'a person who took pigs out on the field and looked after them.'

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

корнажиц ше

TO ACT AS A BOAR → PRIDEFULNESS, ACTING SUPERIOR

кондашиц ше

TO ACT AS A SWINEHERD → ACT AS IF MORE IMPORTANT AND WISER THAN EVERYONE ELSE

FEAR

Description of a person's fear can be transferred with the source domain with the zoonyms *заяц /zajac/* 'rabbit' or *кура /kura/* 'chicken'. In phraseological material, metaphorical mapping that has a goal to highlight fear is based on the rabbit as a source domain, e.g. *сцєка, шти як заяц /sceka, špi jak zajac/* ('runs away, sleeps like a rabbit'). This process is activated by a schema of the collective conceptualization of a trait where a rabbit is scared. A similar thing occurs with the term *куруплах /kuriplach/*. From the term for a domestic animal *кура /kura/*, *куруплах kuriplach/* is derived which carries the target domain of a SCARED PERSON, especially someone whose personality trait is fear.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

заяц, куриплах

RABBIT, CHICKEN → SCARED PERSON

BAD CHARACTER

A person's bad character can be represented with the source domain *швиня /švinja/* ('pig', a bad person), *сука /suka/* ('female dog, bitch', an evil, bad woman), *пєс /pes/* ('dog', cunning man), *квока /kvoка/* ('broody hen', a bad woman or a child). A person's bad character can also be denoted with the verb structure *пошици ше /popšic še/* 'become bad or worse than before' which was formed from the noun *пєс /pes/* and adjective *скоцени /skoceni/* 'bad, corrupted' derived from the word *статок /statok/* ('livestock').

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

швиня

PIG → BAD PERSON

сука

FEMALE DOG, BITCH → AN EVIL, BAD WOMAN / PERSON

пєс

DOG → CUNNING MAN

квока

BROODY HEN → A BAD WOMAN OR A CHILD

попицц ше

BECOME A DOG → BECOME A BAD OR WORSE THAN BEFORE

A testament to a person's character can also be given with the word *скоцени* /skoceni/ 'bad, corrupted'. On the other hand, there is the form *скоцени* /skoceni/ 'similar to livestock'. This shows a shift from the description of a person's physical appearance to the description of a person's character. Nowadays, this is not a productive word. According to the *DFRL*, the primary meaning of this word was 'similar to livestock', and it originated from the Old-Slavic form *skotъ* 'livestock.' Ramač states that one of the first meanings of this word appeared in the Ukrainian dialects, e.g. *скотеніти* 'becoming similar to livestock' (Ramač, 2017 II: 482).

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

скоцени

LIVESTOCK → BAD, CORRUPTED PERSON

LOW IQ

A part of this conceptual field is also reflected in the use of invectives, which serve as tools to transfer a concept of a STUPID MAN (*вол* /vol/ 'ox', *конь* /konj/ 'horse', *гунар* /gunar/ 'gander'), a STUPID WOMAN (*крава* /krava/ 'cow', *гуска* /huska/ 'goose'), and a STUPID PERSON (*целє* /celje/ 'calf'). In the world's folk image, animals firstly got the characteristics of people through personification and they are considered, among other things, to be stupid, even though science later showed that animals, such as a goose, chicken, sheep or pig are not stupid.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

вол, конь, гунар, крава, гуска, целє

(STUPID) ANIMAL (OX, HORSE, GANDER, COW, GOOSE, CALF) → A STUPID PERSON

Intellectual immaturity of a young person can be presented with the source domain *ТОКЉОВ* /tokljov/ 'a one-year-old lamb'. A secondary meaning was created through metaphorical mapping to denote an immature young boy.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

токљов

A ONE-YEAR-OLD LAMB → INTELLECTUAL IMMATURITY OF A YOUNG PERSON

A person's low IQ can be signaled by an onomatopoeic exclamation *И-А* /I-A/ as a source domain used to transfer an image of a stupid person, i.e. a stupid reaction, words, etc. Using the association, a connection is established between a man and an animal, a donkey, which people marked as stupid.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

и-а

VOICE OF A DONKEY → STUPID BEHAVIOR OR SPEECH OF A PERSON

2.3. *State of the human body (death or physical impairment)*

STUNTEDNESS/STAGNANCY

An image of a dog among Ruthenians in Vojvodina is negative, as can be seen from many examples of metaphorical mappings where these refer to negative traits of people. In this section too, there are examples of metaphorical extensions based on a dog as a main source of negative characteristics. The verb *запшец* /zapšec/, through the process of verbal conversion, transfers the meaning of being stunted in growth. By using this verb, a seme of negative characteristics is activated to show the meaning of having all the worst qualities of a person, which suggests they are not developed as a good person. Good and desired qualities of a person are thought of as higher and better levels of development. The transparency of the connection between a dog and a person's stuntedness in development is small.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

запишец

A DOG → PERSON'S STUNTEDNESS IN DEVELOPMENT

DEATH

The end of the person's life circle can be transferred using the metaphorical extension formed based on the source domain of a dog's short squeal ГАВКНУЦ /havknuc/¹⁶. This meaning was described as vulgare in the *Ruthenian-Serbian Dictionary* since a deceased person is described as a dog.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

гавкнуц

A DOG'S SHORT SQUEAL → DYING OF A PERSON

2.4. Person's actions and behaviors

BIRTH

Faunal verbs referring to a reproductive outcome, i.e. the process of birth, also have different nominations based on the kind of domestic animal. For metaphorical mapping, one of the source domains was illustrated with the verb КОЦИЦ ШЕ /kocic še/ which carries a pejorative meaning of giving birth to a child. The derogatory meaning is emphasized by the fact that this source domain refers to not only the birthing itself but also the quantity of this process, that is the animal's ability to birth offspring several times. The target domain refers to people who have multiple children. In Serbian, it can refer to people of a specific ethnicity to carry the meaning of the increased number of people with that ethnic background in the sense that it has a negative connotation.

16 In the spoken Ukrainian language, *гавкнути* 'to bark' means "to break down", e.g. (*гавкнув генератор, новий дуже дорого...; телевізор гавкнув*) (Drozdov, 2017), which is compatible with the Serbian word *riknuti* 'to roar' means "to break down" (*riknuo je televizor*).

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

коциц шє

GIVING BIRTH TO A ANIMAL → GIVING BIRTH TO A CHILD

THE WAY OF EATING

The metaphor found in the Ruthenian literature written by a young writer shows that the specific breed of pigs *дурок* /*duroc*/ 'American breed of domestic pig' is used to represent a person's trait to eat large quantities of food.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

дурок

A SPECIFIC BREED OF PIGS → A PERSON THAT EATS LARGE QUANTITIES OF FOOD

There are several nuanced meanings in this field of metaphorical mapping. For example, it transfers the meaning of sloppy eating (*галадзиц* /*galadzic*/), eating slowly (*румєгац* /*rumegac*/), or feeding a child more forcibly (*кльокац* /*kljukac*/). The source domain behind these verbs is the way domestic animals chew, whether they ruminate (*румєгац* /*rumegac*/), spill around (*галадзиц* /*galadzic*/), or are forcibly fed like geese (*кльокац* /*kljukac*/). The use of these verbs activates a seme which are bringing a clearer representation of the target domain. For example, the verb *румєгац* /*rumegac*/¹⁷ activates the seme 'eating slowly for a long time', *галадзиц* /*galadzic*/ 'get the area dirty, create a mess while doing the activity', and *кльокац* /*kljukac*/ 'gavage, forcibly, pressingly putting food into beaks.'¹⁸

17 The word *румєгац* /*rumegac*/ 'ruminate' is a Romance borrowing in all Slavic languages. Compare: Rum. *rumegá* (Mold. *румєгá*) from Lat. *rūmigāre* (*rūmigo*). In the Slavic languages: Ukr. *румизати*; Pl. [*rumygać*]; Ch. [*rumigat'*]; Slc. *rumigat'* (Mel'nyčuk, 2006: 140).

18 *кльокац* /*kljukac*/ 'gavage, to forcibly feed a child' but under the influence of Serbian, it can have a broader meaning of 'putting thoughts, lies, medications etc. into someone.'

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

румегац

TO RUMINATE → EATING SLOWLY FOR A LONG TIME

галадзиц

SLOPPY EATING → GET THE AREA DIRTY, CREATE A MESS WHILE EATING

клюкац

FORCIBLY FEEDING A GEESE → FORCIBLY FEEDING A CHILD

DRUNKENNESS

The person's stage of drunkenness which results in vomiting is transferred with the faunal verb *целіц ше* /celjic še/. The primary meaning of this verb is to 'to calv, ie. to give birth to an offspring, calf.' The metaphorical mapping is based on the process of throwing something out where the secondary nomination 'vomit' was formed.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

целіц ше

GIVING BIRTH TO A CALF, CALVING → VOMITING AS A RESULT OF A DRUNKENNESS

PERSON'S LEG MOVEMENT

A person's behavior, i.e. their movement, can be expressed with the help of metaphorical extensions based on the characteristic images of domestic animals, such as the movement of a horse or a cow which is nominalized with the verb *виргац* /virgac/ 'to hit or kick with a back leg.' This image illustrates a movement mostly of a child who does similar acts.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

виргац

MOVEMENT OF A HORSE OR A COW WITH A BACK LEG → MOVEMENT OF A CHILD
WITH LEGS

A clumsy movement by a person, or tripping, is connected with an image of a horse whose leg movement is restricted by a tool *nyma* /puta/ 'hobble'. The act of tying the legs with that tool is named after the verb ПУТАЦ /putac/ 'to hobble' which served as a source domain for the metaphorical mapping whose target domain is to stop someone from walking or improving. Another possible image is that of a person who trips or moves in a clumsy way.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

nymau

TYING THE LEGS OF A HORSE → STOP SOMEONE FROM WALKING OR IMPROVING

nymau ue

TYING THE LEGS OF A HORSE → TO TRIP UP

The technological development in our society, especially the change in the means of transportation, left its mark on a person's view of the transportation process. The verb *гоніи* /honjic/ 'to drive (a cattle)' was used when horses or bulls dragged the tools or waggons. Even when motorized vehicles appeared, people still thought of transportation as a living creature, i.e. they referred to them the same way as they did to the animals. This process can be compared to the one of personification, where the animals are given the characteristics of a person. For example, when talking to the interviewees in the places where Ruthenian people live, some funny anecdotes were told about the first contact between Ruthenians and tractors. As they said, the people used the exclamation *zoza* /hoha/ instead of brakes on a tractor. It can be seen from this how people try to understand something unfamiliar and unknown by using the knowledge of their closest familiar entity. Both the animal and the vehicle have the same function but differ in the driving force. At the beginning of the use of the new technology for transportation, that power was again understood through the number of horses needed to move the trailer, so the measure of the power became known as *коні* /konji/ 'horses'.

Similar examples can be seen in the metaphorical mappings of *коч* /koč/ 'A CARRIAGE → A CAR', *зук* /huk/ 'estrus, the period in the sexual cycle of female pig during which they are ready to mate and manifest it with standing', ie. STILLNESS¹⁹ → MACHINE WHEN IT IS STILL, NOT WORKING, etc.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

гоніц

TO DRIVE CATTLE → TO DRIVE MOTORIZED VEHICLES

The movement as the target domain is present in the metaphorical mapping from the source domain of TO HARNESS A HORSE, which is transferred with the verb *прагац* /prahac/ 'preparing horses to drag the tools, i.e. the plow with the additional equipment'. This image is used to transfer the target domain of ANNOUNCING A LEAVE (for example, from home). This secondary meaning is commonly used in the form of the 1st person singular and appears in everyday communication.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

прагац

TO HARNESS A HORSE → ANNOUNCING A LEAVE

COMMUNICATION/SPEECH

Metaphorical mapping, where the source domain is an onomatopoeic verb that denotes an activity of producing a voice of a domestic animal, most commonly transfers the concept of speech or communication. In this conceptual field, several types of meanings can be transferred, such as speaking loudly (*татац* /gagac/, *кукуракац* /kukurikac/, *ричац* /ričac/), nagging (*кракориц ше* /krakoric še/, *кукуракац* /kukurikac/, *коткодац* /kotkodac/, *джавкац* /džavkac/), and ordering around (*зога* /hoha/). All of these mappings have an expressive connotation as their use indirectly activates information about an animal that makes a loud noise. Based on this, it can be said to a woman that she *tata* /gaga/ 'quack' or that a man *кукурака* /kukurika/ 'crows'.

¹⁹ <https://www.britannica.com/science/estrus>.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

гатац, кукуракац, ричац

PRODUCING A VOICE OF A DOMESTIC ANIMAL → PERSON SPEAKING LOUDLY

кракориц ше, кукуракац, коткодац, джавкац

PRODUCING A VOICE OF A DOMESTIC ANIMAL → NAGGING

The concept of speech can be also transferred with an image based on the source domain of THE PROCESS OF MAKING FOOD FOR THE LIVESTOCK (*дараловац* /daralovac/) or the process of defecation of the livestock (*балеговац* /baljegovac/). Both verbs can carry the meaning of speech after the process of metaphorical mapping. The first verb activates the seme of a fast machine that grinds corn, which, in figurative meaning, results in a long and fast talk without any pauses. The way of speaking, i.e. speaking rubbish, can be derived as a target domain where the source is the verb *балеговац*.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

дараловац

TO COARSELY GRIND CORN FOR CATTLE → LONG AND FAST TALK WITHOUT ANY PAUSES

балеговац

PROCESS OF DEFECATION OF THE LIVESTOCK → SPEAKING RUBBISH

The voice of an animal can be a source domain for metaphorical mapping where the target domain is the speech of a person. The primary meaning of the word *брехун* /brechun/ is 'a dog that often barks', from which with the use of metaphorical extension, a secondary meaning was derived to get that of a loudmouth person. This primary meaning was not noted in Ruthenian language yet it is present in some Slovak dialects in the form of *brehuň* 'a dog that often barks' (Ripka, I 1994: 160), (Ramač, 2017: 91).

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

брехун

A DOG THAT OFTEN BARKS → LOUDMOUTH PERSON

The exclamation for stopping a horse *зоза* /hoha/ is often heard in everyday communication with the metaphorical meaning of 'wait, stop talking.' Implicitly, it is expressively marked as a person is referred to as a horse.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

зоза

EXCLAMATION FOR STOPPING A HORSE → COMMAND FOR STOPPING PERSON TO TALK

“WAIT, STOP HORSE” → “WAIT, STOP TALKING MAN”

Two verbs were used to carry the meaning of a strong and loud voice of a domestic animal, and those come from a cow (*ричац* /ričac/) and the specific sound made when snorting (*форкац* /forkac/).

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

ричац

LOUD VOICE OF A COW → LOUD VOICE OF A MAN

форкац

SOUND MADE WHEN HORSE SNORTS → RUNNY NOSE OF A PERSON

SEXUAL ACTIVITY

The image of a stallion is illustrated with two metaphorical mapping processes belonging to different conceptual fields. A physically attractive person reminds people of a stallion (*вайчак* /vajčak/) and, thus, serves as a symbol of the attractive appearance of a sexually active person.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

вайчак

STALLION, UNCASTRATED HORSE FOR BREEDING → SEXUALLY ACTIVE MAN

The nominalization of the insemination process of domestic animals in the Ruthenian language in Vojvodina differentiates between the type of animal it refers to. Based on that, there are terms *парованє/паренє*²⁰ /parovanje/parenje/, *гонєнє* /honjenje/, *пирханє* /pirchanje/ and *таженє* /gaženje/ for poultry. Illustrative and expressive metaphorical mappings with the target domain PERSON were the verbs *гоніц шє* /honjic še/ 'matting of dogs' and *пирхац шє* /pirchac še/ 'matting of goats and rabbits.' The target domain of the first two metaphorical mappings is SEXUAL ACTIVITY AMONG PEOPLE.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

паренє, гонєнє, пирханє, таженє

MATING OF DOMESTIC ANIMAL → SEXUAL ACTIVITY AMONG PEOPLE

THE TYPE OF WORK

The work that was difficult and done slowly can be transferred clearly by using the faunal verb with an image of giving birth to offspring (*коциц шє* /kocic še/) or with that of a difficult process of giving birth where the placenta and intestines are expelled (*вишилїц шє* /višiljic še/). As the process of giving birth is slow and can take a long time, using the verb *коциц шє* /kocic še/ to refer to a type of work done by a person can activate a sense of a slow and long-lasting job.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

коциц шє

GIVING BIRTH TO OFFSPRING OF A DOMESTIC ANIMAL → SLOW AND LONG-LASTING JOB

20 The form *паренє* /parenje/ is more common for everyday speech.

A difficult birth where an animal in pain expels the placenta and intestines (*вишилїц ше* /višiljic še/) is metaphorically connected with an especially difficult job done by a person.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

вишилїц ше

ESPECIALLY DIFFICULT BIRTH → ESPECIALLY DIFFICULT JOB

FAILED WORK

Young livestock that is not yet ready for insemination or reproduction is referred to as *ялови* (*статок*) /jalovi (statok)/. The same word can be used to describe a work that does not yield any results. In this metaphorical mapping, the source domain is the young animals that are not old enough for reproduction, i.e. *ялови* /jalovi/, and the target domain is the JOB THAT DOES NOT GIVE ANY RESULTS OR A FAILED WORK. The adjective *ялови* /jalovi/ together with the noun *робота* /robota/ ('work') activates a sense of lack of results which explains the mapping.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

ялова робота

YOUNG ANIMALS THAT ARE NOT OLD ENOUGH FOR REPRODUCTION → JOB THAT DOES NOT GIVE ANY RESULTS OR A FAILED WORK

MAKING A MESS

The behavior of a person who leaves behind a mess is connected to that of a pig so it activates a metaphorical mapping where the source domain verbs *швинїц* /švinjic/ 'to make a mess, get dirty, leave garbage', and *коборловац* /koborlovac/ 'to flip over, be naughty' were created from nouns *швиня* /švinja/ and *коборлов* /koborlov/. The target domain shows a person that leaves a mess behind them.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

швинїц

PIG MAKING A MESS, GETTING DIRTY, LEAVING GARBAGE → PERSON THAT LEAVES A MESS BEHIND THEM

коборловац

PIG MAKING A MESS → PERSON THAT MAKES A MESS

2.5. Interpersonal relationships

This conceptual field shows metaphorical mappings with various source domains which denote different aspects of interpersonal relationships. As will be seen, this field exclusively references to negative relations, such as arguments (*кура война* /kura vojna/), aggressive physical (*окефац* /okefac/, *оскубац* /oskubac/, *оброковац* /obrokovac/) or verbal acts (*галадзиц* /galadzic/, *магарацац* /magaracac/, *висобачиц* /visobačic/).

ARGUMENT

The image of the AGGRESSIVE BEHAVIOR OF CHICKEN, their fights and attacks which is activated with the form *кура война* /kura vojna/ was used as a source domain for metaphorical mapping on the argument among people about something unimportant. This compound lexeme has the word *war* as one part, which emphasizes the importance and impact of a fight among chickens, and in that way brings a meaning of ridicule to this metaphorical extension.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

кура война

AGGRESSIVE BEHAVIOR OF CHICKEN, THEIR FIGHTS → ARGUMENT ABOUT SOMETHING UNIMPORTANT

AGGRESSIVE PHYSICAL BEHAVIOR

Part of this conceptual field is a metaphorical extension referring to aggressive behavior towards a person, among the most common ones. Typical movements done when brushing the horse's mane (*окефац* /okefac/), or giving food to livestock (*оброковац* /obrokovac/) activate several semes and illustrate a target domain BEAT SOMEONE.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

окефац

BRUSHING THE HORSE'S MANE → BEAT SOMEONE

The metaphorical mapping from the source domain of giving food to livestock (*оброковац* /obrokovac/) is based on the view that someone deserves to be beaten as regularly as the livestock is fed.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

оброковац

REGULARLY GIVING FOOD TO LIVESTOCK → BEAT SOMEONE

AGGRESSIVE VERBAL BEHAVIOR

A way of speaking that humiliates another person is also a type of aggression. In metaphorical mapping with the target subdomain HUMILIATE ANOTHER WITH WORDS, an image that carries the source domain is based on the verb *галадзиц* /galadzic/ which means to defecate, empty the bowels, i.e. something very offensive, and the verb *магарцац* /magarcac/, formed from a noun *магарец* /magarec/, with which a speech activity is marked where a person is referred to as a donkey. Another verb with a similar meaning is *собачиц* /sobačic/ which originated from a word typical for East Slavic languages, *собака* /sobaka/ 'a dog.'

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

галадзиц

TO DEFECCATE, EMPTY THE BOWELS → HUMILIATE ANOTHER WITH WORDS

магарцац

BEHAVIOR OF A DONKEY → HUMILIATE ANOTHER WITH WORDS/ TO REFER TO PERSON AS A DONKEY

Even though Ruthenians in Vojvodina do not use the word *собака* present in the East Slavic languages, there is one example of a word *висобащиц* /visobačic/ which was derived from the noun *собака* /sobaka/. That verb has the meaning of harshly telling someone off and cussing them off. The source domain of this metaphorical extension is a dog as something that represents lowlife.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

висобачиц

BEHAVIOR OF A DOG → HARSHLY TELLING SOMEONE OFF AND CUSSING THEM OFF

Verbal aggression can be performed with metaphorical mappings with pejorative expression (*квока* /kvoka/ 'broody hen', *швиня* /švinja/ 'pig', *коњ* /konj/ 'horse', *шудов* /šudov/ 'weaner pig', *токљов* /tokljov/ 'buckling, male baby goat', *крава* /krava/ 'cow', *кобула* /kobula/ 'mare', *гуска* /huska/ 'goose', *коза* /koza/ 'goat', *магарец*/*магарица* /magarec/magarica/ 'donkey/she-ass', *сука* /suka/ 'bitch'). In this role, names of animals are usually in form of a vocative singular and they have a function of invectives.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

гуска, квока, кобула, коза, коњ, крава, магарец/*магарица, овца, сука, токљов, швиня, шудов*

DOMESTIC ANIMAL → TO DEGRADE, HUMILIATE A PERSON

On the other hand, the names of young domestic animals are the source domain of metaphorical mapping to carry a meaning of a loving expression in situations where a person tells a child *маче*/*мачатко* /mače/mačatko/ 'kitten', *курчатко* /kurčatko/ 'chick', *гачатко* /hačatko/ 'foal'), etc. Everyday use of these terms activates a schema of a small, cute, and innocent creature that can be seen in a child.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

маче/*мачатко, курчатко, гачатко*

DOMESTIC ANIMAL CUB → CHILD

CALMING A PERSON DOWN

An image of putting a metal tool inside a horse's mouth to calm it down was used to transfer the meaning of calming a person down. The verb (*за*)*зубадлац* /(za)zubadlac/ was formed from the part of the tool's name *зубадло* /zubadlo/ 'bit, a metal part that goes

inside a horse's mouth.'

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

(за)зубадлац

TO PLACE THE BIT INSIDE THE HORSE'S MOUTH → TO CALM A PERSON DOWN

2.6. Social characterization of a person

As previously stated, a horse with one smaller and one normal-sized testicle is known as *нутрак* /nutrak/ 'ridgling' in the Ruthenian language in Vojvodina. This term was used for several metaphorical mappings where the target domain could be animal or person. The figurative meaning of the target domain person is part of the conceptual field of Social characterization of a person. Metaphorical mapping based on this source domain can transfer the meaning of childless people or people hungry for love. *Dictionary of the Ruthenian Folk Language* considers this figurative meaning to carry a sneering tone (Ramač, 2017 I: 827).

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

нутрак

ANIMAL WITH A NATURAL DEFECT / IMPERFECTION → CHILDLESS PEOPLE OR PEOPLE HUNGRY FOR LOVE

In the Ruthenian language in Vojvodina, the term *коборлов* /koborlov/ was created through metaphorical mapping from the source domain PIG that *коборлує*²¹ /koborluje/ OR MAKES A MESS, BANGS AND FLIPS THINGS OVER.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

коборловац

КОБОРЛОВАЦ 'MAKE A MESS, BANG, AND FLIP THINGS OVER' → КОБОРЛОВ 'A

21 According to Ramač, the verb *коборловац* -уєм was created from the Hungarian word *kóborló* 'wanderer', *kóborol* 'to wander' (*kobor* 'wandering', *kobor kutya* 'a stray dog') (Ramač, 2017 I: 607).

PIG THAT MAKES A MESS, DIG HOLES' → КОБОРЛОВ 'A PERSON WHO MAKES A MESS, BANGS AND FLIPS THINGS OVER'.

The verb *кастроваць* /kastrovac/ is used with a meaning of cutting off the testicles of a male animal. In the process of metaphorical mapping, a seme is activated that carries the meaning of cutting off something or disabling someone, which is transferred to the target domain INTERRUPT, NOT ALLOW TO SPEAK.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

кастроваць

TO CUT OFF THE TESTICLES OF A MALE ANIMAL → TO INTERRUPT, NOT ALLOW TO SPEAK

3. ANIMAL → PLANT (PHYTONYM)²²

As part of this direction of metaphorical mapping, the source domain can be names of domestic animals or their products (БАРАН /baran/ 'ram', БАРАНЧЕ /baranče/ 'lamb', БУЯК /bujak/ 'bull', ВОЛ /vol/ 'ox', ГУШЕ /huše/ 'gosling', ЗАЯЦ /zajac/ 'rabbit', КАНДУР /kandur/ 'tomcat', КАЧЕ /kače/ 'duckling', КОГУТ /kohut/ 'rooster', КОЗА /koza/ 'goat', КОНЬ /konj/ 'horse', КРАВА /křava/ 'cow', МАГАРЕЦ /magarec/ 'donkey', МАЧКА /mačka/ 'cat', ПЕС /pes/ 'dog', ПУЛЬКА /puljka/ 'turkey', ОВЦА /ovca/ 'sheep', ШВИНЯ /švinja/ 'pig', МЛЕКО /mljeko/ 'milk'), and the target domain are plants (БАРАНОВ ЯЗИК /baranov jazik/ 'ram's tongue'²³, БАРАНЧИКИ /barančiki/ 'little lambs', БУЯЧКИ /bujacki/ 'little bulls', БУЯЧОК and ВОДОВИ БУЯК /bujáčok, vodovi bujak/ 'little bull and water bull', ВОЛОВ ХВОСТ /volov chvost/ 'ox tail', ВОЛОВО ОЧКО /volovo očko/ 'bull's eye', ГУШАТКОВО КВИЦЕ /hušatkovo kvice/ 'gosling's flower', ЗАЯЧА ТАЛПА /zajača talpa/ 'rabbit's sole', ЗАЯЧИ УХА /zajači uha/ 'rabbit's ears', КАЧИ ПИСКИ /kači piski/ 'duck's beak', 'duckling's soap', КОГУТОВ ГРЕБЕЊЬ /kohutov hrebenj/ 'rooster's comb', КОЖИ/КОЗИ ЦИЦКИ /koži/kozi cicki/ 'goat's tits', КОНЬСКА ПАХНЯЧКА /konjska pahnjačka/ 'the horse's perfume', КОНЬСКА ШО(В)ШКА /konjska šo(v)ška/ 'horses sorrel', КОНЬСКИ РУМЕНЕЦ /konjski rumenjec/ 'horse's chamomile', КОНЬСКИ ХВОСЦИК /konjski chvoscik/

²² We wrote about phytonyms in Ruthenian language in several works (Mudri, 2013; 2015; 2015a; 2017).

²³ Literal meaning.

'horse's little tail', КОПИТКО /kopitko/ 'little hoof', МАГАРЧЕ/МАГАРЧЕ ЦЕРНС /magarče/magarče cernje/ 'foal donkey's thorns', МАЧКОВ/МАЧИ ХВОСТ /mačkov/mači chvost/ 'cat's tail', МЛЄЧНИК /mlječnjik/ 'milky, something with milk', ОВЧИ РЕПИК /ovči repik/ 'sheep's burdock', ПОЉСКИ ПШИЧКИ /poljski pšički/ 'meadow little dogs', ПУЉЧИ НОС /puljči nos/ 'turkey's nose', ПША ВИШНЯ /pša višnja/ 'dog's cherry', ПШЕ ГРОЗНО /pše hrozno/ 'dog's grape', ПШИ УХА /pši ucha/ 'dog's ears', ПШИ ЯЗИКИ /pši jaziki/ 'dog's tongue', ТРЕБИКОЊИНА /trebikonjina/ 'exterminate by horse', ШВИЊСКА ТРАВА /švinjska trava/ 'pig's grass', ШВИЊСКА ШЕРСЦ /švinjska šersc/ 'pig's hair'²⁴.

In medieval times, it was believed that plants were created for good or evil and that some predestined external traits (such as the shape of leaves, the color or smell of flowers, and the taste of the plant) could help determine their internal qualities. The most obvious characteristic of a plant seems to be its similarity with the person's or animal's body parts. According to folk beliefs, this resemblance is an obvious sign of what and how a plant should be used. Based on this, nature speaks in codes and suggests a solution that can be found in riddles and secrets (Vajs, 1979: 91). The author warns that during the analysis of phytonyms, special attention has to be dedicated to checking whether the name for a plant is part of a medical terminology or it is a result of folk beliefs (Vajs, 1979: 91).

Vajs states that the characteristic of the botanical lexicon is its marginalization from the general lexicon as it refers to peripheral items and inside that group of items, it refers to marginal things. The botanical lexicon has specific dictionary entries: the professional term (the Latin term), semi-professional (the adaptation of the Latin and systematic terms), and the laic term which commonly differ from the first two. There are various botanical dictionaries as there are different lexical, semantic, motivated and unmotivated, transparent and non-transparent structures and typologies (Vajs, 1979: 92).

One of the most fruitful ways of plants' de-nominalization is the one where a part of a plant is named after a part of an animal's body. According to Vajs, these processes are not accidental but systematic. Part of a body carries the role of the class's name and the animal's name is the specific variable. All of them are types of de-nominali-

24 The term *кандурово вайца* /kandurovo vajca/ was excluded from the analysis as there is no information in the literature as to what plant it refers to.

zations where a certain part of a plant (a flower or a leaf) is metaphorically compared based on its distinctive look to a specific body part. However, the animal is not present as a typical metaphor, but rather a code for a classification system (Vajs, 1979: 103).

There are two types of structures for the folk names of plants containing zoonyms. The first one is a single-lexeme name and the second is a phrasal or a hybrid lexeme²⁵.

Metaphorical mapping can be based on the similarity of a flower, leaf, or fruit, and the person's body part. When looking at the resemblance with a flower, an association with eyes, beak, tail, or rooster's comb can be transferred. Round flowers can resemble the eyes of an animal, but which one, depends on the size of the flower. In our material, an example of such a term is *волово очко*²⁶ / *volovo očko*/ or *Viola tricolor*²⁷. The source domain BULL'S EYE motivated another metaphorical extension where an image of a bird *волово очко* /*volovo očko*/ is transferred.

25 Based on the structure, the collected names can be sorted into:

Single-lexeme names where the noun is the name for domestic animals:

The integral part of the animal's name: *бук*.

Semantic modifiers, i.e. diminutives, augmentatives, pejorative suffixes: *бучок, бучки, баранчики, пищки, пишна*.

Phrasal nouns:

Those forms which contain the name of the domestic animal in the nominal position and in the attributive position there is a qualifying or possessive adjective: *польски пищки*.

Those forms which in the attributive position contain a possessive adjective formed from the name of the domestic animal, and in the nominal position there is the part of the body, an item, a plant or an abstract phenomenon:

An item: *каче мидло, коньска пахнячка*;

A plant: *коньска шо(в)шка, коньски руменец, швиньска трава*.

A body part: *волово очко, пупчи нос, пиши уха, пиши язики*.

Classification according to (Bjeletić, 1996: 90).

26 According to Timko Đitko, in the Ukrainian dialects in Zakarpatja, the term *волóве óчко* is used for the same plant. The term *волове око* with the meaning Trollius is a general name for the plant in Ukrainian, and in Polish, it is *wołowe oko* (in the meaning of Buphthalmum) (Mel'nyčuk, 1982: 324-325). Some other names Ruthenian people in Vojvodina use for this plant are *арвачка, дзень и ноц, ог дяблово очи* (Timko Đitko, 2016: 39).

27 Timko Đitko includes the Latin term *Viola hybrida hort* (Timko Đitko, 2016: 39).

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

волово очко

BULL'S EYE → PLANT WITH ROUND FLOWERS (VIOLA TRICOLOR)

The term *писки* is used to refer to a tube-like flower with uneven ends. Based on this, the association for the names *качи писки* /kači piski/ 'duck's beak' *Tropaeolum majus* L., and *пульчи нос* /puljči nos/ 'duck's nose' *Polygonum bistorta* L. was formed.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

качи писки, пульчи нос

DUCK'S BEAK, TURKY'S BEAK → A PLANT WITH A TUBE-LIKE FLOWER

A tail resembles a grape-like flower, ear of wheat, or long grape clusters. Some examples are *волов хвост* /volov chvost/ 'ox tail' (*Verbascum* L.), *мачков/мачи хвост* /mačkov/mači chvost/ 'cat's tail' (*Phleum pratense* L.), and *коньски хвосцик* /konjski chvoscik/ 'horse's little tail' (*Equisetum arvense* L.).

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

волов хвост, мачков/мачи хвост, коньски хвосцик

THE TAIL OF OX, CAT, HORSE → A PLANT WITH A GRAIN-SHAPED FLOWER

Based on its shape and color, a flower can remind one of a rooster's comb. A flower of a distinctive appearance *Celosia cristata* L. is known as *когутів гребень*²⁸ /kohutov hrebenj/ 'rooster'comb' in the Ruthenian language. Metaphorical mapping is done through the seme of the appearance of a rooster's body part that resembles the flower of this plant.

28 According to Timko Ѓitko, a similar semantic process is used to create the same term in a Ukrainian dialect *півнячий гребінь* (Mel'nyčuk, 1982: 588-589), whereas in the literary Ukrainian language, a term *когутики* (целозія гребінчаста (гребінець)) is used. In Slavic languages: Slc. *kohútov hrebeň*, Che. *kohouti hřebení*, Serb. *петлова креста*, hung. dial. *kakastaraj* (Timko Ѓitko, 2016: 43).

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

когутов гребень

ROOSTER'S COMB → A FLOWER THAT RESEMBLES ROOSTER'S COMB (CELOSIA CRISTATA L.)

Plants can be named based on the shape of the leaves (the ear, the tongue, paws). Ears are used to name plants with wide, pointy, elongated, or round leaves, usually covered with fur or hair, such as *пши уха* /pši ucha/ 'dog's ears' *Xanthoria parietina*, *заячи уха* 'rabbit's ears' *Euphorbia variegata* Sims < Serb. *зечије уши* /zečje uši/. The tongue can describe plants with oval, usually smooth leaves, such as *пши язики* /pši jaziki/ 'dog's tongues' *Plantago*, or *баранов јазик* /baranov jazik/ 'ram's tongue'. Paws or a hoof can be used to name plants with heart-shaped leaves, like *заяча талпа* /zajača talpa/ 'rabbit's sole' *Geum urbanum* L, and *копитко* /kopitko/ 'little hoof' *Asarum*, which is a type of healing plant.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

пши уха, заячи уха

DOG'S OR RABBIT'S EAR → A PLANT WITH A WIDE, POINTY, ELONGATED, ROUND LEAVES, USUALLY COVERED WITH FUR OR HAIR

баранов јазик, пши язики

DOG'S, RAM'S TONGUE → A PLANT WITH OVAL, USUALLY SMOOTH LEAVES
заяча талпа

RABBIT'S SOLE, PAWS → PLANTS WITH HEART-SHAPED LEAVES

копитко

THE HOOF OF AN ANIMAL → PLANTS WITH HEART-SHAPED LEAVES

The shape of the fruit can also inspire a plant's name. Mammary glands on the goat's udder are a source domain for the name of a type of grapes *кожи/кози цицики* /koži/kozi cicki/ 'goat's tits' whose individual grape resembles this body part. The variants *кожи/кози* are location-dependent. The form with the possessive adjective

кожи цицки /koži cicki/ is typical for Ruski Krstur, but the form with the noun in the genitive singular (*кози цицки* /kozi cicki/) is more common in Kucura.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

кожи/кози цицки

MAMMARY GLANDS ON THE GOAT'S UDDER → TYPE OF GRAPES

Plant's names created through metaphorical mappings are based on the schema of color. The plant *гушатково квице* /hušatkovo kvice/ 'the gosling's flower' *Taraxacum officinale* Webb ex Wigg has yellow flowers which is why it was named after goslings which are also yellow. According to Timko Đitko, the name formed based on the formula *animal's name + plant's name* is used to denote the meaning 'not real' and it is very common. Another example from this material is *коньска пахњачка* /konjska pachnjačka/ 'the horse's perfume'.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

гушатково квице

A GOSLING → YELLOW COLOUR FLOWERS

In the names *пша вишња* /pša višnja/ 'dog's cherry' *Atropa belladonna* L and *пше грозно* /pše hrozno/ 'dog's grape' *Solanum nigrum* L, the nominal part was motivated by the resemblance to the fruit cherry (*вишња*) and grape (*грозно*) and the adjectival part *пша/пше* denotes that the plant is poisonous. A similar thing occurs with the terms *гадово грозно* /hadovo hrozno/ 'snake's grape' and *гадово јаблучко* /hadovo jablučko/ 'snake's little apple' where the snake (*гад*) carries the information about the toxicity (Timko Đitko, 2016: 31). Examples such as *пша крв* /pša krev/ 'dog's blood', *пши обичај* /pši običaj/ 'dog's habit' and *пша ножка* /pša nožka/ 'dog's little foot' show that the adjective *пши* can also carry the meaning of something bad or of poor quality. All of these names show the activation of the collective conceptualization schema where dogs represent the worst things, such as poison. There are two stages entailed in metaphorical mapping. The dog's character is considered to be bad, which is transferred in the second stage to the plants profiling toxicity.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

пиша вишня, пише грозно

DOG → POISONOUS PLANT

The term *требиконіна* /trebikonjina/ ‘exterminate by horse’ is used for the plant clover *Trifolium*. Another name for the same plant is *бетеліна* /beteljina/ which is more commonly used in the town of Ruski Krstur. This complex form was created with a verb and an augmentative name for a domestic animal, *требиц + коніна* /trebic+konjina/ (‘a plant eaten by a horse’). Ramač and Timko Đitko claim that this is a local Slavic creation based on the name of the horse, but the same idea to name this plant is quite usual in several languages of Central Europe: Ukr. *конюшина*, dial. *команиця*, Hung. *lohere*. Additionally, *требиконіна* resembles to a great extent the Lemko form *трепиконіні* and East-Slovak *trebikoňina* (Ramač, 2017: 592; Timko Đitko, 2016: 33, 75, 128).

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

требиконіна

A PLANT EATEN BY A HORSE → CLOVER (TRIFOLIUM)

A product of a domestic animal, e.g. *млеко* /mljeko/ ‘milk’ can also be a source domain. The word *млечнік*²⁹ /mlječnjik/ ‘milky, something with milk’ was created through derivation, a term used to denote the meaning of the plant *Euphorbia* L. Metaphorical mapping was motivated by the plant’s juice that looks like milk.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

млечнік

MILK → PLANT WITH A JUICE THAT LOOKS LIKE MILK (EUPHORBIA L.)

The terms *буячок* /bujačok/ ‘little bull’ and *водови бужак* /vodovi bujak/ ‘water bull’ are used to refer to the plant *Trapa* L. The foundation of the metaphorical mapping is in the similar appearance

29 In the Ukrainian language *молочай* *Euphorbia*, L. (Bilodid, IV 1973: 792); in slo. *mlječnik*, pol. *mlecz*. The forms *молоч* and *молочник*, *молочин* are found in the Ukrainian dialects (Timko Đitko, 2016: 29).

between a part of that plant and a bull, in other words its head with horns.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

буячок, водови буюк

BULL → PLANT THAT RESEMBLE HEAD OF A BULL

The term *баранчики*³⁰ /barančiki/ 'little lambs' is used for the plant *Primula veris* L. This metaphorical mapping was influenced by the flowers' appearance similar to sheep's curls. The source domain of this mapping is ram lambs, i.e. multiple young animals of the breed sheep, masculine gender. However, it is not clear why the form *баранчики* (dem. ram lambs) was chosen. The generic term for this domestic animal *овци* /ovci/ 'sheep' was created through the metonymy from the feminine form *овца* /ovca/.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

баранчики

A RAM LAMBS (WITH CURLS) → PLANT WITH THE FLOWERS' SIMILAR TO SHEEP'S CURLS (PRIMULA VERIS L.)

Name *овчи ретик* /ovči repik/ 'sheep's burdock' *Articum tomentosum* is a result of the metaphorical mapping which is based on the similarity of the fruit (burdock) of this plant and the sheep's wool. The plant's burdock looks like it has wool on its surface. A similar way of metaphorization has been noticed in the Serbian and English languages as well, where this plant is referred to as *вунасти чичак* /vunasti čičak/ 'literal woolly burdock', English *woolly burdock*.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

овчи ретик

SHEEP'S WOOL → PLANT WITH A BURDOCK SIMILAR TO SHEEP'S WOOL

30 This term is known in other Slavic languages as well: in Ukr. dial. *баранчик/-и*, Rus.: *баранчики, бараньки* (Mel'nyčuk, 1982: 139).

The term *швинська шерця* /švinjska šersc/ 'pig's hair', referring to the plant *Juncus L.*, is a result of metaphorical mapping based on the appearance, i.e. the leaves resemble the pig's coat.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

швинська шерця

PIG'S COAT → PLANT THAT RESEMBLE TO PIG'S COAT (JUNCUS L.)

UNCLEAR MOTIVATION

The term *швинська трава* /švinjska trava/ 'pig's grass' is used to name the plant *Polygonum aviculare L.*, which is known in similar forms in the Ukrainian dialects of Zakarpattia *свин'с'ка трава* and Slovakia *свин'ка трава* with the meaning of *Potentilla anserina* (Timko Ďitko, 2016: 40; 34). In some other languages, the place of the zoonym can be taken by a dog or a goose³¹. The motivation behind this metaphorical mapping is not transparent.

Since the plant *польски тиички* /poljski pšički/ 'meadow little dogs' *Linaria vulgaris Mil L.* is healing, *пши* /pši/ 'dog's' in this sense does not refer to toxicity or something negative as it is usually the case with the zoonym *dog*. It is possible that the metaphorical mapping is based on the seme of appearance as the plant has several flowers forming a cluster and elongated leaves. This shape might resemble a dog. Similar folk terms are present in the Ukrainian (*собачки*) and Slovak dialects (*pséček*) (Timko Ďitko, 2016: 31).

The name for the plant *коньски руменец* /konjski rumenec/ 'horses chamomile' *Anthemis arvensis L.* is transferred from the plant *Chamomilla* and similar terms for referring to other plants are found in the Slovak dialects *konski rumaňec* *Leucanthemum vulgare L.* and the Ukrainian dialects in Slovakia *кунс'кій руменец* *Pyrethrum parthenium* (Timko Ďitko, 2016: 26). The common feature of all the plants known as *коньски руменец* are the similar white flowers.

Some plants' names consist of zoonyms which in the Ruthenian language are not part of any metaphorical processes, but rather the borrowing and adaptation from other languages. For example, the plant *Rumex L.* is transferred with the term *коньска ш(в)шка* /

31 In the Ukrainian language, the terms *гуся трава* and *спорши* have the same meaning (Hrinčenko, 1907-1909: 342).

konjska šovška/ 'horses sorrel' which is a semi-calque of the Hungarian word *lósóskam* where *ló* means horse and *sóska* Rumex L. (Timko Āitko, 2016: 26).

The term *магарче/магарече церне* /magarĉe cernje/ 'foal donkey's thorns' *Ononis arvensis* L might have been created similarly to the previous one. The name of this healing plant could have been borrowed from the Serbian language. However, this term in Serbian and Croatian (*магарећу трн*³²) is used for the plant *Onopordum acanthium*³³. But, the term *Ononis arvensis* L also refers to a donkey and it could be translated as *donkey uses*. This means that the plant could have been food for donkeys and thus gained the name through its use. It is possible that Ruthenians influenced by the contact with Serbian changed their previous name for this plant.

The term *каче мидло* /kaĉe midlo/ 'duckling's soap' is the name for the plant *Chaerophyllum hirsutum* L. Yet, the literature does not provide information as to what influenced the motivation for such a nomination. According to Timko, similar terms can be found in the Slavic languages but they denote other plants: in Ukr. dialects in Slovakia *качя́чой мьло* (*Saponaria*), in old Polish language *kacze mydlo* (*Hernaria glabra* L), and in Slovak *kaĉacie mydlo* (*Anagallis*) (Timko Āitko 2016: 25). The same term as used by Serbia's Ruthenians, *каче мидло*, is found only in the Ruthenian villages in northern Hungary. Timko Āitko assumes that this is a Polish term used to name several plants of similar features.

Examples of metaphorical extensions where the source domain is an animal's body part are not included in this group as it does not specifically belong to the group of domestic or wild animals. For example, the word *пирка* /pirka/ with its primary meaning of 'a growth on a domestic or wild bird', as a source domain transfers the meaning 'green leaves of onions.' The word *пирко* /pirko/ 'feather' is also a source domain in the metaphorical meaning in the thematic group of eating with the meaning of a specific part of chicken's cooked meat that resembles the shape of a feather.

32 This is an unknown term in the Carpathian area (ukr. *татя́рник звича́йний* (*татарник колючий, чортолох*), pol. *porloch pospolity*).

33 The term *Onopordum* is a Greek-origin complex form *όνος* (ónos - donkey), *πέρδω* (pérdo - fart), and *άκανθος* (ácanthos - thorn), meaning *donkey fart thorny food* (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Onopordum_acanthium).

4. DOMESTIC ANIMAL → INSECT

The source domain of the metaphorical extensions in this thematic group is the domestic animal (*конь* 'horse', *крава* 'cow', *кура* 'chicken', *пес* 'dog' and *овца* 'sheep'). The target domain are the insects (*бабин пес* /babin pes/ 'a grama's dog', *панбоска кравичка* (богова/божа катичка) /panboska kravička (bohova/boža katička)/ 'god's little cow', *конік* /konjik/ 'little horse').

The insect *конік*³⁴ /konjik/ 'little horse' *Locusta viridissima* L. is known for its movement, more precisely, jumping. Its nomination is the result of the metaphorical mapping from the domestic animal *конь* /konj/ 'horse' based on the seme of a distinctive behavior, i.e. the way of moving.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

конік

HORSIE → INSECT KNOWN FOR ITS MOVEMENT, JUMPING (LOCUSTA VIRIDISSIMA L.)

When a hybrid lexeme is formed from a possessive adjective and a zoonym referring to an insect, then the created term is the result of the metaphorical mapping, as in *бабин пес*, *панбоска кравичка*/*катичка*. According to Timko, the Scarlet tiger caterpillar, *бабин пес* ('a grama's dog') *Callimorpha dominula* L., got that name because it typically leaves around houses, in the garden, grass, and similar (Ramač, 2017; Timko Đitko, 2016: 89)³⁵. However, it should be noted that the forms derived from the term *баба* /baba/ 'grandmother' are often used to denote a meaning of an insect in the Slavic languages. Besides caterpillars, there are R. *бабочка* 'butterfly', *баба* 'same', *бабка* (a term used for various types of insects), Pl. *baba* 'ladybug', *babka* 'same', Slo. *bábka* 'larva', *babočka* 'butterfly', Vl. *babka* 'bee', Bolg. *бабушка* 'larva, the beginning of a butterfly',

34 This term was noted in the old Ukrainian texts in 16th - 18th century. Today, the lexeme *конік* existed only in Lemko and Hutsul dialects, pol. dialects and East-Slavic as *końik* (Timko Đitko, 2016: 93). But in the literary language, the form is *коник-стрибунець*: В той день ковалеві здавалось навіть, же [що] найгучніший голос має невгамовний коник-стрибунець (Pičenko, 1958: 21).

35 This term is known in the Carpathian area: Boik. *бабин пес*, Lemk. *бабин пес*, Slc. dial. *babi pes*, Pl. dial. *babi pies* (Ramač, 2017).

Scr. *баба* 'the queen bee', *бабак* 'ladybug'. Etymologists have not yet agreed on the explanation of the meaning. One group says that the term *баба* was used to mean sorceress because people saw those insects as a unpleasant. Others claim that the name represents the image of a deceased soul being moved into an insect (Mel'nyčuk, 1982: 280; Preobraženskij I, 1910-1914: 10).

Based on all the information, it can be concluded that a similar process to the one happening with *ниа риба* occurred here as well, where there is an insect that, because of its characteristics, is on a category's periphery. Therefore, the term was marked with *nec* which, in this sense, means something bad or defective. This way of nominalization makes sense when we know that a moth develops to transform itself into a larva, then a caterpillar, and finally a butterfly.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

бабин нес

DOG → SORT OF BUG

The name of the insect *панбоска кравичка* *Coccinella septempunctata*³⁶ is not transparent to the Ruthenian speakers nowadays. The first part, *панбоска* or today *божа*, appears in both Slavic³⁷ and non-Slavic languages. Some explanations connect these names to the Deity, i.e. the Virgin Mary, e.g. the British English ladybird (AmE. ladybug), or the German term Marienkäfer, created because Mary was depicted wearing a red mantle in modern pictures. Other explanations consider the pre-Christian period as well (Gura, 2005: 369-374).

36 In the scientific terminology found in the *Dictionary of the Preservation of Plants and the Environment* (Словник заштити рошлінох и животногo средку), there is a large number of terms which denote a type of the insect божа катичка, e.g. божа катичка 22-точкаста (*Psyllobora vigintiduo punctata* L.), Божа катичка двоточкаста (*Adalia bipunctata* L.), Божа катичка луцеркова (*Subcoccinella 24-punctata* L.), Божа катичка седемточкаста (*Coccinella septempunctata* L.). As noticed, a translation of the Latin terminology used to describe the insect's appearance was added on the primary name. (However, the name Божа кравичка in this dictionary refers to a different insect, *Mantis religiosa* L., Serb. bogomoljka (Šovljanski, 2010: 405).)

37 A. Gura lists four groups of names for this insect in the Slavic languages (Gura, 2005: 369).

The part with the name of a domestic animal was de-etymologized over time and the term *кати́чка* /katička/ 'Kate, a short form of the name Katherine'³⁸ started to be commonly used. Therefore, Ruthenians in Vojvodina, Serbia today usually use the form *богова/божа кати́чка*³⁹ which is a result of deformation or the Serbian name *бубамара*⁴⁰. The reason behind the deformation might be the loss of motivation, i.e. not seeing a clear connection between this insect and the domestic animal *cow*. An older term in the Slavic languages clearly depicts that connection: West. Ukr. *божа коровка/коровичка*, Slc. *panbožkova kravička*, Pol. *biedronka, boża krowka*, Rus. *божья коровка* (Timko Đitko, 2017: 88, 122, 132; Ramač, 2017). The transferred meaning is formed based on the similarity between the black dots on the ladybug and the patches on the cow. According to PWN⁴¹, it is common for small entities, such as insects, plants, or even fish, to be named after animals. In the past, seven dots symbolized seven joyful and seven grieving moments.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

панбоска кравичка/богова/божа кати́чка

COW → INSECT WITH A BLACK DOTS ON HIS BODY

Insects' names can be formed from the names of other insects (lice) and a zoological determiner that specifies the insect's type (sheep's, chicken's). In such examples, the zoological element is not a source of metaphorical mapping (*овчи кліщ* /ovči kljišč/, *кури уши* /ovči uši/)⁴². The term *пастирска торбичка* /pastirska torbička/ *Capsella bursa pastoris* was also excluded from the analysis as it is

38 On the other hand, form *katička* could be motivated with similar form in Hungarian language *katicabogár*.

39 According to Timko, the form *богова/божа кати́чка* could originate from the Hungarian language (Timko Đitko, 2016: 71).

40 In the end, both forms refer to the Deity as the Serbian name *бубамара* also refers to the Virgin Mary (Mara=Mary).

41 <https://sjp.pwn.pl/poradnia/haslo/boza-krowka;1993.html> (accessed on 27.04.2020)

42 From the extensive material where the name connected with the nurturing of domestic animals appears, the terms that are not a result of metaphorical mapping were excluded. Some of them are: *пша блиха*, *овчи кліщ*, *кури уши*, which specify the animal through the zoological determiner.

a translation from the Latin language⁴³.

Even though there are not a lot of examples in this direction of metaphorization, the motivation behind metaphorical mappings is diverse. These transferring processes are motivated by a distinctive behavior, i.e. movement (*конік* *Locusta viridissima* L.), or appearance (*панбоска кравичка/богова/божа катичка, бабин пес*).

5. DOMESTIC ANIMAL → DISEASE

The names of people's medical conditions are commonly a result of the metaphorical processes motivated by zoonyms in various languages across the world. In this material, the examples are *кура риц* /kura ric/ 'chicken's rump', *куришлеп* /kurišljep/ 'chicken's blindness', *курчецово* or *кури перши* /kurčecovo or kuri perši/ 'chicken's breasts', *магарчи кашель* /magarči kašelj/ 'donkey's cough'. The most frequent source domain is the domestic animal *кура* ('chicken') which through the seme of the body part appearance such as *риц* ('rump') and *перши* ('breasts') generates a metaphorical extension *кура риц*⁴⁴ 'verruca, a type of wart on an arm or a leg', and *курчецово* / *кури перши* *Pectus Carinatum*, 'pigeon chest', a chest deformity. Body part names specified with a zoonym *кура* activate a seme of body part appearance. Thus, a chicken's rump is small, as is a small warth on the body named *кура риц*. The same thing occurs in the example *курчецово* / *кури перши*. An improperly formed shape of the chest reminds people of chicken breasts. The name *куришлеп* retinitis pigmentosa, an eye disease that affects the retina where a person's night vision is partially or fully impaired, is based on the schema of a distinctive chicken's behavior, as they cannot see in the dark. This trait was used for the transfer on the target domain of a person's medical condition *куришлеп*⁴⁵.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

кура риц

CHICKEN'S RUMP → A TYPE OF WART ON AN ARM OR A LEG (VERRUCA)

43 *Capsella bursa pastoris* in English *Shepherd's Purse*, Serb. *хоћу-нећу*.

44 In the literary language, also *куре око* /kure oko/ 'hen eye'.

45 The same term is used in Ukr. *куряча сліпота*, Pl. *курошлеп* 'same', Serb. *кокошије слетило* 'same', Rus. *куриная слепота* 'same' (Ramač, 2017 I: 658). An interesting fact is that in Ukrainian language the same name is used for a poisonous plant.

курцецово / кури перши

CHICKEN'S BREASTS → A CHEST DEFORMITY (PECTUS CARINATUM)

куришлен

CHICKEN'S CANNOT SEE IN THE DARK → AN EYE DISEASE OF A MEN (RETINITIS PIGMENTOZA)

Besides a chicken, a source domain for the metaphorical extension can also be a donkey. The term *магарчи кашель* refers to a type of severe cough, stridens. In the *Dictionary of the Ruthenian Folk Language* a following description can be found which explains this metaphorical mapping: *That is a highly contagious disease... A child has a cough that sounds like a dog barking or a donkey braying, and later that cough is so strong that a child vomits, chokes, or falls* (Ramač, 2017 I: 693)⁴⁶. This explanation shows that the metaphorical mapping is based on the schema of a donkey's voice which resembles a strong coughing sound.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

магарчи кашель

DONKEY'S VOICE → SEVERE COUGH, STRIDENS

Names *заяча гамба*, *мачки* and *овчи поки* were excluded from the analysis.

Заяча гамба /*zajača gamba*/ 'rabbits lip' is the term used to refer to a medical condition of the cleft of the upper lip and palate. This name is known in many languages. It is formed based on its similarity to the rabbit's split upper lip. The disease received through a cat's bite, through the process of metonymic nominalization, got the name *мачки* ('cats'). However, this name was not found in the *Dictionary of the Ruthenian Folk Language*, so it is thought that it originated during the creation of the medical terms for the *Dictionary of the Medicinal Terminology* ('Словнік медицинскей

46 What should be taken into account is the stereotypical representation of a donkey as a stubborn domestic animal, as well as the possibility that because of its such nature, this animal was used to describe a persistent and strong cough.

терминології”) (Novta, 2006).

The term *овчи поки*⁴⁷ /ovči poki/ is described differently in several dictionaries of the Ruthenian language. In the *Ruthenian-Serbian Dictionary* (Руско сербски словник), there is the Serbian equivalent for this name, *овчије богиње* /ovčije boginje/, without any explanation as to whether this disease attacks domestic or wild animals. In the *Dictionary of the Ruthenian Folk Language*, it is stated that this is a type of contagious disease. However, the explanation is: [Chicken pox] is dangerous for livestock... After 2 - 4 days, poxes will appear in the places without wool which will then burst... This suggests that such a disease attacks animals, not people as well. This information is given to illustrate the creation of the name *ovči poki* used today to refer to the disease varicella. This disease first appeared among sheep and cows on their mucosas and udders. Later modification of the disease attacked children. But, as it was first noticed among sheep, it got the name *овчи поки* ('sheep's pox') (Polačkova based on Junas, 1992: 340).

6. DOMESTIC ANIMAL → OBJECT

Metaphorical extensions in this direction of metaphorization refer to objects related to home (*когуцик* /kohucik/ "weathercock", "a hook for closing an iron", *буяче чоло* /bujache čolo/ "the front side of the haystack", *коні* /konji/ "horse heads on the siding of the house" *магарец* "coatrack", *коза* /koza/ "planks in an X shape used as a platform for chopping trees; wooden crib", *пишчок* /pšičok/ "a small supporting block in the middle of a gate used to hold two gate halves in place"), to some crafts, weaving (*пишчки* /pšički/ "part of the weaving equipment", *кожелец* /koželjec/ "a stand for the thread"), to wheel-making (*коза* /koza/ "a small desk near a stall", *кобула* /kobula/ "in this context, those are two thick and strong planks digged vertically into the ground"), to musical instruments (*конік* /konjik/ and *кобулка* /kobulka/ "part of string instruments (on which strings are placed)), objects for play and entertainment (*конь* /konj/ "horse" is the source domain for transferring the name of the chess piece called "the knight", *коніки на вашиарох* /konjiki

47 In other languages, this characteristics got the name from different animals. For example, *chicken pox* in English. However, there are various standpoints on the motivation behind this metaphorical mapping. One argues that the children's skin looks like it was pecked by chickens. Others think it is because the pox resemble a *chick pea*, which appears more probable.

na vašaroh/ “a toy for children, a type of carousel for children at fairs”, *магарче вайцо* /magarče vajco/ “rubber ball for playing”), to weapons (*когуцик* /kohucik/ “the trigger on a gun or pistol”, *буяча жила* /bujača žila/ “a type of a police baton”), to objects in retale (*когуцик* “a small part on scales”), to transportation (*коньска глава* /konjska hlava/ “an upper, upwardly bent part of a sled”), to sport (*кожлік* /kožljik/ “a four-legged object used for exercise”), to boats (*мачка* /mačka/ “an anchor”), and to other (*железна мачка* /željezna mačka/ “an object used to catch wild animals”, “a type of a trap”; *зубадла* /zubadla/ “braces”).

HOME

The foundation of the transferred meaning of the word *когуцик* /kohucik/ ‘cockerel’ is clearly the appearance, as on the top of the weather vane is the shape of a rooster on a smaller scale. This is an example of how metaphor and metonymy work together, i.e. the process of iconization or metaphonymy. The object *когуцик* represents the realization of the appearance (and character) of this animal. The source domain is a domestic animal, i.e. a COCKEREL, and the target domain is an object that symbolizes that animal, WEATHERCOCK.

Conceptual metaphonymy mapping schema

когуцик

COCKEREL → WEATHERCOCK IN FORM OF A COCKEREL

Through the same process of the joint activity of the metaphor and metonymy, the terms *когуцик* (‘a hook in form of a cockerel for closing an iron’) and *коніки* (‘horse heads on the siding of the house’) were created. The old-fashioned irons made of iron (the material) were heated by putting live coal inside them, and on the top, they could have had a small figure of a cockerel (‘когуцик’)⁴⁸.

Conceptual metaphonymy mapping schema

когуцик

COCKEREL → A HOOK FOR CLOSING AN IRON

48 https://sh.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pegla#/media/Datoteka:Bügeleisen_alt.jpg

One of the most mythical creatures in the folk tradition is the horse. The horse represented the connection with the supernatural world, i.e. non-terrestrial as this animal's main role is to transport heavy objects. The fertility cult and the death cult are connected to a horse (Tolstoj, Radenković, 2001: 280-281).

The bones of the horse's head have an ambivalent role in the folk tradition. There are rituals of their burning as a way of keeping witches or death away. It was also used as a construction sacrifice and its use for the protection of livestock is present in all Slavic cultures (Tolstoj, Radenković, 2001: 280-281).

In the past, а *коніки* /konjiki/ 'horse heads on the siding of the house'⁴⁹. Before they were used as decoration, horse heads had a protective role as people first used horses' skulls as a prototype of lighting rode, i.e. to protect their homes from a thunder strike. Later, this role grew into a decorative one, so the heads were carved out of wood. There are no *коніки* on today's houses of the Ruthenian people.

Conceptual metaphonymyc mapping schema

коніки

HORSES → HORSE HEADS ON THE SIDING OF THE HOUSE

The diminutive form *пшичок* /pšičok/ 'little, sweet dog', is a source domain for the metaphorical mapping on the object in the yard *пшичок* 'a small supporting block in the middle of a gate used to hold two gate halves in place, Serb. *пора*.' It is easier to understand the motivation behind this transfer of meaning when knowing that in the Ukrainian language, *собачка* 'Rus. пшичок' is a term used to refer to a piece of machinery used to prevent the mechanism from going some other way.

49 In 1897, Volodimir Hnatjuk wrote how the villages Krstur and Kucura looked like at that time: Houses were of a newer type, described Hnatjuk. They faced the street and had windows with shutters. On the front side, they had a wooden gable decorated with little statues of horses as stylish horse heads (Hnatjuk; Ramač, 1993: 100).

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

пшичок

DOGY → A SMALL SUPPORTING BLOCK IN THE MIDDLE OF A GATE USED TO HOLD
TWO GATE HALVES IN PLACE

Objects *коза* /koza/ 'goat, a wooden crib' and *магарец* /magarec/ 'donkey, a coat hanger' are also used in a home. The motivation for the metaphorical extension from a goat to a wooden crib can be connected with other similar examples where objects with four legs but of various uses got their names from the same animal. An example is *коза* 'planks in an X shape used as a platform for cutting trees.'

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

кози

GOAT → A WOODEN CRIB

One more object used in a home and created from the source domain of domestic animals is *магарец* /magarec/ 'donkey, a coat hanger'. It is usually made out of wood and hung up on a wall for hanging outwear. This term is low in frequency in the modern Ruthenian language. It is assumed that the secondary nomination is based on the seme of an animal's nature which is simple and has a function of carrying something heavy. In the same way, *магарец* /magarec/ has the function of carrying outwear.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

магарец

DONKEY → A COAT HANGER

A pathway of the formation of the secondary, figurative meaning whose source domain is *коза*⁵⁰ was already discussed, where the target domain is an object with four legs in the shape of a table/table legs. An example of this is *коза* 'planks in an X shape used as a platform for chopping trees.' Besides the wooden crib and the object

50 The term with the same meaning is known in other Slavic languages as well.: Cz. *kozlik* 'same', Slc. *сар* 'same', Rus. *козлы* 'same' (Ramač, 2017 I: 609).

used for wood chopping, in other thematic groups based on the same schema of metaphORIZATION, the terms *коза* 'a small desk near a stall', and *кожлік* /kožljik/ 'a four-legged object used for exercise.'

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

коза, кожлік

GOAT → A SMALL DESK NEAR A STALL / A FOUR-LEGGED OBJECT USED FOR EXERCISE

Scales were used in homes and at farmer's markets in the past. A part of those scales was a small piece that showed which side of the scale was heavier. Based on how the scale looks, this part resembles the shape of a head's bird, hence the metaphorical mapping based on the source domain *когуцик* /kohucik/.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

когуцик

COCKEREL → PART OF A SCALE RESEMBLE TO HEAD OF A COCKEREL

The term *буяче чоло* /bujače čolo/, used to denote the meaning of the front side of a haystack, is also part of this thematic group. The complex form was formed from a determiner derived from a zoonym *буйак* 'bull' and the term for a body part *чоло* 'forehead' whose metaphorical extension can mean 'the front.' A haystack is usually piled in the front in a way that the outer row is a bit out on the sides resembling horns, thus the name *роги брадла* /rohi bradla/ 'horns of the haystack'. The inner middle part of that stack in between the horns is called *буяче чоло* 'bull's forehead' to which sides are the horns.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

буяче чоло

BULL'S FOREHEAD → FRONT SIDE OF A HAYSTACK

CRAFTS (weaving and wheel-making)

Three terms appear in the material connected with the weaving: *пишчок* /pšičok/ 'a part of the weaving equipment', *пишчки* /pšički/

'a part of the weaving equipment' and *кожелец* 'a stand for the thread' (Medeši, Varga, 1979: 15-28). The objects marked with these terms are no longer in use, thus their frequency in the language is minimal. To understand metaphorical mapping, additional information from the literature is needed, such as the description of the weaving equipment. The term *кожелец* /koželjec/ is also used for the plant Serb. *козја брада* /kozja brada/ (Tragopogon major Jacq) (Ramač, 2010: 328). In some of these words, the primary meaning is unrecognizable, as in *кожелец*, *кожлік*.

In the wheel-making trade, metaphorical mapping is used in the term *коза* /koza/ 'a small desk near a stall.' This term is most commonly used in the village called Đurđevo. As previously observed, target meanings with the source domain *коза* most often form a new meaning for a stool, i.e. some kind of a helping tool for work such as tree chopping. Additional meanings are those of a wooden crib or gymnastics equipment. Some of these terms have a low use frequency so their meaning is not transparent today.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

коза

GOAT → A TABLE WITH FOUR LEGS

In the past, when wheels were made out of wood, wheel-makers used a tool *кобула*⁵¹ /kobula/ to make holes in the wheel's head and put spokes in. This object was made out of two thick and strong pieces of wood vertically dug deep into the ground, with a 25 to 30 cm distance between them, and about 40 cm of their length sticking out of the ground (Fa Kološnjaji, 2014: 28). The motivation for this metaphorical mapping is not completely clear, but it could be based on the carrying function as the head of the wooden wheel is put on top of this object.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

кобула

51 These objects were described and illustrated with images in the work done by Nataša Fa Kološnjaji (Fa Kološnjaji, 2014: 28; 51). <https://zavod.rs/wp-content/uploads/2021/07/Studia-Rutenika-19-2014.pdf>; <http://www.elmenygazdasag.hu/hu/kiallitasok/kiallitasok5>

MARE → WHEEL-MAKERS TOOL

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

The part of string instruments under the sound box on which strings are placed is known as *кобулка* /kobulka/ or *конік* /konjik/ in the Ruthenian language. String instruments have two such parts on their body, the upper and lower one. The function of both of them is to hold strings. The basis of these secondary nominalizations is the metaphorical mapping based on the function of the domestic animal mare, which was used in the past as a means of transportation for heavy things. The function of this part of musical instruments, such as a guitar, fiddle, and other string instruments, is to lift and carry the strings. However, a possibility should be considered that these terms are a semantic calque from the Serbian language in which the forms *кобилица* /kobilica/ and *коњиц* /konjic/ are used. It is unclear whether the choice of the source domain depends on the type of the string instrument, i.e. the form of the object.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

кобулка, конік

FILLY, HORSE → PART OF STRING INSTRUMENTS (ON WHICH STRINGS ARE PLACED)

OBJECTS FOR PLAY AND ENTERTAINMENT

The animal *конь* /konj/ 'horse' is the source domain for transferring the name of the chess piece called "the knight". As this piece has the shape of a horse head, this nominalization represents the result of both metaphor and metonymy. The meaning of the source domain of the domestic animal HORSE *Equus caballus* is transferred to an object, a chess piece that shows a physical realization of the animal.

Conceptual metaphonymic mapping schema

конь

HORSE → CHESS PIECE HORSE

The term *коніки на вашапе* /konjiki na vašare/ 'a toy for children, a type of carousel for children at fairs' is based on the source domain HORSE. At the fairs, there are usually machines for children's enter-

tainment. One of those has a round base that moves in circles, and on top of that toy horses are placed for children to sit on. The term *кони* is the result of both metaphor and metonymy working together. These shapes *коники* are realizations of animal's appearance.

Conceptual metaphonymic mapping schema

коники

HORSE → FIGURE OF A HORSE ON A CAROUSEL

Foal's character is a motivation for naming a type of ball. The term *магарче вайцо* /*magarče vajco*/ 'donkey's egg' transfers the meaning of a small, firm, rubber ball. The metaphorical mapping is based on the foal's character who runs and hops like all other young animals. By doing so, it transfers an image of a rubber ball that, once thrown, bounces in various directions. The basis for this metaphorical mapping can be the character of this young animal that playfully jumps around without other useful roles.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

магарче вайцо

DONKEY COLT'S EGG → RUBBER BALL FOR PLAYING

WEAPONS

Two terms for objects formed based on the source domain *когуцик* /*kohucik*/ 'cockerel' and *буяк* /*bujak*/ 'bull' are part of this thematic group. The term *когуцик* denotes the trigger on a gun or pistol⁵². In the Serbian language, the word *ороз* /*oroZ*/ is used for the same object, which in its primary meaning carries the meaning of a rooster but was borrowed from the Turkish language (Novokmet according to Škaljić, 1966). Novokmet claims that this word creation is the result of a process of copying the semantic structure on the lexemes which denote similar or same entities, just as it was the case with the computer term *миш* /*miš*/ based on the English one *mouse* (Novokmet, 2017: 90-91)⁵³. Based on this information, it

52 http://www.ld-kamenjarka-kukuljanovo.hr/ch5_fitilj.html

53 „Although part of terminologies, the highlighted semantic calques have the same semes with the primary meaning of the word, which se-

can be concluded that the term *kohucik* can be a semantic calque in the Ruthenian language but from Polish, as in Ukrainian⁵⁴ there is a form *когутик* /*kohutik*/ with the same meaning.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

когуцик

COCKEREL → TRIGGER ON A GUN OR PISTOL

Буяча жила /*bujaja žila*/ 'a type of a police baton' is the second term considered to be a part of this thematic group. It was formed through the metonymic process from the source domain BULL, i.e. a part of the bull's body. In essence, this refers to bull's genitalia which was dried out and used as a baton in the past.

Conceptual metonymy mapping schema

буяча жила

PART OF THE BULL'S BODY (/ BULL'S GENITALIA) → PRODUCT FROM A BULL

A DECORATION ON A MEANS OF TRANSPORTATION

One complex lexeme denotes an object related to transportation. The front and upwardly bent part of the horse carriage is referred to as *коньска глава* /*konjska hlava*/. Some shapes of these carriages had hollow wooden tops that resembled horse heads. As already mentioned, in folk tales, a horse had a protective role so it can be assumed that it had the same one on top of the carriages. If that interpretation is taken into consideration, it can be claimed that the term *коньска глава* is a result of both metaphorical and metonymical processes, i.e. metaphonymy. Since this means of transportation is rarely used today, the term *коньска глава* is not very frequent.

cures them more in the polisemantic structure of native words and erases the traces of any foreign language influence. It is not always easy or possible to determine the etymology and origin of such semantic borrowings, as some of them seamlessly fit into the semantic structure of zoonyms and even get a secondary meaning in their source languages thanks to the same mechanisms (e.g. *mouse*, *butterfly*, etc.)" (Novokmet, 2017: 90-91).
54 Also in other Slavic languages: Cz. *kohoutek*, Slc. *kohútik*.

Conceptual metaphoric mapping schema

коњска глава

HORSE → PART OF CARRIAGES THAT RESEMBLED HORSE HEADS

A GYMNASTICS OBJECT

The domestic animal *goat* was the source domain of the metaphorical mapping on the gymnastics tool *кожлік* /kožljik/. The primary meaning of this form is unknown, but considering the masculine form, it could have denoted the meaning of a buckling. Same as with the metaphorical extensions built on the source domain goat, the schema of appearance is what motivated this mapping. Four-legged objects in homes, crafts, or sports were named using the same metaphorical pattern. This term may be a semantic calque based on the Serbian word *козлић* /kozlič/.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

кожлік

HE-GOAT → GYMNASTICS TOOL (VAULT)

AN OBJECT ON A BOAT

The term *мачка*⁵⁵ /mačka/ 'cat', with a meaning of an anchor on boats, represents a metaphorical extension based on the seme of a cat's appearance, i.e. its paws and their function. An anchor has parts which when put down into the water are dug into the ground or sand. This resembles a cat, that is the paws and claws, which have the same function when the cat goes up and down the tree.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

мачка

CAT → ANCHOR ON BOATS

OTHER SUBJECTS

The same method was used for forming a metaphorical mapping to transfer the meaning of a tool *железна мачка* /željezna mačka/

55 Identical term in Serbian.

(literal Eng. ‘an iron cat’) ‘a type of Grappling iron, a longer piece with three metal hooks at the end (facing upwards) for catching things in deeper water.’ The seme of appearance was activated once more where the hooks on this object resemble the cat’s paws. The adjective *железна* (‘iron’) refers to the material used to make the tool.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

железна мачка

CAT → A TYPE OF GRAPPLING IRON

A tool used in the past for catching wild animals is transferred with the complex lexeme *железна мачка*. The adjective *железна* gives information about the material the tool is made of. The metaphorical mapping could possibly be based on the seme of the ability of a cat to catch a mouse.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

железна мачка

CAT (A SKILLFUL HUNTER) → TOOL USED IN THE PAST FOR CATCHING WILD ANIMALS

The noun *зубадла* /zubadla/ ‘the bit, the metal part of the harness that goes into horse’s mouth’ is the source domain for the metaphorical mapping of the meaning ‘dental braces.’ The mapping is based on the seme of the place of use of the object since both the bit and the braces are put into the mouth of a horse and a person respectively.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

зубадла

A BIT, THE METAL PART OF THE HARNESS THAT GOES INTO HORSE’S MOUTH → DENTAL BRACES

7. DOMESTIC ANIMAL → CLOTHES

Metaphorical extensions with the target domain clothes usually refer to buttons or buckles or some fabric defects. The diminutive form *кобулка* transfers the meaning of a women's buckle on clothes. The metaphorical mapping is based on the sexual roles, i.e. the physiognomy of a female and a male body of animals. The same basis for mapping was used with the metaphorical extension *вайчачок* 'man's buckle on pants' and *конік* 'man's part of a buckle' = *вайчачок*.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

кобулка

FILLY → WOMEN'S BUCKLE ON CLOTHES

вайчачок, конік

COLT → MAN'S BUCKLE ON PANTS

Metaphorical names to refer to fabric defects are *конь* /konj/ 'horse' and *цап* /cap/ 'he-goat'. The motivation behind these metaphorical mappings is unclear.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

конь, цап

HORSE, BILLY GOAT → FABRIC DEFECTS

8. DOMESTIC ANIMAL → NATURAL AND ATMOSPHERIC PHENOMENA

Atmospheric phenomena are transferred with source domains *баранче* /baranče/ 'lamb', *овци* /ovci/ 'sheep', and *заяловиц ше* /zajalovic še/ 'dry off dairy cow, be without milk, for cows'.

The secondary nomination for the term *овци* 'white clouds on the sky' or *баранчата* 'small white clouds on the sky' is a result of the metaphorical mapping in the direction of ANIMAL → ATMOSPHERIC PHENOMENA. This mapping is based on the similarity in appearance of white sheep or lambs and white clouds. The choice

of the source domain depends on the size of the clouds. Similar metaphorical mappings with this source domain are present in the phraseological material as well (*баба гонї кози* /baba honji kozi/ 'grandmother is chasing goats', *баранчата на небе* /barančata na njebe/ 'lambs on the sky').

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

овци

SHEEP → WHITE CLOUDS ON THE SKY

баранчата

LAMBS → SMALL WHITE CLOUDS ON THE SKY

Atmospheric phenomena can also denote the work of livestock nurturing, which is the period before calving when the cow is stopped being milked, resulting in loss of milk. In Ruthenian, people used the verb *заяловиц ше* to refer to this process in the past. The result of this activity (dry cow) is the source domain of this metaphorical mapping. The primary meaning of this verb *заяловиц ше* is TO DRY OFF DAIRY COW. The meaning is based on the similarity of the results of the primary function of a cow or clouds, which is to give milk or to give rain necessary for crops to grow, respectively.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

заяловиц ше

TO DRY OFF DAIRY COW → NO RAIN

9. ANIMAL → CUSTOMS, COOKING, GAMES

The old-fashioned games were often named after the names of domestic animals in the Ruthenian language. The source domain of these metaphorical mappings is DOMESTIC ANIMAL, that is HORSE (*бавиц ше на конї* /bavic še na konji/ '[to play] horses', *на конїка* /na konjika/ '[to play] little horse', *конь* /konj/ 'chicken breasts bones were used as a toy'),⁵⁶ DONKEY (*магарци* /magarci/ '[to play] donkeys'),

⁵⁶ One term for a game is connected with the source domain ANIMAL,

CAT (*шлєпи мачки* /šljepi mački/ 'blind cats'), GOSLINGS (*на гушата* /na hušata/ 'goslings'), ROOSTER (*когуцики* /kohuciki/ 'the group of players from the age of 7 to 13'). The aspect of beliefs and customs can be seen in the source domain CHICKEN (*хованец* /chovanjec/ 'homely spirit that brings good luck and money'), CALF (*целе* /celje/ 'a bottle of paljenka (a strong alcoholic drink, fruit brandy) used as part of the wedding-related customs'⁵⁷), and LAMB (*багнитка* /bahnjitka/ 'willow twigs (the branch handed out on palm sunday)').

One boys' game [to play] *на коні* /na konji/ 'horses' usually played by younger boys in the past is not present anymore in Ruthenian's everyday life, yet we can find out more about it through literature: '*... two boys were "harnessed" to traces, which were held by the third boy with the reins who "rode the horses"*' (Ramač, 2017 II: 457). Based on this context, it can be seen that the nomination of the game was a result of the metaphorization based on role-playing, i.e. imitating the function of a harnessed horse. The children in the game become horses. In the Slavic folk tradition, there are rituals involving horseback riding or role-playing this activity, and disguising as horses for various holidays (Tolstoj, Radenković, 2001: 280-283).

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

[бавиц ше] *на коні*

HARNESSED HORSES → PLAY, TO IMITATE HARNESSED HORSES

This source domain was used for forming the name of the game [to play] *на коніка* that was described in the literature. This game was used as a sort of punishment in the game *чиниганя* /činiganja/. The same source provides more explanation on this: '*Whoever*

i.e. a mare. That game is *скочкobilje* /skočkobilje/, the name of which was borrowed from the Serbian language. It is assumed that the name is a deformed form of the Serbian ones *труле кобиле* /trule kobile/ or *ускуч кобиле* /uskuč kobile/. By deforming the term, the semantic connection with the essence of the game (riding a train of people on all fours who are from opposing team) is lost.

⁵⁷ *Коніки* /konjiki/ could be part of this group, since decorations in the form of horse's head were put on the roof of a house because it was believed those would protect from thunder. Since this is an object, it was presented in the part 6. ANIMAL → OBJECT.

lost in the game чинитаня (crossed the drawn boundary), was told: 'You stunk it up, then was put "on the horse", had to saddle a wooden stick up, and two other boys cast it on the horse' (Ramač, 2017 II: 457). The name of this game is a result of the metaphorical extension based on the seme of the horse's function, that is riding the horse which seems the same as riding the wooden stick.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

[бавиц ше] на коніка

HORSIES → (PUNISHMENT IN THE GAME) RIDING THE WOODEN STICK

The source domain donkey was used to form the metaphorical extension of the game [to play] на магарици. The game [to play] на магарици⁵⁸ /na magarci/ '[to play] donkeys' was described by Marija Xoma in her work *Бависка при Руснацох* ('Ruthenian's Games') (Xoma, 2004). This is a game where a player has to jump over the other using his/her hands to lean on their backs. It is possible that the metaphorical mapping was formed based on saddling a donkey, which can be done with a jump because it is short. Jumping over someone can also represent the superiority of a smart person over a stupid one. Additionally, the game's monotony where the same action is done until children get bored can be compared with the character of the donkey based on which the game's name was formed.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

[бавиц ше] на магарици

DONKEY → GAME WHERE A PLAYER HAS TO JUMP OVER THE OTHER

Another source domain for forming the games' names is a CAT.

58 'Children most often played на магарици /na magarci/ 'donkeys' when they were coming back from school. Everyone bent their back and stood one behind the other approximately 3 to 4 meters apart. The last one ran and jumped over the player in front of him by using hands to lean on his back, then the next one and the next until he reached the end of the row. Then, the player that was at the end of the row did the same. Children repeat this until they got bored.' (Xoma, 2004)

[To play] *на шлети мачки*⁵⁹ /na šljepi mački/ 'blind cats' is a game where one player, the so-called blind cat, has a tissue tied around his eyes. The goal of the blind cat is to find and recognize players without peeking with which he/she is freed from the blindfold. Metaphorical mapping was based on the assumed sense of the characteristic behavior of a (blind) cat which often meows during the day as if looking for someone.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

[бавиц ше] *на шлети мачки*

BLIND CAT → GAME OF FINDING AND RECOGNIZING

Another source domain can be *гушата* 'goslings'. The game [to play] *на гушата*⁶⁰ /na hušata/ '[to play] goslings' was the one of

59 'This children's game was played on a meadow, backyard or indoors. The person playing the part of a blind cat put a tissue around their eyes as a blindfold and searched for players around. The player who 'the cat' caught and recognized was the next one being blindfolded (Xoma, 2004). The goal of the game is to recognize people and unlimited number of players could play it, both boys and girls together. The game similar to rock, paper, scissors was played to determine who will be the cat. The blind cat was blindfolded so that they could not see. Then, the other players spun him/her around to make him/her dizzy, after which they let him/her go. The blind cat searched for other players with straight arms, and tried catching someone. Some of the players teased the cat by approaching him/her from the back, touching him/her and then ran on the other side. The blind cat walked towards the voices and giggles. If the cat caught a player, he/she had to correctly guess their name. To do so, the cat touched the face, hair and clothes of the caught player and tried to determine who they are. Once the cat recognized the player, they became the new blind cat. This game was played outside on the meadow during the nice weather, but also inside in the house during winter' (Xoma, 2004).

60 'The game *на гушата* was usually played by smaller boys and girls, and the number of players was unlimited. The players chose among themselves two players to play the roles of a mother goose and a wolf, while the rest were goslings. The mother goose stood about 15 steps away from the goslings and looked after them. Not far away from them, a wolf was in a hole waiting for the right time to catch one of the goslings. One gosling yelled to the mother goose:

'Mom, mom, I am hungry!'

'Come home' - replied the mother goose.

playing roles of a mother goose, a wolf and goslings. The name was formed using the preposition *на* /na/ and the zoonym *гушата* in the accusative case. This is a short version of the sentence *Бавиц ше на гушата* 'To play game goslings'. Metaphorical mapping was based on the seme of the behavior of geese.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

[бавиц ше] *на гушата*

GOSLINGS → GAME OF PLAYING ROLES OF A MOTHER GOOSE, A WOLF AND GOSLINGS

The food leftovers, specifically chicken breasts bones were used to play a game children referred to as *конь* /konj/ 'horse'. Metaphorical mapping was based on the seme of appearance.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

конь

HORSE → CHICKEN BREASTS BONES

In soccer⁶¹, the group of players from the age of 7 to 13 is referred to as *когуцики* /kohuciki/ 'cockerels'. The semantic calque was formed based on the Serbian language.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

когуцики

COCKERELS → GROUP OF PLAYERS FROM THE AGE OF 7 TO 13

As part of the wedding-related customs, the primary source

'I can't because there is a wolf in the hole!'

'Where do you wash your face?' - asked the mother goose.

'In a washbowl (or: In a gold pot).'

'With what do you dry your face?'

'With a clean towel (or: With a diaper).'

'Boom, boom, urge the goslings home. Argh, argh!' (Xoma, 2004)

61 The position in soccer *крило* 'the position of a player in soccer and other sports' is connected to this field. The transferred metaphorical meaning was based on the position of the animal's body part and the player's position on the field as part of a team's formation.

domain *целє* was used to form the broader metaphorical meaning of this word ‘a bottle of paljenka (a strong alcoholic drink, fruit brandy)’. Pavle Malacko described the custom in his thesis *A Ruthenian wedding in Ruski Kerestur from the end of the 19th to the beginning of the 21st century* (*Руска свадзба у Руским Керестуре од конца 19. вику по початок 21. вику*). Apparently, when the groom’s side came to pick up the bride’s dowry, they would bring with them a bottle of alcoholic drink paljenka which they called *целє* (‘calf’). The hosts hid that bottle in a barn and the young boys had to look for it before they went home (Malacko, 2004) (Ramač, 2017).

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

целє

CALF → A BOTTLE OF PALJENKA (A STRONG FRUIT BRANDY)

Some of the metaphorical extensions are motivated by domestic animals, but the source domain of that process is not completely transparent. Such examples are the term used to illustrate Ruthenian’s belief in the homely spirit that brings good luck and money (*хованец* /chovanjec/), and the term for the branches used during Easter rituals in the Christian tradition (*багнітка* /bahnjitka/).

The belief in the homely spirit can be noticed among many European ethnic groups. That homely spirit usually has the form of a snake to which ethnic groups refer with various names. Ljubinko Radenković in his work *The Homely Snake in the Beliefs and Traditions of the Slavic ethnic groups* (*Кућна змија у веровању и предању словенских народа*) talks about different homely spirits in the Slavic ethnic groups, and says:

‘In the Precarpathian part of Ukraine (Galicia), *домовик* /domovik/ also referred to as *хованец*⁶² /chovanec/, *годованец* /hodovanec/ or *свој* /svoj/, is also developed under specific circumstances, from an egg of a black chicken. It is supposed to bring richness to the

62 https://ru.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D0%94%D1%83%D1%85-%D0%BE%D0%B1%D0%BE%D0%B3%D0%B0%D1%82%D0%B8%D1%82%D0%B5%D0%BB%D1%8C_%D1%83_%D1%81%D0%BB%D0%B0%D0%B2%D1%8F%D0%BD

<https://www.bestiary.us/vyhovanec>

<https://www.bestiary.us/books/znadobi-do-ukrainskoi-demonologii-0>

homeowner (Javorskij, 1897: 105)' (Radenković, 2000: 179).

Irina Čybor (Ірина Чибор) in her work *Ethnocoding of demonological imagination of Ukrainians in phraseology* ('Етнокодуння демонологічних уявлень українців у фразеології') said that, according to some folk beliefs, people can create their own *домовик* and raise it (Čybor, 2017: 339). Based on the explanation given by Ivan Franko, the author stated that a man can raise a *хованец* from an egg by carrying it under the left armpit for 6 weeks. After hatching, *хованец* /chovanec/ usually sits on the ground and feeds on the food provided by his owner (Čybor, 2017: 339). Lemkos have a phrase *мати хованця у мішку* /mati chovancja u mišku/ (literally to have chovanec/egg under the armpit) meaning 'be rich or stand out from the other' (Čybor, 2017: 339).

Among the Slavic people, the same term for the homely spirit is used also by the Polish (*chowaniec*). Czech people have two terms to denote the protector of the home. The first one is in the form of a snake and it is called *hospodářík*, *hospodářček*, *šotek*, *rarašek*, and *plivník*. The second is the spirit appearing from a chicken egg and bringing richness to its owner (Radenković, 2000: 179).

According to the information from the *Dictionary of the Ruthenian Folk Language*, the primary meaning of *хованец* /chovanjec/ is 'a domestic spirit that is hatched out of a chicken egg under the armpits of its owner bringing him/her success, good fortune, and everything the owner desires'.⁶³ The second meaning of this lexeme is 'a stunted chicken.' This word is the basis of the expression *ма хованця* /ma chovanca/ which means 'has good luck, everything is well in his/her life' (Ramač, 2010: 806).

On the structural level, this lexeme can be connected with the word *ховац* /chovac/ 'to nurture growth and life, raise.' The meaning of the lexeme *хованец* /chovanjec/ can be then understood as an object of nurturing or raising. The form is not based on the name of a domestic animal, but an activity done on it.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

хованец

63 If a chicken lays a small egg, that egg should be carried under the armpit until *chovanjec* is laid out of it; *chovanjec* brought to its owner whatever he/she desired, but no one could get rid of it, only if the ownership is given to someone else (Ramač, 2010: 806).

TO NURTURE GROWTH AND LIFE, RAISE → HOMELY SPIRIT THAT BRINGS GOOD
LUCK AND MONEY

An example of metaphorization from the source domain domestic animal, for which there is no term, present in contemporary Ruthenian language, is the lexeme *багнітка* /bahnjítka/. This term refers to Willow twigs (Ramač, 2017 I: 40). Blessed twigs are given to people on Palm Sunday. They symbolize the palm branches used by people who waved and welcomed Jesus to Jerusalem. *Dictionary of the Ruthenian Folk Language* gives information about the origin of this word based on which, it can be concluded that the word *багнітка* is a result of metaphorical mapping from the source domain domestic animal, i.e. a young domestic animal today referred to as БАРАНЧЕ /baranče/ 'lamb'. However, more information about the source domain, the lexeme *багня* /bahnja/ not present any longer in the Ruthenian language, can be found by looking at the languages of the Carpathian region: Ukr. *багня* 'lamb', Pol. *bagnię* 'same', Cze. *bahnice* 'young sheep', Slc. *bahniatko* 'lamb'. Metaphorical mapping is built on the seme of appearance, i.e. the similarity of the branch's flowers with lambs.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

багнітка

LAMBS → WILLOW TWIGS (THE BRANCH HANDED OUT ON PALM SUNDAY)

10. DOMESTIC ANIMAL⁶⁴ → FOOD

The direction of mapping in this group is ANIMAL → FOOD. The source domain can be some of the following animals: БАРАНЧЕ /baranče/ 'lamb', ГУСКА /huska/ 'goose', ЗАЯЦ /zajac/ 'rabbit', КАЧКА /kačka/ 'duck', КОЩЕ /košče/ 'goatling', КУРА /kura/ 'hen', КУРЧЕ /kurče/ 'chicken', ПРАШЕ /praše/ 'piglet', ПУЛЬКА /puljka/ 'turkey', ШВИНЯ /švinja/ 'pig', ПОДКОВА /podkova/ 'horseshoe'. The majority of the terms for food were formed based on the process of metonymy according to the pattern ANIMAL → PRODUCTS/FOOD FROM ANIMALS. The terms *конік з медовніка* /konjik z medovnjika/ 'dessert made out of dough in the shape of a horse' and *баранче* /baranče/ 'a figurine

64 Part of this group are also the objects put on the animals, such as a horseshoe.

made of butter usually for the Easter feast' are formed through both the process of metaphor and metonymy, i.e. metaphonymy. In this case, domestic animals are the transporting entities and the food made out of them are the target entities.

Conceptual metonymy mapping schema

баранче, гуска, заяц, качка, коще, кура, курче, праше, пультка, швиня

DOMESTIC ANIMALS → PRODUCTS/FOOD FROM THOSE ANIMALS

The source domain *баранче* can be the foundation of a metaphorical mapping on the figurine of a lamb made out of butter for the Easter feast. Metonymy goes together with the metaphor in this example since there is a material realization of the animal. Such a process is referred to as metaphonymy or iconization.

Conceptual metaphonymy mapping schema

баранче

LAMB → FIGURINE OF A LAMB MADE OUT OF BUTTER FOR THE EASTER FEAST

The term *конік з медовніка* is a dessert usually found in fairs made out of dough and in the shape of a horse. The primary function of these cookies is to be a decoration hung on doors or walls. Nowadays they are not edible as they may contain plaster, but can be in the shape of a heart, animals, etc. The term *конік з медовніка* is formed using both the processes of metaphor and metonymy, i.e. metaphonymy.

Conceptual metaphonymy mapping schema

конік з медовніка

HORSE → DECORATION IN THE FORM OF A HORSE

The target domain of food is also transferred with the terms *подкова* /podkova/ 'horseshoe' and *пирко* /pirko/ 'pirko'. The term *подкова* ('horseshoe') is analyzed in this work since Slavic people

put horseshoes only on horses and bulls⁶⁵. So, wild animals cannot have horseshoes⁶⁶. After the process of metaphorization, this term became the source domain of the secondary meaning of 'a piece of fish in a pan.' The mapping is based on the seme of appearance, i.e. the similarity of a horseshoe with the shape of a piece of a cut fish.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

подкова

HORSESHOE → PIECE OF A CUT FISH

When it comes to the lexeme *пирко* /pirko/ 'small feather' whose metaphorical extension is based on the seme of appearance transfers the meaning of the part of chicken breasts, it cannot be said with certainty whether it refers to a feather of domestic or wild animals. For this reason, it is excluded from the analysis.

II PERSON

PERSON → *DOMESTIC ANIMAL*

In this group of terms, the source domain is a person, i.e. the representatives of the metaethnic groups (*араб* /arab/), people of bad character (*битанга* /bitanga/, *кобза* /kobza/, *поган* /pogan/), nomina agentis of workers in livestock breeding (*бойтар* /bojtar/), participants in a sport (*бегач* /behač/, *бегун* /behun/), person's behavior (*зноровиц ше* /znorovic še/), person's movement/work (*скубац* /skubac/, *оскубац* /oskubac/) and person's habits (*коњски пост* /konjski post/).

The term for the horse breed *араб*⁶⁷ /arab/ 'arab' was created by

65 Camels, as domestic animals, can also have horseshoes.

66 In the phraseological material, the expression *мац подкову* /mac podkovu/ 'to have horseshoe' was noticed, i.e. to have good luck, which is connected with the belief of magical powers of the horseshoe. This is the reason the horseshoe was hung up on the walls in the house (Tolstoj, Radenković, 2001: 562).

67 Appears in Serbian too. In an interview, also *арабер*. It appears that the term came from the origin of this breed. https://sr.wikipedia.org/sr-el/Arapski_konj

shortening the longer form *арабски конь* /arabski konj/ 'arabian horse'. The primary meaning of the lexeme *араб* is a member of a metaethnic group of Arabs. This kind of naming process is understood as an act of personification.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

араб

MEMBER OF A METAETHNICAL GROUP OF ARABS → HORSE BREED ARAB

Domestic animals can be described as people of bad character. For example, a cow that often runs away and creates damage is referred to as *битанга* /bitanga/ since the meaning of 'a person of bad character' is transferred with this word. In this process of personification, a cow which from a person's point of view has bad character is referred to as a person with the same traits.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

битанга

A PERSON OF BAD CHARACTER → A COW THAT OFTEN RUNS AWAY AND CREATES DAMAGE

The same thing occurs with the use of the word *кобза* /kobza/ whose primary meaning is 'bad, evil, spiteful woman.' According to the *Etymological Dictionary of the Ukrainian Language*, it is possible that this word came into the Ukrainian through Polish from Latin, Lat. *capsa* 'hideout' (Mel'nyčuk, 1985: 332; 376). Equivalent forms are present in Rus. [*кабза́, ко́бза*], Pl. *kabza* 'wallet, purse', Cz. *kapsa* 'pocket'; 'hideout, a place for hiding reliquaries; female genitalia', Slc. *kapsa* 'bag'; [kabza] 'a homeless person, a prostitute' (Mel'nyčuk, 1985: 332; 376). When the meanings in various Slavic languages are compared, the closest one with the negative connotation is found in the Slovakian language.

When a person is not happy with the behavior of a cow, cat, or any other animal, they use the word *кобза*, usually in the vocative case *кобзо* which is expressive and scolding. As with the term *битанга*, here too the foundation is the personification based on the similarity of characters, ie. a metaphorization in which the source domain is HUMAN and the target domain is DOMESTIC ANIMAL.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

кобза

BAD, EVIL, SPITEFUL WOMAN → ANIMAL WITH A BAD CHARACTER

A horse of a bad character can be referred to as *поган* /*pogan*/. The primary meaning of this word is 'evil, bad person.' Metaphorical mapping is based on the schema of a bad character.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

поган

EVIL, BAD PERSON → HORSE WITH A BAD CHARACTER

An animal can receive a name from the *nomina agentis* noun which transfers the meaning of a person as a doer of a certain job. Through such a process, a shepherd dog was named *бойтар* /*bojtár*/. The word *бойтар* was taken from the Hungarian language so the primary meaning is the same as in Hungarian "a young shepherd, shepherd's helper". The shepherd's helper was a dog, making the function of the shepherd's dog the basis of the metaphorical mapping as it is equivalent to the function of the shepherd's helper.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

бойтар

PERSON SHEPHERD'S HELPER → DOG SHEPHERD'S HELPER

Two terms for horses (*бегач* /*behač*/, *бегун* /*behun*/) were created from the source domain PERSON WHO RUNS. Both words were derived from the verb *бегач* /*behac*/ 'to run'. Thus, *бегач* is a person who participates in running competitions, and *бегун* is a person who always runs, or manages to do everything and go everywhere fast. From this source domain, through the process of metaphorization, extensions with the target domain ANIMAL were formed, i.e. with the meaning of a TROTTING HORSE (*бегач*) and a GALLOPING HORSE (*бегун*).

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

бегач

PERSON WHO PARTICIPATES IN RUNNING COMPETITIONS → TROTTING HORSE

бегун

A PERSON WHO ALWAYS RUNS, OR MANAGES TO DO EVERYTHING AND GO EVERYWHERE FAST → GALLOPING HORSE

The behavior of a horse that is similar to the capricious behavior of a person is transferred with *зноровиц ше* /znorovic še/. The primary meaning of this word is 'to pout, start behaving capriciously' and is used to refer to a person. Using the metaphorical mapping based on the behavior of a person, the behavior of an animal is described with the word *зноровиц ше*.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

зноровиц ше

CAPRICIOUS BEHAVIOR OF A PERSON → CAPRICIOUS BEHAVIOR OF A HORSE

The time between the Feast of Saint Ilija (Elijah) and the Feast of the Cross, when horses ate all the previous year's corn and the current year's crop was not yet yielded, was referred to as *коньски пост* /konjski post/ among the Ruthenians in Vojvodina. This complex name was a result of metaphorical mapping based on the same 'the time of the year when a person's abstains from something, denies him/herself (high-calorie) foods; lent.' This is seen as similar to giving the previous year's corn to horses.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

коньски пост

LENT, THE TIME OF THE YEAR WHEN A PERSON'S ABSTAINS FROM SOMETHING, DENIES HIM/HERSELF (HIGH-CALORIE) FOODS → GIVING THE PREVIOUS YEAR'S CORN TO HORSES

As part of one metaphorical mapping of this conceptual field, there is a source domain based on the image of plucking or pulling by hair which is denoted by the verb *скубац* /skubac/ and which transfers the target domain PLUCK FEATHERS FROM CHICKENS, GEESE, WOOL FROM SHEEP, RABBITS.

The form of this word in the Slavic languages is: R. [*скyбáть*] ‘pull by the hair’, [*скyбtí, скyбитъ, скyбсти*] ‘same’, Br. *скyбци, скyбáць*, Pl. *skubać*, St. *skuść*, Cze. *škubati*, Slc. *škubat’*, [*skubat’*], Vl. *skobać*, Nl. *skubaś*, Bulh. *скyбя*, M. *скyбе*, Shv. *скyнсти*, Sln. *skúbsti*. The origin of this word can be connected with the form from Psl. *skusti* < **skubti*, which is connected with **čubъ* and connected with Got. *skuft* ‘hair on the head’, *skopt* ‘same’, Nvn. Schopf «чyб». (Mel’nyčuk, 2006: 289–290).

The word *скyбaц* is an anthropomorphisme,⁶⁸ since its primary meaning is to pluck the hair, but through metaphorization it started being used to describe the activities of a goose. Using metaphorization, several meanings were derived from this word: ‘to graze grass (a goose)’, ‘to pluck feathers from a goose or a chicken’, ‘to tug (feathers of) a chicken, a goose’⁶⁹.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

скyбaц

TO PLUCK THE HAIR → TO PLUCK FEATHERS FROM A GOOSE OR A CHICKEN, / TO TUG (FEATHERS OF) A CHICKEN, A GOOSE.

The direction of metaphorical mapping PERSON → ANIMAL is illustrated by the verb *оскyбaц* whose primary meaning is ‘to pluck hair.’ This source domain was used to form the metaphorical extension to graze the grass. The process of mapping is based on the seme of the specific movement of PLUCKING FEATHERS (BY HAND) → GRAZING THE GRASS (WITH THE BEAK).

68 Antropomorphism is the process of giving people-like qualities to occurrence, activities and animals. Zoomorphism is using people-like qualities to describe characteristics of animals. In general, antropomorphism can be seen as a direction in metaphorization, i.e. a direction of a secondary semantic realization from the source domain PERSON to the target domain ANIMAL. Zoomorphism, on the other hand, has the opposite direction of metaphorization going from the source domain ANIMAL to the target domain PERSON.

69 The difference between pluck the feathers off of chickens and geese is that chickens are first slaughtered, then covered in boiling water, after which the feather are plucked. Geese are plucked live and dry to protect the feathers.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

оскубац

A PERSON PLUCKING FEATHERS → GOOSE GRAZING THE GRASS

III OBJECT

OBJECT → DOMESTIC ANIMAL

The source domain is OBJECT in this direction of metaphorical mapping. That could be coins (*бугер* /buger/), a comb (*гребень* /hreibenj/), earrings (*мендюши* /mendjuši/), or spurs (*остроги* /ostrohi/, *острожки* /ostrožki/). These objects served as an inspiration for forming the secondary meanings in the process of metaphorical mapping. Most commonly, those are parts of the body of the domestic animal chicken or the specific appearance of a horse.

Austrian coins *бугер* 'buger' got the name based on their similarity with the round patches on the coat of a well-fed horse. This was used to transfer the information about the appearance of the object. In this process, the round patches on the horse coat were called *бугери*, and the horse which has them *бугераста конь* /bugerasti konj/.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

бугери

ROUND COINS → ROUND PATCHES ON THE COAT OF A HORSE

The distinctive decoration on top of a rooster's head, crest, resembles an object for combing hair which is transferred with the form *гребень* /hreibenj/. This seme of appearance was activated in the process of metaphorization where a body part of a rooster was named after an object *гребень*.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

гребень когута

OBJECT FOR COMBING HAIR, COMB → BODY PART OF A ROOSTER, CREST

Chicken also have outgrowths but they resemble the decorative

objects people put on their ears *мендюши* /mendjuši/ 'earrings'. The term for decorating people's ears *МЕНДЮШИ* is a source domain. This metaphorical mapping is based on the resemblance and position of the outgrowth on the chicken's head and the earrings of people's ears.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

мендюши

OBJECTS PEOPLE PUT ON THEIR EARS, EARRINGS → OUTGROWTHS ON THE CHICKEN'S HEAD

In the past, people put spurs on their boots, *остроги*, used for making noise during a dance or for a horse rider to poke the horse to go faster. The appearance and position of the spurs on the boots resemble the one of the bone outgrowth on the chicken's legs. Therefore, in the process of metaphorization, the chicken's body part got the name *остроги* /ostrohi/ 'spurs' or *острожки* /ostrožki/ 'little spurs'.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

остроги

SPURS ON BOOTS → BONE OUTGROWTH ON THE CHICKEN'S LEGS

IV TERMS RELATED TO A DOMESTIC ANIMAL

TERMS RELATED TO A DOMESTIC ANIMAL → *SPACE*

The place in the backyard next to a barn where the manure is thrown out was named *гной* /hnoj/ through a metonymic process of nomination. In literary language, the word *гнойско* /hnojisko/ is also used.

Conceptual metonymy mapping schema

гной

PHYSIOLOGICAL EXCREMENT OF AN ANIMAL → PLACE IN THE BACKYARD WHERE THE MANURE IS THROWN OUT

The nest (*гніздо* /*hnjizdo*/) of a hen or other animal has a similar shape of a hole made for planting potatoes, squashes, or other plants. Thus, in the process of metaphorical mapping, this hole for planting was named *гніздо*.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

гніздо

THE NEST OF A HEN → HOLE MADE FOR PLANTING VEGETABLES

The source domain *гніздо* can also be a basis for the secondary nomination 'home, a place for raising children.' The metaphorical mapping was based on the seme of the space's function.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

гніздо

THE NEST OF A HEN → HOME, A PLACE FOR RAISING CHILDREN

The noun *адяш* /*adjaš*/ with the primary meaning 'scattered grains on top of which horses and cows walk to remove them from the stems, i.e. place for threshing' was used to form a metaphorical extension based on the similarity of the appearance with the scattered things in a house (related to the behavior of a person).

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

адяш

SCATTERED GRAINS ON TOP OF WHICH HORSES AND COWS WALK TO REMOVE THEM FROM THE STEMS → SCATTERED THINGS IN A HOUSE, MESS

The backyard in the Ruthenian language, as well as some other Slavic languages, is called *гумно* /*humno*/. Today, this is a non-transparent meaning, but it originated from the source domain representing a specific way of threshing floor, i.e. the place where livestock stepped on the grains to remove them from the stems. According to the *Etymological Dictionary of the Ukrainian Language*, this is an old form with the root **gu-* < **gou-* (IE. **guou-*) (cf. Psl. *goveđo* 'livestock with horns', Ukr. [г'ов'єдо] 'same' and м'я- (Psl. м'яно, м'єти, ukr. м'яи, м'яти) (Mel'nyčuk, 1982: 619).

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

зумно

PLACE FOR TRESHING WHEAT WITH A CATTLE → BACKYARD

V UNCLASSIFIED EXAMPLES⁷⁰ MEASUREMENTS

ANIMAL → MEASUREMENT

The measurement *коні* /konji/ 'horses' for measuring the engine power is used by Ruthenians as well. The metaphorical mapping was formed based on the strength and function of a horse harnessed to a carriage. The horses are the equivalent of a specific amount of engine power. However, in Ruthenian as well as many other languages, this term is a semantic calque. In Ruthenian, it probably originated from the Serbo-Croatian language, and in that from English or German⁷¹. The name is characteristic of the spoken language. In literary language, the term *коньска моцносц* /konjska mocnosć/ 'horsepower' is used.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

коні

STRENGTH OF A HORSE → ENGINE POWER OF A VEHICLE

VI ZOONYMS AS A RESULT OF ASSOCIATION IN THE PROCESS OF WORD BORROWING FROM OTHER LANGUAGES

Some words borrowed from the Hungarian language do not have an animal's name as the basis in the Ruthenian language, but

⁷⁰ Metaphorical mappings where source domains could be interpreted also as part of the category 'wild animals' were excluded from the analysis, e.g. *пазури* /pazuri/ 'claws', *рог* /roh/ 'horn', etc.

⁷¹ More information about names of measures in Ruthenian language in Vojvodina, Serbia we have presented in work *Names of measures in the agricultural lexicon in Ruthenian language in Vojvodina* (Назви мерох хтори ше хасную у польоділстве при Руснацох у Войводини) (Mudri 2013).

because of the similarity of the Hungarian form and the terms for animals in Ruthenian, they got changed or deformed, eg. *баран-коров*⁷² /baran-korov/, *грик-матарница* /grik-magarica/, *буячки* /bujački/. This process is closely connected with the associative way of thinking. The associative connection here was created based on the form.

The plant's name *баран-коров* 'Eryngium campestre L.' literary means 'the wandering weed' and does not have a semantic connection with the domestic animal sheep, i.e. its male individual ram. The associative connection was created through the form of the Hungarian word *ballango-koro*, i.e. its first segment *ballango*, which in Ruthenian has no transparent meaning, but it inspired an association with the name of the domestic animal ram (*баран* /baran/).

Another example is the word *грик-матарница* /grik-magarica/ found in the story *Пригоди наймолодшого брата* recorded in writing by Volodimir Hnatjuk (Hnatjuk, 1910: 19-34). The Ruthenian form was derived based on the association activated by the Hungarian form *griff madar* 'a big bird from fairytales.' The second part of the Hungarian term *madar* probably inspired the association with the Ruthenian *матар-ец* /magar-ec/. The word has a feminine form which was possibly formed based on the analogy with the feminine gender of the bird, since in the fairytale, the animal has wings thus resembling a bird.

The form *буячки* /bujački/ 'little bulls' is the basis of the associative connection for the name of the plant *буячки* *Datura stramonium* L. This is an example of de-etymologization of a name since the term probably originated from the form *будяк* /budjak/ found in the Ukrainian language. This form could be from *Psl. bodakъ > *bodti > bosti 'poke', which makes sense when considering the appearance of the plant⁷³. It is possible that the loss of the primary meaning led to the term being connected with a bull, and the final formation was made based on the names of other plants, such as

72 More information about influence of Hungarian language on Ruthenian language in Vojvodina, Serbia we have presented in work *Hungarisms in the agricultural lexicon in Ruthenian language in Vojvodina* (Хунгаризми у ратарској и повтарској лексици код Русина у Војводини) (Mudri 2014).

73 In the Ukrainian dialects, similar terms (*будячина*, *бодачок*) are used to denote several plants, one of which is *Datura stramonium* (Mel'nyčuk, 1982: 280). In Slavic language, similar forms are used to denote the meaning of the plant *буячки* or *гордон*: R. [*будяк*], Br. [*будзяк*], Pl. *bodiak*, Cz. *bodlák*, Slc. *bodlač*, Sln. *bodák* (Mel'nyčuk, 1982: 280).

польски тишчки /poljski pšički/, баранчки /barančiki/.

3.2. Conclusions

MECHANISMS OF CONCEPTUALIZATION

The analyzed material shows that metaphor (155 examples out of 196 in total, 79%) is the most common cognitive mechanism used to create new concepts from source domains in the field of the raising of domestic animals. Less commonly, the secondary nominations are the result of metonymy (21 examples, 10.7%), metaphonymy (11 examples, 5.61%), and personification (9 examples, 4.59%).

When focusing on the concept where other specific concepts were created, the metaphor is the most common in the conceptual fields PERSON'S ACTIONS AND BEHAVIORS (24 examples, 12.24 %), ANIMAL → PLANT (phytonym) (23 examples, 11.73 %), DOMESTIC ANIMAL → OBJECT (17 examples, 8.67 %) DOMESTIC ANIMAL, OBJECT → PERSON (12 examples, 6.12 %), DESCRIPTION OF PEOPLE (12 examples, 6.12 %), 10 PERSON → DOMESTIC ANIMAL (10 examples, 5.10 %). Metaphors appear in less than 10 examples in other concepts. Metaphors are present in all directions of conceptualization, i.e. in all conceptual fields.

Metonymy as a cognitive mechanism most often appears as part of the conceptualization DOMESTIC ANIMAL → FOOD (11 examples, 5.61). Additionally, it appears in the following directions: DOMESTIC ANIMALS → ANIMALS 5, DOMESTIC ANIMAL → DISEASE 2, DOMESTIC ANIMAL → OBJECT 2, SPACE 1.

Metaphonymy, as a joint process of metaphor and metonymy, appears in three fields of conceptualization DOMESTIC ANIMAL → OBJECT 4, DOMESTIC ANIMAL → FOOD 3, ANIMAL → CUSTOMS, COOKING, TOYS 1.

Finally, in the direction of conceptualization PERSON → DOMESTIC ANIMAL, there are 9 examples (4.59%) of personification.

PRODUCTIVITY OF SOURCE DOMAIN AS GROUPS

The results of the corpus analysis highlight 13 directions of conceptualization where the most common starting point is the source domain DOMESTIC ANIMAL. Other than DOMESTIC ANIMAL, the source domain can be PERSON, OBJECT, OR SPACE.

The most productive direction seems to be DOMESTIC ANIMAL, OBJECT → PERSON (63) which has 6 conceptual fields (PERSON'S PHYSICAL APPEARANCE, DESCRIPTION OF PEOPLE (12), STATE OF THE HUMAN BODY (DEATH OR PHYSICAL IMPAIRMENT (3), PERSON'S ACTIONS AND BEHAVIORS (24), INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS (7), SOCIAL CHARACTERIZATION OF A PERSON (4). The most

productive field in this group is PERSON'S ACTIONS AND BEHAVIORS (24) where the most productive concepts are (BIRTH, THE WAY OF EATING, DRUNKENNESS, PERSON'S LEG MOVEMENT, COMMUNICATION/SPEECH, SEXUAL ACTIVITY, THE TYPE OF WORK, FAILED WORK).

With regard to productivity, the following groups have lower productivity than the previous ones: DOMESTIC ANIMAL → OBJECT (23), DOMESTIC ANIMALS → ANIMALS (15), ANIMAL → PLANT (PHYTONYM) (15), PERSON → DOMESTIC ANIMAL (11). Other directions have less than 10 examples.

SOURCE DOMAIN

The most common term as part of the source domain DOMESTIC ANIMAL is the domestic animal *конь* 'horse' (26), which is represented by its generic name, as well as the name of the male horse and the terms co-hyponyms (*конь* (10)⁷⁴, *конік* (5), *коньски* (2), *кобула* (3), *вайчак* (3), *нутрак* 3, *гачатко*). This is followed by the term *крава* 'cow' (16) (*буяк* (5), *крава* (3), *вол* (3), *целє* (2), *дойка*, *первиска*, *яловка*), *кура* 'chicken' (15) (*когут* (6), *кура* (5), *курче* (3), *квока*), *швиня* 'pig' (13) (*швиня* (6), *праше* (2), *шудов*, *пращара*, *коборлов*, *дурок*, *корназ*), *пес* 'dog' (11) (*пес* (6), *сука*, *патканьоши*, *патканьошка*, *Брехун*, *бундаш*), *коза* 'goat' (10) (*коза* (4), *кожлік* (2), *кози*, *кожи/кози*, *коще*, *цап*), *овца* 'sheep' (9) (*баранче* (3), *токльов* (2), *овца*, *овци*, *овчи*, *баран*), *гуска* 'goose' (8) (*гуска* (3), *гуше* (3), *гунар*, *гагач*), *магарец* 'donkey' (6) (*магарец* (3), *магарче* (2), *магарица*), *мачка* 'cat' (4) (*мачка* (3), *маче*), *заяц* (3) (*заяц* (2), *заячи*), *качка* 'duck' (2) *пулька* 'turkey' (2).

As part of this direction of conceptualization, the terms indirectly related to domestic animals, such as their names, were also analyzed (*Белка*, *Билка*, *Жуя*, *Жучко*, *Богар*, *Тарка*, *Шарена*, *Цифра*, *Шара*, *Лисак*, *Лиска*, *Гвиздаш*, *Ружа*, *Цвета*, *Стара*, *Мали*), as well as onomatopoeic verbs and exclamations (*гагац*, *джавкац*, *коткодац*, *кракориц ше*, *кукуруикац*, *ричац*, *и-а*, *гавкнущ*), the names of their physiological or medical activities and states (*галадзиц*, *балеговац*, *заяловиц ше*, *виргац*, *форкац*, *руметац*, *вишиліц ше*, *коциц ше*, *парене*, *гонене*, *пирханє*, *таженє*, *целіц ше*, *ялови*), body parts or their appearance (*бамбух*, *пирко*), products (*млеко*), objects put on animals (*копитко*, *подкова*, *зубадла*, *доронга*), activities done on domestic animals (*путац*, *прагац*, *оброковац*, *клюкац*, *кастровац*, *дараловац*, *гоніц*, *окефац*, *зубадлац*, *ховац*) and others.

The source domain can also be PERSON as in 10 examples, or 5.10% of the corpus. These are most commonly the terms related to a person of certain characteristics (*араб*, *бегач*, *бегун*, *битанга*, *боймар*,

74 The terms are listed from most to least common ones.

поган, кобза). Part of this source domain were the concepts related to a person's behavior (*зноровиц ше*), or customs typical for people (*пост*).

In 5 examples, or 2.55%, the source domain is TERMS RELATED TO A DOMESTIC ANIMAL (*гной, гніздо (2), адяш, гумно*). OBJECTS as source domains appear less than domestic animals or people. There are 4 such examples, or 2.04% (*бугери, остроги, мєндюши, гребєнь*).

The source domain usually has the form of a noun, but there is a group of metaphorical mappings in which source domain has the form of a verb. Those verbs were formed through verb conversion from nouns from the thematic group of the raising of domestic animals. Those can be the terms for domestic animals (*буяк, матарец, корназ, пес, швиня*), terms for people who look after the domestic animals (*кондаш*). These were used to form verbs *буячиц ше, запиец, корнажиц ше, кондашиц ше, матарцац, попициц, швинїц, коборловац*. This is the case of conversion from a noun to a verb with the conceptual schema starting from the model for animals present among people. A typical behavior of a person is connected with that of an animal, based on the collective conceptualization, i.e. a folk view of a character or behavior of an animal. In this process, the name of an animal becomes a denotation of a behavior that is transferred to a person through the metaphorical process with the metaphor PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS (Novokmet, 2016: 54). In our material, besides the verbs created from the terms for domestic animals, there are examples of verbs created from the terms of nouns *nomina agentis*.

Elements of mapping can also be verbs with the primary meaning related to their domestic animals and transferred as related to a person (*окефац, дараловац, скубац*).

Mappings with verbs form the following conceptual fields: PERSON'S PHYSICAL APPEARANCE (*забуячиц ше, запиец*), INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS (*матарцац*), PERSON'S ACTIONS AND BEHAVIORS (*швинїц*), DESCRIPTION OF PEOPLE (*корнажиц ше, кондашиц ше, попициц ше*).

TARGET DOMAIN OR THE SCOPE OF SOURCE DOMAINS

The source domains can be DOMESTIC ANIMAL, WILD ANIMAL, PERSON, INSECT, DISEASE, OBJECT, CLOTHES, NATURAL AND ATMOSPHERIC PHENOMENA, CUSTOMS, COOKING, TOYS, FOOD and SPACE.

As it can be noticed, source domains are the most commonly specific concepts, and target domains are the abstract ones, since most examples refer to a person, that is his/her appearance or character. The abstract target domains are CUSTOMS, COOKING, TOYS. Additionally, there are some target domains with concrete concepts,

such as ANIMALS, PLANTS, INSECT, OBJECT, CLOTHES, FOOD.

According to Kövecses, target domains that have one source domain represent the scope of that source domain or the scope of the metaphor (Kövecses, 2010: 136–137). As it was already seen, the source domain can be DOMESTIC ANIMAL, TERMS RELATED TO A DOMESTIC ANIMAL, OBJECT OR PERSON. The source domain domestic animal is very productive as it has 10 target domains (WILD ANIMAL, PERSON, PLANT, INSECT, DISEASE, OBJECT, CLOTHES, NATURAL AND ATMOSPHERIC PHENOMENA, CUSTOMS, COOKING, TOYS).

MOTIVATION

Based on the motivation for conceptualization, there are concepts motivated by an activity, appearance, voice, behavior, or function.

The motivation was most commonly found in the appearance of the domestic animal, person, or object. There are 76 examples (38.27%), meaning just under a half of the total number (*адяи, араб, багнітка, бамбух, баранов язик, баранчата, баранче, баранче, баранчики, гуска, заяц, качка, коще, кура, курче, праше, пулька, швиня, белка, билка, бутери, бундаш, буяча жила, буяче чоло, буячок, водови буяк, вайчак, волов хвост, волово очко, волово очко, гніздо, гребень когута, гушатково квице, гуше цело, доронга, железна мачка, забуячиц ше, запшец, заяча талпа, заячи уха, качи писки, когутов гребень, когуцик, когуцик, когуцик, когуцик, кожуцик, кожи цицики, кожлік, кожлік, коза, коза, коза, кози, кози, коні, конік з медовніка, коніки, конь, коньска глава, коньски хвосцик, копитко, кура риц, курчецово / кури перши, Лисак, Лиска, Гвиздаш, матарче вайцо, мачка, мачков/мачи хвост, мендюши, млечнік, нутрак, нутрак, овци, овчи репик, остроги або острожски, панбоска кравичка/богова/божа катичка, тирко, подкова, праше, пульчи нос, пиши уха, пиши язики, целе, швиньска шерси, швиня, швиня). The behavior of an animal or a person motivated the secondary realization of 33 concepts (16.84%). These are the following secondary extensions: [*бавиц ше*] на *гушата*, [*бавиц ше*] на *шлєпи мачки, бабин пес, битанга, виртац, вишиліц ше, вол, конь, гунар, крава, гуска, целе, гавкнущ, таладзиц, дурок, заяц, кура, зноровиц ше, клюкац, кобза, коборлов, коборловац, кондашиц ше, корнажиц ше, коциц ше, коциц ше, куришлєп, поган, путац, путац, пишичок, руметац, скоцєни, скубац, токлєов, целіц ше, целіц ше, швиніц. 19 (9.69%) of extensions were motivated by an activity of an animal or a person (*вишиліц ше, гонєне, гоніц, таженє, таладзиц, заяловиц ше, зубадлац, кастровац, конік, оброковац, окефац, скубац, оскубац, парєне, пирханє, прагац, скубац, требиконіна, ялова робота, ховац*). The use of the domestic animal motivated 13 (6.63%) examples in the process**

of conceptualization: [бавиц ше] на коні, [бавиц ше] на коніки, бегач, бегун, бойтар, вайчачок, гніздо, жезельна мачка, кобулка, кобулка, коні, конік, конік, магарец, патканьош, патканьошка. The voice motivated 13 (6.63%) concepts (брехун, водови буюк, гагац, дараловац, кукуракац, ричац, гагац, кракориц ше, кукуракац, коткодац, джавкац, магарчи кашель, ричац, форкац). In very few example, the motivation was based on the uselessness (*ниш риба*), position (*буюче чоло, зубадла*), or an agricultural activity where domestic animals participate (*зумно*).

4. Phraseological image of the world

4.1. The conceptual analysis of the phraseological units

Phraseological units represent useful corpus for analyzing the principles of conceptualization (Štrbac, 2018: 18). The phraseological system of a language showcases the cultural and national distinctions of an ethnic group. The phraseological units are a source of linguistic and cultural information (Vil'čyns'ka, 2018: 145). Phraseologisms are one of the linguistic means used to verbalize a concept, which is the reason for including such material in this analysis. Besides categories, metaphorical nominations, and associative fields, they also highlight the linguistic image of this thematic group in the Ruthenian language in Vojvodina.

The corpus for this part of the research was taken from several dictionaries of the Ruthenian language. Those are *Phraseological Dictionary Ruthenian-Serbian* (Фразеологийни словник руско-сербски) (Kašić, 1987), *Ruthenian-Serbian Dictionary* (Руско сербски словник) (Ramač, 2010) and *Dictionary of the Ruthenian Folk Language* (Словник руского народногo јазика) (Ramač, 2017), the work by Mikola Kočiš 'Idioms and phraseological expressions' (Идиоми и фразеологийни вирази) (Kočiš, 1978), *The Ruthenian Phraseological Dictionary 1* (Руски фразеологийни слoвар 1) (Koljesarov, 1975), master theses ((Zlatka Čižmar, *Phraseology of the Ruthenian Language* (Фразеологија руского јазика), Ana-Marija Rac, *Person's Characterization in the Ruthenian Phraseology* (Характеризоване човека у рускеј фразеологији)) in which phraseological units were the topic of research (Ana-Marija Rac 2015, Zlatka Čižmar 2013). In total, 177 phraseological units were extracted from these works.

The focus of this part of the research are the phraseological units that are based on images related to raising domestic animals in their source domain. Most commonly, those are the zoonymic comparative phraseologisms, but there could also be other forms that contain objects or food connected to the nurturing of domestic animals.

The analyzed phraseologisms are grouped based on the concept they transfer. The concepts are analyzed based on the semantic markers found in phraseologisms. The first step of the analysis was to form groups that have similar target domains. The phraseologisms of a certain group were analyzed in more detail based on the source and target domain, that is with the method of analysis of the conceptual metaphor.

The largest part of the phraseological units refer to a person. Only three phraseologisms refer to natural occurrences. Phraseologisms that refer to a person describe a person's physical appearance, mental characteristics, states, activities and behavior, financial status, interpersonal relations, and how society characterizes an individual. The natural occurrences described are only clouds and statements about the weather as good or bad.

To a certain extent, phraseology is suitable for creating concepts since the majority of phraseologisms are created based on metaphor (Fink-Arsovski, 2002: 37). The units of the phraseological system of one language are appropriate for the analysis of the semantic residue since they are conceptually grouped (Fink-Arsovski, 2002: 37). They highlight the cultural base and inheritance which is why they are the source of information about the customs and mentality of an ethnic group, i.e. about the linguistic image of the world (Fink-Arsovski, 2002: 37).

In this context, the concept can be understood as the basic functional unit in the linguistic image of the projected world, as an associative field that covers the collective stereotypes of an image, as well as the individual prototypical frames connected to the projected world and actualizes itself in a specific situation of cognition and communication (Popović, 2008: 59). All of the linguistic means used to verbalize a concept represent its nomination field. A part of that field are also the words used to name a certain concept, the units of different types of words that are connected through their creation with the primary lexical means for verbalization of a concept, synonyms, established names, phraseological units, exclamations, metaphorical nominations, free mergings that name specific concepts, associative fields, dictionary definitions of the linguistic units, dictionary article in encyclopedias and handbooks, scientific, publicistic, literary and artistic, and other texts (Popov, Sternin, 2007: 66-71).

The linguistic image of the world differs among the ethnic groups since language is a vital part of a society and culture, and phraseology provides the clearest information about the linguis-

tic image of the world (Hrnjak, 2007: 197). Since the meanings of phraseologisms consist of the emotionally-expressive and social components, according to Bartmiński, the phraseological image of the world is a way for the real world, based on the historical knowledge that can be accessed only through etymological research, to be shown in phraseology (Bartmiński, 2009).

Based on the direction of metaphorization, there are phraseologisms in the research corpus in which the direction of metaphorization is from ANIMAL (or the terms related to their nurture) to PERSON, i.e. only anthropomorphisms were found.

Based on the analyzed phraseologisms of the Ruthenian language, the following hierarchy of the conceptual fields was created:

PHRASEOLOGISMS RELATED TO A PERSON

1.1. PERSON'S APPEARANCE (UNSUITABLE APPEARANCE; DIRTINESS; OBESITY; STRENGTH; SEXUAL STRENGTH; SKIN COLOR)

1.2. PERSON'S TRAITS (GREEDINESS; UNSTEADY OPINIONS; INTELLECTUAL LIMITS; BE SMART; NAIVETY; STUBBORNNESS/PERSISTENCE; IMPATIENCE; INDIFFERENCE; LYING; VICIOUSNESS; WASTEFULNESS; PASSIVITY; OVERLY SENSITIVE CHARACTER; OVERESTIMATING ONE'S STRENGTH (PHYSICAL OR INTELLECTUAL); FIDELITY; MISTRUST; CALMNESS; GENEROSITY (GIVE A LOT OF FOOD); UNGRATEFULNESS; THE UNCHANGEABLE CHARACTER OF A PERSON; NOT UNDERSTANDING OTHERS VIEWPOINTS; RESOURCEFULNESS; THE SAME (BAD, EVIL) PEOPLE UNDERSTAND EACH OTHER; BENEVOLENCE; PETTINESS; NEATNESS)

1.3. PERSON'S STATES (FEAR; ANGER; SHAME; DRUNKENNESS; TIREDNESS; OLD AGE; SICKNESS; HELPLESSNESS; SLEEPINESS; SOPPING WET (FROM RAIN))

1.4. PERSON'S ACTIVITIES AND BEHAVIOR (LAZINESS; LOSING THE MOTIVATION TO WORK; BADLY DONE JOB; BAD CHARACTERISTICS OF AN EMPLOYEE/PERSON; A POSITIVE CHANGE; A WAY OF COMMUNICATION; TALK RUBBISH; BABBLE; LOUD TALKING; TALK A LOT; CHEATING (IN CARDS, GAME, TRADE); FAST/SLOW MOVEMENT; THE WAY OF MOVING; CLUMSY MOVING; CONTROLLED/UNCONTROLLED BEHAVIOR; BE VERY HUNGRY; EAT A LITTLE; EAT A LOT)

1.5. FINANCIAL STATUS (POVERTY)

1.6. INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS (BAD RELATIONS; TO PLAY WITH SOMEONE; HOSTILITY; AGGRESSIVENESS; TO BEAT SOMEONE UP)

1.7. SOCIAL CHARACTERIZATION OF A PERSON (LACK OF MANNERS; DISRESPECT OF THE SOCIAL NORMS; NOT KNOWING (BASIC) RULES; CAUSING DAMAGE, MESS; GETTING LUCKY; SUCCESS; FAILURE; INADEQUATENESS; EQUALITY/INEQUALITY; NEGATIVE JUDGMENT OF AN INDIVIDUAL, OBJECT; LOSING THE STATUS; HIGH-QUALITY PEOPLE; BELONGING; EXCESS; INEVITABILITY; CHANGE OF THE LIFE'S AMBITIONS)

NATURAL OCCURRENCES (CLOUDS; BAD WEATHER)

Based on the choice of the thematic group of phraseologisms, the images used to transfer concepts are usually non-transparent today for the speakers. That is why it is necessary to include the linguistic-cultural method in the analysis. To understand the principles of phraseologization, the motivation of metaphorical mappings, the explanations of the traditional culture of the Ruthenian ethnic group in Vojvodina are used. This is part of the phraseological Slavic corpus, where the Ruthenian phraseology is most similar with the Ukrainian one, since the majority of the presented phraseologisms can be found in the phraseological dictionaries of the Ukrainian language as well.

What is also used in this book are the literature and the material collected from the interviewees living in places in Vojvodina where the majority of the population is Ruthenian.

Also, there was an attempt to try and detect the expressivity of the phraseologisms, which is an inherent part of phraseologisms in general. It is a categorical, stable, phraseological trait (Mokienko, 1989: 210)¹. According to Štrbac, the creation of phraseologisms is based on the classification or assessment, which is why they carry a rational idea. It is a way for the narrator to express their attitude towards reality and it is based on the pictoric Gestalt structure (Štrbac, 2018: 15).

1 Dragičević also highlights the expressivity as an important characteristic of phraseologisms in her work 'On the problems of identification of phraseologisms' (Dragičević, 2009: 40).

CONCEPTUAL FIELDS

PHRASEOLOGISMS REFERRING TO A PERSON

1.1. PERSON'S APPEARANCE (*physical characterization of a person*)

UNSUITABLE APPEARANCE

The majority of the phraselogsms in this group are used to express antonymic or ironic attitude towards the way a person is dressed.

The concept of appearance, or the way of dressing, is pictorially presented with an antonymic or ironic comparative² phraseologism *стої ти, (швечи ти) як крави шедло*³ /*stoji ti, (šveči ti) jak kravi šedlo* 'it suits you like a saddle suits a cow' where in the C-part of the phraseologism is the noun *шедло* which is not used to put on a cow, so this comparison brings a clear image that something does not fit a person, the A-part of the phraseologism. Additionally, the target domain is not limited to clothes. It can also relate to a situation, for example, where a person is not suitable to hold a shovel or incense⁴.

The same meaning is transferred with the phraseologisms *швечи*

2 Based on the structure of the comparative phraseologisms, there are three parts of every phraseologism which can be represented as A+B+C. The part which is being compared is the A-part, and it can contain a verb, adjective or noun, based on which there can be verbal, adjectival or nominal comparative phraseologisms. The part being compared, A-part, can be excluded. Such phraseologisms are known as two-part ones.

The mandatory parts of the comparative phraseologisms are the B-part, the comparative conjunction (as), and C-part, the part being compared. Since the topic of this research are domestic animals, in the C-part, there are terms related to the nurturing of domestic animals. There are also forms where besides the terms for domestic animals or object/realis related to their nurturing, we can also find a description of a domestic animal added with the use of an adjective (Fink-Arsovski, 2002).

3 In Ukrainian *личить, іде, пристало як корові сідло* (Bilonoženko, 2003: 650), (Palamarčuk, 1993: 390; 808), *пристало як корові сідло* (Užčenko, 1998: 77).

4 In the Serbo-Croatian linguistic field, there are some variants to this phraseologism *стоји ти као крави/крмачи/магарцу седло* (Fink-Arsovski, 2002: 18).

*му як псови дзвончок*⁵ /šveči mu jak psovi dzvončok/ 'it suits you like a cowbell on a dog' and *швечи му як псови пията нога*⁶ /šveči mu jak psovi pijata noha/ 'it suits you like a fifth leg to a dog'. In an ethnic group focused on raising domestic animals, it is clear that a bell is put on a cow, sheep, or goat to ensure that it does not get lost in the field and is easily located by the owners. In the version of this phraseologism where instead of the bell there is a fifth leg, it tells that something is unnecessary, not suitable for the A-part of the phraseologism, because for dogs and other animals, four legs are enough to do all their activities.

One version found in the corpus should be emphasized, and that is this phraseologism with the verb *требац* /trebac/ 'to need' which makes a difference in meaning, i.e. it focuses on the meaning of needlessness. The phraseologism *треба му як псу (псови) колік*⁷ /treba mu jak psu (psovi) koljik/ 'he needs it like a dog needs a stake' carries this meaning.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

стої ци, (швечи ци) як крави шедло

SADDLE ON A COW → UNSUITABLE APPEARANCE

швечи му як псови дзвончок

COWBELL ON A DOG → UNSUITABLE APPEARANCE

5 In the Ukrainian Lemkos dialects: *пасує як псу дзвончок* (Varxol, Ivčenko, 1990: 48, 100). A pig can be used instead of a dog: *пасіє як на свиню вінец*, *пасіє як на свиню ризы* (Varxol, Ivčenko, 1990: 28, 113, 119).

6 In the Ukrainian Lemkos dialects in Poland *оба як пес о п'яту ногу* (Bawolak 2021: 746 (Bawolak 2021: 746), Slovakia *старати ця як пес о п'яту лабу*, *хыбувати як псу п'ята нога* (Varxol, Ivčenko, 1990: 101). In the *Phraseological dictionary of the Ukrainian language*: *як собаці п'ята нога* (Palamarčuk, I 1993: 59; II 554, 715), *потрібний як собаці другий хвіст* (Palamarčuk, II 1993: 715).

7 In the Ukrainian Lemkos dialects, the concept of needlessness is carried with the following phraseologisms: in Poland *так тя там треба як пса до неба* (Bawolak, 2021: 750), Slovakia *треба як пса до церкви* (Varxol, Ivčenko, 1990: 101), *ребало як пса до неба* (Varxol, Ivčenko, 1990: 89, 101), (Palamarčuk, II 1993: 715), *ребало як пса на погріб* (Varxol, Ivčenko, 1990: 101).

швечи му як псови пята нога

DOG WITH FIVE LEGS → UNSUITABLE APPEARANCE

треба му як псу (псови) колік

DOG WITH A STAKE → NEEDLESSNESS

DIRTINESS

The image of a pig in the Ruthenian language in Vojvodina is clearly associated with a dirty bad person⁸. A pig is commonly negatively marked in the phraseologisms. The reason is the view, or the collective conceptualization of people that it eats uncontrollably, which implies it drinks in the same way too (Fink-Arsovski, 2002: 50). The adjectival phraseologisms like *брудни як швиня*⁹ /brudni jak švinja/ 'as dirty as a pig' show a higher degree of dirtiness. This metaphorical mapping can be presented in the following way:

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

брудни як швиня

A DIRTY PIG → A DIRTY BAD PERSON

Besides a pig, as a representative of untidiness is also a piglet in the comparative phraseologism *мусави*¹⁰ *як праіе* (lit. *мурцави як праіе*) /musavi / murcavi jak praše/ 'as dirty in one's face as a piglet' where the A-part of this phraseologism is more often used to describe a child than an adult.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

мусави як праіе

A DIRTY PIGLET → UNTIDY CHILD

8 A dirty pig is also a source domain for another transferred meaning where this term denotes a concept of person's bad character (DIRTY ANIMAL → BAD PERSONS).

9 In Polish, there is an equivalent form *ktoś (jest) brudny (uprany itp.) jak świnia* (Wtorkowska, 2014: 502).

10 Common in everyday speech, originating from the Serbian language.

OBESITY

Only one noted comparative phraseologism in the conceptual field THE OUTER CHARACTERIZATION OF A PERSON denotes the meaning of obesity. In this comparative phraseologism, *тлусты як швиня*¹¹ / *tlusty jak švinja* / 'obese as a pig' with the zoonym *швиня* which is perceived as a fat domestic animal fed to reach a certain weight, intensifies the meaning of the adjective in the A-part of the phraseologism. A higher level of obesity is denoted. This phraseologism has a pejorative meaning which is a very common occurrence when the comparison is made with the help of the zoonym in the C-part of the phraseologism.

According to Štrbac, this is one of the primary characteristics in our perceptive field, as it implies a changed body appearance which is easily noticed (Štrbac, 2018: 210). Because of its obviousness, this trait is foregrounded as the main characteristic of the person, and, because of the different levels of its manifestation, it can be understood as a gradable category (Gortan Premk, 2004: 219).

In the research corpus, there are no examples which would form the antonymic pair *obese - thin*. The reference to this physical characteristic is found in the Ruthenian language from various source domains, e.g. a plant or the thin stalk of hemp (*худи як соха* 'thin and tall, *ценки (худи) як поскона*), wooden objects (*сухи як доска, худи як палічка, сухи як проща, худи як церліца*), an insect (*сухи як кліц* (*Forficula auricularia* L.), *сухи (худи) як храц, худи як шитар*), a body part (*сухи як палец*), *худи (слаби) як скоба* 'very thin, weak', *сухи як сухандра, могол би лециц як фицерий, худи як харт, буц слаби, сухи як шкварка*. It appears that obesity is not such a negative characteristic among Ruthenians when the total number of phraseologisms denoting the physical appearance is taken into consideration. This fact might say that the phraseologism *тлусты як швиня* is an influence of other cultures the Ruthenian's was in contact with.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

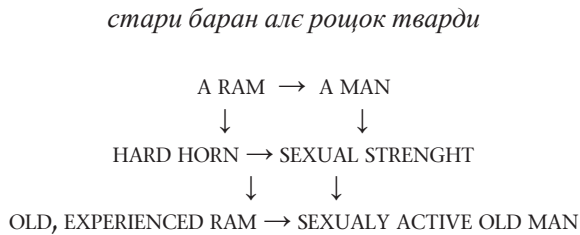
тлусты як швиня

A PIG → AN OBESE PERSON

11 In Polish, there is a form *gruby (tlusty) jak świnia* (Wtorkowska, 2014: 502).

The second phraseologism *стари баран але роцок*¹³ *тварди* can be understood as an encouragement for an older man who did not lose his sexual strength. There are two metaphorical mappings in this phraseologism. The first mapping transfers the source domain OLD RAM to the target domain OLD MAN, and in the second, the small horn implies the meaning of stiffness which creates an association with the sexual strength of a man.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema



One more phraseologism has a sexual connotation, but it is seen as part of the conceptual field of equality (*яка у царици така у магарици* /*jaka u carici taka u magariци*/ 'it is the same in (the possession of) a Tzar's wife and in (the possession of) a she-ass'). This expression implies that the genitalia of a woman (of high status) and an animal (low status, unnecessary) are equal, i.e. it shows the equality of people regardless of their position in the society.

SKIN COLOR

The physical appearance of a person, such as the color of their skin, can be presented with the source domain of homemade white cheese in the comparative phraseologism *били як сир*¹⁴ /*bili jak sir*/ 'white as a cheese'. The adjectival constituent in contact with the term *cheese* activated the schema of specific characteristics, i.e. the color of such product. The meaning of the adjective

13 In the Ukrainian Lemkos dialects: *чым цан старий, тым ріг твердийший* (Bawolak, 2021: 728). As can be seen, there is a similar phraseologism that transfers a similar information in a different way. In this form, age is seen as a condition for a higher sexual strength. Also in *старий баран має твердий ріг* (Zubkov, 1984: 87).

14 In the Ukrainian language, there are comparisons *як сир, як молоко, як сметана*. http://aphorism.org.ua/subrazd.php?page=5&pages_block=1&rid=3&sid=25

is intensified with the use of this product, so the target domain is VERY PALE.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

били як сир

WHITE CHEESE → VERY PALE PERSON

1.2. PEOPLE'S TRAITS (THE MENTAL CHARACTERISTICS OF A PERSON)

GREEDINESS

Greediness is presented with an image of a tomcat that licks its face *олізовац ше як кандур* /oljizovac še jak kandur/, or moves and jumps around sausages *ходзиц (скакац) як кандур коло колбасох*¹⁵ /chodzic (skakac) jak kandur kolo kolbasoch/ 'to move and jump like a tomcat around sausages'. The concept of greediness could also be seen in the phraseologism *кварни як мачка* /kvarni jak mačka/ 'to be as greedy as a cat', where in the C-part of the phraseologism is an animal of the same kind, but female, *мачка*. The lexeme *кварни* is archaic in today's Ruthenian language in Vojvodina, and its meaning is untransparent¹⁶.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

олізовац ше як кандур, ходзиц (скакац) як кандур коло колбасох, кварни як мачка

A GREEDY CAT → A GREEDY PERSON

UNSTEADY OPINIONS

The phraseologism *раз є прашна раз цельна* /raz je prašna raz je

15 In the Ukrainian Lemkos dialects there is an example (*такый*) *ласий, як кіт кітка на ковбасы* (Bawolak, 2021: 738); *ласий, як кіт на ковбаси* (Zubkov, 1984: 299).

16 There are parallels in East-Slovak *kvarny* 'a greedy person' and West-Ukrainian dialects *кварніця* 'same' also showing a description of greediness (Ramač, I 2017: 586).

celjna/ 'once it is farrowing, another time it is calving' is a pejorative way to say that a person often changes their opinions. This metaphorical mapping is based on the use of two verbal adjectives which denote a state of birthing an offspring of different domestic animals. In the language, this is signaled with different forms of phaunonymic verbs. Such a shift is impossible among domestic animals, i.e. a pig cannot be pregnant once with a piglet and once with a calf. Based on this impossible situation, an image of a person who changes opinions is based. In other words, that person does not have a firm opinion or standpoint on something. This phraeologism has a hint of a sneering (or pejorative) meaning. Part of its form is the verbal adjectives *прашна*, *цельна*¹⁷ derived from the phaunonymic verbs *прашиц ше* /prašić še/ 'to farrow', *целіц*¹⁸ *ше* /celjić še/ 'to calv'. The verbal adjectives have a form of adjectives so they also transfer the information about gender. In these phraeologisms, they are in the feminine gender since only females of these animals can give birth. This is also the reason why there is no form in the masculine gender *раз є прашни раз цельни*.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

раз є прашна раз цельна

A DOMESTIC ANIMAL THAT ONE TIME GIVES BIRTH TO PIGLET, THE OTHER TIME TO A CALF → UNSTEADY OPINIONS

INTELLECTUAL LIMITATIONS

When a person seems not very intelligent, the source domain that helps create this image and present the concept of INTELLECTUAL LIMITATIONS are *КРАВА* /krava/ 'cow', *ЦЕЛЄ* /celje/ 'calf', *КОЗА* /koza/ 'goat', *КУРА* /kura/ 'hen', *КУРЧЕ* /kurče/ 'chicken', *ОТРУБА* /otrubi/ '(miler's) bran', *БАМБУХ* /bambuch/ 'internal organ of a cow, cow's stomach'.

17 In the *Ruthenian-Serbian Dictionary*, these adjectives are listed also with a suffix for masculine gender without any information about the figurative use.

18 Zoonymic/phaunonymic verbs *прашиц* and *целіц* from which the verbal adjectives *прашна*, *цельна* are derived have only the third person singular and plural form, which can be seen here:

1. *Я ше целім.* 2. *Ти ше целіи.* 3. *Крава ше целі.* etc.

1. *Я ше прашим.* 2. *Ти ше прашии.* 3. *Швіня ше праши.*

The phraseologisms where the source domain is cow (cow, calf, ох) are *патри як целе на нову капуру* /*patri jak celje na novu kapuru*/ 'staring like a calf at a new gate', *могло би го гу яшльом привязац* /*mohlo bi ho gu jašljom privjazac*/ 'you could tied him to the manger', *вон ма розум як у крави бамбух* /*von ma rozum jak u kravi bambuch*/ 'he has brain like a cow's stomach'. The target domain of these phraseologisms, as already said, is the concept of intellectual limitations, however the motivation for the mapping differs. In the phraseologism *патри як целе на нову капуру*¹⁹, there is a process of looking that is free of thinking, as described by Bartminjski (2011: 139)²⁰.

A similar example is the phraseologism *патри як коза зарезана* /*patri jak koza zarezana*/ 'he is staring like a slaughtered goat' where the intellectual limitation is described as something creepy. *Dictionary of the Ruthenian Folk Language* presents it as 'looks silently, without understanding.' The image of a dead, SLAUGHTERED GOAT is the source domain of this metaphorical mapping.

In the phraseologism *могло би го гу яшльом привязац*, the lexeme *яшля* /*jašlja*/ 'manger' shows with what a stupid person is compared. The standard of low intelligence is indirectly stated through the associative connection caused by a stimulus, i.e. an image of an animal tied to the manger. Through this associative process and based on collective expression, it can be deciphered that the standard of low intelligence in the language is signaled with a cow²¹.

The final mapping (*вон ма розум як у крави бамбух*) is based on the comparison of the size of the internal organ of a cow, the stomach

19 Listing the phraseologisms that transfer various aspects of looking or staring as a separate group, Bartminjski also lists the process of looking free of thinking, where besides *patrzeć jak wol/ciele na malowane wrota* puts the following examples *patrzeć jak kozioł na wodę* ('look as billy goat into the water'), *patrzeć jak osioł na aptekę* ('look as a donkey to a pharmacy') (Bartminjski, 2011: 139).

20 Lemkos in Poland use the form *смотрит як теля на малювани ворота* (Bawolak, 2021: 728). Lemkos in Slovakia have a similar form *призерати шя як теля на новы (мальованы) ворота* (Varxol, Ivčenko, 1990: 35, 131). The Ukrainian language uses different animals for the same phraseologisms, such as *як баран (козел, теля і т. ін.) на нові ворота* (Užčenko, Užčenko, 1998: 8, 183), (Bilonoženko, 2003: 23), (Palamarčuk, I 1993: 146; II 1993: 879).

21 This can be tested by changing the animal expected to be in that position. If the first association with an animal tied to a manger would be a dog, this phraseologism would be understood as a concept of slavery or lack of freedom.

(*бамбух* /bambuch/)²², and the mind of a stupid person which has to be small. This metaphorical mapping is based on the appearance or the size of the organ. Since this organ is small, it is easily connected with another small entity through association. Additionally, it appears that not only size forms this concept, but also the fact that this organ is considered to be stupid in the Ruthenian and other ethnic group, as could have been seen in previous phraseologisms.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

патри як цєлє на нову капуру

CALF'S LOOK → STUPID PERSON

патри як коза зарезана

SLAUGHTERED GOAT'S LOOK → STUPID PERSON

могло би го гу яшльом привязац

USUAL LIVING PLACE OF A COW / STABLE → A COW → A STUPID MAN

вон ма розум як у крави бамбух

SMALL BRAIN → STUPID MAN

The second domestic animal considered by the Ruthenian people as stupid is the chicken. Some phraseologisms that prove this are *розуми ше до дачого як кура до пива*²³ /rozumi še do dačoho jak kura do piva/ 'to know one's way around something like a hen knows its way around beer', *розум як у курчеца* /rozum jak u kurčeca/ 'to have a small brain like a chicken', и *як кед би спаднул з бантох* /jak ked bi spadnul z bantoh/ 'as if he had fallen from a roof beam in the henhouse'. In the phraseologism *розуми ше до дачого як кура до пива*, the connection between a chicken and a beer is something illogical and unclear, which ironically shows the concept of

22 Today, this is an archaic word, but is present in the Lemkos dialects *бамбух* 1. шлунок рогатої худоби (Purtej, 2001: 20).

23 In the Ukrainian Lemkos dialects: *розумити ше як курка до пива* (Varhol, Ivčenko, 1990: 76, 102).

ignorance, the lack of understanding. Speakers of the Ruthenian language, as well as speakers of the Serbian language, believe that chicken is a stupid animal which is why this collective expression was used for forming the phraseologism. According to Štrbac, in the Serbian language, the secondary realization of the term chicken is a 'stupid woman' which is a result of the collective expression that a chicken is stupid (Štrbac, 2018: 205).

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

розуми ше до дачого як кура до тива

(STUPID) HEN²⁴ → STUPID PERSON

The mapping based on the comparison of the size is also present in the phraseologism *розум як у курчеца*²⁵ where the fact that a chicken is small and that it has a small brain is used to present an image of a stupid person.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

розум як у курчеца

SMALL BRAIN OF A HEN → STUPID MAN

The phraseologism *як кед би спаднул з бантох* 'as if he had fallen from a roof beam in the henhouse' is the variant without negation of the phraseologism *озда сом не спаднул з бантох* 'I didn't fall down from a beam in the henhouse, did I?' and it denotes the concept of LIMITED INTELLIGENCE. The foundation of metaphorical mapping is the source domain formed based on the expected or typical place where a chicken sits in the henhouse. By denoting the image of collar tie as this typical place, the same as seen in the example *привязац би го гу яшьлом*, is a type of stimulus that induces an associative cognitive mechanism and brings from the memory a typical

24 The formulation of the source domain often has to be generalized. It can be divided in the following way: chicken's nature, since it is an animal and not a person, does not have information or an experience with beer. This was used as a basis for this ironic image.

25 In the Ukrainian language: Lemkos *розум як у куркы* (Varhol, Ivčenko, 1990: 76, 115); *курячий мозок* (Palamarčuk, 1993: 406; 501).

domestic animal that sits on that spot. Since this animal represents the concept of stupidity according to the collective expression, it clearly shows that this expression refers to a stupid person.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

як кед би спаднул з бантох

STUPID HEN (FALLS FROM A COLLAR TIE) → STUPID MAN

Phraseologisms *мац отрубѣ (плєви) у глави* /mac otrubi (pljevi) u hlavi/ 'to have (miller's) bran in head', *пушчел розум на пашу* /puščel rozum na pašu/ 'he let his reason onto a pasture' do not have a term for domestic animal in their structure, but they imply that it is thought of the livestock with their content, i.e. the association with the food (*отруба, паша*). Since it is known that Ruthenians consider chickens and cows to be stupid animals, it can be assumed that the topic of these two phraseologisms is cows as their food is part of the structure.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

мац отрубѣ (плєви) у глави

STUPID COW EATS (MILLER'S) BRAN → STUPID BRAN/COW → STUPID MAN

Feeding a cow, or letting them out on the field, meant that the cows were let out on the street and they would go with a person on the field. After eating, the cows would return home by themselves, which appears as an intelligent activity. However, cows' behavior on the field, where they appear not to think about anything else besides eating, looks to people as if cows are free of thinking, i.e. as the process does not require any thinking. The choice of the source domain can be interpreted as a result of the collective expression in which the cow is an unintelligent animal - a stereotype as cows are not stupid²⁶ (Dittmar, 1995). The expressivity of an expression is an element of metaphorical directions ANIMAL → PERSON precisely because of the collective conceptualization²⁷, or the view that

26 <https://faunafacts.com/cows/are-cows-dumb-or-intelligent/> (Dittmar, 1995).

27 In the Serbian language, there are examples of metaphorical map-

traits of a person can be attributed to animals²⁸. The antonymic pair with the concept INTELLECTUAL LIMITATION forms phraseologisms that will be elaborated on in the following sections.

пуцел розум на пашу

COW OUT TO PASTURE → UNINTELLIGENT BEHAVIOR

BE SMART

The phraseologism *озда сом не спаднул з бантох*²⁹ /*ozda som nje spadnul z bantoh*/ uses the image of the collar ties in the henhouse to imply that a chicken is stupid, and by adding the negation, it negates that the person is the same as the chicken, i.e. that the person is smart, not stupid or naive. The variant *як кед би спаднул з бантох* without the negation denotes the concept of limited intelligence.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

озда сом не спаднул з бантох

STUPID HEN FALLS FROM COLLAR TIES → IM NOT STUPID

It is not completely clear whether the mapping was based on the folk's opinion that chickens are stupid or whether falling off the collar ties is considered to be stupid. Similar motifs can be seen in the Ukrainian song which was recorded on paper by V. Hnatjuk. Since there are similar expressions *нисам пао с Марса / с крушке / nisam pao s Marsa / s kruške* / 'I didn't fall down from Mars / from a pear tree' in the Serbian language, it is possible that these were adapted to use the parts of everyday life of the Ruthenian people.

pings where a degree of expressivity is denoted in the direction of derogation (Štrbac, 2018: 206).

28 More about this in the section on metaphor THE GREAT CHAIN OF BEING.

29 In the Ukrainian language, there are similar phraseologisms that were recorded on paper by Volodimir Hnatjuk in Ivano-Frankivsk region (Hnatjuk, 1905: 302):

Ой упала курка з бантів та побила яйці,

Бери мене, любку, в танец, бо я в кацабайці.

The example from the Ukrainian Lemkos dialects *ходити скоро спати як курка на банты* transfers the concept of going to sleep early (Varxol, Ivčenko, 1990: 19, 76).

NAIVETY

The concept of naivety can be seen in the phraseologisms: *войсц як курче до помийох* /vojsc jak kurče do pomijoh/ 'to enter like a chicken into a swill, pigwash', *пришла коза под нож* /prišla koza pod nož/ 'a goat came under a knife by itself', *лем му каричку до носа не положили* /ljem mu karičku do nosa nje položeli/ '[he agreed to everything they did to him,] he could as well agreed to put a pig's nose ring'). All of them have different animals in their structure (chicken, goat, pig).

With the use of the verbal comparative zoonymic phraseologism *войсц як курче до помийох*, the meaning of a naive attitude toward an activity is denoted. This comparative phraseologism has a movement verb in its structure but transfers the meaning of a human trait, naivety. The source domain of this metaphorical mapping is based on an image of a CHICKEN that is ready to go inside the pigwash when hungry. This behavior can be seen as naive since the chicken thinks the food is made for it, but the pig can eat the chicken in that food.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

войсц як курче до помийох

BEHAVIOR OF A CHICKEN → NAIVE BEHAVIOR OF A PERSON

Phraseologism *пришла коза под нож*³⁰ is based on the absurdity or the expectation that the goat would come on its own to be slaughtered. This expression denotes the meaning of the goat, or the person, being naive. It is not thought that the goat knows it would not be slaughtered, but rather that a person knows where the danger is (going under a knife). The source domain of this metaphorical mapping is a goat or an image of a naive goat unaware of what awaits it, and the target domain is a naive person.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

пришла коза под нож

GOAT (THAT NAIVELY GOES TO ITS EXECUTIONER) → NAIVE PERSON

30 *The Serbian-Ruthenian Dictionary* gives the following phraseologism as an equivalent *дошао му је рен у кљусу* (Ramač, 2010: 329).

The highest degree of naivety is denoted with the phraseologism *лєм му каричку до носа не положили*³¹ '[he agreed to everything they did to him,] he could as well agreed to put a pig's nose ring'). A nose ring is put on pigs so that they cannot use their snouts to root underneath themselves. In this phraseologism, putting the nose ring on is the measurement of naivety. It is a partial sentence, and the full one could be *Шицко им допуцел поробиц лєм му каричку до носа не положили. /Šicko im dopuščel porobic ljem mu karičku do nosa nje položeli./* 'He agreed to everything they did to him, he could as well have agreed to put a pig's nose ring'. The untold part of the sentence is not necessary for the meaning to be conveyed. The metaphorical mapping is based on the image of putting on a pig nose ring as a final degree of a pig's subordination, or in the figurative meaning, a final degree of a person's naivety.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

лєм му каричку до носа не положили

TO PUT A NOSE RING TO A PIG → VERY NAIVE PERSON

STUBBORNNESS / PERSISTENCE

The concept of stubbornness can be seen in the phraseologism *твардоглави як матарец* /tvardohlavi jak magarec/ 'as stubborn as a donkey' where the animal donkey is thought to be stubborn. The same is true in Serbian. This comparison denotes a higher degree of stubbornness.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

твардоглави як матарец

DONKEY → STUBBORN MAN

A persistent person is compared to a donkey, *упарти як матарец*³² /upartı jak magarec/ 'as persistent as a donkey'. However, this

31 Укр. *водити / поводити за ніс (за носа) кого* (Užčenko, Užčenko, 1998: 111), Serb. *вуку га за нос* (Ramač, 2010: 315).

32 In the Ukrainian Lemkos dialects, the standard of persistence is depicted with a ram: *упертый як баран* (Varxol, Ivčenko, 1990: 19).

animal is also seen as stubborn (*твардоглави як магарец* 'as stubborn as a donkey') by the Ruthenian people, as was already discussed in the previous text.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

упарти як магарец

DONKEY → PERSISTENT MAN

IMPATIENCE

The concept of impatience is transferred with phraseologisms *бежац як гаче опрез друка* /*bežac jak hače oprez druka*/ 'to run towards something like a foal runs to the front of a carriage', *не стої ци крава на ноги* / *не станула ми крава на ногу* /*nje stoji ci krava na nohi/ nje stanula mi krava na nohu*/ 'there is no cow standing on your foot'.

The image of impatience or recklessness is denoted through the image of a foal who still does not know how to drag a carriage but runs to the front of it to be tied up. To the Ruthenian folk people, this served as an obvious comparison with a person who does not have patience or is reckless. This concept can be seen in the phraseologism *бежац як гаче опрез друка*. Since there are no such expressions in the languages of the Carpathian area, it can be assumed that these were incorporated into the Ruthenian linguistic image of the world through the influence of the Serbian linguistic image of the world.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

бежац як гаче опрез друка

FOAL RUNS TO THE FRONT OF A CARRIAGE / INEXPERIENCED FOAL → IMPATIENCE

The second metaphorical mapping is seen in the phraseologism *не стої ци крава на ноги* / *не станула ми крава на ногу* /*nje stoji ci krava na nohi*/ 'there is no cow standing on your foot'. This is based on the fact that the domestic animal cow is heavy, so a person who has a cow step on their foot would want to pull it out quickly and impatiently. This image shows the concept of impatience, ie. target domain of this mapping is IMPATIENCE PERSON.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

не стої ці крава на ноги / не станула ми крава на ногу

HEAVY COW STANDING ON A PERSON'S FOOT → IMPATIENCE PERSON

INDIFFERENCE

The image of a goose that does not pay attention to anything and does not react even when a bucket of water is thrown on it transfers the concept of indifference or the lack of reaction to a comment or a critique. This can be seen in the phraseologisms *як кед на гуску води плюшнєш* and *як на гуску води сипац*³³ /*jak ked na husku vodi pljušnješ*/ 'as when you splash water on a goose', which are based on the seme of goose's behavior that does not react to the water. The goose produces a type of fat in its spleen that greases the feathers, which is the reason why the water slides off its feathers and the goose does not react.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

як кед на гуску води плюшнєш / як на гуску води сипац

GOOSE DOES NOT REACT TO THE WATER THROWN ON IT → INDIFFERENT PERSON
/ INDIFFERENT REACTION

LYING

When someone lies a lot or the lie is big, that person is compared to a dog as in *цигані як пес*³⁴ /*ciganji jak pes*/ 'he/she is lying as a dog'. This phraseologism of a negative connotation is based on metaphorical mapping where the source domain is a DOG and the target domain is A PERSON WHO OFTEN LIES. A dog represents two symbols in Slavic mythology. Similar to a horse, a dog has a connection with something unearthly. It often appears with a cat, and in the traditional culture, these two are metaphorically connected with a wolf and a bear (Tolstoj, Radenković, 2001: 417). In our corpus, the

33 In Ukr. *як з гуски (гуся і т. ін.) вода з кого* (Užčenko, Užčenko, 1998: 39), (Palamarčuk, I 1993: 141, 202), in the Lemko dialect (Varxol, Ivčenko, 1990: 32). In the Lemkos dialects in Slovakia, there is also a form *як на гусці вода* (Varxol, Ivčenko, 1990: 45).

34 In Ukr. *бреше як пес* (Popović, 2019: 19); Serb. *лаже као псето* (Ramač, 2010: 525).

dog usually has a negative connotation³⁵. In the phraseologism *цигані як пес* through the process of personification, it gained negative traits of a person³⁶. The zoonym *dog* when in contact with the verb *lie* activates a sense of collective expression of lying a lot, making the dog as a standard for big lies. This animal intensifies the meaning of the verb.

By analyzing phraseologisms in the Serbian language where the target domain is PERSON, Štrbac noticed that other types of communication can be conceptualized through this source domain, such as to lie a lot (*лагати као пас*), falsely present in a better way (*красити се [китити се] лажним перјем*), poor knowledge of a foreign language (*говорити француски [немачки итд.] као крава латински*) (Štrbac, 2018: 163).

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

цигані як пес

DOG LIES → MAN THAT LIES A LOT

VICIOUSNESS

The phraseologism *погубени як мутјак*³⁷ /*pohubeni jak mutjak*/ 'spoiled like an egg' uses the characteristics of spoiled food to transfer the concept of a spoiled moral. The source domain of this mapping is a spoiled egg, used to denote more clearly a morally corrupt person.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

погубени як мутјак

35 Somewhat more detailed image of the dog is presented in the paper *The dog in the linguistic image of the world of the Ruthenians in Serbia (Vojvodina)* (Пес у язичней слики швета Руснацох у Србији (Войводини)) (Mudri 2023).

36 Part of this phraseologism is another metaphorical mapping that also has negative connotation. The verb *циганіц* /*ciganjic*/ 'to lie' is formed from the ethnonym Циган /*Cigan*/ 'Gypsy' which is the source domain of this metaphor. It was probably formed based on the stereotype and the folk image of Gypsies being people who lie, steal, etc.

37 The equivalent of this phraseologism is not found in other Slavic languages, so it is assumed that this expression is a borrowing from the Serbian linguistic image of the world.

SPOILED EGG → MORALLY CORRUPT PERSON

WASTEFULNESS

To easily spend money or be wasteful is transferred with the phraseologism *кед (дзе) пошла крава най идзе и целє*³⁸ /ked (dze) pošla krava naj idze i celje/ 'since the cow is gone, let the calf go too'. A cow is worth more than a calf as it gives milk and can give birth to a calf, so it presents a bigger loss to a household. The target domain of this mapping can be formulated as *since we already gave so much money, let's give that little bit extra too* found in the *Ruthenian-Serbian Dictionary* (Ramač, 2010: 343). This denotes a description of a character referred to as wastefulness or extravagance.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

кед (дзе) пошла крава най идзе и целє

SINCE THE COW IS GONE, LET THE CALF GO TOO → WASTEFULNESS

PASSIVITY

Passivity is illustrated with the comparative zoonymic phraseologism *стої як магарец медзи овцами* /stoji jak magarec medzi ovcami/ 'he/she stands like donkey among sheep' where two domestic animals are mentioned, a donkey and a sheep. The concept of passivity in this phraseologism is seen with the help of the donkey which, based on the folk belief, does nothing or is useless, and sheep which represents a useful animal.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

стої як магарец медзи овцами

A DONKEY AMONG SHEEP → PASSIVITY

OVERLY SENSITIVE CHARACTER (CRYING, COMPLAINING)

The conceptual field of sensitivity is formed with phraseologisms that transfer the feeling of sensitivity or its result manifested

38 In the Ukrainian Lemkos dialects: *пішла корова, най іде і теля* (Bawolak, 2021: 742), *взяв чорт корову, нехай же і теля візьме* (Zubko, 1984: 88); Serb. *кад иде крава (јуне) нек иде и (теле) уже!* *куд је отишло јуне нек иде и уже* (Karadžić, 1987: 164); *кад је бал нек је бал* (Ramač, 2010: 343), (Kašić, 1987: 6).

by a person, such as weeping or complaining.

Sensitivity as a personality trait can be transferred with the use of the comparative phraseologism *як кед мачки на хвост станеш* /jak ked mački na chvost stanješ/ 'as when you stepped on a cat's tail'. Structurally, there is a (elliptical) comparative idiom with an unusual structure. The A-part (as when...), the thing being compared, is omitted, but the B-part, the comparative element (conjunction *as*), and the C-part, the component to which something is compared, are included. This phraseologism is a two-membered structural type (B+C) which is not frequent in the analyzed material.

The metaphorical mapping is based on the source domain of the image of a cat that makes sounds when stepped on its tail. The target domain is a sensitive person who often complains. The causes of complaining can be various, not only physical pain.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

як кед мачки на хвост станеш

CAT WEeping OVER TRAMPLED TAIL → OVER-SENSITIVE PERSON

A description of weeping is close to the one of sensitivity and is denoted in the phraseologism *роздарти як маче* /rozdarti jak mače/ 'cries like a kitten'. However, it seems that in this phraseologism, the focus is on the level of the weeping of a person, not on the frequency of such behavior.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

роздарти як маче

KITTEN → WEeping OF A PERSON, CHILD

The meaning of unnecessary complaining is transferred with the phraseologism *коньом роги омарзли* /konjom rohi omarzli/ 'horse's horns froze' which has an ironic element, as the sentence is impossible since horses do not have horns. The source domain of this metaphorical mapping is HORSE (with frozen horns), and the target domain is UNNECESSARY COMPLAINING OF A PERSON. The motivation for this mapping is based on the absurdity where a clearly impossible statement is used to express a lie.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

коньом роги омарзли

HORSE (DOESN'T HAVE HORNS) → UNNECESSARY COMPLAINING OF A PERSON

OVERESTIMATION OF ONE'S (PHYSICAL OR INTELLECTUAL) STRENGTH

The conceptual field of overestimating one's strength contains two phraseologisms (*набрац (навишац, натрепац) на себе як баран на роги, учи курче квоку*).

Overestimating your strength is denoted with the phraseologism *набрац (навишац, натрепац) на себе як баран на роги*³⁹ /nabrac na sebe jak baran na rohi/ 'to load oneself as much like a ram loads its horns'. One typical behavior of a ram seems to be that it puts more hay on its horns that it can carry or eat. The source domain is an image of A RAM which uses horns to pick up a lot of hay. The target domain is A PERSON WHO OVERESTIMATES HIS/HER STRENGTH.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

набрац (навишац, натрепац) на себе як баран на роги

A RAM → A PERSON OVERESTIMATING HIS OWN STRENGTH

The second phraseologism *учи курче квоку*⁴⁰ /uči kurče kvoku/ 'a chicken teaches a hen'⁴¹ is motivated by the fact that older people know more than the young ones, meaning that a hen as an older one, knows more than a chick it laid. The metaphorical mapping was based on this view. The source domain is an image of A CHICK that teaches a hen something. The target domain is A PERSON WHO OVERESTIMATES HIS/HER KNOWLEDGE OR SKILLS.

39 In the Ukrainian Lemkos dialects: *брати як баран на роги* (Varhol, Ivčenko, 1990: 19).

40 In the Ukrainian Lemkos dialects in Poland: *вчыт яйце куру розуму* (Bawolak, 2021: 728); *яйця курей учать, довелося яйцям курі вчить* (Nomys, 1993: 86), *яйця курей не учать* (Zubko, 1984: 88).

41 In English *shall the goslings teach the goose to swim?* (Prodanović-Stankić, 2008: 47).

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

учи курче квоку

A CHICK → A PERSON OVERESTIMATING THE STRENGTH /((SELF-CONFIDENT) PERSON

FIDELITY

Several phraseologisms denote the positive traits of people. Even though phraseologisms with the component *dog* in the analyzed phraseologisms, most frequently have negative connotations, there is one example where the comparative phraseologism has a positive connotation⁴²: *вірни як пес*⁴³ 'as faithful as a dog'. This phraseologism denotes the concept of FIDELITY. An analysis of associations shows that its prototypical trait is fidelity as the center of the associative field is the associate *вірності*⁴⁴. The metaphorical mapping is based on the folk view of the dog as faithful.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

вірни як пес

A DOG → A VERY FAITHFUL PERSON

A dog in the folk image of many languages carries a negative connotation (Tolstoj, Radenković, 2001: 417-418). Perhaps phraseologisms with negative characteristics should be understood as an older view, since the relationship between a dog and a person has to be something primal. The process of domestication was long and during that time, people formed an image of a dog that

42 Fidelity does not have to be understood only as a positive characteristic.

43 In Ukrainian: *як (мов, ніби і т. ін.) вірний (вірна) собака* (Palamarčuk, II 1993: 715).

44 Besides this, positive associations of a dog are the ones denoting the function of a friendship: (*fidelity* 10; *loyal* 4; *a friend /prijatelj/* 4; *best friend* 2; *a friend /tovariš/* 2; *man's loyal friend /virni prijatelj/* 1; *loyal* 1; *loyal friend /virni prijatelj/* 1; *loyal friend /virni tovariš/* 1); and the protection of the home (*it is good to have him in a courtyard, thieves, guards, guards home* 3; *guardian* 8; *guardian of the household* 3; *announces when someone comes and guards household* 1). The number next to the association represents the number of people that gave such an answer. There were a hundred participants in this segment of research.

is found today in preserved forms, such as phraseologisms. Some views, especially the negative ones, today seem unusual which shows the change in the perception of a dog. This confirms the associative test.

DISTRUST

The change in the image of a dog among people probably went from the symbol of distrust to the symbol of fidelity. In this way it could be explained how there is an antonymic phraseologism with a diametrically different concept, the concept of FIDELITY. As seen in the previous section, the dog is seen today as faithful. But the phraseologism *не вер псу⁴⁵ ані кед шни⁴⁶* /nje ver psu anji ked špi/ 'don't trust the dog even when it's asleep', the dog is the source domain of the metaphor transferring the concept of distrust. This expression denotes a high level of distrust.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

не вер псу(псови) ані кед шни

A DOG → A DISTRUSTFUL PERSON

CALMNESS

The concept of CALMNESS is seen in the phraseologism *мирни як баранче (ягнятко)⁴⁷* /mirni jak baranče/ 'as calm as a lamb' which is a result of the precedent texts, that is the Bible where a lamb is depicted as sweet, naive, etc.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

мирни як баранче (ягнятко)

A LAMB → A CALM PERSON

GENEROSITY (GIVE A LOT OF FOOD TO A PERSON)

Phraseologism *дац дакому як волон (як волови, як за воли)* /dac

45 Today, the form of the noun *пес* in dative singular would be *псови*.

46 In Serbian, *не веруј змији ни кад спава* (Ramač, 2010: 525).

47 In the Ukrainian Lemkos dialect, *благый як ягнятко* (Varhol, Ivčenko, 1990: 148).

dakomu jak volom (jak volovi, jak za voli)/ ‘to give [food] to someone as if they were an ox’ is used to transfer the concept of GENEROSITY. However, authors of the *Dictionary for the Folk Ruthenian language* marked this “generosity” as ‘complaint’ (Ramač, I 2017: 226). The source domain of this mapping is A LARGE AMOUNT OF FOOD THAT IS GIVEN TO AN OX, and the target domain is A LARGE AMOUNT GIVEN TO A PERSON.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

дац дакому як волон (як волон, як за волон)

AMOUNT OF FOOD THAT IS GIVEN TO AN OX → A LARGE AMOUNT GIVEN TO A PERSON

UNGRATEFULNESS

The concept of ungratefulness is seen in the phraseologism *пуц пса под стол вирабе ше на стол*⁴⁸ /pušč psa pod stol vigrabe še na stol/ ‘leave a dog to go under a table, and it will climb on top of it’. The metaphorical mapping is based on the image of a dog that has the privilege of being under the table, but it does not appreciate that and wants more.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

пуц пса под стол вирабе ше на стол

DOG → UNGRATEFULNESS

THE UNCHANGEABLE CHARACTER OF A PERSON

The concept of the unchangeable character of a person is transferred with phraseologisms *облеч швиню до злата а вона пойдзе до блата*⁴⁹ /oblječ švinju do zlata a vona pojdze do blata/ ‘dress a pig in gold, and it would still go into the mud’ and *не будзе зоз пса сланіна*

48 In the Ukrainian Lemkos dialects in Poland: *пуст пса під стіл, влізе и на стіл* (Bawolak, 2021: 750). In Serbian: *пусти коку на полицу она ће и на столицу* (Ramač, 2010: 525).

49 In Polish, there is the expression *ubierz świnię w złoto, ona wlezie w błoto*. In Serbian, *крсти вука а вуку у гору, вуку длаку мења а ћуд никада* (Ramač, 2010: 454).

[лєм вше тишина]⁵⁰ /nje budze zoz psa slanĳina [ljem vŝe pŝinal]/ ‘there will not be bacon from a dog’⁵¹. Both phraseologisms are based on the nature of a domestic animal. In the first one, the main protagonist is a pig, an animal known for being dirty and always digging through the ground. The second phraseologism is based on the fact that it is impossible to make bacon out of a dog. The source domain of these phraseologisms is a PIG and a DOG, and the target domain is the UNCHANGEABLE CHARACTER OF A PERSON.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

облєч швиню до злата а вона пойдзе до блата

A PIG → THE UNCHANGEABLE CHARACTER OF A PERSON

нє будзе зоз пса сланїна [лєм вше тишина]

A DOG → THE UNCHANGEABLE CHARACTER OF A PERSON

NOT UNDERSTANDING OTHERS’ VIEWPOINTS

Similar to the phraseologism *учи курче квокү*⁵² /uĳi kurĳe kvoku/ ‘a chicken teaches a hen’, the phraseologism *забула кобула же и вона дараз гаче була*⁵³ /zabula kobula že i vona daraz haĳe bula/ ‘a mare forgot that it, too, was once a foal’ is based on the age difference between a mare and a foal in this example. This phraseologism expresses a concept of NOT UNDERSTANDING SOMEONE ELSE’S POSITION, even though that person lived through the same thing. As seen from the example, the focus is on the older participant, who is criticized. This participant (MARE) is the source domain of the metaphorical mapping as it was in the lower position once, but now forgot about that. The target domain is a person who forgot its previous status or position. This mapping can be presented in the following way:

50 In the Ukrainian Lemkos dialects in Poland: *не буде з пса солонина, ани зоз волка баранина* (Bawolak, 2021: 748), *не буде з пса ні солонина, ні ковбаса* (Zubkov, 1984: 87). In Serbian, *неће бити од кера сланина* (Ramaĳ, 2010: 525).

51 In English *wash a dog, comb a dog, still a dog remains a dog* (Prodanoviĳ-Stankiĳ, 2008: 46).

52 Ukrainian *яїця курей не учать* (Zubkov, 1984: 193).

53 In the Ukrainian Lemkos dialects: *забыла корова, як телятом была* (Bawolak, 2021: 740).

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

забула кобула же и вона дараз гаче була

A MARE (THAT WAS ONCE A FOAL) → NOT UNDERSTANDING SOMEONE ELSE'S POSITION

RESOURCEFULNESS

A person's ability to be RESOURCEFUL and not let be confused or defeated is the target domain of the metaphorical mapping in the phraseologism *знац од чого пси здиhaю*⁵⁴ /*znac od čoho psi zdiha-ju*/ 'to know what dogs die of'. The source domain is unclear, but negative scenarios are assumed in which the skill of killing dogs is appreciated. This desired skill could be justified by the already mentioned negative attitude toward dogs. There is also a variation *знац од чого мухи здиhaю* 'to know what flies die of'.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

знац од чого пси здиhaю

SKILL OF KILLING DOGS → RESOURCEFULNESS

THE SAME (BAD, EVIL) PEOPLE UNDERSTAND EACH OTHER

The negative image of a dog is present in the phraseologism *нec нca пoзнa*⁵⁵ /*pes psa pozna*/ 'a dog knows another dog' is used to denote the concept of evil people understanding and recognizing each other. Even though there is no clear characterization of the dog as evil in this phraseologism, the target domain shows the attitude towards the dog.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

нec нca пoзнa

DOG KNOWS THE OTHER DOG → THE SAME (BAD, EVIL) PEOPLE UNDERSTAND EACH OTHER

54 In Serbian *знати знање* (Ramač, 2010: 525).

55 Compare: Ukr. *нec нca пo хвoстoвi пiзнac* (Zubkov, 1984: 91), *кулик кулика бачить здалека; свій свояка вгадає (бачить) здалека*; Rus. *рыбак рыбака видит издалека*; Serb. *пoзнaje рђa [своје] гвoжђe* (Ramač, 2010: 525); *врана врани очи не вади*.

GOODNESS

The phraseologism *ані мачку би не увредзел*⁵⁶ /anji mačku bi nje uvredzel/ 'he/she would not offend even a cat' functions as a proof of goodness and a good character of a person. The unsaid part of the phraseologism could be [вон/вона така добра же би] *ані мачку би не увредзел*⁵⁷ [he/she is so good that] he/she would *not offend even a cat*. A cat is known as an animal that would scratch or jump on a person, but a good person would not offend it even when it is evil. Such an action would be an example of bad behavior. A person talked about in this phraseologism is so good they would never do something bad.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

ані мачку би не увредзел

A CAT IS BAD → A GOOD PERSON

PETTINESS, NEATNESS

The phraseologism *гледац власу у вайцу*⁵⁸ /hljedac vlasu u vajcu/ 'to search for a hair in an egg' is understood as a concept of PETTINESS OR NEATNESS. An egg, the same as a nest in the previous example, is not exclusively a product of a domestic animal. However, this phraseologism, even though not explicitly, takes into account the knowledge of the use of an egg as part of a diet. This brings up an image where part of a shell or a hair should not be in an egg before it is prepared for eating. Also, an egg is closed, so it cannot have hair inside, but petty people would look for it even there. The image of searching for hair in an egg is the source domain which is metaphorically mapped on the target domain, i.e. looking for the smallest mistake.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

гледац власу у вайцу

TO SEARCH FOR A HAIR IN AN EGG → PETTINESS, NEATNESS

56 In Serbian, *ни мжава не би згазио* (Kašić, 1987: 57).

57 In Ruthenian lit. *уквилел* /ukviljel/ (infinitive *уквиліц* /ukviljic/).

58 In Serbian, *тражити длаку у јајету*.

1.3. A PERSON'S STATES AND FEELINGS

FEAR

Fear is a trait that is associated with a rabbit among the Ruthenian people in Vojvodina, or rather its speed when it is afraid. The phraseologism *сцекац як заяц* /scekac jak zajac/ 'to run like a rabbit' transfers the image of fear with the use of an image of a rabbit which runs away. The verbal constituent activates the schema of the collective conceptualization of the zoologism rabbit or running fast because of fear. To understand the target domain, it is important to know that the meaning of the verb means to run away from someone. Combined with the schema of running fast because of fear, the phraseologisms carry the concept of FEAR.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

сцекац як заяц

RABBIT THAT RUNS AWAY → FEAR

Other than this phraseologism, it seems that *спац як заяц* /spac jak zajac/ 'to sleep like a rabbit' partially transfers the same meaning of fear or carefulness. However, this phraseologism has to be discussed in the conceptual field of STATES.

The opposition *boldness - fear* can be seen in the following Serbian idioms: *бити лављег срца, имати зечје срце, бити плашљив као зец (миш), побећи у мишију руну* (Štrbac, 2018: 177). Phraseologisms in the Ruthenian language of the same meaning are not found.

ANGER

Part of this conceptual field is the feeling of anger which is seen as a trait of an animal⁵⁹ in these expressions. Phraseologisms that refer to the feeling of anger are usually part of a verb with the prefix *на-* (*нагнівац ше, надуц ше*) which carries an ingressive meaning. The verb *надуц ше* 'to puff up' is a result of the metaphorical mapping where anger is seen as a gas that fills a container or a body.

There are two comparative phraseologisms where an angry person is compared with a turkey (gobbler) *нагнівани (надуті) як пуляк*⁶⁰ /nahnjivani (naduti) jak puljak/ 'as angry (puffed up) as a

59 In the Serbian language, anger is also understood as a trait of an animal: *љут као рис, бесан као бик (гуја, змија)* (Štrbac, 2018: 118).

60 Compare: Укр. *надутися, напри́ндитися як (мов, ніби і т.ін.) індік* (Varxol,

gobbler', grandmother's dog *нагнівал ше (нахмурел ше, нагнівани) як бабов пес /nanjival še (nahmurel še, nahnjivani) jak babov pes/* 'as angry as a grandmother's dog'⁶¹, or a boar *нагнівани як корназ /nahnjivani jak kornaz/* 'as angry as a boar'. The feeling of anger is explicitly denoted with the verb/verbal adjective *нагнівац ше/нагнівани* and the zoonym suggests that the person is very angry and shows a high level of the emotion. The semantic connection among the members of the comparative phraseologisms is based on the activation of the schema of collective conceptualization carried by the zoonym (*пуляк* 'gobbler' (*пулька* 'turkey'), *пес* 'dog', *корназ* 'boar').

The source domains are the domestic animal TURKEY (GOBBLER), DOG, and BOAR. The target domain is A VERY ANGRY PERSON. The motivations for using these expressions are turkeys, dogs, and boars, where the degree of anger can vary. As there is a variant of the phraseologism *надутти як пуляк* 'as puffed up as a gobbler' with the verb *puff up*, the metaphor in use is ANGER IS A GAS THAT FILLS THE BODY, i.e. BODY IS THE CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS⁶².

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

нагнівани (надутти) як пуляк

GOBBLER → VERY ANGRY PERSON

нагнівал ше (нахмурел ше, нагнівани) як бабов пес

A DOG → VERY ANGRY PERSON

нагнівани як корназ

A BOAR → VERY ANGRY PERSON

In the Ruthenian language, some phraseologisms depict the concept of anger using other source domains: *нагнівани як Прайз /nahnjivani jak Prajz/* 'angry as a Prussian, *нагнівани як бодор /nahnjivani*

Ivčenko, 1990: 110), in the literary language (Bilonoženko, 2003: 275), (Palamarčuk, I 1993: 350); Rus. *покраснеть / краснеть (побагроветь/багроветь) как индюк* (Fink-Arsovski, 2002: 47).

61 This could as well mean caterpillar. See page 85-86.

62 See (Lakoff, 1987: 383; Kövecses, 2010: 197-206).

jak bodor/ 'as angry as a bodor'⁶³, *будзе буря* /budze burja/ 'there will be a storm', *нагнівани як платняр* /nahnjivani jak platnjar/ 'as angry as a cloth merchant', *нагнівани (надуті, здути) як торба* /nahnjivani (naduti, zduti) jak torba/ 'as angry as a bag, *нагнівани як чіпкар* /nahnjivani jak čipkar/ 'as angry as a lace maker'.

SHAME

The concept of shame is seen in three phraseologisms with the component of a domestic animal: *пошол пшым ліцом* /pošol pšim ljicom/ 'he left with a dog face', *спуціц нос як пуляк* /spuščic nos jak puljak/ 'to put nose down like gobbler', *(пойси) як пес з косцу* /(pojsic) jak pes z koscu/ 'to leave like a dog with a bone'. These phraseologisms are structurally verbal, meaning they transfer the image of the state of a certain person using an activity. For example, the phraseologism *спуціц нос як пуляк*⁶⁴ 'to lower the nose like a gobbler' is associated with a person feeling shame as it transfers that image of the state through the seme of the gobbler's behavior. The usual behavior of a person who feels shame is used first to decode the emotional state of a gobbler, and then the image of such behavior is used as a source domain for the metaphorical mapping.

The state of shame is transferred also with the phraseologisms *(пойси) як пес з косцу*⁶⁵, *пошол пшым ліцом* where the source domain is the domestic animal DOG and the target domain is AN ASHAMED PERSON. However, here it is not clear how people's minds formed this concept as it would be expected that a dog would be happy to receive a bone. But also, the question is how the dog's face symbolizes shame. A possible explanation could be the fact that the folk image of a dog, as already seen, is negative. It was formed in the past when a person viewed dogs differently so the metaphorical connection between a dog and shame is not completely clear today.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

пошол пшым ліцом
A DOG → ASHAMED PERSON

63 According to the Dictionary of the Folk Ruthenian Language, *Бодор* (Bodor) is the surname of a man who was remembered as an angry person.

64 In the Ukrainian Lemkos *спустити нус як пужк* (Varhol, Ivčenko, 1990: 93, 110).

65 In the Ukrainian language *як собака за обгризену кістку* (Palamarčuk, 1993: 839).

(пoйцу) як пeс з кoсцy

A DOG → ASHAMED PERSON

спуциц нoс як пуляк

A GOBBLER → ASHAMED PERSON

DRUNKENNESS

The concept of the state of drunkenness is transferred with two phraseologisms. In the C-part, there is a comparative phraseologism with the domestic animal a calf *пияни як целє* /pijani jak celje/ 'he is drunk as a calf' or a pig *пияни як швиня* /pijani jak švinja/ 'he is as drunk as a pig', *опиц ше (пияни, ожрец ше) як швиня* /opic še (pijani, ožrec še) jak švinja/ 'to get as drunk as a pig', *вивалял ше як швиня* /vivaljal še jak švinja/ 'he wallowed like a pig'. These phraseologisms differ in their structures. In the first, there is a form of the verbal adjective (passive perfect) and in the second, besides this form, some variants are possible with the telic verb *опиц ше* and *ожрец ше*. It is also interesting that the variant denoting the higher degree of drunkenness is used in the masculine gender *ожар ше як швиня* 'he got wasted as a pig', but not in the feminine one, *ожарла ше як швиня*. The same also occurs when there is a verbal adjective in the A-part. Same as in the comparative phraseologisms with the conceptual field anger, the verbs or verbal adjectives transfer the meaning of the state of drunkenness of a person. The semantic connection among the members of the comparative phraseologisms is based on activating the seme of collective expression carried by the zoonym (Štrbac, 2018: 119).

However, it is not completely clear why the calf in the A-part is compared with a very drunk person. A possible connection is the need for a calf to be nursed, that is to drink a lot of milk, which again does not explain the connection completely. However, when it is considered that the Serbo-Croatian phraseology has the comparative phraseologism *пијан као земља* /pijan kao zemlja/ 'drunk as ground', which is connected with the ground's ability to soak up the liquid, or *пијан као смук* /pijan kao smuk/ 'drunk as a slim' since a slim can drink milk from a cow's breasts (Fink-Arsovski, 2002: 50; Mršević Radović, 2008: 158–160), the previous expression could make sense. On the other hand, when a calf is born, it is unstable on its legs just like a drunk person, so that might be an association for creating this phraseologism.

Comparative phraseologisms *пияни як целє* /*pijani jak celje*/ 'he is drunk as a calf', *пияни як швиня* /*pijani jak švinja*/ 'he is as drunk as a pig', *опиц ше (пияни, ожрец ше) як швиня* /*opic še (pijani, ožrec še) jak švinja*/ 'to get as drunk as a pig'⁶⁶ transfer the image of a drunk calf or pig which does not represent reality. The first phase of this mapping is the personification of the calf and pig which can be drunk the same way as a person. The verbal or the verbal adjectival constituent (*опиц ше, ожрец ше, пияни*) in contact with the zoonym activates the seme of collective expression where the pig and calf can drink or eat a lot. This makes them the standard representation of a large quantity of liquid drunk. They intensify the meaning of the verb or verbal adjective.

Only the phraseologism *вивалял ше як швиня* /*vivaljal še jak švinja*/ 'he wallowed like a pig' is based on the image of a dirty WALLOWED PIG. This source domain illustrates the result of drunkenness, or the DRUNK PERSON IS WALLOWING IN A MUD.

The pig is generally negatively marked in the phraseologisms. The reason is the belief or the collective conceptualization that this animal eats uncontrollably, so it is assumed that it drinks the same way (Fink-Arsovski, 2002: 50). According to Štrbac, the pig appears in such a context because of the pictoric representation where a pig and a drunk person act the same. She claims that this is why the second part, the zoonym, has the function of an intensifier. In the Serbian language, there is a larger number of phraseologisms that refer to drunkenness, such as *пијан као батина, пијан као чеп, пијан као ћускија, пијан до даске, пијан као дуга, пијан као дрво, пијан као клен, пијан као мајка (земља), бити (налазити се и др.) под гасом, бити под паром, пијан као пањ, пијан као секира, пијан као смук, пијан као свиња, треиштен пијан, напиту се (опити се) као земља, напиту се (опити се) као ћускија, имати (мало више) у глави, глава је коме као буре* (Štrbac, 2018: 202; 206).

This metaphorical mapping can also be seen as having several layers, where dirtiness is equivalent to amorality. A drunk person is considered to be amoral, so he/she is compared to a pig that is dirty.

66 In the modern Ukrainian language, there are also expressions with the meaning *be under the influence of narcotics*: *набрався, нализався, назююкався, (як свиня, як чіп), заклав за комір, під градусом, тепленький, хорошиий, на автопілоті, синій* (Verba, 2008: 100).

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

пияни як целє

CALF → VERY DRUNK PERSON

пияни як швиня; опиц ше (пияни, ожрец ше) як швиня

PIG → VERY DRUNK PERSON

PIG IS DIRTY → AMORALITY IS SPIRITUAL DIRTINESS → DRUNK PERSON IS AMORAL

вивалял ше як швиня

PIG IS WALLOWING IN A MUD → DRUNK PERSON IS WALLOWING IN A MUD

TIREDFNESS

Three phraseologisms form the conceptual field about the state of TIREDFNESS (*виробени як конь (вол) /virobeni jak konj (vol)* 'as tired as a horse (an ox)', *вистац (вистал) як поштарски конь /vistac (vital) jak poštarski konj* 'to be tired as a post rider's horse', *вистац (вистал) як югаски пес /vistac (vital) jak poštarski konj* 'to be tired as a shepherd's dog'. As with the state of drunkenness, the verbs and the verbal adjective *виробени* are in the masculine gender. The verb or the verbal adjective transfers the meaning of tiredness explicitly. When combined with the zoonym, they activate a seme of collective expression that intensifies the meaning of the verb, or the verbal adjective in the A-part of the comparative phraseologism. In every phraseologism in the C-part, there is a referent that denotes an animal whose function is to do a difficult job that makes it tired. However, today, the lexemes *поштарски конь* and *югаски пес* are not used in the Ruthenian language. A post rider does not deliver the mail anymore, and the shepherd's dog can rarely be seen guarding sheep as flocks are getting smaller. Therefore, these phraseologisms do not have a transparent meaning for an everyday Ruthenian language speaker.

The source domain of these phraseologisms are HORSE, OX, POST RIDER, SHEPHERD'S DOG, and the target domain is a TIREDF PERSON. So the conceptual metaphor mapping schema looks like this:

виробени як конь (вол)
вистац (вистал) як поштарски конь

вистац (вистал) як югаски пец

HORSE, OX, POST RIDER, SHEPHERD'S DOG → TIRED PERSON

OLD AGE

The state of old age is an irreversible process of changing of a living organism in the direction of the decline of the organism's functionality⁶⁷. Some linguists analyze the concept of old age as a trait of people. However, it seems a better idea to classify this meaning as a state, since an old or a young age is a process happening in a certain part of life that cannot be avoided. Only one zoonymic phraseologism transfers the meaning of this concept *стари як стари магарец* /stari jak stari magarec/ 'as old as an old donkey'. This is an adjectival comparative phraseologism that, together with the adjectival constituent, carries the meaning of the state of old age. The determined zoonym (an old donkey) depicts the degree of age. From this, a donkey could be seen as a standard for representing old age. Such an understanding of this animal could be a result of the function of this animal, or its use for a person. The primary function of a donkey is to carry a heavy load, unlike animals such as cows, goats, or pigs, where the function is to give offspring or meat.

In the Serbian language, there is a dichotomy early youth (*једва је ко измилео из јајета* 'he has barely hatched from an egg', *бити жути око кљуна* 'to be yellow-beak, ie. fledgling', etc.) - late old age (*матор као ћогат* 'as old as a white horse', etc.), where a person is not qualified with a specific age (Štrbac, 2018: 58). In the material used for this analysis, no phraseologisms of the state of youth or unmentioned age were found.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

стари як стари магарец

OLD DONKEY → VERY OLD MAN

SICKNESS

The adjectival comparative phraseologism *жовти як гуше* /žovti jak huše/ 'yellow as a gosling' depicts the level of the thing depicted with an adjective. This metaphorical mapping is based on

⁶⁷ More about this in (Štrbac, 2018: 55).

the source domain of the gosling's color and the target domain of being very sick. The yellow color is seen as a sign of sickness as it is not the usual skin color of a healthy person. The semantic connection (among the members of the comparative phraseologism) is formed based on the seme of color transferred by a zoonym that is yellow.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

жовти як гуше

YELLOW GOSLING → VERY SICK PERSON

HELPLESSNESS

There is one phraseologism of an elliptical form without the A-part of the expression that can be transformed into a full comparative structure, e.g. *страцени як маче (як страцене маче) /straceni jak mače (jak stracene mače)/* 'as lost as a kitten'). This transformation helps to get a clearer image of the meaning of the phraseologism. The focus is on the state of helplessness that can be seen through the image of a kitten separated from its mother. The kitten meows and searches for its mother, which depicts the image of lostness. The source domain of this mapping is an image of a kitten that unsuccessfully searches for its mother, and the target domain is a lost person.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

страцени як маче

KITTEN → HELPLESSNESS PERSON

SLEEPINESS

Phraseologisms that transfer the meaning of the concept of sleeping differ based on whether the sleep is deep or light. Additionally, it depends on the time a person goes to bed.

For a person who sleeps lightly, there is an expression *спац як заяц*⁶⁸ /спас як zajac/ 'to sleep like a rabbit'. The source domain of this phraseologism is a RABBIT. The seme of the collective expres-

68 In the Ukrainian language, *так спить, як полхливий засць* (Zubko, 1984: 147).

sion, that a rabbit is afraid so it sleeps lightly, is activated when in contact with the verb *sleep*. This verb explicitly denotes the meaning of the state of a person in question. The zoonym intensifies the meaning of the verb.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

спац як заяц

RABBIT HAS A LIGHT SLEEP → MAN HAVE A LIGHT SLEEP

In the Ruthenian language, there is an equivalent to the zoonymic phraseologism with the meaning to sleep tightly, *спац як бундаш* /spac jak bundaš/ 'to sleep like a lazy dog'. This is a specific breed of dog, possibly used because its name originated from the verb *бундашиць* /bundašic/ 'do nothing'. Besides this meaning, the same phraseologism transfers the meaning of a person who is lazy so they sleep tightly. A similar situation occurs in the phraseologism *спац як заяц*, where it seems that a deeper meaning of this phraseologism is the fear that caused the light sleep. According to Fink-Arsovski, in the Serbo-Croatian field research, no phraseologisms that depict deep sleep were found (Fink-Arsovski, 2002: 47).

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

спац як бундаш

LAZY DOG THAT SLEEPS A LOT → DEEP SLEEP OF MAN

The phraseologism *легаць (спац) з курамі*⁶⁹ /ljeħac (spac) z kurami/ 'to go to sleep with chickens' is part of the concept sleep. The source domain of this metaphorical mapping is the early bedtime of the domestic animal chicken, which is used to denote the early bedtime of a person. The zoonym *chicken* serves as an intensifier of the meaning of the verbal constituent of the phraseologism. Together with the verb, it activates the seme of collective expression where chickens go to sleep early.

69 In the Ukrainian Lemkos dialects: *з курамі лігати, з когутами ставати, хто з курамі лігат, тот з курамі стає* (Bawolak, 2021: 742; 744), in Slovakia, *ходити скоро спати як курка на банты* (Varxol, Ivčenko, 1990: 19, 76).

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

леґац (спац) з курами

CHICKEN EARLY BEDTIME → EARLY BEDTIME OF A PERSON

SOPPING WET (from the rain)

The comparative zoonymic phraseologism *мокри (змокнути) як каче*⁷⁰ /mokri (zmoknuti) jak kače/ ‘as soaked as a duckling’ transfers the state of a person to be sopping wet. The variant of the phraseologism with the verb *змокнути* /zmoknuti/ provides additional information about the reason for such a state, i.e. that the wetness is the result of the rain pouring. The seme of the characteristic behavior of ducklings, where they love to be in the water and wet, was used to form this expression. That is the source domain of this metaphorical mapping. As in other adjectival and verbal comparative phraseologisms, the zoonym activates the seme of the collective expression used to intensify and express the level of what the adjective, verbal adjective, or verb (*мокри, змокнути*) denotes.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

мокри (змокнути) як каче

SOPPING WET DUCKLING → SOPPING WET PERSON

1.4. A PERSON'S ACTIVITY AND BEHAVIOR

ATTITUDE TOWARDS WORK

HARD WORK

Phraseologisms used to transfer a person's attitude toward work can be formed into a gradient path with a general meaning, e.g. in the Serbian language *нерадник* ‘poor worker’ → *вредан радник* ‘good worker’ → *особа која се убија од посла* ‘a very hardworking person’.

70 In Ukrainian: *як мокра (змокла, змокнута) курка* (Užčenko, Užčenko, 1998: 84), (Bilonoženko, 2003: 320), (Palamarčuk, I 1993: 339). In Lemko dialect: *як змокнуте курятко* used to denote the meaning ‘be very drunk’ (Varxol, Ivčenko, 1990: 76).

In the Serbian language, every exception to the accepted norm representing hard work is valued separately (Ružić, 2008: 301-316). The meanings of phraseologisms that are part of the concept ATTITUDE TOWARD WORK could be analyzed similarly. Several phraseologisms from this conceptual field refer to hard or forced work: *робиц (цагац) як вол (конь, бияла)*⁷¹ /*robitc (cahac) jak vol (konj, bijala)*/ 'to work/to pull like an ox (horse, buffalo)', *як ошторгель* /*jak oštorhelj*/ 'like a whip cracker'. In the A-part of these phraseologisms are verbs *робиц, цагац*, and in the C-part are the zoonyms used for hard work in agriculture (*конь, вол, бияла*). The source domain of these metaphors are zoonyms which, used together with the verbs *робиц, цагац*, activate the seme of the collective conceptualization. It suggests that the degree of the verb's meaning is high, i.e. that someone does a lot of hard work.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

робиц (цагац) як вол (конь, бияла)

HORSE, OX, BUFFALO THAT WORK → HARD WORKING PERSON

Considering the structure of phraseologisms, the ones based on the type of work can be differentiated. For example, there are verbs *робиц* 'to work' (and the variant *наробиц* 'to work until the end of one's strength' and *цагац* 'to pull'. This characteristic is presented in the Serbo-Croatian language as well (Fink-Arsovski, 2002: 51). The level of difficulty of the work depends on the choice of animal in the C-part (Fink-Arsovski, 2002: 51). However, this differentiation is not seen among the comparative phraseologisms of the Ruthenian language.

The phraseologism *як ошторгель*⁷² 'like a whip cracker' with an object as the source domain transfers the meaning of hard work or a hardworking person. The mapping is based on the specific movement (popping) and the sound of the cracking of a whip cracker. The schema of the metaphorical mapping could look like this:

71 In the Ukrainian Lemko dialect in Slovakia: *робутный як конь* (Varxol, Ivčenko, 1990: 75), in literature, *робить, як чорний віл* (Užčenko, Užčenko, 1998: 203), (Palamarčuk, 1993 I: 30, 129; II 979).

72 Based on the *Dictionary of the Rusyn folk language*, this phraseologism can be used to describe a person who is sharp and quick (Ramač, 2017: 111). Compare with Ukrainian: *Як із батога тріснув. Тиждень минув, як із батога тріснув, у звичайній домашній* (Bilodid, I 1970: 111).

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

як ошторгель

CRACKING OF THE WHIP → HARDWORKING PERSON



INTENSIVE MOVEMENT AND SOUND → HARD WORK

Hard work is presented as an intensive activity. The phraseologisms that do not have a component related to the nurturing of domestic animals prove this (*вредни/оштри як огонь* /*vredni/oštri jak ohenj*/ 'hardworking like a fire', *вредни як жирячка* /*vredni jak žirjačka*/ 'hardworking like an ember', *вредни як жигалка* /*vredni jak žihalka*/ 'hardworking like a type of nettles')⁷³.

LAZINESS

Another direction of the gradient path of the attitude toward work is the concept of laziness transferred with the following phraseologisms: *шедзиц як квочка [на вайцох]* /*šedzi jak kvoka [na vajcohl]*/ 'he/she sits like broody hen on eggs', *шедзи (лягнул, лежи) як балета (здохліна, зубабба)* /*šedzi (lježi) jak baljega*/ 'he sits (lays) like droppings, dung', *подли як гной* /*podli jak hnoj*/ 'bad like manure', *робота не заяц - не сцекне (не одскака)* /*robota nje zajac - nje sceknje (nje odskaka)*/ 'work is not a rabbit - it will not hop away', *ми гаду-гаду а пси у крупох* /*mi gadu-gadu a psi u krupoch*/ 'we are chatting while dogs are eating grits'.

The image of a hen sitting on eggs in the phraseologism *шедзиц як квочка [на вайцох]*⁷⁴ was compared with a lazy person who does nothing because the hen's disinterest for anything else besides sitting on the eggs.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

шедзиц як квочка [на вайцох]

HEN SITTING ON EGGS / HEN GOING BROODY → LAZY PERSON

The phraseologism *шедзи (лягнул, лежи) як [мота] балета (здохліна,*

73 Compare: Ukr. *кинулася до роботи, як вогонь на суху соломку* (Kocjubinska, 2006: 100); Serb. *вредан као мрав (као кртица)*.

74 Ukr. *сидіти як (мов, ніби і т. ін.) квочка на яйцях* (Nomys, 1993: 214), (Varxol, Ivčenko, 1990: 64; 148), (Palamarčuk, I 1993: 367).

зубаба)⁷⁵ transfers the information that the person does not want to get up and work. The source domain is based on the fact that the physiological output of a cow is inanimate and does not move. The verbal constituent has stativity that is intensified with the seme of the characteristic state of the cow's excrement. This phraseologism has a high level of expressive meaning.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

шедзи (ляпнул, лежи) як [тата] балета (здохліна, зубаба)

DROPPINGS, DUNG → PASSIVE, LAZY PERSON

There is one more phraseologism with a similar source domain that transfers the meaning of the concepts of laziness: *подли як гной*⁷⁶. The adjectival constituent has the meaning of lazy⁷⁷, and since the nominal part *гној* 'manure' is not animate, this connection can be seen as the personification of the inanimate by adding the characteristic of a person based on the seme of the typical state of the two elements. A lazy person does not do anything, they are static. Because of that, everything that does not move, even MANURE, is lazy. This personified meaning of manure participates in the metaphorical mapping as the source domain which, when in contact with the adjective *lazy* activates the seme of laziness and intensifies its meaning.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

подли як гной

MANURE → LAZY PERSON

The meaning of a relaxed attitude toward work is transferred with the phraseologism: *робота не заяц - не сцекне (не одскака)*⁷⁸

75 In Serbian, *ни да мрдне; лежи с пупком према строну* (Ramač, 2010: 42).

76 In Serbian, *лењ као буба*.

77 The verb *подли* also means thin, weak, bad.

78 In Polish: *praca/robota nie zajac, nie ucieknie* (Kłosińska, 2005: 586), Ukr. *робота - не вовк, в ліс не втече* (Internet), *робота не ведмідь: до лісу не втече* (Zubkov, 1984: 106); Ukrainian Lemko dialect in Poland: *робота не заяц, в ліс не втече* (Bawolak, 2021: 28).

‘work is not a rabbit - it will not hop away’. The figurative meaning was created based on the negation of the typical movement of the rabbit. The target domain can be formulated as A SHORT POSTPONEMENT OF WORK IS NOT BAD.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

робота не заяц - не сцекне (не одскака)

WORK IS NOT A RABBIT → POSTPONMENT OF WORK

As could be seen, laziness is related with staticity or lack of movement, which is the reason why there are inanimate objects such as MANURE, EXCRAMENT or the animate beings for which a lack of movement is typical, such as a HEN, take the place of source domains.

The attitude toward work can also be found outside of that dichotomy hard work - laziness. For example, the phraseologism *ми гаду-гаду а нси⁷⁹ у крупох* has the source domain of the image of DOGS ARE EATING GRITS WHILE PEOPLE ARE TOO BUSY TALKING TO NOTICE THAT. The target domain of this metaphorical mapping is a NEGLECTFUL ATTITUDE TOWARD WORK (because of talking).

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

ми гаду-гаду а нси у крупох

DOGS ARE EATING GRITS WHILE PEOPLE ARE TOO BUSY TALKING TO NOTICE THAT
→ NEGLECTFUL ATTITUDE TOWARD WORK

LOSE THE DESIRE TO WORK

The concept of A PERSON'S ACTIVITY AND BEHAVIOR is transferred by the phraseologism *змухавел ше як конь /zmuchavel še jak konj/* ‘he is nervous like a horse defending itself against flies’ with the source domain of the image of a horse nervously defends itself against flies. This image was striking enough for people's mind to use it for comparison with a person who suddenly lost the motivation to work.

79 Also in Polish: *My tu gadu gadu a psi w krupach* (Kłosińska, 2005: 586).

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

змухавиц ше

NERVOUSLY DEFENDS AGAINST FLIES → TO BE/ACT NERVOUS



змухавел ше як конь

A NERVOUS HORSE → A PERSON WHO SUDDENLY LOST THE MOTIVATION TO WORK

BADLY DONE WORK

The zoonymic phraseologism of the two-membered structural type (*робиц*) *як крава з хвостом*⁸⁰ /(*robic*) *jak krava z chvostom*/ 'to work like a cow wagging its tail' transfers the meaning of a badly done work, usually related to cleaning or painting a house. A tail is the part of body that looks as if it would be used unconsciously, without a clear purpose, making it a clear association with a job badly done. The cow wags its dirty tail in various directions and gets everything around itself dirty. This looks as if someone badly painted the walls with a brush.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

(робиц) як крава з хвостом

COW WAGS IT'S DIRTY TAIL → A BADLY DONE JOB

The attitude toward work is also transferred with the phraseologism *розруцац (розтресц) як крава вигризки*⁸¹ /*rozrucac (roztresc) jak krava vihrizki*/ 'to scatter like cow scatters corn sticks'. The source domain of this metaphorical domain is based on the image of CORN STICKS THROWN AROUND THE BARN OR THE MANGER which was pictoric enough to be compared with the target domain of A BADLY DONE WORK.

80 Compare: Ukr. *вертить язиком як корова хвостом* / *Вертіти язиком [як корова хвостом]* (Palamarčuk, I 1993: 74, 390); Serb. *као крава репом; као левом руком* (Ramač, 2010: 803).

81 A corn's stalk with leaves given to cows which would chew on it and leave only the stick.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

розруцац (розтресц) як крава вигризки

CORN STICKS THROWN AROUND THE BARN OR THE MANGER → A BADLY DONE WORK

A pejorative and ironic phraseologism *добра жена як тота крава цо до полного жохтара виргне* /*dobra žena jak tota krava co do polnoho žohtara virgnje*/ 'a good woman is like this cow that kicks a full pail (bucket) of milk' describes a person. Here, a useless person (the target domain) is compared with a cow which as soon as it does something good, ruins it (the source domain). Even though the *Dictionary of the Ruthenian-Serbian language* gives a form where the A-part is a woman, based on personal experience, it can be confirmed that this phraseologism is used regardless of gender, as long as it is used to describe a hard-working person who destroys the result of the work by him/herself.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

добра жена як тота крава цо до полного жохтара виргне

(USELESS) COW KICKS THE MILK PAIL AND SPILLS ALL THE MILK THAT IT JUST GAVE
→ HARD-WORKING PERSON WHO DESTROYS THE RESULT OF THE WORK BY HIM/
HERSELF

A BAD CHARACTER OF A WORKER, PERSON

The phraseologism *з нїм не влатиш заяца*⁸² /*z njim nje vlapiš zajaca*/ 'you will not catch rabbit with him' transfers the meaning of the concept ATTITUDE TOWARD WORK as it presents a negative judgment of a person about a job, agreement, etc. The source domain of this metaphorical mapping is the image of AN UNSUCCESSFUL RABBIT HUNT by at least two people, where the person in question does not help or is not capable of successfully completing the job.

82 As a longer version of this phraseologism in which source domain is clearer, in Serbian language appears *Koji se hrt silom u lov vodi onaj zeca ne hvata* 'greyhound you force to hunt does not catch rabbit' (Prodanović-Stankić, 2008: 61).

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

з нім не влатиш заяця

UNSUCCESSFUL RABBIT HUNT → UNRELIABLE PERSON

UNTIDINESS OF THE ROOM⁸³

The comparative phraseologism *як у хліві*⁸⁴ /jak u chljive/ 'like in stable' transfers the image of an untidy room. The source domain of this metaphorical mapping is a STABLE where livestock is nurtured, such as cows and horses, which are dirty and smelly by nature. The stable is then used as a standard comparison to an untidy room.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

як у хліві

LIVESTOCK STABLE → UNTIDY ROOM

A POSITIVE CHANGE

The ability to make a positive change is presented with the phraseologism *вичухал ше як риняве праше* /vičuhal še jak rinjave praše/ 'he cleaned himself up like a dirty pig did'. With the use of a dirty and weak piglet, the concept of the positive change of character or success at work is transferred. This expression is often used to denote a person who was a lazy and weak student but turned out to be a hardworking and decent adult.

In the Serbian language, there is an expression to denote a change in character *очистити срце* 'to become a better and kinder person' (Štrbac, 2018: 175).

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

вичухал ше як риняве праше

THE ABILITY OF PIGLET TO RECOVER, GET WELL → POSITIVE CHANGE OF CHARACTER OF A PERSON

83 This concept is seen as a result of the activity of a person.

84 Compare: Укр. *як у хліві*. *Як у хліві — в хаті: двері набрякли, по кутках аж позацвітало, вікна й не розтають...* (Bilodid, VI 1975: 801).

THE WAY OF COMMUNICATION

The concept of communication is transferred with the following phraseologisms: *чvirкац як квoкa* /čvirkač jak kvoka/ 'to squirt like a broody hen', *ричaц (дрeц шe) як бyяк* /ričac (drec še) jak bujak/ 'to bellow like a bull', *aнi пeс би гo нe прeбрeхaл* /нe прeбрeхaл би гo aнi пeс /anji pes bi ho nje prebrechal/ 'not even a dog could out bark him', *aнi пeс нa хвoст би нe пoзбeрaл* /anji pes na chvost bi nje pozberal/ 'even a dog would not collect with its tail', *пeс xтopи вeльo бpeшe, нe кyсa* /pes chtori veljo breše, nje kusa/ 'a dog that barks a lot, does not bite', *бaлeгoвaц дaкoмy* /baljegovac dakomu/ 'to defecate/cow dung to someone', *скpуциц як зa гнoйoм (як зa бpaдлoм)* /skrucic jak za hnojom (jak za bradlom)/ 'to turn like behind the manure'.

TALK GIBERRISH, BABLE

When someone talks a lot, the verbal phraseologism *чvirкац як квoкa* is used to compare the person with a hen that often does its physiological needs. The source domain of this metaphor is THE HEN'S EXCREMENT, and the target domain is TALKING GIBBERISH OR BABLE. This phraseologism has a negative meaning.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

чvirкац як квoкa

THE HEN'S EXCREMENT → TALKING GIBBERISH OR BABLE

A similar meaning of this concept is transferred with the phraseologism *aнi пeс нa хвoст би нe пoзбeрaл*⁸⁵. The source domain can be explained as something of the lowest value that even a dog would not collect with its tail, despite its typical behavior of collecting everything. This is not explicitly stated, but the whole phraseologism denotes something that a certain person said but which is negative, i.e. something that even dog which is a symbol of the lowest character, would not collect on its tail.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

aнi пeс нa хвoст би нe пoзбeрaл

SOMETHING OF THE LOWEST VALUE THAT EVEN A DOG WOULD NOT COLLECT

85 Serb. *ни пaс с мaслoм нe би пojeo* (Ramač, 2010: 525), (Kašić, 1987: 73).

WITH ITS TAIL → AN UNACCEPTABLE WAY OF TALKING OF A PERSON

There are two more phraeologisms that have the target domain TALK GIBBERISH (*балгтовац дакому, скруциц як за гнойом (як за брадлом*⁸⁶)). The source domain of the metaphor in the first phraseologism, as in the previous phraseologisms of this conceptual field, is RELEASING OF THE COW'S EXCRAMENTS. In this metaphorical mapping, they are compared with the target domain TALK GIBBERISH.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

балгтовац дакому

RELEASING OF THE COW'S EXCRAMENTS → TALK GIBBERISH

The second phraseologism is connected to the researched topic in both variants (*гной, брадло*). However, it is more difficult to understand it without some knowledge of the Ruthenians' life in the past. Using the information from the *Ruthenian-Serbian Dictionary*, the target domain can be TALKING GIBBERISH, or saying whatever, blurt something inappropriate usually. In the past, Ruthenians did their physiological needs in a backyard next to haystack, corn stalk bundles and manure. *Behind the manure (за гнойом)* means on the other side of the manure, as far away as possible. The verb *скруциц* means 'to leave excrement behind'⁸⁷.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

скруциц як за гнойом (як за брадлом)

PERFORMING PHYSIOLOGICAL NEEDS → TO TALK GIBBERISH

MAKING LOUD SOUNDS

The phraseologism *ричац (дрец ше) як бужак*⁸⁸ /ričac jak bujak/ 'to bellow like a bull' is connected to the way of communication. Most often, it is used to compare the children's loud exclamation of disagreement or crying with the voice made by a bull. The

86 Vulg. (*зоч цо повеси*) blurt, blab, jabber (Ramač, 2010: 156).

87 Explanation given by dr Julijan Ramač.

88 In the Ukrainian Lemkos dialects, a similar phraseologism is used but instead of a bull, a pig is used: *рычати як свиня* (Varhol, Ivčenko, 1990: 119).

verbal constituent is the onomatopoeic verb that transfers the information about an activity. The zoonym intensifies the meaning of the verb. As a bull is a big and loud animal, the target domain means that a PERSON, USUALLY A CHILD, SCREAMS LOUDLY.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

ричац (дрец ше) як буюк

LOUD VOICE MADE BY A BULL, BELLOWING → PERSON'S, USUALLY A CHILD'S,
LOUD SCREAMING

In the Serbian language, the comparative phraseologisms also use the voices of animals to denote a loud talk: *сиктати (цичати, вриштати, etc.) као гуја (као змија), дерати се као јарац, виче (кричи, дере се, etc.) као да га кољу, дерати се (викати, etc.) као на ражњу* (Štrbac, 2018: 163).

TALK A LOT

The phraseologism *ани пес би го не пребрехал / не пребрехал би го ани пес*⁸⁹ transfers the meaning of a person who talks a lot. The target domain of this phraseologism is a PERSON WHO TALKS A LOT, and the source domain is DOG BARKS A LOT. This phraseologism, however, has another metaphor in its structure, i.e. a word that is a result of the metaphorical mapping. The verb *пребрехац* is derived from the verb to bark 'announce itself, as a dog.' The target domain of this metaphor is to TALK (OVER SOMEONE).

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

ани пес би го не пребрехал / не пребрехал би го ани пес

DOG BARKS A LOT → A PERSON WHO TALKS A LOT

The phraseologism *пес хтори вельо бреше, не куса*⁹⁰ uses the image of

89 Compare: Ukr. *пес не перебреше (интернет)*; Serb. *не би га надлајало ни деветеро паса* (Ramač, 2010: 595).

90 In the Ukrainian Lemkos dialects: *не бій ся того пса што голосно гавкат, а того што по тихы кусат; не кождий пес кусає, што пыском гавкає; пес який [котрий/што] дуже гавкат [цекат], мало кусає* (Bawolak, 2021: 748), in Serbian: *пас који много лаје не уједа* (Kašić, 1987: 73).

a dog where it is said that a dog which barks a lot, does not bite⁹¹. This image is metaphorically transferred on a person, so the target domain could be understood as A PERSON WHO TALKS A LOT DOES NOT ATTACK. The motivation for forming such an image is based on the behavior of both a person and a dog which can be loud because they are scared.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

нес хтори вельо бреше, не куса

DOG BARKS A LOT BECAUSE HE IS AFRAID → A PERSON WHO TALKS A LOT DOES NOT ATTACK

CHEATING (in cards, game, trade)

Many phraseologisms denote the concept of CHEATING: *обрац (очисциц, оголіц) дакого як куру до гарчка* /*obrac (očiscic, oholjic) dakoho jak kuru do harčka*/ 'to completely pluck off someone like a chicken to be cooked in a pot', *дац (черац) коня за магарца* /*dac (čerac) konja za magarca*/ 'to trade a horse for a donkey', *правиц ше [на] злату качку* /*pravic še [na] zlatu kačku*/ 'pretend to be a golden duck', *вовк у овчей (баранчецовей, ягнятковей)* /*vovk u ovčej skori (barančacovej, jahnjatkovej)*/ 'wolf in the sheep's skin (lambskin)', *купиц мачку у меху* /*kupic mačku u mehu*/ 'to buy cat in a sack', *вратиц дакому крупи за отруби* /*vracic dakomu krupi za otrubi*/ 'to return grits instead of bran', *правиц (робиц) з дакого магарца* /*pravic (robic) z dakoho magarca*/ 'to make someone look like donkey'.

This concept can have its variants, e.g. to deceive someone or to be deceived, present oneself falsely. The concept of CHEATING (in cards, game, trade) or deceiving is also present in the phraseologism *обрац (очисциц, оголіц) дакого як куру до гарчка*⁹² where this meaning is transferred with the help of an image of a complete plucking of chicken's feathers to make the chicken ready for cooking in a pot. In this phraseologism, a higher degree of deceiving is denoted, such as stealing or cheating in a game.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

обрац (очисциц, оголіц) дакого як куру до гарчка

91 In English *the cowardly dog barks more violently than it bites* / *cowardly dogs bark loudest* (Prodanović-Stankić, 2008: 48).

92 Serb. *узети (однети) коме све до голе коже* (Ramač, 2010: 456).

PLUCKING OF CHICKEN'S FEATHERS → CHEATING

Phraseologisms *вратиц дакому крупи за отруби*⁹³ and *дац (черац) коня за магарца* are based on similar source domains. In the first phraseologism that is the image of RETURNING A LESS VALUABLE THING THAN WAS BORROWED, and in the second GIVE A HIGHER VALUE THING FOR THE ONE OF A LESSER VALUE. Both source domains have the same goal, which is to present the concept of cheating more clearly.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

вратиц дакому крупи за отруби

RETURNING A LESS VALUABLE (GRITS) THING THAN WAS BORROWED (BRAN) → CHEATING

дац (черац) коня за магарца

GIVE A HIGHER VALUE THING (HORSE) FOR THE ONE OF A LESSER VALUE (DONKEY) → CHEATING

The phraseologism *купиц мачку у меху*⁹⁴ is part of this conceptual field. The metaphorical mapping is based on the image of buying a thing that a person did not want to buy, and which does not have the same value as its price.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

купиц мачку у меху

CAT IN THE SACK → CHEATING

Cheating on a person includes some degree of humiliation of a

93 In the Ukrainian Lemkos dialects, a bull is switched with a turkey: *поміняв быка за індику* (Bawolak, 2021: 727); Serb. *дати коме рог за свећу (пет за девет)* (Ramač, 2010: 350); *дати погачу за проју, дати коку за јаје* (Ramač, 2010: 337).

94 In the Ukrainian Lemkos dialects in Poland: *кота в міху [мішку] не купую; не купуй кота в міху, бо вийде з того купа сміху* (Bawolak, 2021: 738). A similar form is found in the *Phraseological dictionary of the Ukrainian language*: *купувати / купити кота в мішку* (Bilonoženko, 2003: 320), (Palamarčuk, 1993: 405); Serb. *купити мачку у цаку* (Kašić, 1987: 52).

person cheated on. This meaning is emphasized with the phraseologism *правиц дакого магарицом, (правиц (робиц) з дакого магарица)*⁹⁵ 'to make someone look like donkey, ie. stupid'. The source domain of this phraseologism relies on the collective expression of a donkey as a stupid and naive animal that can easily be deceived. The associative test found that Ruthenians see a donkey as stupid (*злупи як магарец* 'stupid as a donky', *злупоси* 'stupidity', *злуптак* 'dull/dumb', *тупоси* 'dullness'). Therefore, the source domain could be STUPID DONKEY. The target domain of this metaphorical mapping is to DECEIVE SOMEONE STUPID OR NAIVE.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

правиц дакого магарицом, правиц (робиц) з дакого магарица

(STUPID) DONKEY → DECEIVE SOMEONE STUPID OR NAIVE

Part of the conceptual field of CHEATING is also the phraseologisms that transfer the meaning of PRESENT ONESELF FALSELY. The phraseologism *правиц ше [на] злату качку* 'pretend to be a golden duck' transfers the meaning of a PERSON PRESENTING HIM/HERSELF BETTER THAN THEY ARE. This metaphorical mapping could be interpreted as hypocrisy. The adjective *злата* ('golden' activates the schema of the denoted value of the thing in question. This may be a modification of the symbol of a golden goose from precedent texts like Aesop's stories. The message of the story *The Goose and The Golden Egg* is that a person should be happy with what they have and not be greedy, because they could lose everything. This message can be phrased in a figurative and general way: do not present yourself for something you are not (that you are better, because your true nature will come to light).

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

правиц ше [на] злату качку

THE GOLDEN GOOSE → PERSON PRESENTING HIM/HERSELF BETTER THAN THEY ARE

The phraseologism *вовк у овчей (баранчецовей, ягнятковей) скори* 'wolf in the sheep's skin' is also the result of precedent texts, mainly the

95 Serb. *правити кога магарицем* (Рамаџ, 2010: 372).

Bible⁹⁶ where it first appeared⁹⁷. From the Bible as the source, this phraseologism spread to various languages. The basis of this metaphorical mapping is a wolf in disguise which symbolizes a person who presents themselves falsely, i.e. hypocrisy.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

вовк у овчей (баранцецовей, ягнятковей) скорі

WOLF IN SHEEP'S CLOTHING → PERSON WHO PRESENTS THEMSELVES FALSELY

FAST/SLOW MOVEMENT

Part of this conceptual field are phraseologisms that denote movement, either the fast one with the adjectival zoonymic idiom *швидки (фришки) як заяц*⁹⁸ /švidki (friški) jak zajac/ 'as fast as a rabbit', the slow one, transferred with the verbal phraseologisms *цага ше як кравске счисциско* /caha še jak kravske sčiscisko/ 'he/she drags as cow's placenta', *цага ше як швиньски черева (бурати)* /caha še jak švinjski čereva (buragi)/ 'he/she drags around like a pig's guts', or the way of moving *ходзи як францияш* /chodzi jak francijaš/ 'he/she walks like knock-kneed horse'.

The seme of the collective expression of a rabbit with its FAST MOVEMENT is the source domain of mapping to portray a VERY FAST PERSON. It is activated in the contact of the zoonym and the adjectival part of the comparative phraseologism (fast). The zoonym is the high degree of the meaning of the adjective.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

швидки (фришки) як заяц

RABBIT → VERY FAST PERSON

Slower movement (*цага ше як кравске счисциско, цага ше як швиньски черева (бурати)*) is denoted based on the seme of the typical behavior of a part of the INNER ORGANS OF DOMESTIC ANIMALS. This portrays a

96 Compare: „Beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves.” (Matthew 7:15-20).

97 Implicitly, it is possible this was a result of the Aesop's story *Wolf in the Sheep Clothing*.

98 In Polish, *szybki jak zając* (the Internet).

PERSON WHO MOVES VERY SLOWLY. The basis is the image of the part of the inner organs of domestic animals that the people could have seen while slaughtering (pig's intestines) the animal or when an offspring was born (cow's placenta), and that can be connected to a slower movement. As with other comparative phraseologisms with a verb or adjective, the A-part is the domestic animal, or in this case part of its body, and it shows a high degree of what the verb or adjective denotes. Besides the information about the way of moving, phraseologisms that transfer the meaning of a slower movement are almost exclusively expressive based on what the C-part of the phraseologism denotes.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

цага ше як кравске счисциско, цага ше як швиньски черева (бурати)

INNER ORGANS OF DOMESTIC ANIMALS → SLOWER MOVEMENT OF A PERSON

THE WAY OF MOVING

The phraseologism *ходзи як францияш* 'he/she walks like knock-kneed horse' is part of the conceptual field THE WAY OF MOVING. The image of a horse whose knees hit one another while walking was the inspiration for forming this expression. The target domain is a PERSON WHOSE KNEES HIT ONE ANOTHER WHILE WALKING.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

ходзи як францияш

KNOCK-KNEED HORSE → PERSON WHOSE KNEES HIT ONE ANOTHER WHILE WALKING

CLUMSY MOVING

There are also phraseologisms with the meaning of a fast movement but with an additional meaning of clumsiness *бежац як каче (качата, гуше) за ягоду* /bežac jak kače (kačata, huše) za jahodu/ 'to run like a duckling (ducklings, gosling) after mulberry' whose equivalent on the Serbo-Croatian field is *трчати као (мува) без главе* /trčati kao muva bez glave/ 'to run like a fly without a head'. In the C-part of this phraseologism can also be *качата, гуше* (ducklings, gosling). The connection is created based on the same of the characteristic behavior of a young animal which seems to be running in various directions, without any plan or thinking, which is con-

nected to its immaturity.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

бежац як каче (качата, гуше) за ягоду

DUCKLING RUNS IN VARIOUS DIRECTIONS AFTER MULBERRY → CLUMSY MOVING

A confusing or indecisive movement can be transferred with the verbal comparative phraseologism *круци ше як кура з вайцом*⁹⁹ /*kruci še jak kura z vajcom*/ 'to move around like hen with an egg'. The seme of the typical movement of a hen that is looking for a place to put an egg on top of which it will be sitting, served as an inspiration to people for a confusing movement in various directions.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

круци ше як кура з вайцом

A HEN THAT IS LOOKING FOR A PLACE TO PUT AN EGG → CLUMSY MOVING

The meaning of a clumsy movement is transferred with the verbal phraseologism *замервиц ше (зашпотац ше) як курче до клоча*¹⁰⁰ /*zamervic še (zašpotac še) jak kurče do kloča*/ 'to tangle up like chicken in hemp tow' which carries the concept of not managing to deal with a complex and tricky situation. The metaphorical mapping is based on the seme of the typical movement that is transferred to the movement of a person. The source domain is a CHICKEN ENTANGLED IN HEMP TOW and the target domain is A PERSON THAT MOVES CLUMSILY as if his/her legs are entangled.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

замервиц ше (зашпотац ше) як курче до клоча

A CHICKEN ENTANGLED IN HEMP TOW → A PERSON THAT MOVES CLUMSILY

99 Compare: Ukr. *носитися/бігати як курка з яйцем* (Užčenko, Užčenko, 1998: 84; 203), (Palamarčuk, I 1993: 406).

100 Compare: Serb. *заплести се ко пиле у кучине*.

CONTROLLED/UNCONTROLLED BEHAVIOR

The phraseologisms of this field form the dichotomy of controlled/uncontrolled behavior. Phraseologisms that denote the meaning of uncontrolled behavior can also have some nuances in their meanings, e.g. uncontrolled behavior can be a type of setting oneself free from any control, as a result of the absence of the one who controls.

The phraseologisms *(c)пуциц ше з ланца* /*(s)puščic še z lanca*/ 'free oneself from a chain', *спуциц ше з кефетика* /*spuščic še z kefetika*/ 'to free oneself from a harness' have the same target domain which is START TO BEHAVE UNCONTROLLABLY. These metaphorical mappings are based on different source domains. The first one does not provide explicit information about the animal that is tied to a chain, but it can be assumed it is a dog (dog freed itself from a chain).¹⁰¹ The second phraseologism shows that a horse is freed since a piece of equipment is mentioned in the expression (horse freed itself from a harness equipment). Additionally, the activity of freeing is done by the patient (dog, horse) in both phraseologisms.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

(c)пуциц ше з ланца

DOG FREED ITSELF FROM A CHAIN → START TO BEHAVE UNCONTROLLABLY

спуциц ше з кефетика

HORSE FREED ITSELF FROM A HARNESS EQUIPMENT → START TO BEHAVE UNCONTROLLABLY

When the person controlling is absent, then the people/animals in question act uncontrollably. The phraseologism *кед мачки нет, миши по хижи бегая*¹⁰² /*ked mački njet, miši po hiži behaju*/ 'when

101 This form is also present in the Ukrainian language: *як (мов, ніби / т. ін.) собака (пес, звір), спущений (спущена) з прив'язі (ланцюга, припону)* (Bilonoženko, 2003: 650, 674), (Palamarčuk, 1993: 839).

102 In the Ukrainian Lemkos dialects in Poland, a similar form is used where the participants are also a cat and mice: *пишол кіт спати, то мышы зачынают танцювати [райцувати]* (Bawolak, 2021: 728); *пішов кіт спати, а миши танцювати* (Zubko, 1984: 93); Serb. *мишеви коло воде* (Kašić, 1987: 56).

cats are away, mice are running around the house¹⁰³ is based on the image where since there is no cat to control the situation, the result is a mess made by mice. The source domain is ABSENCE OF A CAT (CONTROLLER) and the target domain is UNCONTROLLED BEHAVIOR.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

кед мачки нет, миши по хижѣ бегаю

AN ABSENCE OF A CAT (CONTROLLER) → AN UNCONTROLLED BEHAVIOR

The second part of this dichotomy are the phraseologisms with the meaning of TO HAVE CONTROL (*вжац дѣплови до (своїх) рукох*¹⁰⁴ / *vžac djeplovi do svojih rukoh* / 'to take the reins in to own hands', *тримац дѣплови (у своїх рукох)*¹⁰⁵ / *trimac djeplovi (u svojih rukoch)* / 'to hold the reins (in one's own hands)', *тримац дѣплови у обисцу* / *trimac djeplovi u obiscu* / 'to hold the reins in a household', *вѣсц на порвазку (на ланцу, за руку)*¹⁰⁶ / *vesc na porvazku (na lancu, za ruku)* / 'to lead the dog on a leash'). Their target domain is TO HAVE CONTROL. The source domain of these phraseologisms relies on the physical control of domestic animals by tying them with a leash or reins. These objects tell us what animal is part of the phraseologisms since they are not explicitly stated. Reins are used to tie a horse to the carriage, and a leash is used for walking a dog. In the phraseologism *вжац / тримац дѣплови (у своїх рукох)* 'to take/hold the reins (in one's own hands)', the agent has control over their behavior, actions, etc. It depends on the meaning of whether that control is taken or kept by the agent.

The variation *тримац дѣплови у обисцу* 'to hold the reins in a household' localizes the activity in the home which suggests the meaning of controlling the family. Since reins are used to control a horse, then the family can be seen as controlled or the patient on which an activity is done. HOME is the metaphor's source domain used to transfer the target domain FAMILY. This shows that the phra-

103 Equivalent in English language: *when the cat's away the mice play* (Titelman, 1996: 367). According to Titelman, this proverb exists in Latin *dum felis dormit mus gaudet et esxi litanro*.

104 Serb. *узети узде у (своје) руке* (Kašić, 1987: 112).

105 Serb. *држати узде (у својим рукама)* (Kašić, 1987: 112).

106 Serb. *водити кога на узици (на ланцу)* (Ramač, 2010: 134), (Čizmar, 2013: 33).

seologism has two metaphors that together transfer the concept of CONTROL, i.e., providing for the family so the man is expected to do the role.

The second phraseologism *веси на порвазку (на ланицу, за руку)* 'to lead the dog on a leash' can be understood as limiting the freedom or independence. The leash is a stimulus that causes an association with a dog who is controlled by that object.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

вжац / тримац дєплови (у своїх руках)

TO HAVE CONTROL OVER A HORSE → TO HAVE CONTROL OVER HIMSELF

веси на порвазку (на ланицу, за руку)

TO LEAD THE DOG ON A LEASH → TO HAVE CONTROL OVER SOMEONE

тримац дєплови у обисцу

TO HAVE CONTROL OVER A HORSE → TO HAVE CONTROL IN FAMILY

BE VERY HUNGRY

Part of this conceptual field is phraseologisms that transfer a bigger or smaller need for food. When someone is very hungry, the state is compared with an image of a very hungry dog *гладни як пес*¹⁰⁷ /*hladni jak pes*/ 'to be hungry as a dog'. The zoonym dog with the adjective hungry activates a seme of collective conceptualization that intensifies the meaning of the adjective. There is also a variation of this phraseologism that has a wolf instead of a dog in the C-part, *гладни як вовк* /*hladni jak vovk*/ 'to be hungry as a wolf'.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

гладни як пес

HUNGRY DOG → VERY HUNGRY MAN

107 In the Ukrainian Lemkos dialects: *голодний (злий, радіти, змерз) як (мов, ніби і т. ін.) собака* (Varhol, Ivčenko, 1990: 100), in the literary language (Bilonoženko, 2003: 650, 674), (Palamarčuk, II 1993: 715).

Low criteria when choosing food are presented with the image of a domestic animal pig¹⁰⁸ that is known for not being picky *добра швиня гоч яки помії (кажду помію) попис / за добру швиню нет подли помії*¹⁰⁹ / *dobra švinja hoć jaki pomiji (každu pomiju) popije / za dobru švinju njet podli pomiji*/ 'good pig drinks every swill that she gets / for good pig there isn't bad swill'. The source domain of this mapping is a pig that would eat or drink whatever, such as their prototypical food swill, which is the worst part of food and leftovers which makes them low quality. The zoonym pig participates also in other metaphorical mappings where a person who excessively drinks or eats, or one that is dirty and untidy is denoted. Additionally, this characteristic of the pig is presented as a desired one with the determiner *good*. However, the mapping denotes a person who eats a lot so the determiner becomes an intensifier of the negative characteristic, as in a good drunk. The target domain could be a GOOD/TRUE DRUNK OR GLUTTONOUS PERSON WOULD EAT WHATEVER.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

добра швиня гоч яки помії (кажду помію) попис / за добру швиню нет подли помії

GOOD PIG WOULD EAT WHATEVER IT GETS → A GOOD/TRUE DRUNK OR GLUTTONOUS PERSON WOULD EAT WHATEVER

EAT A LITTLE

Based on the fact that offspring cannot eat a lot, which is proportional to their bodies, this characteristic is compared to a person who cannot eat a lot. It seems that this behavior was especially noticed among *KITTENS* which is why it is used in the phraseologisms as the source domain of the metaphorical mapping on people as in *есц як маче*¹¹⁰ / *jesc jak mače*/ 'to eat like a kitten'.

108 It is clear from this expression how a pig is seen among people. However, a pig is also seen as negative since, besides the seme of the typical behavior of overeating, it also transfers the seme of excessive eating, and dirtiness which is further connected to the moral values.

109 In Polish language *dobra świnia wszystko zje* (Masłowsky, 2000), in Serbian *за добру свињу нема лоших помија* (Ramač, 2010: 570).

110 In the Ukrainian Lemkos dialects: *їсти як мача* (Varhol, Ivčenko, 1990: 82).

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

єси як маче

KITTEN EATS A LITTLE → PERSON EATS A LITTLE

EAT A LOT

On the other hand, a person who eats a lot is compared to an ox in the phraseologism *єси як вол* /jesc jak vol/ 'to eat like an ox' where again the seme of the animal's size suggests that it must eat a lot. The verbal constituent in contact with the zoonym *ox* activates the seme of the collective expression according to which, an ox eats a lot. An ox, as well as other zoonyms in the comparative phraseologisms, represents the standard, measurement. Its function is to intensify the meaning of the verb.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

єси як вол

TO EAT AS AN OX → PERSON EATS A LOT

1.5. THE FINANCIAL STATUS

POVERTY

The concept of POVERTY present in the comparative phraseologisms is most often compared to a dog's life. The phraseologism *як пес на ланцу жиці*¹¹¹ /jak pes na lancu žic/ 'to live like a dog on a chain' is structurally unusual since the A-part is inverted. The second phraseologism *жиці [себе] як пес на паздзерчу*¹¹² /žic [sebe] jak pes na pazdzerču/ 'to live like a dog on a hemp residue' also has a dog in the C-part, but it has an additional component that adds to the pictoric element of the phraseologism, and that is the place where a dog lives. The place is the residue of the hemp plant, which is a material of the worst quality and is very uncomfortable to walk on as it is very sharp and hard. The source domains of images of a

111 Serb. *живети као пас* (Marjanović, 2017: 48), (Ramač, 2010: 526).

112 The Ukrainian Lemkos in Slovakia *лежати як пес на паздир'ю* (Varhol, Ivčenko, 1990: 96, 100), (Palamarčuk, II 1993: 715), and the concept of bad life is transferred with the phraseologisms *жыти як пес у студні*, *жыти як пес на хвості* (Varhol, Ivčenko, 1990: 100, 129); Lemkos in Poland: *так му добри як псу в студни* (Bawolak, 2021: 750).

dog on a leash or hemp residue are the standard representations of a bad and poor life.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

як пес на ланцѹ жицѹ

A DOG ON A LEASH → BAD AND POOR LIFE

жицѹ [себе] як пес на паздзерчу

A DOG ON A HEMP RESIDUE → BAD AND POOR LIFE

1.6. INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS

BAD RELATIONS

In the Ruthenian language in Vojvodina, as with other Slavic languages, interpersonal relationships are conceptualized with the help of the image of a dog and a cat *злагодзицѹ ше як пес и мачка*¹¹³ / *zlahodzic še jak pes i mačka* / 'to get along like a dog and a cat'. Good or bad relations are compared to the relationship of these animals. This is an ironic comparative phraseologism where the verb *to get along* is negated with the image of the relationship of a cat and a dog which are bad according to people. The stereotype of these two animals not liking each other is present in many cultures.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

злагодзицѹ ше як пес и мачка

DOG AND A CAT (DON'T) GET ALONG → TWO PERSON DON'T GET ALONG AT ALL

A similar meaning is transferred with the phraseologism *стануцѹ мачки на хвост*¹¹⁴ / *stanuc mački na chvost* / 'to step on a cat's tail'. The source domain of this phraseologism is an image of STEPPING ON A CAT'S TAIL because of which the cat runs away and makes a loud

113 In the Ukrainian Lemkos dialects in Poland *жыют як пес з котом* (Bawolak, 2021: 746), Slovakia *жыти як пес з мачком* (Varhol, Ivčenko, 1990: 82), literary Ukrainian *позна жыти як (мов, ніби і т. ін.) кіт (кішка) з собакою* (Palamarčuk, I 1993: 715, 378).

114 Serb. *стати некоме на жуль* (Kašić, 1987: 125).

noise. The target domain is TO MAKE A PROBLEM FOR ANOTHER PERSON, ie. a person, an agent who makes a problem for another person because of which this person, the patient, is not happy.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

стануц мачки на хвост

STEPPING ON A CAT'S TAIL → TO MAKE A PROBLEM FOR ANOTHER PERSON

MISUNDERSTANDING

A misunderstanding among people can occur and it is transferred with the phraseologism *я о коже ти о боже*¹¹⁵ /ja o kože ti o bože/ 'I'm talking about goat, and you are talking about God'. The mapping is based on the image of communication where two people talk about different things. This communication is formally presented with adjectival-adverbial constructions in the locative case with the preposition *о* used with the verbs. Phrases *о боже* and *о коже* are elliptical as the verbs are omitted, but an example would be *бешедовац о* /bešedovac o/ 'to talk about'. However, these two are informative enough and suggest that some kind of communication is happening (I talk about a goat, you talk about God). The forms of the nouns are unusual. The expected forms would be *о кози, о богови*. Neither do the forms of adjectives *кожи, божи* have the adequate form for that position in the phraseologism (*о кожим/ей, о божим/ей*)¹¹⁶. Thus, these could be formed based on the rhyme. These unusual forms do not take away anything from the transferred meaning. As in the Slovak and Polish languages, there is an expression with the word *воз* /voz/, it could be assumed that in Ruthenian a de-etymologization of the word *воз* 'carriage' as its meaning is untransparent. The target domain of this mapping is MISUNDERSTANDING.

115 In the West Slavic languages, there are forms that instead of *боже* use *воже*, e.g. Polish *ja o kozie, ty o wozie* (<https://lingvo.info/pl/babylon/socio-linguistics>); serb. *ja дерем јарца а ти козу* (Ramač, 2010: 329).

116 Ramač lists similar expression *jeden o koze (a) druhy o voze* (=о кочу) 'same'; probably in this expression, in the past, instead of *боже* was *воже* (loc. of *воз*) (Ramač, 2017 I: 610).

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

я о коже ти о боже

I TALK ABOUT A GOAT, YOU TALK ABOUT GOD → MISUNDERSTANDING

TO PLAY WITH SOMEONE

Interpersonal relations are also presented with the phraseologism *бавиц ше з даским як мачка з мишу*¹¹⁷ /bavic še z daskim jak mačka z mišu/ 'to play with someone as a cat plays with mouse' that uses the image of a stronger "playing" with a weaker. This brings an image of two entities, where one, stronger, corrupted, or sneaky uses the other, weaker and more naive. The characteristic behavior of a cat is used where once it catches a mouse, does not eat it immediately, but, as it appears, cruelly plays with it. The play ends with the mouse being eaten, but this image is not portrayed in the association. Although on a deeper level, it could be understood as a (unspoken) source domain for the result of that activity among people, since, as it is known, in such a "game" the inferior participant is the one being eaten so to say, or the one who lost.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

бавиц ше з даским як мачка з мишу

A CAT PLAYS WITH MOUSE → FRAUD OF THE SUPERIOR OVER THE INFERIOR PERSON

OR

A CAT PLAYS WITH MOUSE → FRAUD OF A CORRUPT PERSON OVER THE NAIVE PERSON

HOSTILITY

An ironic attitude towards love is transferred with the phraseologism *любиц дакогог як коза нож [а фаркаш капуста]*¹¹⁸ /ljubic dakoho jak koza nož [a farkaš kapustu]/ 'to love someone as a goat loves a knife [a and a wolf loves cabbage]'. The meaning of the verbal constituent *to love* when in contact with the C-part of the comparative phraseologism, the phrase *коза нож*, voids the meaning of the verb since the expression *a goat loves a knife* is absurd. Even

117 Serb. *играти се с неким као мачка с мишем; игра мачке и миша.*

118 Serb. *волети неког као коза нож [а вук купус]; волети кога као очи хрена.*
Ukr. *любити як собака палицю (редьку, цибулю і т. ін.),* (Palamarčuk, 1993: 839).

though a goat does not have an opinion or a feeling about the knife, people using personification give human traits to a goat by assuming that a goat, as well as people, does not love an object with which is killed.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

любии дакого як коза нож [а фаркаи капусту]

A GOAT LOVES A KNIFE → PERSON DOESN'T LOVE SOMETHING AT ALL

The concept of hostility is also transferred with the phraseologism *ми не ходзиме (ми ше не возжиме) на истим кочу*¹¹⁹ /mi nje cho-dzime (mi še nje vožime) na istim kočū/ 'we are not driving on a same carriage'. The source domain of this metaphorical mapping is an image of TWO PARTICIPANTS IN AN ARGUMENT THAT DO NOT USE THE SAME CARRIAGE. The target domain is HOSTILITY.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

ми не ходзиме (ми ше не возжиме) на истим кочу

TO NOT USE THE SAME CARRIAGE → HOSTILITY

AGGRESSIVENESS

An aggressive person is compared to a bull which is known among people to charge the red color: *исц, (нападац, наваліц) як буюк на червене*¹²⁰ /isc, (napadac, navaljic) jak bujak na červene/ 'to attack like a bull on red colour'. The verbs *исц, нападац, наваліц* in contact with the phrase *буюк на червене* activate the sense of collective expression in which the bull is drawn to the red color. This is used to intensify the meaning of the verb. The image of a bull which does not like red color is based on the stereotype and is not confirmed scientifically. This is a result of precedent texts. The game between the matador and the bull is divided into three parts where, in the first two parts, they try to make the bull angry, and in the third part, they show it a red cape and try to make it attack them. The color of the cape does not add anything to the bull's state¹²¹ as it

119 Serb. *Ми се не возимо истим колима* (Ramač, 2010: 342).

120 Serb. *napadati kao sivonja* (Fink-Arsovski, 2002: 109).

121 Authors of *Colour Perception in Fighting Cattle* are proving that bulls

cannot differentiate between colors (Riol, Sanchez, Eguren, & Gaudioso 1989). The bull reacts to the movement of the object that it perceives as dangerous. The source domain of the mapping is the image of the BULL THAT CHARGES SOMETHING RED in its full strength, and the target domain is the AGGRESSIVE PERSON THAT PHYSICALLY OR VERBALLY ATTACKS SOMEONE ELSE.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

исц, (нападац, наваліц) як буюк на червене

A BULL CHARGES RED COLOUR → A PERSON ATTACKS SOMEONE PHYSICALLY OR VERBALLY

A similar meaning is transferred with the phraseologism *дриляц ше як праіе до помійох*¹²² /driljac še jak praše do pomijoh/ 'to push oneself like a pig into pigwash'. The metaphorical mapping is based on the typical behavior of a PIGLET THAT TRIES TO REACH THE FOOD AMONG ALL THE OTHER ONES. The target domain can be understood as a PUSHY OR INVASIVE BEHAVIOR OF A PERSON.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

дриляц ше як праіе до помійох

PUSHY OR INVASIVE BEHAVIOR OF A PIGLET → PUSHY OR INVASIVE BEHAVIOR OF A PERSON

TO BEAT SOMEONE UP

The verbal zoonym phraseologism *набиц дакого як пса*¹²³ /nabic dakoho jak psa/ 'to beat someone like a dog' transfers the meaning of aggressive behavior, i.e. physical attack on a person. The verb's meaning in the A-part and the zoonym dog activate the seme of collective expression in which a dog can be beaten very hard. The zoonym denotes a high level of the verb's meaning. This phraseolo-

don't distinguish colours (J.A. Riol, J.M. Sanchez, V.G. Eguren and V.R. Gaudioso).

122 In the Polish language *ktoś lezie, pcha się itp. jak świnia do koryta* (Kłosinska, 2005: 481).

123 In the Ukrainian Lemkos dialects: *збити як пса кого* (Varxol, Ivčenko, 1990: 100); *битий (бита) собака* (Bilonoženko, 2003: 650, 674).

gism is used also to express the attitude toward a dog, which can be beaten up so hard as to represent a reference to the beating's effect.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

набиц дакого як пса

TO BEAT A DOG → TO BEAT A PERSON VERY HARD

Besides this one, the phraseologism *биц дакого як говеду* /bic dakoho jak govedu/ 'to beat someone like livestock' is used in the Ruthenian language in Vojvodina to denote the meaning of beating someone. This phrase also transfers the meaning of beating a person very hard. The source domain of this metaphorical mapping is BEAT LIVESTOCK, and the target domain is BEAT A PERSON VERY HARD. This phraseologism is interesting because of the lexeme *говеда* /govedu/ found in the C-part, but cannot be found in dictionaries in its basic nominative form, and is uncommon in today's everyday language. Based on the the suffix *-y /-u/* and the structure *beat + accusative*, it could be concluded that in this phraseologism a feminine form of the noun *говеда*¹²⁴ was used. The phraseologism shows that Ruthenians, besides dogs, saw livestock as animals which can be beaten very badly.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

биц дакого як говеду

TO BEAT LIVESTOCK → TO BEAT A PERSON VERY HARD

1.7. SOCIAL CHARACTERIZATION OF A PERSON

LACK OF CULTURE

Several nuances in meanings can be distinguished as part of this conceptual field. For example, a lack of culture is seen in the phraseologism *преходзиц (прейси) як вол (не поздравкац)*¹²⁵ /prechodzic (prejsc) jak vol (nje pozdravkac)/ 'to pass by as an ox (without a greeting)'. The metaphorical mapping is based on the image of an

124 Such shift in the process of borrowing words from Serbian is also present among the words *чая* /čaja/, *кекса* /keksa/, *ліка* /ljika/, *комбайна* /kombajna/.

125 The Serbian equivalent *проћи (пролазити) као поред турског гробља*.

OX PASSING NEXT TO PEOPLE WITHOUT GREETING THEM. The target domain of this mapping is THE LACK OF CULTURE.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

ходзиц (прейсц) як вол (не поздравкац)

AN OX PASSING NEXT TO PEOPLE WITHOUT GREETING THEM → A LACK OF CULTURE

DISRESPECT OF THE SOCIAL NORM

Ruthenian people expect, or expected in the past, to have imaginary roles in the family that have to be respected, where the man, the husband, gave orders and had to be listened to. This can be seen in the phraseologism *чежско (яй) тому дому (домови) дзе розказує крава волу (волови)*,¹²⁶ /*čežsko (jaj) tomu domu (domovi) dze rozkazuje krava volu (volovi)*/ ‘woe onto the house where the cow gives orders to the ox’ in which, through personification, the expected family roles are transferred from a person onto a cow, which is why a cow can give orders. The second stage of this metaphorical mapping puts this view of domestic animals into an absurd situation, according to the traditional social norms, where a cow gives orders to an ox. The target domain of this mapping is to CRITICIZE AND TEACH THAT THE BEST THING FOR A FAMILY IS FOR THE MAN TO GIVE ORDERS TO THE WOMAN.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

чежско (яй) тому дому (домови) дзе розказує крава волу (волови)

A COW GIVES ORDERS TO OX → A MAN GIVES ORDERS TO THE WOMAN

Not behaving by the social norms can be better presented with the phraseologism of the precedent Biblical¹²⁷ origin *зблукана*

126 Similar form is found in Polish: *Biada temu domowy, gdzie krowa dobodzie wołowi* which would mean ‘it is hard for the person in the house where a cow pokes the bull with the horn’ (Bartminjski, 2009: 223). The structure and meaning show that the Ruthenian and Polish phraseologisms are connected. On the other hand, such form is not found among the phraseologisms of Lemkos in Poland (Bawolak, 2021), or Slovakia (Varxol, Ivčenko, 1990).

127 During the time of modern Christianity, the image of God as a Good

(страчена) овца¹²⁸ /zablukana (stracena) ovca/ ‘a wandered (lost) sheep’. The source domain is THE WANDERED (LOST) SHEEP, and the target domain is A PERSON WHO DOES NOT RESPECT THE EXPECTED RELIGIOUS OR SOCIAL NORMS.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

зблукана (страчена) овца

WANDERED (LOST) SHEEP → PERSON WHO DOES NOT RESPECT THE EXPECTED RELIGIOUS OR SOCIAL NORMS



SOCIAL RELIGIOUS NORMS → GUIDEPOST FOR DECENT LIFE

The phraseologism *жиц як бидло (статок)* /žic jak bidlo (statok)/ ‘to live like livestock’ transfers the criticism of a couple who lives in a society that expects a man and a woman to be married before living together. The source domain of this metaphorical mapping is LIFE OF LIVESTOCK which is not regulated by religious or social laws so it is not accepted. The adjectival constituent of the comparative phraseologism with the lexeme *бидло* /bidlo/ activated the seme of collective expression in which the livestock, or animals, are free to do whatever they want, without any rules or norms. The zoonym is not an intensifier of the verb’s meaning, as with other comparative phraseologisms. Rather, it highlights the criticism and unacceptance of the way of life of people who are not animals.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

жиц як бидло (статок)

LIFE OF LIVESTOCK → TO LIVE UNMARRIED

Shepherd and the Christian community as a flock was widespread: “Suppose one of you has a hundred sheep and loses one of them. Doesn’t he leave the ninety-nine in the open country and go after the lost sheep until he finds it?⁵ And when he finds it, he joyfully puts it on his shoulders⁶ and goes home.” (Luke, 15, 4-6).

128 In the Ukrainian Lemkos dialects in Poland *ходить як блудна уця* (Bawolak, 2021: 727), Slovakia *ити як блудна увца* (Varxol, Ivčenko, 1990: 28, 134). In the phraseological dictionary of the Ukrainian language *зблукана (блудна, приблудна) віця* (Palamarčuk, 1993: 35); in the Serbian language *залутала (изгубљена, заблудела) овца* (Ramač, 2010: 460, 739), (Kašić, 1987: 71).

NOT KNOW (BASIC) RULES

This concept is transferred with the phraseologism *галадзиц свойо родзене гніздо*¹²⁹ /galadzic svojo rodzene hnjizdo/ 'to defecate in one's native nest'. The metaphorical mapping is based on the metaphor NEST IS HOME (family, country, etc.). In this phraseologism, a negative image is depicted as a disrespect of one's own, which can be a home, family, country, etc. The phraseologism is part of the analyzed material because the words nest and defecating were used. The nest could be seen as a habitat for both wild and domestic¹³⁰ animals. Still, the verb *галадзиц* 'defecate' is a verb usually used to present the physiological process of defecating domestic animals.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

галадзиц свойо родзене гніздо

NEST → HOME

TO DIRTY (DEFECATE IN) THE NEST → TO DIRTY (DEFECATE IN) THE HOME

CAUSE DAMAGE, MESS

Causing damage, or behaving in a way not acceptable by the society, is compared to pig's behavior in the comparative phraseologism *коборлує як тота швиня у оборе* /koborluje jak tota švinja u obore/ 'he/she is causing damage like a pig in a pigsty', and *вшадзи ше (ви)найдзе як швиня*¹³¹ у бундавох¹³² /všadzi še (vi)najdze jak švinja u bundavoch/ 'he/she is like a pig among pumpkins'.

The comparative phraseologism *коборлує як тота швиня у оборе* uses the image of a PIG causing damage in a pigsty to transfer the target domain A PERSON WHO CAUSES DAMAGE, MAKES A MESS. The zoonym pig is the standard of causing damage. The seme of collective expression is activated when the verb *коборловац*¹³³ is in contact with

129 Serb. *пљувати у своје рођено гнездо* (Ramač, 2010: 170).

130 Not only poultry, since the same is used when pregnant sows make a nest before giving birth.

131 More about pig intelligence in (Marino, Colvin 2015).

132 In the Ukrainian Lemkos dialects, the following phraseologism has a similar meaning: *рyтися як свиня в моркві* (Varhol, Ivčenko, 1990: 86, 118).

133 The term *коборлов* was created in the Ruthenian language in Vojvodina through metaphorical mapping from the source domain of a pig that causes damage. According to Ramač, the verb *коборловац -уєм* was created from the Hungarian word *kóborló* 'wanderer', *kóborol* 'to wander' (*kobor*

the zoonym, which strengthens the verb's meaning.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

коборлує як тота швиня у оборі

PIG IS MAKING MESS → PERSON IS MAKING MESS

The phraseologism *вшадзи ше (ви)найдзе як швиня у бундавох* uses the same seme of collective expression in which a pig causes damage or makes a mess. The seme is activated with the situation *(ви)найсы ше у бундавох* which shows a pig among pumpkins eating all of them and making a mess. The target domain of this metaphorical mapping is A PERSON CAUSES DAMAGE, MAKES A MESS.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

вшадзи ше (ви)найдзе як швиня у бундавох

A PIG AMONG PUMPKINS EATING ALL OF THEM AND MAKING A MESS / HUNGRY PIG MAKING MESS → A PERSON CAUSES DAMAGE, MAKES A MESS.

BE LUCKY

The concept BE LUCKY is reflected in the phraseologisms *пришкапело ше му як шлепей кури зарно / и шлепей кури ше уйдзе зарно*¹³⁴ /*priškape-lo še mu jak šljepej kuri zarno / i šljepej kuri še ujdze zarno* 'he got lucky like a blind hen that found a grain / even a blind hen sometimes gets a grain' and *ма подкову*¹³⁵ (*пергача, хованця*)¹³⁶ /*ma*

'wandering' *kobor kutya* 'a stray dog') (Ramač, 2017: 607). The schema of this metaphorical mapping would be:

КОБОРЛОВАЦ /*koborlovac*/ 'cause damage, make a mess' → КОБОРЛОВ /*koborlov*/ 'a pig that causes damage, makes a mess, digs' → КОБОРЛОВ /*koborlov*/ 'a person who causes damage and makes a mess' (Mudri, 2021).

134 In the Ukrainian Lemkos dialects: *трафило ся як сліній курци зерно* (Bawolak, 2021: 744), the Lemkos dialects in Slovakia: *найти як сліпа курка зерно, трафитися як сліні курці зерно* (Varhol, Ivčenko, 1990: 59, 76), *і сліпа курка зерно знайде* (Zubkov, 1984: 93); Serb. *и ћорава кока (кокоши) нађе зрно* (Ramač, 2010: 353).

135 According to the Slavic folk traditions, a horseshoe was hung on the wall to protect from evil eyes and to bring luck in trades (Tolstoj, Radenković, 2001: 562).

136 In the Ukrainian Lemkos dialects in Slovakia: *мати хованця у мишку*

podkovu (perhača, chovanca)/ 'he/she has a horseshoe (bet, chovanjec)'.
 The source domain of the phraseologism *пришкапело ше му як шлепей кури зарно / и шлепей кури ше уйдзе зарно* is an image of a BLIND HEN which somehow manages to find and eat a grain. The target domain of this mapping can be formulated as BE LUCKY.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

пришкапело ше му як шлепей кури зарно / и шлепей кури ше уйдзе зарно

BLIND CHICKEN LUCKILY MANAGES TO FIND AND EAT A GRAIN → BE LUCKY

The phraseologism *ма подкову* 'he/she has a horseshoe (bet, chovanjec)' is based on the folk image of a horseshoe as an object that can bring luck to its owner. The source domain of this metaphorical mapping is the OWNERSHIP OF THE HORSESHOE, and the target domain BE LUCKY.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

ма подкову

TO OWN A HORSESHOE → BE LUCKY

SUCCESS (as a result of one's abilities)

The concept SUCCESS is transferred with phraseologisms *буц на коню (коньове)*¹³⁷ /*buc na (konjove)*/ 'to be on a horseback', *и коза сита и капуста цала*¹³⁸ /*i koza sita i kapusta cala*/ 'the goat is full and

„буц богати”; Serb. *добро му иде у животу, има успеха (среће) у животу* (Ramač, 2010: 532), (Kašić, 1987: 87).

137 Compare: *бути на коні [бути] і під конем. Князь Данило ... бував і на коні, і під конем, пришторював свого аргамака в погоні й утечі, сидів на троні й стояв на колінах...* (Užčenko, Užčenko, 1998: 68-69); Serb. *бити успешан, обезбедити се материјално* (Čizmar, 2013: 30), (Kašić, 1987: 8).

138 In the Ukrainian Lemkos dialects, there is a form *знає так зробити же і коза ціла и волк буде сьтий* (Bawolak, 2021: 740). The phraseological dictionary of the Ukrainian language noted the forms *і кози ситі, і сіно ціле* (Bilonoženko, 2003: 303), (Užčenko, Užčenko, 1998: 171), *він, бач, робить так, щоб і сіно було ціле, і кози ситі* (Zubkov, 1984: 90); Serb. *и вук сит и овце на броју* (Ramač, 2010: 329), (Kašić, 1987: 119).

cabbage is untouched', з єдним вдереньом забиц два заяци (мухи)¹³⁹ /z jednim vderenjom zabic dva zajaci (muhi)/ 'with one strike to kill two rabbits (flies)'. Phraseologisms in this field transfer the meaning of various degrees of success. For example, a person can GET/WIN A POSITION THAT BRINGS SUCCESS, SUCCESSFULLY DO TWO OPPOSING JOBS (WHICH ARE IN COLLISION), DO TWO JOBS WITH ONE MOVE. To better illustrate the target domains, the following images were used: POSITION ON A HORSE which enables movement and accessibility of what is necessary for life (work, food, etc.), FEEDING OF A GOAT AND PROTECTING CABBAGE presenting a success as it is known that a goat can eat cabbage fast, and KILLING TWO RABBITS WITH ONE STROKE, as an image of a successful, efficient undertaking.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

буц на коню (коньове)

POSITION ON A HORSE → GET/WIN A POSITION THAT BRINGS SUCCESS

и коза сита и капуста цала

FEEDING OF A GOAT AND PROTECTING CABBAGE → SUCCESSFULLY DO TWO OPPOSING JOBS (WHICH ARE IN COLLISION)

з єдним вдереньом забиц два заяци (мухи)

KILLING TWO RABBITS WITH ONE STROKE → DO TWO JOBS WITH ONE MOVE

FAILURE

Two phraseologisms transfer the concept of failure *ані осла ані посла*¹⁴⁰ /anji osla anji posla/ 'neither the donkey nor the envoy came' and *швиня ше му оцелела* /švinja še mu oceljela/ 'his pig have calved'. The image of someone who was sent to do something on a donkey and never came back is used to transfer the target domain of unsuccessful work/failed work/task.

139 Compare: Ukr. *одним пострілом двох зайців вбити* (Užčenko, Užčenko, 1998: 54); Serb. *једним ударцем убити две муве* (Kašić, 1987: 59).

140 In the Ukrainian Lemkos dialects in Poland, there is the following form *ани осла, ани посла, Послали осла а за ним и посла* (Bawolak, 2021: 744).

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

ані осла ані посла

ENVOY SENT TO DO SOMETHING ON A DONKEY AND NEVER CAME BACK → UNSUCCESSFUL WORK/FAILED WORK/TASK

The phraseologism *швіня ше му оцелела* /švinja še mu oceljela/ transfers the concept of FAILURE. This metaphorical mapping is based on the difference in the number of offspring a pig and a cow can give. A cow usually gives birth to one, and a pig to multiple offspring. The source domain is a PIG CALVING which should be understood as: a pig gave birth to one piglet. This expression has a humorous undertone and can be viewed as a way to ridicule someone else's failure.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

швіня ше му оцелела

A PIG CALVES → UNSUCCESSFUL WORK/FAILED WORK

INADEQUATENESS

The concept of inadequateness for a certain job is transferred with the phraseologisms *не за качата мачанка* /nje za kačata mačanka/ 'sauce is not food for ducklings' and *не за гуски шено* /nje za huski šeno/ 'hay is not food for geese'. Both phraseologisms use metaphorical mapping to present the concept of INADEQUATENESS. It is general knowledge that ducks do not eat sauces and geese do not eat hay.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

не за качата мачанка, не за гуски шено

INADEQUATENESS OF FOOD FOR DOMESTIC ANIMAL → INADEQUATENESS FOR THE JOB

The phraseologism *ані прагац ані шедлац* /anji prahac anji šedlac/ 'neither for harnessing nor for saddling' shows that a young person is not yet mature. This metaphorical mapping is based on the fact that harnessing and riding a horse is done at a specific time of the

horse's development. When the horse is not physically ready, or by age in that period of life, it cannot be harnessed or ridden. The target domain of this mapping is the concept of IMMATURITY, i.e. presenting a young, immature person.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

ані прагац ані шедлац

INADEQUATENESS OF ANIMAL FOR PERFORMING ITS FUNCTION → YOUNG, IMMATURE PERSON

EQUALITY/INEQUALITY

The phraseologism *яка у царици така у матарици*¹⁴¹ /*jaka u carici taka u magariци*/ 'it is the same in (the possession of) a Tzar's wife and in (the possession of) a she-ass' is part of the conceptual field of EQUALITY¹⁴². There are several possible understandings of the target domain of this metaphorical mapping. One of them is alluding to the fact that both a woman (high rank) and an animal (low rank) have the same genitalia, showing equality among people regardless of their rank in society. The target domain can also be understood as a male view of women as an object of satisfying their sexual instinct, where it is suggested to a man not to choose a woman based on some imaginary criteria, as any woman can satisfy his needs. This phraseologism has a vulgar and demeaning expressivity.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

яка у царици така у матарици

PHYSIOLOGICAL DETERMINATION OF WOMEN AND ANIMAL → EQUALITY

The phraseologism *и крава старша а целјцу риц лиже*¹⁴³ /*i krava starša a celjecu ric ljiže*/ 'a cow is older too, but it still licks a calf's buttocks' with the image of an (older) cow licking the buttock

141 Serb. *уста је у царице као у magariце*.

142 In English with a similar meaning *Short-tailed dog wag his tail same as a long 'un* (Prodanović-Stankić, 2008: 46).

143 In the Ukrainian Lemkos dialects in Poland, there is the form with similar source domain but with target domain UNCONDITIONAL LOVE OF A MOTHER: *як корова теля любить, то і попід хвіст лиже* (Bawolak, 2021: 742), *кожна корова своє теля лиже* (Zubko, 1984: 88).

of the (younger) calf transfers the concept of EQUALITY. After calving, the cow licks the calf to dry it, help it to start breathing, and improve its circulation. This image has to be expressive and explicit to strengthen the argumentation, i.e. *when an older cow does something like this, then others should too*. The target domain is reconstructed with the help of the information from the literature. According to the *Dictionary of the Ruthenian Folk Language*, this phraseologism is used when an older serves a younger person to honor them, or when the younger wants to be served by the older person (Ramač, 2017: 636).

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

и крава старша а целецу риц ліже

COW LICKING A CALF'S BUTTOCK → OLDER PERSON SERVES A YOUNGER PERSON

INEQUALITY, or one's higher position or the age difference, is transferred with the phraseologism *не пасол (не чувал) я з тобу крави (овци, швині)*¹⁴⁴ /nje pasol (nje čuval) ja z tobu kravi (ovci, švinji)/ 'I didn't graze (herd) my cows (sheep, pigs) with you'. The source domain is based on the image of LOOKING AFTER DOMESTIC ANIMALS ON THE FIELD when usually two persons spend a lot of time together doing the same job. There is not an equivalent form that transfers the meaning of equality, e.g. *ми пасли (не чували) крави (овци, швині)* 'I did graze (herd) my cows (sheep, pigs) with you'.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

не пасол (не чувал) я з тобу крави (овци, швині)

NOT TO TAKE COWS OUT TO PASTURE WITH SOMEONE → INEQUALITY (POSITION, AGE)

A personal subjective feeling of inequality with an undertone of injustice is transferred with the phraseologism *йому кура а мне вайцо /jomu krava a mnje vajco/* 'a hen to him and a egg to me'. This metaphorical mapping is based on the inequality of the size and

144 Compare: Ukr. *я з тобою корів не пас; пасти свині з ким* (Palamarčuk, 1993: 609), Serb. *нисмо заједно овце (козе, свиње) чували (пасли)* (Ramač, 2010: 460).

worth of an egg and a chicken that is given to two different people (*one gets bigger and better, and the other gets smaller and worse*). The target domain of this metaphor is INEQUALITY that can refer to pay-check, gift, food, etc.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

йому кура а мне вайцо

ONE GETS EGG, AND THE OTHER GETS HEN → INEQUALITY OF THE OBTAINED

The phraseologism *як зоза и пр* /jak hoha i pr/ 'like hoha (exclamation for Ruthenian horse) and pr ((a truncated form of a Soviet (Russian and Ukrainian) exclamation for a horse))¹⁴⁵' uses the image of calling a big and a small horse to transfer the meaning of inequality as seen by society. The words *зоза* and *пр* are exclamations and orders for horses in the Ruthenian and Russian languages. After the Second World War, people from the Soviet Union came to Vojvodina¹⁴⁶ on small horses they used to call out using *пр*, so people named them *прчки* /prčki/. Ruthenians, on the other hand, had big horses and called them out using the exclamation *зоза*. In some variations of this phraseologism, the words *зоза* and *пр* can be understood as the names of the horses (*иду зоза и пр, коч цагаю зоза и пр*). In metaphorical mappings, they are used as size standards. The source domain is the image of A BIG (ГОФА /НОНА/) AND SMALL HORSE (ПР /PR/), and the target domain is DISPROPORTION, INEQUALITY. But, disproportion can refer to various aspects, not only the height difference.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

як зоза и пр

TO CALL OUT BIG AND SMALL HORSE → DISPROPORTION, INEQUALITY

NEGATIVE JUDGMENT OF AN INDIVIDUAL OR OBJECT

Society can be cruel when judging a person. This is presented

145 According to (Kuznetsov, 1998) and (Hrinčenko, 1979: 218) exclamation for stopping horse is *тпру* /tpru/ in both, Russian and Ukrainian languages.

146 Autonomous province of Serbia.

with the phraseologism *ані пес не збрехне на нього*¹⁴⁷ /*anji pes nje zbrehnje na njho*/ 'even dog doesn't bark on him' that transfers the concept of INSIGNIFICANCE or lower worth of an individual. The source domain is formed on the negation of the striking trait of a dog, which barks at everything. This image is used to show how insignificant a person is when even a dog would not bark at them.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

ані пес не збрехне на нього

NOT TO ATTRACT EVEN THE DOG'S ATTENTION → AN INSIGNIFICANT PERSON

The phraseologism *една швиня шицок чупор розриє*¹⁴⁸ /*jedna švinja šicok čupor rozrije*/ 'one pig breaks up a whole drove (group of pigs)' transfers the image of a pig which influences other pigs with its bad behavior. This source domain uses the schema of bad personal characteristics to transfer the target domain ONE BAD PERSON IS ENOUGH TO CREATE A MESS.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

една швиня шицок чупор розриє

PIG WHICH INFLUENCES OTHER PIGS WITH ITS BAD BEHAVIOR → ONE BAD PERSON IS ENOUGH TO CREATE A MESS

The concept of lower value of an object can be transferred with the phraseologism *руц то за псами* /*ruc to za psami*/ 'throw that after dogs'. The zoonym *dog*, as in other similar phraseologisms, represents the standard of the lowest value after which people

147 In the Ukrainian Lemkos dialects in Slovakia *ани пес не брехне (забреше) за ким* (Varxol, Ivčenko, 1990: 100). Similar form is found in Ukrainian: *на пустий вітер і собака не забреше* (Palamarčuk, 1993: 132). *Пустий вітер* in this phraseologism is something not important *Що-небудь незначне, не варте уваги. Щука пустого вітру в полю* (Nomys, 1993), (Palamarčuk, 1993: 132), *за ним ані пес не брехне* (Zubkov, 1984: 91).

148 In the Polish language, there is phraseologism *jedna owca parszywa całe stado zarazi* that uses the source domain of a SHEEP to transfer the same meaning.

(https://pl.wiktionary.org/wiki/jedna_owca_parszywa_ca%C5%82e_stado_zarazi).

throw what is not needed. The source domain of this metaphorical mapping is THROWING A USELESS OBJECT AFTER DOGS. The target domain is USLESSNESS (OF AN OBJECT).

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

руц то за псами

THROWING A USELESS OBJECT AFTER DOGS → USLESSNESS (OF AN OBJECT)

LOSS OF THE STATUS

The concept of losing status or respect in society is transferred with the phraseologism *вируциц (дакого) зоз шедла / вилециц зоз шедла*¹⁴⁹ /virucic (dakoho) zoz šedla / viljecic zoz šedla/ 'throw someone out of the saddle / fly out of the saddle'. The source domain of this metaphorical mapping is the image of the FALLING OF A HORSE that represents the LOSS OF A GOOD AND DESIRED POSITION. As already seen, to be on the horse presents the success or luck of a person, as such a position allows something positive to happen to a person. Its loss means the loss of a certain place in the society.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

вируциц (дакого) зоз шедла / вилециц зоз шедла

THE FALLING OF A HORSE → THE LOSS OF A GOOD AND DESIRED POSITION

A similar meaning is transferred with the phraseologism *спаднуц з коня на магарца (осла)*¹⁵⁰ /spadnuc z konja na magarca (osla¹⁵¹)/ 'fall off a horse onto a donkey' that is based on the different worth of animals. A horse is worth more than a donkey. This source domain where A PERSON CHANGES THEIR MEANS OF TRANSPORTATION FROM A HORSE TO A DONKEY illustrates the target domain of LOSING A POSITION, RECEIVE A WORSE POSITION.

149 Compare: Ukr. *вибити із сідла* (Bilodid, IX 1978: 215); Serb. *избити кога из седла* (Kašić, 1987: 91).

150 Serb. *пасти са коња на магарца* (Kašić, 1987: 40).

151 Archaic form, осел 'donkey'.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

спаднуц з коня на магарца (осла)

CHANGING MEANS OF TRANSPORTATION FROM A HORSE TO A DONKEY → LOS-
ING A POSITION, RECEIVE A WORSE POSITION

HIGH-QUALITY PEOPLE

The phraseologism *мала грудка алє сами сир*¹⁵² /mala hrudka alje sami sir/ 'a small lump but it's all cheese' transfers the concept of HIGH-QUALITY PEOPLE. The source domain of this metaphorical mapping is the image of a product from a domestic animal - CHEESE, i.e. a small ball of white cheese that is not too watery, of high-quality.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

мала грудка алє сами сир

SMALL BALL OF WHITE CHEESE → HIGH-QUALITY PEOPLE

BELONGING

The concept of belonging to the same ethnic group is seen in the phraseologism *нашей швині праше*¹⁵³ /našej švinji praše/ 'a piglet of our own sow'. The image of the blood relation between a piglet and a pig which gave birth to it is used to metaphorically form the target domain OUR PERSON / A MEMBER OF OUR GROUP.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

нашей швині праше

A PIGLET BORN BY OUR SOW → OUR PERSON / A MEMBER OF OUR GROUP

EXCESS (IN GROUPS)

Being an extra in a group can be illustrated with the phraseologism *буц тринасте праше*¹⁵⁴ /buc trinaste praše/ 'to be the thir-

152 In the Ukrainian Lemkos dialects *добра грудка сыра* "тлусты человек", *добра грудка сыра* "красне дзивче" (Varhol, Ivčenko, 1990: 44). In Serb. *мала чета али одабрана* (Ramač, 2010: 708).

153 Serb. *наше горе лист* (Ramač, 2010: 595).

154 In the Ukrainian language, a dog is used in such phraseologism

teenth piglet'. It relies on the fact that a pig can give birth to many piglets, even 13, but has only 12 nipples. So, the weakest piglet that cannot fight to get to the nipple is the odd one and needs the help of the owner to survive. Based on this imperfection of the nature, the source domain of this metaphorical mapping is created. The target domain of this phraseologism is EXCESS, UNNECESSARINESS.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

буц тринасте праише

THE THIRTEENTH PIGLET STAYS WITHOUT NIPPLE → EXCESS, UNNECESSARINESS

INEVITABILITY

The concept of inevitability is transferred with the phraseologisms *придзе (пришол) и на пса мраз*¹⁵⁵ /*pridze (prišol) i na psa mraz*/ 'even a dog will feel the frost eventually', *чекай пише не будзе так више (не будзе ци више так добре*¹⁵⁶) /*čekaj pše nje budze tak vše (nje budze ci vše tak dobre)*/ 'just wait, dog, things won't be so good for ever', *дармо кед на шиї ярмо*¹⁵⁷ /*darmo ked na šiji jarmo*/ 'in vain

потрібний як собаці другий хвіст (Bilonoženko, 2003: 650, 674), *як собаці п'ята нога* (Palamarčuk, 1993: I 59; II 554, 715), Lemkos in Slovakia *хыбувати як псу п'ята нога* (Varxol, Ivčenko, 1990: 101), or a wheel *треба як на возі п'яте колесо (потрібне як п'яте колесо до возу)* (Varxol, Ivčenko, 1990: 68); Serb. *бити пети точак у колима* (Ramač, 2010: 766), (Kašić, 1987: 108).

155 In the Ukrainian Lemkos dialects in Poland *прийде и на пса колиси зима* (Bawolak, 2021: 750); Polish *przyjdzie na psa mróz* (https://pl.wiktionary.org/wiki/Aneks:Przys%C5%82owia_polskie_-_zwierz%C4%99ta), Serb. *доћи ће и њему црни петак, видеће он своје добројутро, заиграће мечка пред његовом кућом; дошао је ђаво по своје, лија је долијала* (Ramač, 2010: 525), (Kašić, 1987: 24, 75).

156 In the Ukrainian Lemkos dialects in Poland *чекай псе, не буде так все* (Bawolak, 2021: 750).

157 Compare: Ukr. *висить як ярмо на шиї* (Bilodid, XI 1980: 650), *Гне шию як вїл у ярмо* (Nomys, 1993: 98). In the Phraseological dictionary of the Ukrainian language *накидати/накладати ярмо на шию* (Palamarčuk, 1993: 963) and *скидати / скинути ярмо (гніт, пута) [з себе (з шиї, з пліч)]* (Palamarčuk, 1993: 816), Serb. *из ове коже се не може* (Ramač, 2010: 861), (Kašić, 1987: 42). However, it appears that forms where two words *дармо* and *ярмо* rhyme are present in the Slovak language, *Darmo mi je, darmo, mám na šiji jarmo, / netôžem ho zhoďit, po slobode chodit.* (<https://pesnicky.orava.sk/component/mjoosic/?view=song&id=15877:uboce-uboce>).

when yoke is around your neck', *на концу батог пуга*¹⁵⁸ /na koncu batoh puka/ 'a whip cracks at its end'.

Phraseologisms *придзе (пришол) и на пса мраз* 'even a dog will feel the frost eventually', *чекай пше не будзе так вше* (*не будзе ци вше так добре* 'just wait, dog, things won't be so good for ever') are based on the image of dogs. The first image is based on the fact that a dog usually lives outside and even with its coat, winter and frost are going to get to it. The second image assumes that the dog is well at a certain moment but will not always be. Both metaphors have the target domain INEVITABILITY OF A WORSE SITUATION.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

придзе (пришол) и на пса мраз

WINTER AND FROST ARE GOING TO GET THE DOG EVENTUALLY TOO → INEVITABILITY OF A WORSE SITUATION

чекай пше не будзе так вше

INEVITABILITY OF A DOG HAVING A WORSE LIFE OF A DOG → INEVITABILITY OF GOING THROUGH A WORSE SITUATION

Besides the phraseologisms with the zoonym dog, the concept of INEVITABILITY is transferred with phraseologisms *дармо кед на шиї ярмо* /*darmo ked na šiji jarmo*/ 'in vain when yoke is around your neck', *на концу батог пуга* /*na koncu batoh puka*/ 'a whip cracks at its end' whose source domains are based on objects used for the upbringing of domestic animals, YOKE and WHIP.

The inevitability of a certain life role, status in society, or similar situation is clearly presented with the image of an ox that has a yoke on its neck used to take away its freedom and serve the owner. The choice of words for this expression is also motivated by rhyme (*дармо* /*darmo*/ - *ярмо* /*jarmo*/). Additionally, the word *дармо* seems to intensify the meaning of inevitability or inability to change.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

дармо кед на шиї ярмо

158 In the Ukrainian Lemkos dialects in Slovakia *як би з батогом пукнул* (*швигнул*) (Varhol, Ivčenko, 1990: 19).

A YOKE ON A NECK OF AN OX → INEVITABILITY OF FULFILLING A LIFE ROLE

The second phraseologism (*на концу батог пука*), with an object as part of the source domain, is based on the image of the object's use and the fact that the whip makes a sound that snaps at the end. This inevitability of making the sound was used as an illustration of the source domain INEVITABILITY which is often used to show the meaning of the inevitable victory of justice.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

на концу батог пука

CRACK OF A WHIP → INEVITABILITY (OF RECEIVING JUSTICE)

CHANGE OF LIFE'S AMBITIONS

The phraseologism *хтора швиня раз курче пожре тога ше на паспалъ не враци*¹⁵⁹ /*chтора švinja raz kurče požre toga še na paspalj nje vraci*/ 'a pig that once eats a chicken never goes back to wheat feed flour'¹⁶⁰ transfers the concept of the change of opportunities, desires from life, and an increase in ambitions. The source domain is the image of a pig that does not want to eat pig food (wheat bran) anymore because it tried a chicken.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

хтора швиня раз курче пожре тога ше на паспалъ не враци

CHICKEN IS TASTIER THEN WHEAT FEED FLOUR → GETTING TO KNOW A NEW THING INCREASES ONE'S AMBITIONS

NATURAL OCCURRENCES

CLOUDS

Only several phraseologisms refer to natural occurrences (*баба гоні кози*¹⁶¹ /*baba honji kozi*/ 'grandma chases goats', *баранчата на*

159 Serb. *ко отроба град мотике се не лаћа* (Ramač, 2010: 518).

160 More information about wheat feed flour <https://www.feedtables.com/content/wheat-feed-flour>

161 Serb. *баба Марта тера јариће* (Kulišić et al., 1970: 18). As seen from the

небе /*barančata na njebe*/ 'lambs on a sky', *ані пса би човек не вигнал вонка* /*anji psa bi človek nje vihнал vonka*/ 'a man would not even throw a dog outside').

The first two phraseologisms are based on the seme of a striking characteristic of domestic animals goat and lamb. Their white color can be associated with various forms of clouds that seem to be moving in the sky. Additionally, the zoonym *lambs* denote something small, so they are used to denote the meaning of small clouds.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

баба гоні кози

WHITE GOATS → CLOUDS

баранчата на небе

LAMBS → SMALL CLOUDS

VERY BAD WEATHER

The phraseologism *ані пса би человек не вигнал вонка*¹⁶² transfers the meaning of the level of storm or bad weather. However, this image also shows us how the dog is viewed as the most unimportant thing that would usually be thrown outside. This seme of low value or unimportance is the result of collective expression activated with the phrase *вигнац вонка* 'to throw outside' suggesting that there is bad weather outside.

Conceptual metaphor mapping schema

ані пса би человек не вигнал вонка

NOT TO THROW/LET THE DOG OUTSIDE → VERY BAD WEATHER

Serbian phraseologism, it is possible that the Ruthenian one was formed based on the Serbian but excluded the name Marta which seems to be unfamiliar among the Ruthenian people.

162 Serb. *ни пса не би истерали напоље* (Kostić, 1986: 192). This phraseologism is connected with dogs, i.e. a usually activity in the past when dogs were let into the field to scare wolves away. This is why, there is a phraseologism in Serbian *пасје време* which is a synonymous expression to *ни пса не би истерали напоље* (Kostić, 1986: 192).

4.2. CONCLUSIONS

In this work, 177 phraseologisms that are connected to breeding and nurturing domestic animals in a certain way were analyzed. The most common ones are related to breeding domestic animals, meaning the ones where the source domain is a domestic animal, an object, food, a tool, etc.

The most analyzed phraseologisms transfer the image from the conceptual field of PERSONS ACTIVITIES AND BEHAVIOR (49)¹⁶³. This concept is made out of several nuances of meanings (ATTITUDE TOWARD WORK - HARDWORK (4), LAZINESS (5), LOSS OF THE WILL TO WORK (1), BADLY DONE JOB (3), BAD CHARACTER OF A WORKER, PERSON (1), POSITIVE CHANGE (1), THE WAY OF COMMUNICATION - TALK RUBBISH, BLABBER (4), LOUD TALKING (1), TALK TOO MUCH (2), CHEATING (in cards, game, trade) (7), FAST/SLOW MOVEMENT (3), THE WAY OF MOVING (1), CLUMSY MOVEMENT (3), CONTROLLED/UNCONTROLLED BEHAVIOR (6), BE VERY LOUD (2), EAT TOO LITTLE (1), EAT TOO MUCH (1). Phraseologisms that are part of this concept represent 27% of all analyzed phraseologisms.

Not as often, the target domain was part of the conceptual field of TRAITS OF PEOPLE - GREEDINESS (3), UNSTEADY OPINIONS (1), INTELLECTUAL LIMITS (9), BE SMART, NOT NAIVE (1), NAIVETY (3), STUBBORNNESS/PERSISTENCE (2), IMPATIENCE (2), INDIFFERENCE (1), LYING (1), VICIOUSNESS (1), WASTEFULNESS (1), PASSIVITY (2), OVERLY SENSITIVE CHARACTER (CRYING, COMPLAINING) (2), OVERESTIMATING ONE'S STRENGTH (PHYSICAL OR INTELLECTUAL) (2), FIDELITY (1), DISTRUST (1), CALMNESS (1), GENEROSITY (TO GIVE A LOT OF FOOD) (1), UNGRATEFULNESS (1), THE UNCHANGEABLE CHARACTER OF A PERSON (2), NOT UNDERSTANDING OTHER'S VIEWPOINT (1), RESOURCEFULNESS (1), SAME (BAD, EVIL) OPINION AGREES WITH EACH OTHER (1), BENEVOLENCE (1), PETTINESS, NEATNESS (1). Phraseologisms that are part of this concept represent 24% of all analyzed phraseologisms.

THE SOCIETAL CHARACTERIZATION OF A PERSON is a conceptual field presented 37 times with the phraseologisms, which is 21% of the total. Phraseologisms of this conceptual field carry the following meanings: LACK OF CULTURE (1), DISRESPECT OF THE CULTURAL NORM (3), NOT KNOWING (BASIC) RULES (1), CAUSE DAMAGE, MESS (2), BE LUCKY (2), SUCCESS (2), FAILURE (2), INADEQUATENESS (3), EQUALITY/INEQUALITY (5), A NEGATIVE JUDGMENT OF A PERSON OR OBJECT (3), LOSS OF STATUS (2), HIGH-QUALITY PEOPLE (1), BELONGING (1), EXCESS (IN A GROUP) (1), INEVITABILITY (4), CHANGE OF LIFE'S AMBITIONS (1).

To a PERSON'S STATES AND FEELINGS refer 21 phraseologisms, which is

¹⁶³ The number in brackets is the number of phraseologisms that are in the conceptual field or one of its parts.

12% of the analyzed corpus (FEAR (1), ANGER (3), SHAME (3), DRUNKENNESS (4), TIREDNESS (3), OLD AGE (1), SICKNESS (1), HELPLESSNESS (1), SLEEP (3), SOPPING WET (1)).

There is a similar number of phraseologisms that are part of the conceptual field of A PERSON'S APPEARANCE (PHYSICAL CHARACTERIZATION OF A PERSON) 11 (6%) and INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS 10 (6%). The following phraseologisms are part of the conceptual field of a PERSON'S APPEARANCE (PHYSICAL CHARACTERIZATION OF A PERSON): NOT APPROPRIATE (4), DIRTINESS (2), OBESITY (1), STRENGTH (1), SEXUAL STRENGTH (2), SKIN COLOR (1). The conceptual field of INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS consists of these concepts: BAD RELATIONSHIPS (3), TO PLAY WITH SOMEONE (1), HOSTILITY (2), AGGRESSIVENESS (2), TO BEAT SOMEONE UP (2).

Conceptual fields with least phraseologisms are NATURAL OCCURRENCES (3) and FINANCIAL STATUS (POVERTY) (2).

SOURCE DOMAINS

The domain that serves as the starting point in mapping, the source domain, is most commonly represented by DOMESTIC ANIMALS (116 out of 137) or their BODY PARTS¹⁶⁴ (3). Less common are PRODUCTS, OBJECTS, and PLACES RELATED TO DOMESTIC ANIMALS 13.

The source domains of the analyzed phraseologisms are the following¹⁶⁵: DOG (25), PIG (15), HORSE (14), PRODUCTS, OBJECT, PLACE (13), CHICKEN (12), COW (8), BULL (3), OX (2), COW'S FECES (1), CATTLE (1), CAT (9), DONKEY (6), GOAT (5), RAM (4), RABBIT (4), DUCK (3), BODY PARTS (3), SHEEP (2), GOOSE (1), LIVESTOCK (1).

Based on this overview of the entities related to the raising of domestic animals, it can be seen that the most common motivation for mapping is a dog, followed by a pig, horse, cow, and chicken. Phraseologisms with the source domain of a PRODUCT, OBJECT, or PLACE are not very common. Thus, regardless of their high number of appearances, they are not considered to be of high frequency. The frequency of occurrence of the source domain can highlight the typical traits of a certain entity.

POSITIVE OR NEGATIVE DISTINCTNESS OF CONCEPTS

From the conceptual field person's appearance, the desired or positive physical characteristics of a person are STRENGTH, SEXUAL

164 Analyzed are only those for which it can be established that they are body parts of domestic animals.

165 Domains are listed according to their frequency, from most to least frequent.

STRENGTH, POTENCY. **Animals** BUFFALO, STALLION, and RAM participate in the process of metaphorical mapping.

Negative or undesired physical characteristics: UNSUITABLE APPEARANCE, DIRTINESS, OBESITY, SKIN COLOR.

PERSON'S TRAITS (mental character of a person) is the conceptual field that, based on the number of phraseologisms (42) that form it, is one of the most productive fields. The concepts that make this field are more often negative than positive. **Undesired mental characteristics of people:** INTELLECTUAL LIMITS; GREEDINESS; NAIVETY; STUBBORNESS/PERSISTENCE; IMPATIENCE; THE UNCHANGEABLE CHARACTER OF A PERSON; OVERESTIMATING ONE'S STRENGTH (PHYSICAL OR INTELLECTUAL); OVERLY SENSITIVE CHARACTER; UNSTEADY OPINIONS, INDIFFERENCE; LYING; VICIOUSNESS; WASTEFULNESS; PASSIVITY; MISTRUST; UNGRATEFULNESS; NOT UNDERSTANDING OTHERS VIEWPOINTS; THE SAME (BAD, EVIL) PEOPLE UNDERSTAND EACH OTHER; PETTINESS; NEATNESS.

Desired mental characteristics of people: BE SMART; FIDELITY; CALMNESS; GENEROSITY (GIVE A LOT OF FOOD); RESOURCEFULNESS; BENEVOLENCE.

In the conceptual field of PERSON'S STATES, the undesired ones are: FEAR; ANGER; SHAME; DRUNKENNESS; TIREDNESS; OLD AGE; SICKNESS; HELPLESSNESS; SLEEPINESS; SOPPING WET.

The most productive conceptual field is PERSON'S ACTIVITIES AND BEHAVIOR with 49 phraseologisms. A person's positive activities and behaviors are present in only 6 phraseologisms that transfer the following concepts: HARD WORK, A POSITIVE CHANGE, FAST MOVEMENT. **Undesired or negative person's activities are more common and appear in 43 phraseologisms.** They transfer the following concepts: LAZINESS; LOSING THE MOTIVATION TO WORK; BADLY DONE JOB; BAD CHARACTERISTICS OF AN EMPLOYEE/PERSON; TALK RUBBISH; BABBLE; MAKING LOUD SOUNDS; TALK A LOT; CHEATING; SLOW MOVEMENT; THE WAY OF MOVING; CONTROLLED/UNCONTROLLED BEHAVIOR; BE VERY HUNGRY; EAT A LITTLE; EAT A LOT.

The conceptual field FINANCIAL STATUS consists of the concept POVERTY found in two phraseologisms. The concept of POVERTY is seen as a negative view of reality from the aspect of the financial status.

The conceptual field INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS is formed from concepts that we understand as undesired. Those are BAD RELATIONS; TO PLAY WITH SOMEONE; HOSTILITY; AGGRESSIVENESS; TO BEAT SOMEONE UP.

The conceptual field SOCIAL CHARACTERIZATION OF A PERSON is one of the highly productive ones as it contains 16 concepts found in 34 phraseologisms. For an undesired societal characterization of a person, the following concepts are used: LACK OF CULTURE/MANNERS; DISRESPECTFULNESS OF THE SOCIAL NORMS; NOT KNOWING (BASIC) RULES; CAUSING DAMAGE, MESS; FAILURE; INADEQUATENESS; NEGATIVE JUDGMENT OF AN INDIVID-

UAL, OBJECT; LOSING THE STATUS; EXCESS (IN GROUPS); INEVITABILITY; CHANGE OF THE LIFE'S AMBITIONS. On the other hand, desired societal characterization can be seen in the following concepts: GETTING LUCKY; SUCCESS; HIGH-QUALITY PEOPLE; BELONGING; EQUALITY/INEQUALITY.

The conceptual field NATURAL OCCURRENCES consists of two concepts. The concept CLOUDS is seen as neutral, and VERY BAD WEATHER as negative.

It can be noticed that concepts bringing negative characteristics¹⁶⁶ are more frequent. Based on this criterion, there are 149 negative and 26 positive concepts.

THE STEREOTYPICAL VIEW OF ANIMALS, OBJECTS, AND PRODUCTS OF DOMESTIC ANIMALS

DOG

A dog appears in 23 concepts. There are 31 (17.5%) phraseologisms where the DOG is the source domain, most often the ones with the negative connotation¹⁶⁷. In two phraseologisms, a dog is seen as loyal (*вирни як пес*¹⁶⁸ 'as faithful as a dog') or tired from work which can be interpreted as a positive trait (*вистал як югаски пес* 'to be tired as a shepherd's dog').

The target domain is not a person only in two phraseologisms (the weather - 'a person would not throw out even a dog outside', an object - 'throw it after the dogs').

Based on these images, a dog is seen as a representation of anger (*нагнівал ше (нахмурел ше, нагнівани) як бабов пес* 'as angry as a grandmother's dog¹⁶⁹'), evil (*пес пса позна* 'a dog knows another dog'), dis-

166 This is characteristic for the metaphorical processes where the source domain is a DOMESTIC ANIMAL, which was noticed by Kövecses (2010: 154), and confirmed on the Serbian material by Novokmet (2016).

167 As seen through the associative test, stereotypes and concepts are subjects to change, but in these cases they present a preserved fragment of an archaic image based on the mythological representation of a dog. The reactions to the associate *dog* most often are related to the concept of FIDELITY, i.e. the stereotype of a dog differs from the concept of a dog as a standard for nothingness, or the carrier of negative qualities that can be seen in the phraseological material and through nominations.

168 However, fidelity does not have to be understood only as a positive trait.

169 This could as well mean *as angry as a caterpillar*. See page 85-86.

trust (*не вер псу (псови) ані кед шти* 'don't trust the dog even when it's asleep'), poverty (*як пес на ланцу жиц* 'to live like a dog on a chain', *жиц [себе] як пес на паздзерчу* 'to live like a dog on a hemp residue'), immutability of the person's character (*не будзе зоз пса сланіна [лєм вше пишна]* 'there won't be any bacon from a dog'), anger (*пошол пишм ліцом, пойсц як пес з косцу* 'he left with a dog face'), sleep (*спацц як бундаш* 'to sleep like a lazy dog'), lying (*цигані як пес* 'he/she is lying as a dog'), ungreatfulness (*пуц пса под стол виграбе ше на стол* 'leave a dog to go under a table, and it will climb on top of it'), talking too much (*ані пес би го не пребрехал / не пребрехал би го ані пес* 'not even a dog could out bark him', *пес хтори вельо бреше, не куса* 'a dog which barks a lot, does not bite'), be very hungry (*зладни як пес* 'to be hungry as a dog'), uncontrolled behavior ((*с*)*пуциц ше з ланца* 'free oneself from a chain', *весц на порвазку (на ланцу, за руку)* 'to lead the dog on a leash').

The view of a dog as someone embarrassed or lying is done through the process of personification or anthropomorphization of a dog. It receives negative characteristics of a person because it is seen as something bad so it should have the traits of a bad person. This is probably an older image of a dog in many cultures, including the Ruthenian one. The new image started forming when the dog became a pet. One example of the newer image of a dog is the phraseologism *пес човеков найлєтши приятель* ('a dog is a person's best friend').

In some phraseologisms, a dog is used as a standard of low values when someone uses bad words (talk rubbish, blabber (*ані пес на хвост би не позберал* 'even a dog would not collect with its tail')), or very bad weather (*ані пса би человек не вигнал вонка* 'a man would not even throw a dog outside') where a dog is seen as worthless, someone who can be thrown outside even during the worst weather without thinking if it is cold or not.

In these phraseologisms, dogs are a measure of the meaning of the given verb or adjective. For example, in the phraseologism *набиц дакого як пса* 'to beat someone like a dog', obviously, the dog was beaten very hard, which is connected with the view of a dog as bad or evil.

To depict a negative judgment of a person or an object, phraseologisms with a dog can be used (*руц то за псами* 'throw that after dogs', *ані пес не збрехне на ньго* 'even dog doesn't bark on him'). A dog has also the role of representing low values in the phraseologism *руц то за псами* used to show the value of a person and an object with the image of a dog. In the phraseologism *ані пес не*

збрехне на ньго, a dog is seen as an animal that barks on everything that moves. The lack of barking at a person shows that the person is worthless, so much so that not even a dog would bark at them.

It seems that in some phraseologisms, even though they carry a negative judgment of a person, a dog is not seen as negative. For example, the concept of UNSUITABLE APPEARANCE uses ironic comparative phraseologisms (*швечи му як псови дзвончок* 'it suits you like a cowbell on a dog', *швечи му як псови пята нога* 'it suits you like a fifth leg to a dog', *треба му як псу (псови) колік* 'he needs it like a dog needs a stake') to transfer the meaning of an inappropriate appearance of a person. The image is based on how not connected or unnecessary two entities are, but the image of a dog does not have a negative connotation.

Concepts where a dog, as a type of domestic animal, appears:

Positive

1. FIDELITY (*вірни як пес* 'as faithful as a dog')
2. TIREDNESS (*вистал як югаски пес* 'to be tired as a shepherd's dog')

Negative

3. VERY BAD WEATHER (*ані пса би човек не вигнал вонка* 'a man would not even throw a dog outside')
4. TALK RUBBISH, BLABBER (*ані пес на хвост би не позберал* 'even a dog would not collect with its tail')
5. TALK A LOT (*ані пес би го не пребрехал / не пребрехал би го* *ані пес* 'not even a dog could out bark him', *пес хтори вельо бреше, не куса* 'a dog that barks a lot, does not bite')
6. BE VERY HUNGRY (*гладни як пес* 'to be hungry as a dog')
7. ANGER (*нагнівал ше (нахмурел ше, нагнівани) як бабов (бабин) пес* 'as angry as a grandmother's dog')
8. THE SAME (BAD, EVIL) PEOPLE UNDERSTAND EACH OTHER (*пес пса позна* 'a dog knows another dog')
9. CONTROLLED/UNCONTROLLED BEHAVIOR ((*с*)*пуциц ше з ланца* 'free oneself from a chain', *веси на порвазку (на ланцу, за руку)* 'to lead the dog on a leash')
10. LAZINESS (*ми гаду-гаду а пси у крупох* 'we are chatting while dogs are eating grits')
11. TO BEAT SOMEONE UP (*набиц дакого як пса* 'to beat someone like a dog')
12. NEGATIVE JUDGMENT OF AN INDIVIDUAL, OBJECT (*ані пес не збрехне на ньго* 'even dog doesn't bark on him', *руц то за псами* 'throw

that after dogs')

13. UNSUITABLE APPEARANCE (*швечи му як псови дзвончок* 'it suits you like a cowbell on a dog', *швечи му як псови пята нога* 'it suits you like a fift leg to a dog', *треба му як псу (псови) колік* 'he needs it like a dog needs a stake')
14. MISTRUST (*не вер псу (псови) ані кед шти* 'don't trust the dog even when it's asleep')
15. INEVITABILITY (*придзе (пришол) и на пса мраз* 'even a dog will feel the frost eventually', *чекай пше не буде так вше* 'just wait, dog, things won't be so good for ever')
16. UNGRATEFULNESS (*пуц пса под стол виграбе ше на стол* 'leave a dog to go under a table, and it will climb on top of it')
17. THE UNCHANGEABLE CHARACTER OF A PERSON (*не буде зоз пса сланіна [лєм вше пишина]* 'there won't be any bacon from a dog')
18. BAD RELATIONS (*злагодзиц ше як пес и мачка* 'to get along like a dog and a cat')
19. SHAME (*пошол пиим ліцом, пойсц як пес з косцу* 'he left with a dog face')
20. SLEEPINESS (*спац як бундаш* 'to sleep like a lazy dog')
21. RESOURCEFULNESS (*знац од чого пси здихаю* 'to know what flies die of')
22. POVERTY (*як пес на ланцу жиц* 'to live like a dog on a chain', *жиц [себе] як пес на паздзерчу* 'to live like a dog on a hemp residue')
23. LYING (*цигані як пес* 'he/she is lying as a dog')

COW

A cow as a type of domestic animal appears in 16 concepts¹⁷⁰. Phraseologisms, in which a cow or members of the category that are hierarchically close to that animal (CALF, OX, BULL, TO CALF) are the source domain, are found in 21 examples (11,86%). Most often, these phraseologisms have negative connotations.

Cow as a breed (cow, ox, bull, calf) is seen by Ruthenians as intellectually limited, lazy, aggressive, someone who does not respect societal norms, eats a lot, and makes loud noises.

In some mappings, a cow participates indirectly in the target domain, i.e. it represents a burden or heaviness that transfers the concept of IMPATIENCE in the phraseologism *не стої ци крава на ногу / не станула ми крава на ногу* 'there is no cow standing on your foot'. In this way, a cow can participate in mappings that transfer the

¹⁷⁰ The concepts formed with phraseologisms in which a cow appears even indirectly as the source domain of mapping are included.

following concepts: UNSUITABLE APPEARANCE (*стої ци, (швечи ци) як крави шедло* 'it suits you like a saddle suits a cow'), UNSTEADY OPINIONS (*раз є прашина раз цельна* 'once it is farrowing, another time it is calving'), WEASTFULNESS (*кед (дзе) пошла крава най идзе и целе* 'since the cow is gone, let the calf go too'), DRUNKENNESS (*пияни як целе* 'he is as drunk as a calf'), BADLY DONE WORK (*(робиц) як крава з хвостом* 'to work like a cow wagging its tail', *розруцац (розтресц) як крава вигризки* 'to scatter like cow scatters corn sticks', *добра жена як тота крава цо до полного жохтара виргне* 'a good woman is like this cow that kicks a full bucket of milk'), FAST/SLOW MOVEMENT (*цага ше як кравске счисциско* 'he/she drags as cow's placenta'), EQUALITY/INEQUALITY (*и крава старша а целецу риц ліже* 'a cow is older too, but it still licks a calf's buttocks', *не пасол (не чувал) я з тобу крави (овци, швині)* 'I didn't graze (herd) my cows (sheep, pigs) with you'), INEVITABILITY (*дармо кед на шії ярмо* 'in vain when yoke is around your neck'), GENEROSITY (give a lot of food) (*дац дакому як волом (як волови, як за воли)* 'to give [food] to someone as if they were an ox').

Based on the semantic role, a cow (or its parts) in phraseologisms have the role of an agent (*(робиц) як крава з хвостом* 'to work like a cow wagging its tail', *розруцац (розтресц) як крава вигризки* 'to scatter like cow scatters corn sticks', *добра жена як тота крава цо до полного жохтара виргне* 'a good woman is like this cow that kicks a full bucket of milk', *цага ше як кравске счисциско* 'he/she drags as cow's placenta', *не стої ци крава на ноги / не станула ми крава на ногу* 'there is no cow standing on your foot'), or the role of the carrier of a state/description (*стої ци, (швечи ци) як крави шедло* 'it suits you like a saddle suits a cow').

Concepts in which a cow as a type of domestic animal (calf, ox, bull) appears:

Negative

COW

1. UNSUITABLE APPEARANCE (*стої ци, (швечи ци) як крави шедло* 'it suits you like a saddle suits a cow')
2. IMPATIENCE (*не стої ци крава на ноги / не станула ми крава на ногу* 'there is no cow standing on your foot')
3. BADLY DONE WORK (*(робиц) як крава з хвостом* 'to work like a cow wagging its tail', *розруцац (розтресц) як крава вигризки* 'to scatter like cow scatters corn sticks', *добра жена як тота крава цо до полного жохтара виргне* 'a good woman is like this cow that kicks a full bucket of milk')

4. FAST/SLOW MOVEMENT (*цага ше як кравске счисциско* 'he/she drags as cow's placenta')

CALF

A CALF appears in four concepts and all have negative connotations. In phraseologisms that form these concepts, it can be an agent (*патри як целе на нову капуру* 'staring like a calf at a new gate' (INTELLECTUALLY LIMITED), *кед (дзе) пошла крава най идзе и целе* 'since the cow is gone, let the calf go too' (WASTEFULNESS)), carrier of a state/description (*пияни як целе* 'he is as drunk as a calf' (DRUNKENNESS); *вон ма розум як у крави бамбух* 'he has brain like a cow's stomach' (INTELLECTUALLY LIMITED)), someone who experiences something (THE COW IS THE AGENT) (*и крава старша а целецу риц ліже* 'cow is also older, but it licks calf's buttock', *не пасол (не чувал) я з тобу крави (овци, швині)* 'I didn't graze (herd) my cows (sheep, pigs) with you' (EQUALITY/INEQUALITY)).

The stereotypical view of a calf, being intellectually limited, is seen in the phraseologisms where it functions as an agent.

Negative

5. INTELLECTUALLY LIMITED (*патри як целе на нову капуру* 'staring like a calf at a new gate', *могло би го гу яшльом привязац* 'you could tied him to the manger', *вон ма розум як у крави бамбух* 'he has brain like a cow's stomach')
6. WASTEFULNESS (*кед (дзе) пошла крава най идзе и целе* 'since the cow is gone, let the calf go too')
7. DRUNKENNESS (*пияни як целе* 'he is as drunk as a calf')
8. EQUALITY/INEQUALITY (*и крава старша а целецу риц ліже* 'cow is also older, but it licks calf's buttock', *не пасол (не чувал) я з тобу крави (овци, швині)* 'i didn't graze (herd) my cows (sheep, pigs) with you')

OX

The castrated male domestic animal ox is the source domain of four concepts where it functions as an agent (*прыходзиц (прейсц) як вол (не поздравкац)* 'to pass by as an ox (without a greeting)' (LACK OF CULTURE), *есц як вол* 'to eat like an ox' (EAT A LOT)), or someone who experiences something (*дац дакому як волем (як волови, як за воли)* 'to give [food] to someone as if they were an ox' (GENEROSITY, give a lot of food), the same but with a cow as an agent (*чежско (яй) тому дому (домови) дзе розказує крава волу (волови)* 'woe onto the house where the cow gives orders to the ox' (DISRESPECT OF THE SOCIETAL NORM)).

Negative

9. DISRESPECTFULNESS of the social norms (*чежко (яї) тому дому (домови) дзе розказує крава волю (волови)* 'woe onto the house where the cow gives orders to the ox')
10. LACK OF CULTURE/MANNERS (*пexодзиц (прейси) як вол (не поздравкац)* 'to pass by as an ox (without a greeting)')
11. GENEROSITY (give a lot of food) (*дац дакому як волом (як волови, як за воли)* 'to give [food] to someone as if they were an ox')
12. EAT A LOT (*єси як вол* 'to eat as an ox')

BULL

BULL, the uncastrated male animal, appears in the concepts in which it has the semantic role of an agent (*исц, (нападац, наваліц) як буюк на червене* 'to attack like a bull on red colour' (AGGRESSIVENESS), *ричац (дрец ше) як буюк* 'to bellow like a bull' (MAKING LOUD SOUNDS)). In these phraseologisms, a stereotype can be noticed in which a bull charges the red color. However, in scientific research, this is not accepted as a fact, since bulls, unlike people, cannot differentiate colors.

Negative

13. AGGRESSIVENESS (*исц, (нападац, наваліц) як буюк на червене* 'to attack like a bull on red colour')
14. MAKING LOUD SOUNDS (*ричац (дрец ше) як буюк* 'to bellow like a bull')

In two concepts, the mapping is based on the cow indirectly, or through the association of a typical living place of a cow (*могло би го гу яшльом привязац* 'you could tied him to the manger' (INTELLECTUALLY LIMITED)). Here, the cow carries the meaning of state. The association of typical equipment for a cow or a bull suggests the lack of freedom (*ярмо*) and indirectly builds the mapping in which the source domain, a cow/bull with the collar around its neck, is again in the semantic role of the carrier of state. The following examples with the indirect connection with the domestic animal cow are related to the fertility of a pig or a cow:

Negative

15. INEVITABILITY (*дармо кед на шиї ярмо* 'in vain when yoke is around your neck')
16. UNSTEADY OPINIONS (*раз є прашна раз цельна* 'once it is farrowing, another time it is calving')

BUFFALO

This animal appears in the phraseologism *роби (цага) як бияла* 'to work/to pull like an ox (horse, buffalo)' to transfer the concept of hard work which shows this animal was used for some difficult jobs. Besides this concept, in the phraseologism *моцни як бияла* 'as strong as a buffalo', the concept of strength is seen. In these phraseologisms, BUFFALO has the semantic role of an agent (*роби (цага) як бияла* 'to work/to pull like an ox (horse, buffalo)'), and the carrier of a description (*моцни як бияла* 'as strong as a buffalo').

Concepts where BUFFALO, as a domestic animal, can be found are the following:

Positive

1. HARD WORK (*роби (цага) як бияла* 'to work/to pull like an ox (horse, buffalo)')
2. STRENGTH (*моцни як бияла* 'as strong as a buffalo')

PIG

The PIG appears in 16 concepts. There are 20 (11.3%) phraseologisms with a pig as the source domain, out of which the source domains are a PIG (14), PIGLET (5), and BOAR (1). In one mapping each, the source domain is the part of the pig's body (INTESTINES), and the NOSE RINGS put on the pig to prevent it from digging the bricks in the pigstay. In one mapping, the image is based on the connection between a pig and a piglet. No phraseologisms with a male castrated pig were noted.

These phraseologisms commonly have a negative connotation. From the concepts where a pig is the source domain, it can be seen that Ruthenians see pig as DIRTY (*брудни як швиня* 'dirty as a pig', *мусави (мурцави) як праше* 'as dirty in one's face as a piglet'), OBESE (*тлусті як швиня* 'obese as a pig'), THE UNCHANGEABLE CHARACTER OF A PERSON (*облеч швиню до злата а вона пойдзе до блата* 'dress a pig in gold, and it would still go into the mud'), ANGRY (*нагнівани як корназ* 'as angry as a boar'), VERY HUNGRY/GLUTTONOUS (*добра швиня гоч яки помії (кажду помію) попиє / за добру швиню нет подли помії* 'good pig drinks every swill that she gets / for good pig there isn't bad swill', *хтора швиня раз курче пожре тотя ше на паспаль не враци* 'a pig that once eats a chicken never goes back to wheat feed flour'), AGGRESSIVE (*дриляц ше як праше до помійох* 'to push oneself like a pig into pigwash'), MESSY (*коборлує як тотя швиня у оборо* 'he/she is causing damage like a pig in a pigsty', *вшадзи ше (ви)найде як швиня у бундавох* 'he/she is like a pig among pumpkins'), someone who has a NEGATIVE INFLUENCE (*єдна швиня шицок чупор розриє* 'one pig breaks

up a whole drove (group of pigs)'). A closely related view of a pig as dirty and gluttonous is the one that focuses on the characterization of SOMEONE WHO DRINKS EXCESSIVELY (*пияни як швиня* 'he is as drunk as a pig', *опиц ше (пияни, ожрец ше) як швиня* 'to get as drunk as a pig', *вивалял ше як швиня* 'he wallowed like a pig').

The positive connotations have the concepts positive change (*вичухал ше як риняве праше* 'he cleaned himself up like a dirty pig did'), and belonging (*нашей швині праше* 'a piglet of our own sow').

Concepts in which a pig as a type of domestic animal appears are:

Negative

1. OBESITY (*тлусті як швиня* 'obese as a pig')
2. DIRTINESS (*брудні як швиня* 'as dirty as a pig')
3. DRUNKENNESS (*пияни як швиня* 'he is as drunk as a pig', *опиц ше (пияни, ожрец ше) як швиня* 'to get as drunk as a pig', *вивалял ше як швиня* 'he wallowed like a pig')
4. THE UNCHANGEABLE CHARACTER OF A PERSON (*облєч швиню до злата а вона пойдзе до блата* 'dress a pig in gold, and it would still go into the mud')
5. BE VERY HUNGRY (*добра швиня гоч яки помії (кажду помію) попиє / за добру швиню нет подли помії* 'good pig drinks every swill that she gets / for good pig there isn't bad swill')
6. FAST/SLOW MOVEMENT (*цага ше як швиньски черева* 'he/she drags as pig's guts')
7. CAUSING DAMAGE, MESS (*кобортує як тота швиня у оборє* 'he/she is causing damage like a pig in a pigsty', *вшадзи ше (ви)найдзе як швиня у бундавох* 'he/she is like a pig among pumpkins')
8. FAILURE (*швиня ше му оцелєла* 'his pig have calved')
9. NEGATIVE JUDGMENT OF AN INDIVIDUAL, OBJECT (*єдна швиня шицок чупор розриє* 'one pig breaks up a whole drove (group of pigs)')
10. CHANGE OF THE LIFE'S AMBITIONS (*хтора швиня раз курче пожре тота ше на паспаль не враци* 'a pig that once eats a chicken never goes back to wheat feed flour')

PIGLET

Positive

11. A POSITIVE CHANGE (*вичухал ше як риняве праше* 'he cleaned himself up like a dirty pig did')
12. BELONGING (*нашей швині праше* 'a piglet of our own sow')

Negative

13. EXCESS (in groups) (*буц тринасте праше* 'to be the thirteenth piglet')
14. DIRTINESS (*мусави (мурцави) як праше* 'as dirty in one's face as a piglet')
15. AGGRESSIVENESS (*дриляц ше як праше до помийох* 'to push oneself like a pig into pigwash')

BOAR

Negative

16. ANGER (*нагнівани як корназ* 'as angry as a boar')

PIG'S NOSE RING

Negative

17. NAIVETY (*лєм му каричку до носа не положили* '[he agreed to everything they did to him,] he could as well agreed to put a pig's nose ring')

CAT

The cat appears in 7 concepts. There are 13 (7.34%) of phraseologisms in which a CAT is the source domain. Out of those, a KITTEN appears in three and a TOMCAT in two phraseologisms. Most commonly, the phraseologisms have a negative connotation.

Based on the concepts formed using a cat, it can be noticed that Ruthenians see the cat as overly sensitive, quarrelsome, manipulative, and the reason behind bad relations.

The semantic role of a cat in phraseologisms is usually that of an agent and then the concept has a negative connotation. In one example, a cat has the role of a patient, and the concept transferred with that phraseologism is positive (*ані мачку би не увредзел* 'would not offend even a cat').

The following concept include the cat as a type of domestic animal:

Negative

1. GREEDINESS (*олізовац ше як кандур* 'to lick one's own face like a tomcat', *ходзиц (скакац) як кандур коло колбасох* 'to move and jump like a tomcat around sausages', *кварни як мачка* 'to be as greedy as a cat')
2. OVER-SENSITIVITY CHARACTER (weeping, complaining) (*як кед*

мачки на хвост станеш 'as when you stepped on a cat's tail', *роздарти як маче* 'cries like a kitten')

3. HELPLESSNESS (*страцени як маче* (як *страцене маче*) 'as lost as a kitten', *кед мачки нет, миши по хижи бегаю* 'when cats are away, mice are running around the house')

4. EAT A LITTLE (*есу як маче* 'to eat like a kitten')

5. BAD RELATIONS (*злагодзиц ше як пес и мачка* 'to get along like a dog and a cat', *стануц мачки на хвост* 'to step on a cat's tail')

6. TO PLAY WITH SOMEONE (*бавиц ше з даским як мачка з мишу* (МИШОМ) 'to play with someone as a cat plays with mouse', *купиц мачку у меху* 'to buy cat in a sack')

Positive

7. BENEVOLENCE (*ани мачку би не увредзел* 'would not offend even a cat')

HORSE (MARE, STALLION, FOAL)

The terms referring to the horse appear in 13 concepts. There are 13 (7.34%) phraseologisms in which the source domain is one of the hierarchically related to this breed (MARE, STALLION, FOAL). There are 7 mappings with a HORSE separately as the source domain. All the others appear only once. For example, the male animal of this breed, with knees that cross and touch named *францияш*¹⁷¹ / *francijaš*/ 'knock-kneed horse', is the motivation for one mapping. A STALLION, a young uncastrated horse, also appears only once in mappings. The female and young of this breed were an inspiration for mapping only once.

Even though this breed of domestic animal mostly inspired phraseologisms with a negative connotation (10), there are also (it seems more so than with other animals) positive connotations such as sexual strength, potency (*доброгo вайчака перше зрадзи вид а вец друге* 'a good stallion first loses its vision and then everything else'), be lucky (*ма подкову* 'he/she has a horseshoe'), and success (*буц на коню* (*коньове*) 'to be on a horseback').

Some mappings raise an implicit association with a horse. For example, in phraseologisms *спуциц ше з кефетика* 'to free oneself from a harness', *тримац деплови до /своїх/ рукох* 'to hold the reins (in one's own hands)', *тримац деплови у обисцу* 'to hold the reins in a household', *ма подкову* (*пергача, хованца*) 'he/she has a horseshoe', *вируциц* (*дакого*) *зоз шедла* / *вилециц зоз шедла* 'throw someone out

171 The name *францияш* exists in the Serbian language as well.

of the saddle / fly out of the saddle', *ані прагац ані шедлац*, there are objects that prototypically raise an association with a horse. This means that the person who is deciphering the metaphorical mapping with these stimuli (harness, lines, horseshoe, saddle, riding, harnessing) thinks of a horse. The source domain of these mappings is not based only on the objects, but also on the image, i.e. the appropriate combination that clearly shows the target domains that need to be presented, as in *тримац дeплови* ('to hold the reins'). Since the reins are part of the equipment for harnessing, or controlling a horse, from the mapping of the source domain (holding the reins) it is clear who is the patient of this activity without emphasizing it, i.e. it is clear the expression refers to having control. When the place of having control is added to the expression, as in the phraseologism *тримац дeплови у обисцу* 'to hold the reins in a household', then it is obvious that the target domain of this mapping is HAVE CONTROL IN THE FAMILY, BE THE BOSS.

Interestingly, the examples where the source domain is the Ruthenian exclamation *ГОГА /НОНА/* and the Russian *ПР /PR/*, the metaphorical mapping is based on the difference in the size of the Ruthenian and Russian horses denoted with exclamations.

The following concepts include the horse as a type of domestic animal:

Positive

1. SEXUAL STRENGTH, POTENCY (*дoбpoгo вaйчaкa пepшe зpaдзи вид a вeц дpyзe* 'a good stallion first loses its vision and then everything else')
2. BE LUCKY (*мa пoдкoвy (пepгaчa, хoвaнцa)* 'he/she has a horseshoe')
3. SUCCESS (*бyц нa кoню (кoньoвe)* 'to be on a horseback')

Negative

4. IMPATIENCE (*бeжaц як гaчe oпpeз дpyкa* 'to run towards something like a foal runs to the front of a carriage')
5. NOT UNDERSTANDING OTHERS VIEWPOINTS (*зaбyлa кoбyлa жe и вoнa дapaз гaчe бyлa* 'a mare forgot that it, too, was once a foal')
6. TIREDNESS (*вирoбeни як кoнь (вoл)* 'as tired as a horse', *вистaл як пoштapски кoнь* 'to be tired as a post rider's horse', *poбиц (цaгaц) як кoнь* 'to work/to pull like a horse')
7. LOSE THE DESIRE TO WORK (*змyхaвeл шe як кoнь* 'he is nervous like a horse defending itself against flies')
8. CHEATING (in cards, game, trade) (*дaц (чepaц) кoня зa мaгapцa*

‘to trade a horse for a donkey’)

9. THE WAY OF MOVING (*ходзи як франціяш* ‘he/she walks like knock-kneed horse’)

10. CONTROLLED/UNCONTROLLED BEHAVIOR (*спуциц ше з кефетика* ‘to free oneself from a harness’, *вжац/тримац деплови до /своїх/ руках* ‘to take/hold the reins (in one’s own hands)’, *тримац деплови у обисцу* ‘to hold the reins in a household’)

11. INADEQUATENESS (*анї прагац анї шедлац* ‘neither for harnessing nor for saddling’)

12. EQUALITY/INEQUALITY (*як зога и пр* ‘like hoha (exclamation for Ruthenian horse) and *пр* (a truncated form of a Soviet (Russian and Ukrainian) exclamation for a horse)’)

13. LOSING THE STATUS (*вируциц (дакого) зоз шедла /вилециц зоз шедла* ‘throw someone out of the saddle / fly out of the saddle’, *спаднуц з коня на матарца (осла)* ‘fall off a horse onto a donkey’)

RAM, SHEEP

Sheep (SHEEP, RAM, LAMB) appears in 6 concepts, which is the same number of phraseologisms that participate in forming the concepts (3.39%). Out of those, the source domain related to this type is the most often the RAM (2) or a LAMB (2). The SHEEP, on the other hand, appears once as the female type of this breed, and once as an adjective derived from that term (*вовк у овчей (баранцецовой, ягнятковой) скори* ‘wolf in the sheep’s skin’(lambskin)’). Additionally, the adjective *овчи* appears in the variants of this phraseologism in the form *баранцецовой* or *ягнятковой* skin. Based on the positive/negative connotation, the concepts again most commonly denote negative traits of a person, e.g. OVERESTIMATING ONE’S PHYSICAL OR MENTAL STRENGTH, DISRESPECT SOCIETAL NORMS, OR CHEATING. The positive ones are SEXUAL STRENGTH OR MAN’S POTENCY AND CALMNESS¹⁷². One concept is seen as neutral. It does not refer to a person, but the view of the world, i.e. NATURAL OCCURENCES.

The concepts that contain sheep, as a type of domestic animal, are the following:

Positive

1. SEXUAL STRENGTH, POTENCY (*стари баран але роцок тварди* ‘an old ram but with a hard horn’)
2. CALMNESS (*мирни як баранче (ягнятко)* ‘as calm as a lamb’)

172 This concept is the result of the precedent text, i.e. the influence of the Bible.

Negative

3. OVERESTIMATION OF ONE'S (PHYSICAL OR INTELLECTUAL) STRENGTH (*набрац (навишац, натрепац) на себе як баран на роги* 'to load oneself as much like a ram loads its horns')
4. CHEATING (in cards, game, trade) (*вовк у овчей (баранцеовой, ягнятковой)* 'wolf in the sheep's skin'(lambskin)')
5. DISRESPECTFULNESS OF THE SOCIAL NORMS (*заблукана (страцена) овца* 'a wandered (lost) sheep')

Neutral

6. NATURAL OCCURRENCES (*баранчата на небе* 'lambs on a sky')

CHICKEN

The terms that refer to the type of domestic animal CHICKEN appear in 11 concepts. There are 18 (10.17%) phraseologisms where the source domain is one of the hierarchically related terms to chicken. There are 8 mapping with a CHICKEN as the source domain separately. Other than the prototypical animal of this category, here also appear a CHICKEN (5), HEN (2), and THE TYPICAL LIVING PLACE OF A CHICKEN (1), or the typical products, EGGS (1).

The concepts with a positive connotation are BE SMART, NOT NAIVE (*озда сом не спаднул з бантох* 'I didn't fall down from a beam in the henhouse, did I?') and BE LUCKY (*пришкапело ше му як шлепей кури зарно / и шлепей кури ше уйдзе, зарно* 'he got lucky like a blind hen that found a grain / even a blind hen sometimes gets a grain'). All the other, have a negative connotation: INTELLECTUAL LIMITATIONS (*розуми ше до дачого як кура до пива* 'to know one's way around something like a hen knows its way around beer', *розум як у курчеца* 'to have a small brain like a chicken', *як кед би спаднул з бантох* 'as if he had fallen from a roof beam in the henhouse'), naivety (*войсцу як курче до помийох* 'to enter like a chicken into a swill, pigwash', OVERESTIMATING ONE'S STRENGTH (PHYSICAL OR INTELLECTUAL) (*учи курче квоку* 'a chicken teaches a hen'), SLEEPING (*легац (спац) з курами* 'to go to sleep with chickens'), LAZINESS (*шедзиц як квока [на вайцох]* 'he/she sits like broody hen on eggs'), TALKING RUBBISH, BLABBERING (*чвиркац як квока* 'to squirt like a broody hen'), CHEATING (in cards, game, trade) (*обрац дакого як куру до гарчка* 'to completely pluck off someone like a chicken to be cooked in a pot'), CLUMSY MOVEMENT (*круци ше як кура з вайцом* 'to move around like hen with an egg', *замервиц ше (зашпотац ше) як курче до клоча* 'to tangle up like chicken in hemp tow'), equality/inequality (*йому кура а мне вайцо* 'a hen to him and

a egg to me’).

Concepts where a hen, as a type of domestic animal, appears are:

Positive

HEN

1. BE SMART, NOT NAIVE (*озда сом не спаднул з бантох* ‘I didn’t fall down from a beam in the henhouse, did I?’)
2. GETTING LUCKY; SUCCESS (*пришкapedo ше му як шлпей кури зарно / и шлпей кури ше уйдзе, зарно* ‘he got lucky like a blind hen that found a grain/ even blind hen sometimes gets grain’)

Negative

3. INTELLECTUAL LIMITATIONS (*розуми ше до дачого як кура до пива* ‘to know one’s way around something like a hen knows its way around beer’, *як кед би спаднул з бантох* ‘as if he had fallen from a roof beam in the henhouse’)
4. SLEEPINESS (*легац (спац) з курами* ‘to go to sleep with chickens’)
5. CHEATING (in cards, game, trade) (*обрац дакого як куру до гарчка* ‘to completely pluck off someone like a chicken to be cooked in a pot’)
6. CLUMSY MOVEMENT (*круци ше як кура з вайцом, замервиц ше (защпотац ше) як курче до клоча* ‘to tangle up like chicken in hemp tow’)
7. EQUALITY/INEQUALITY (*йому кура а мне вайцо* ‘a hen to him and a egg to me’)

BROODY HEN

8. LAZINESS (*шедзиц як квока [на вайцох]* ‘he/she sits like broody hen on eggs’)
9. TALKING RUBBISH, BLABBERING (*чвиркац як квока* ‘to squirt like a broody hen’)

CHICKEN

10. INTELLECTUAL LIMITATIONS (*розум як у курчеца* ‘to have a small brain like a chicken’)
11. NAIVETY (*войсц як курче до помийох* ‘to enter like a chicken in a swill, pigwash’)
12. OVERESTIMATION OF ONE’S (PHYSICAL OR INTELLECTUAL) STRENGTH (*учи курче квоку* ‘a chicken teaches a hen’)

GOAT

Terms referring to GOAT, the domestic animal, appear in 6 concepts, which corresponds to the number of phraseologisms in which the source domain is this animal, which in the total number of phraseologisms is 10.17%. Other than the female animal of this type, no other hierarchically related terms appear (billy goat, kid). The concepts with a negative connotation are INTELLECTUALLY LIMITED (*патри як коза зарезана* 'he is staring like a slaughtered goat'), NAIVETY (*пришла коза под нож* 'a goat came under a knife by itself'), HOSTILITY (*любиц дакого як коза нож [а фаркаш капуста]* 'to love someone as a goat loves a knife [and a wolf loves cabbage]), BAD RELATIONS (*я о коже ти о боже* 'I'm talking about goat, and you are talking about God'). Neutral concepts are NATURAL OCCURENCES – Clouds (*баба гонї кози* 'grandma chases goats'). One concept has a positive connotation, and that is SUCCESS (*и коза сита и капуста цала* 'the goat is full and cabbage is untouched').

Here are the concepts that include a goat, as a type of domestic animal:

Positive

1. SUCCESS (*и коза сита и капуста цала* 'the goat is full and cabbage is untouched')

Negative

2. INTELLECTUAL LIMITATIONS (*патри як коза зарезана* 'he is staring like a slaughtered goat')
3. NAIVETY (*пришла коза под нож* 'a goat came under a knife by itself')
4. HOSTILITY (*любиц дакого як коза нож [а фаркаш капуста]* 'to love someone as a goat loves a knife [and a wolf loves cabbage])
5. MISUNDERSTANDING (*я о коже ти о боже* 'I'm talking about goat, and you are talking about God')

Neutral

6. NAUTRAL OCCURENCES (*баба гонї кози* 'grandma chases goats')

DONKEY

The domestic animal DONKEY can be found in 6 concepts: STUBBORNNESS/PERSISTENCE (2) (*твардоглави як матарец* 'as stubborn as a donkey', *упарти як матарец* 'as persistent as a donkey'), PASSIVITY (1) (*стої як матарец медзи овцами* 'he/she stands like donkey among sheep'), OLD

AGE (1) (*стари як стари матарец* 'as old as an old donkey'), CHEATING (in cards, games, trade) (7) (*правиц дакого матарцом, правиц (робиц) з дакого матарца* 'to make someone look like donkey, ie. stupid'), FAILURE (2) (*ані осла ані посла* 'neither the donkey nor the envoy came'), EQUALITY/INEQUALITY (5) (*яка у царици така у матарици* 'it is the same in (the possession of) a Tzar's wife and in (the possession of) a she-ass'). This animal appears as the source domain in 8 phraseologisms, out of which two are variants. That is 4.52% of all phraseologisms. One of those phraseologisms uses the archaic term *осел* which has the same meaning for this animal. All concepts have a negative connotation, i.e. they serve as negative evaluation of personality traits. Interpersonal relationships or social concepts such as failure are also viewed negatively. One concept cannot be labeled neither as a positive nor a negative one, and it seems it can be both. That concept is equality/inequality (*яка у царици така у матарици* 'it is the same in (the possession of) a Tzar's wife and in (the possession of) a she-ass').

Concepts entailing a donkey, as a type of domestic animal are the following:

Negative

1. STUBBORNNESS/PERSISTENCE (*твардоглави як матарец* 'as stubborn as a donkey', *упарти як матарец* 'as persistent as a donkey')
2. PASSIVITY (*стої як матарец медзи овцями* 'he/she stands like donkey among sheep')
3. OLD (*стари як стари матарец* 'old as an old donkey')
4. CHEATING (in cards, game, trade) (*правиц дакого матарцом, правиц (робиц) з дакого матарца* 'to make someone look like donkey, ie. stupid')
5. FAILURE (*ані осла ані посла* 'neither the donkey nor the envoy came')

Negative and Positive

6. EQUALITY/INEQUALITY (*яка у царици така у матарици* 'it is the same in (the possession of) a Tzar's wife and in (the possession of) a she-ass')

GOOSE

The domestic animal GOOSE appears in three concepts that refer to a person. These concepts have a negative connotation, in which a person's traits are stated: INDIFFERENCE (*як кед на гуску води плюшнеш / як на гуску води сипац* 'like when you splash water on a goose'), states

SICKNES (*жовти як гуше* 'yellow as a gosling'), and societal judgment INADEQUATE (*не за гуски шено* 'hay is not food for geese'). A goose can be found in four phraseologisms (2.26%).

Concepts in which a goose, as a type of domestic animal, can be found are the following:

Negative

1. INDIFFERENCE (*як кед на гуску води плюшнєш / як на гуску води синац* 'like when you splash water on a goose')
2. SICKNESS (*жовти як гуше* 'yellow as a gosling')
3. INADEQUATENESS (*не за гуски шено* 'hay is not food for geese')

DUCK

There are four concepts in which the domestic animal duck appears. In four phraseologisms, three refer to an offspring of this animal, a DUCKLING (*мокри (змокнути) як каче* 'as soaked as a duckling', *бежац як каче (качата) за ягоду* 'to run like a duckling (ducklings, gosling) after mulberry', *не за качата мачанка* 'sauce is not food for ducklings') (2.26%). The phraseologism in which a DUCK is the source domain is the result of the precedent texts (*правиц ше [на] злату качку* 'pretend to be a golden duck'). All concepts in which this animal appears negatively depict a person, i.e. their behavior, appearance, movement, or societal judgment.

Concepts in which a duck, as a type of domestic animal, appear are the following:

Negative

1. SOPPING WET (*мокри (змокнути) як каче* 'sopping wet as a duckling')
2. CHEATING (in cards, game, trade) (*правиц ше [на] злату качку* 'pretend to be a golden duck')
3. CLUMSY MOVING (*бежац як каче (качата) за ягоду* 'to run like a duckling (ducklings, gosling) after mulberry')
4. INADEQUATENESS (*не за качата мачанка* 'sauce is not food for ducklings')

GOBBLER

Domestic animal GOBBLER appears two times in phraseologisms (1.13%). These phraseologisms participate in forming two concepts that negatively depict a person (ANGER (*нагнївани (надуті) як пуляк* 'puffed up like a gobbler')) or their state (SHAME (*спуциц нос як пуляк* 'to put nose down like gobbler')).

Concepts in which a gobbler, as a type of domestic animal can be found are the following:

Negative

1. ANGER (*нагнівани (надуті) як пуляк* 'puffed up like a gobbler')
2. SHAME (*спустиць нос як пуляк* 'to put nose down like gobbler')

RABBIT

RABBIT, as a domestic animal, appears in 6 concepts: FEAR, SLEEP, LAZINESS, FASTER/SLOWER MOVEMENT, SUCCESS, BAD CHARACTERISTICS OF A WORKER, PERSON. In forming these concepts, a RABBIT as the source domain can be found in 6 phraseologisms (3.39%).

A positive view of a person's activities or societal judgment are the following concepts: FASTER/SLOWER MOVEMENT (*швидки (фришки) як заяц* 'as fast as a rabbit'), SUCCESS (*з одним вдереньом /забиць/ два зайці (мухи)* 'to kill two rabbits (flies) with one strike'). Concepts with a negative connotation are FEAR (*сцекаць як заяц* 'to run like a rabbit'), SLEEP (*спаць як заяц* 'to sleep like a rabbit'), LAZINESS (*робота не заяц - не сцекне (не одскака)* 'work is not a rabbit - it will not hop away'), BAD CHARACTERISTICS OF A WORKER, PERSON (*з нім не влатиш заяця* 'you will not catch rabbit with him').

Concepts in which a rabbit, as a type of domestic animal, can be found are the following:

Positive

1. FAST/SLOW MOVEMENT (*швидки (фришки) як заяц* 'as fast as a rabbit')
2. SUCCESS (*з одним вдереньом /забиць/ два зайці (мухи)* 'with one strike to kill two rabbits (flies) 'to kill two rabbits (flies) with one strike')

Negative

3. FEAR (*сцекаць як заяц* 'to run like a rabbit')
4. SLEEPINESS (*спаць як заяц* 'to sleep like a rabbit')
5. LAZINESS (*робота не заяц - не сцекне (не одскака)* 'work is not a rabbit - it will not hop away')
6. BAD CHARACTERISTICS OF A WORKER, PERSON (*з нім не влатиш заяця* 'you will not catch rabbit with him')

GENERAL TERMS FOR DOMESTIC ANIMALS (LIVESTOCK, CATTLE, FLOCK)

Some general terms for denoting groups of domestic animals (livestock, cattle, flock) can be found as a part of concepts that negatively portray a person's behavior or social judgment (to beat

someone up (*биц дакого як говеду* 'to beat someone as a livestock'), disrespect social norms (*жиц як бидло/статок*) 'to live like livestock').

Concepts, in which collective nouns for domestic animals (LIVESTOCK, CATTLE, FLOCK) can be found are the following:

Negative

1. TO BEAT SOMEONE UP (*биц дакого як говеду* 'to beat someone like livestock')
2. DISRESPECTFULNESS OF THE SOCIAL NORMS (*жиц як бидло (статок)* 'to live like livestock')

PHYSIOLOGICAL PROCESSES OR THEIR RESULTS

The following products of domestic animals: MANURE, MUCK, and DEFECATING, can be found in various concepts, most often with a negative connotation directed towards a person.

Physiological waste of animals or barn's products appear in concepts that negatively describe a person (LAZINESS (*шедзи (ляпнул, лежи) як балета* 'he sits (lays) like droppings, dung', *подли як гной* 'bad like manure'), their way of talking TALK RUBBISH, BLABBER (*балеговац дакому* 'to defecate/cow dung to someone', *скруциц як за гнойом (як за брадлом)* 'to turn like behind the manure') or show DISRESPECT OR DISREGARD OF THE RULES NOT KNOWING (BASIC) RULES (*галадзиц своєю родзене гніздо* 'to defecate in one's native nest').

MANURE, MUCK, DEFECATE

Concepts in which the physiological waste of domestic animals is mentioned are the following:

Negative

1. LAZINESS (*шедзи (ляпнул, лежи) як балета* 'he sits (lays) like droppings, dung', *подли як гной* 'bad like manure')
2. TALK RUBBISH, BLABBER (*балеговац дакому* 'to defecate/cow dung to someone', *скруциц як за гнойом (як за брадлом)* 'to turn like behind the manure')
3. NOT KNOWING (BASIC) RULES (*галадзиц своєю родзене гніздо* 'to defecate in one's native nest')

PRODUCTS OF DOMESTIC ANIMALS

Products made out of milk that people use for eating participate in forming two concepts. Because of their color, they are used illustratively as the source domain to form the concept of SKIN COLOR (*били як сир* 'white as a cheese'). This concept is perceived as a nega-

tive description of the skin (the one that can be a sign of sickness). The second concept is HIGH QUALITY PEOPLE which uses a positive way to describe the good qualities of people with phraseologisms (*мала грудка але сами сир* 'a small lump but it's all cheese') that build their metaphorical mappings on the consistency of the cheese.

CHEESE

Concepts in which cheese, as a product of domestic animals can be found are the following:

Negative

1. SKIN COLOR (*били як сир* 'white as a cheese')
2. HIGH QUALITY PEOPLE (*мала грудка але сами сир* 'a small lump but it's all cheese')

EGG

Products of chicken, goose, or other domestic birds (egg) can be found in two negatively connotated concepts (VICIOUSNESS (*погубени як мутяк (запоросток)* 'spoiled like an egg'), PETTINESS (*гледац власу у вайцу* 'to search for a hair in an egg').

Concepts where the product of domestic animals (egg) appears are:

Negative

1. VICIOUSNESS (*погубени як мутяк (запоросток)* 'spoiled like a rotten egg')
2. PETTINESS, NEATNESS (*гледац власу у вайцу* 'to search for a hair in an egg')

OBJECTS, FODDER

Concepts related to a person are formed with phraseologisms in which the source domain are objects. Such are INEVITABILITY (*на концу батог пука* 'a whip cracks at its end'), HARD WORK (*як ошторгель* 'like a whip cracker'), HOSTILITY (*ми не ходзиме (ми ше не вожиме) на истим кочу* 'we are not driving on a same carriage'), INTELLECTUAL LIMITS (*мац труби (плеви) у глави* 'to have (miller's) bran inside one's head').

WHIP

Concepts in which the object whip appears:

Negative

1. INEVITABILITY (*на концу батог пука* 'a whip cracks at its end')

CRACKER (on an end of a whip)

Concepts in which the object CRACKER appears:

Negative

1. HARD WORK (*як ошторгэль* 'like a whip cracker')

CARRIAGES

Concepts in which the carriage can be found:

Negative

1. HOSTILITY (*ми не ходзиме (ми ше не вожиме) на истим кочу* 'we are not driving on a same carriage')

BRAN (OR MILLER'S BRAN)

Concepts in which lexemes denoting food for livestock can be found are the following:

Negative

1. INTELLECTUAL LIMITATIONS (*мац отруби (плеви) у глави*) to have (miller's) bran inside one's head'

5. Association test

5.1. Association method

In this paper, the association method was used for determining members of domestic animals categories and characteristics that place animals into specific categories. It is a product of the effects psychology has on linguistics¹. Rajna Dragičević states that the associative method cannot be used independently in semantic research. Still, it is very useful for labeling specific semantic occurrences or confirming results of a certain research (Dragičević, 2010a: 114). In this paper, the association test plays this exact role - it helps determine typical and prototypical representatives of the categories, where the prototypical ones are defined as the members of a category that first comes to one's mind (Taylor, 1995: 52).

At the beginning of the 20th century, research was conducted by two psychologists, Kent and Rosanoff. The research is called *A Study of association in insanity, I, Association in normal subjects* (G. H. Kent and A. J. Rosanoff, 1910), and it is one of the most important researches in which the association method² was used. Within the research, a test was used that involved 1000 participants who were asked to share what comes to their minds when presented with 100 emotionally neutral words (nouns, verbs, adjectives). The Kent Rosanoff test was later translated into multiple languages. Dragičević emphasizes that one property of associative research is the fact that every test is formed by relying on the previous ones, fully or partially (Dragičević, 2010a: 114). In this way, earlier material becomes the foundation for further research in semantics, where hypotheses on the structure and elements of semantic fields can be tested within syntax, cultural research, etc. (Stefanović, 2005: 23). This approach to research can indicate whether there are some universalities in people's mental struc-

1 To learn more about the associative method, refer to Piper, Stefanović, Dragičević, 2005: 7-23).

2 Theoretical interest in associations appears even in the ancient times, when Aristotle had similar ideas (Piper, Stefanović, Dragičević, 2005: 8).

tures. Piper notes that the creation of an Association Dictionary, based on the appropriate methodological grounds, would enable insights into changes in the social perception of reality and the current state of public opinion, as well as into wrong views of reality, to help avoid superficial and wrong stereotypes about oneself or others. Additionally, he emphasizes that an association dictionary and a dictionary of stereotypes are some of the most reliable and objective instruments of psycholinguistics (Piper, Stefanović, Dragičević, 2005: 18)³.

In Slavic-related research, one of the most popular association dictionaries was created by A. A. Leonteva (Dragičević, 2010: 41; Piper, Stefanović, Dragičević, 2005: 14)⁴. This was the first association dictionary of the Russian language, published in 1977, and it contained 200 stimuli. Today, there are association dictionaries⁵ of Serbian (Piper, Stefanović, Dragičević, 2005: 2011), Russian (Karaulov et al., 1994, 1996, 1998; Karaulov et al., 2002), Belarussian, Ukrainian (Butenko, 1979; Martinek, I 2007; Martinek, II 2007), Kyrgyz and other languages. Also, a Slavic association dictionary has been published, and it includes Russian, Belarussian, Bulgarian, and Ukrainian languages (Ufimceva et al., 2004).

5.2. Applicability of the association research

The association method can be used within semantic, grammatical, or pragmatic research. The subject of the research can be the frequency of occurrence of certain types of words, synonyms, antonyms, phraseologisms, precedent texts, connections of paradigms and phrases, etc. Piper emphasizes the usefulness of the association research for analyzing ethnocultural stereotypes. This is a complex structure of the highest frequency associations in a specific language community (Piper, Stefanović, Dragičević, 2005: 12). According to Piper, analyzing this phenomenon is one of the main tasks of the cultural linguistics and ethno-psychology (Piper, Stefanović, Dragičević, 2005: 12). Importance of association dictionaries and ethnocultural stereotypes for managing cultural politics toward other ethnic groups, since these dictionaries provide information about one ethnic group's perception of other ethnic

3 The test used for the purpose of writing this paper is an exception, as it analyzes concepts that are not usually part of association tests.

4 More about this in (Dragičević, 2010; Piper, 2005: 14).

5 More about this in (Piper, 2003; 2014: 14).

groups, other languages, etc., is also emphasized (Bartmiński, 1996).

Dragičević states that researching associations can provide conclusions on conceptualization, especially in terms of abstract concepts, i.e. emotions, and that by including the research of conceptual metaphors and cognitive scenarios, a bigger picture regarding the conceptualization of emotions can be seen (Dragičević, 2010a: 114). Accordingly, the research relevant for this paper was based on associations, the conceptual side of metaphors is analyzed on the material of comparative phraseologisms and words of figurative meaning whose source domain is connected to raising domestic animals.

5.3. Precedent code

There is a group of language indicators and outer-language realities (names, events, exclamations, texts, films, images, gestures, popular songs, ads, political texts, etc.) that are generally known to a specific linguistic culture so much so that every language carrier of that language, i.e. the representative of one linguistic culture, understands them (Popović, 2019; Dragičević, 2010: 15). According to Dragičević, the corpus of precedent texts changes, since some texts can lose their status. This shows the pattern of one ethnic group's culture that forms the scale of its values, and without which one culture cannot be understood (Dragičević, 2010: 15). Ljudmila Popović states that the precedent text of the Ruthenian culture is *З мойого валала*⁶ by Havrijil Kostelnjik, and one deriving from Serbian culture is *Востани Сербие*⁷ by Dositej Obradović. The author also states that an individual in a multiethnic environment, by successfully understanding more precedent texts, potentially has a better general knowledge and wider social views, and develops the ability to understand other, potentially different, people better, which leads to a harmonious life in a multicultural environment (Popović, 2019).

5.4. Association test creation methodology

The author creates a list of words or stimuli that participants read or have them read to. Before the stimuli are read, it is explained to the participants that for every stimulus, i.e. a word or phrase,

6 https://issuu.com/rusnak/docs/z_mojoho_valala

7 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vostani_Serbije

they have to state what first comes to their mind when they hear it. They can provide the answer in oral or written form, and, in case of a written response, the responses are called word responses. A higher number of participants and similar testing conditions add to the validity and objectivity of the results. After testing, the word responses are read and classified according to how frequently they occurred among the responses (Dragičević, 2010a: 113).

Based on the type of a response, association tests can be grouped into discrete, where participants have to answer by using only one word, or continuous, where the participants have to answer by using several words as their first response to a stimulus. On the other hand, when the researcher asks the participant to provide a specific type of a word or a semantic relationship between a stimulus and a word response, the association test in question is a controlled one. When the researcher does not ask for this, and the participant has the freedom to respond regardless of the type of word or semantic relationship, the test in question is the free association test (Dragičević, 2010: 114). The test used for the purposes of writing this paper is the test of free associations.

5.4.1. Number of stimuli

The association test for the Russian and Serbian association dictionaries contained 100 stimuli each, which was based on the first important association test from 1910, used by Kent and Rosanoff, where there were 1000 participants (Dragičević, 2010a: 109; Pاونović Rodić, 2017: 62). Dragičević states that some researchers criticize the tests containing 100 stimuli with the explanation that they can be too extensive (Dragičević, 2005: 96). Association tests can also contain a smaller number of stimuli, e.g. 12 (Gligorijević, 2018).

5.4.2. The association field, core and periphery

The association field, or the field of verbal associations, refers to all responses, also known as reactions (or the associations), received from participants, and is activated by a specific stimulus. That is the most general lexical group of the lexicon connected with the paradigm (Dragičević, 2005: 60). The field of verbal association has its center, which is the most frequent association. The most usual occurrence of a specific response shows the prototypical association or the prototypical member of the category, since in this paper categories are discussed. There is a lexical and a semantic center. The lexical center consists of the most frequent

word, and the semantic one of the associations that have a similar meaning but different form. The core of the association field consists of the most common associations, i.e. of the associations that appear more than once. Based on the number of occurrences, the association core can be stronger or weaker. Associations that create the core form the structure of the stereotype. The periphery of the association field consists of the associations⁸ that occur only once⁹. Those are completely subjective associations that are usually idiosyncratic (Dragičević, 2005: 60).

As some associations with similar meanings are presented separately, the fact that they form a mutual functional block can be overlooked (Piper, Stefanović, Dragičević, 2005: 14). In this paper, there are different answers, for example, singular and plural forms of one word as in *vajgo* /vajco/ 'an egg' and *vajca* /vajca/ 'eggs', that have different positions in the association field. When explaining that field, these responses are viewed as a part of the semantic field, i.e. part of the common functional block/thematic group whose development provides information important for understanding the structure of the association field (Piper, Stefanović, Dragičević, 2005: 14).

The response can be a word or an expression. When looking at the form, the response can hypothetically have the form of all types of words, and it can be in its lemmatization or grammatical form. The lemmatization forms are the ones in the nominative case singular or infinitive, and the responses in the other case, number, time, etc. are grammaticalized.

The participant has the right not to respond to a certain stimulus. Such places in the test are referred to as omissions. Blank spaces or answers such as *I do not know*, *It does not bring anything to my mind*, etc. are considered to be omissions.

5.4.3. Type of response

Based on the type of response to the stimulus, associations are grouped into phrasal and paradigmatic (Dragičević, 2005: 59). Phrasal associations are the source for researching phrasal, distributive, and phraseological possibilities, while the paradigmatic

8 They are also known as the hapax (Dragičević, 2005: 95). Those are words that appear in a text or language only once.

9 Individual responses are also valuable, as they paint a clearer picture of the association potential structure and help determine the grammatical relations in one associative verbal web.

ic ones provide an additional overview of the highest number of the semantic relations where the stimulus is included (Dragičević, 2005: 59). Both are important for analyzing the mental lexicon.

There are two dominant theories about the relations in the mental lexicon. The first one is the *atomic bubble theory*, according to which words consist of components that repeat and overlap in different words. The second theory is the *web theory*, which sees words as complete units that connect with other words with various intensities (Dragičević, 2005: 60). Responses to stimuli, show that the connection is present. Rajna Dragičević listed the following connections (Dragičević, 2005: 60):

Coordinational connections: *sparrow, swallow, tit, pigeon*¹⁰;
 Collocational connections: *to drink - coca-cola*;
 Hyponymic connections: *bird - sparrow*;
 Antonymic connections: *black - white*;
 Synonymic connections: *happiness - joy*;
 Causative connections: *money - wealth*;
 Situational connections: *thread - needle*.

According to Stefanović, from the association grammar point of view, the relations between the stimulus and response can be one of the following two (Stefanović, 2005: 34):

The response and stimulus can be the same type of word, and most often, the responses are motivated by the form of the stimulus. In these cases, the combination of the stimulus and response is not a syntactic lexeme.

Responses are conditioned by the potential of the stimulus to create grammatical connections. For every association field, a hierarchy of probability of the occurrence of certain forms of responses can be made. In these cases, the combination of the stimulus and response is a syntactic lexeme.

The simplest way to identify the way in which language information is stored in one's memory is to analyze the tendencies of connections between the stimulus and response (Stefanović, 2005: 34). J. N. Karaulov established the hierarchy of relations between the types of words of the stimulus and response (Karaulov, 1993: 31). If the stimulus is a noun, then the most frequent response is a noun, an adjective, or a verb. Stimulus in the form of an adjective triggers the response in the form of a verb, a noun, or an adverb. If

¹⁰ Examples from Dragičević (2005: 60).

pronouns are the stimulus, the participants usually respond with different pronouns or nouns.

Participants have to respond to the stimulus using one word or one semantic unit, which can be a word, phrase, or sentence (Karaulov, 1993: 35-36).

Karaulov emphasizes the conditionality of the division of knowledge into the declarative and operative knowledge. Speech as the language reality is the result of the grammar and lexicon interweaving in one person's consciousness (Karaulov, 1993: 35-36). Based on this and natural rules, association grammar is in the association-verbal web (AVW) and is realized by the means of an association experiment. This is lexicalized grammar that is conceptualized because it occurs in association blocks. These blocks are read as realistic phrases, e.g. *жем* → *велька*, potential: *жем* → *вельки*, or with predicates, explicit: *Страх* → *кед ме дахто злекне* or implicit: *любов* → *надія*: *Любов то надія*¹¹.

5.4.4. Number of participants

Dragičević states that results of an association test are valid if there are 500 responses (Dragičević, 2005: 96). Authors of the Serbian association dictionary gathered 800 responses. However, the research conducted for the purposes of writing this paper was not as wide, and its goal was to analyze one thematic group, thus the number of stimuli is smaller¹². The objectivity of the association test is based on the fact that a large number of participants responded to a certain stimulus in the same way.

5.4.5. Age of the participants

Association tests for the Russian and Serbian association dictionaries included responses of individuals whose age ranged from 18 to 25 years, because, according to Karaulov, they are the future carriers of the cultural and social life of an ethnic group. This makes their responses suitable for making assumptions about the future cultural, linguistic, psychological and sociological image of an

11 Examples from (Popović, 2021).

12 It should also be noted that there are 11483 Ruthenians in Serbia according to the last population census. This means that the number of participants in the study is just under 1% of the total number of Ruthenians in Serbia. <https://popis2022.stat.gov.rs/sr-Latn/5-vestisaopstenja/news-events/20230428-konacnirezpopisa>

ethnic group (Dragičević, 2005: 96). In the research conducted for the purposes of writing this paper, the age of the participants is of a wider scope.

5.5. Association test *Raising domestic animals*

Participants were taking the tests during the period between February and April 2021. They had the choice to respond either by filling out a printed test or doing it online. The online survey was limited to one test per email address, preventing one person from filling out the survey multiple times. Since the participants were permitted to fill in the test in their alphabet of choice, an insight into the preference in writing, especially online, has been gained as well. This additional information was not planned to be obtained, as it was not the primary goal of the research, but it shows that the association test can be used for the purposes of such research as well.

5.5.1. Stimuli in the test

The test contained 48 questions, 43 of which were stimuli. The first five questions are meant to gather information about the participants (location, sex, age, native language). Stimuli can be divided into four groups according to their form:

Stimulus in the form of a noun (16) (*Статок (Livestock), Живина (Poultry), Дробизг (Poultry)*¹³, *Крава (Cow), Конь (Horse), Швиня (Pig), Магарец (Donkey), Коза (Goat), Овца (Sheep), Кура (Chicken), Качка (Duck), Гуска (Goose), Пес (Dog), Заяц (Rabbit), Мачка (Cat), Пулька (Turkey)*).

Stimulus in the form of a noun phrase (14) (*Домашня животиња (Domestic animal), Полне одношене домашнић животињох (Sexual intercourse of domestic animals), Народзене младог домашней животињи (Birth of a domestic animals offspring), Самец домашней животињи (Male domestic animal), Самица домашней животињи (Female domestic animal), Младе домашней животињи (Domestic animal offspring), Продукт з домашней животињи (Products of domestic animals), Особа хтора хова одредзени домашнић животињи (A person who raises certain domestic animals), Функция домашней животињи (Function of domestic animals), Пожива домашней животињи (Food for domestic animals), Часц цела домашней животињи (Domestic animal body*

13 Archaic term for poultry (дробизг /drobizg/).

parts), *Власне мено домашньої животині* (Personal name given to domestic animals), *Раса одредженої фایти домашньої животині* (Specific domestic animal breed), *Назва домашньої животині спрам фарби* (Name for a domestic animal based on its color)).

Stimulus in the form of an unfinished hypothetical causative sentence (10) (*То би бул добри конь кед би мал* (That would be a good horse if it had), *То би була добра крива кед би мала* (That would be a good cow if it had), *То би бул добри матарец кед би мал* (That would be a good donkey if it had), *То би була добра коза кед би мала* (That would be a good goat if it had), *То би була добра овца кед би мала* (That would be a good sheep if it had), *То би була добра швиня кед би мала* (That would be a good pig if it had), *То би була добра кура кед би мала* (That would be a good chicken if it had), *То би була добра качка кед би мала* (That would be a good duck if it had), *То би була добра гуска кед би мала* (That would be a good goose if it had), *То би була добра пультка кед би мала* (That would be a good turkey if it had)).

Stimulus in the form of a simple unfinished sentence that requires a complement (3) (*Домашня животиня ше оглашуе* (A domestic animal makes sounds), *Домашньої животині ше розказуе* (Giving orders to a domestic animal), *Домашні животині ше хова у* (Domestic animals are raised in)).

5.5.2. Collecting the data

Responses gathered from the online tests were retrieved by using an Excel table, which made the process of collecting the data easier. Responses gathered from the tests done in writing were copied into those tables. The possibility to use either the Cyrillic or Latin alphabet made the process more complex.

The next stage of the research was to count how many times each word occurred among the responses. Even with the help of Excel and automation, the numbers had to be checked, as some words could have been misspelled or written in Cyrillic. An example is the writing of the letters ж, з, г, г, дь, ть, etc. with the laic Latin script z, c, h etc¹⁴.

14 Since many people use the Latin alphabet, the option to choose between the two alphabets was to allow the participants to freely write their responses, without any pressure or thinking about the alphabet used. However, other than having to transcribe the Latin alphabet into the Cyrillic one, the problem was also the decoding of the written text, e.g. when a person writes in Latin *hej* (*zeij*) as a response to the stimulus a domestic animal produces the sound, it is unclear whether they wanted to

In case of responses in the form of an adverb, and an adverb being used in the stimulus as well, it was considered to be identical with the one without the adverb. Since the form of possessives and numbers does not affect their meaning, their different forms were considered to be the same response (*хлів/у хліве, хлівох кармик/у кармику*). Mistakes in writing were corrected if there was no room for any assumptions, as in *веле* /velje/ as a response to the stimulus offspring, which can only be *целє* /celje/ 'calf'. Misspelled or grammatically incorrect forms were also counted as the correctly written ones, e.g. the exclamation *зога* /hoha/ was written by some participants as *вога* /voha/ or *ога* /oha/. It is assumed that these forms are the result of the low frequency of the word occurrence, i.e. that the participants simply wrote the exclamation as they remembered it.

5.5.3. Presentation of answers in an association field

Responses to stimuli were presented based on the number of occurrences. If several responses were equally frequent, they were listed in the alphabetical order. After every response, the number of occurrences was given, i.e. the number of people who provided the same response to a specific stimulus. The last element of one dictionary entry of one association field were the numbers associated with that field, e.g. 100 (36) + 47 + 0 + 31. The first number (100) stands for the number of participants, the second one in brackets (36)¹⁵ is the number of male participants, the third one (47) shows the number of different responses, the fourth (0) is the number of participants who did not have a response to a stimulus, and the fifth one (31) denotes the number of responses that appear at least once. The same way of marking data was used in the *Serbian Association dictionary* and the *Russian Association dictionary*.

This is followed by a description of the entry, which, in terms of this paper, consists of two parts. The first part describes the structure, that is, the center, core, and periphery of an association field.

say yes (which is the primary meaning of the word *zei*) or if they referred to the sound the animal makes. There are several such examples.

15 The authors of the *Serbian association dictionary* added to these numbers the number of students of social studies and the number of science students who participated in their survey. In this research, due to the number of participants, this particular number was not included. The number of male participants was included, as it also indicates the number of female ones.

The second part deals with thematic groups and lexical relations between the stimuli and responses.

5.6. Analysis of the association test

1. Place of residence

Information on the place of residence helped the author of this paper to look for new participants. Participants of this survey came from ten different locations in which Ruthenians live. Out of the total 100 participants, the majority were from Ruski Krstur (46%). There were also people from Novi Sad (17%), Kucura (16%), Đurđevo (7%), Kula (3%), and Vrbas (3%). One person from Berkasovo, Futog, Šajkaš, and Kitchener (Canada) respectively also participated in the survey. Some of the participants anonymized their place of residence, by listing the place of residence as Mars (1%) or a house (1%), or they chose to simply not provide this information (2%).

2. Gender

99 participants answered the question regarding their gender. 63% of the participants were female and 36% male. This information was important for understanding possible gender-specific responses. Terms denoting domestic animals are often source domains for various metaphorical realizations, for which the gender information could be important. Also, jobs related to domestic animals provide us with the information about the position of men and women, both within a family and the society.

3. Native language

It is important to know what the native languages of participants are, in order to present the linguistic image of a certain ethnic group. However, it seems irrelevant whether a person declares to be a member of a Ruthenian ethnic group or not. A more important fact is whether the person grew up surrounded by the Ruthenian language, i.e. whether the person carries the language and the linguistic image of the Ruthenian people.

This question was answered by 98 participants. The majority were the carriers of the Ruthenian language. Yet, the difference in naming the language is noticeable (руски /ruski/; руски язык /ruski

jazik/; русински /rusinski/; руски (русински) /ruski (rusinski)/¹⁶. Also, some participants stated that their native languages were Ruthenian and Serbian. One person listed the Slovak language as their native one. It is assumed that these people came from mixed families, where one of the parents is Ruthenian, so the Ruthenian language is equally used as the other one¹⁷.

4. Age

This question regarding participants' age was answered by 99 people. When searching for participants, the focus was on having a similar number of people belonging to different generations.

The association test for the Ruthenian and Serbian association dictionaries was taken by people whose age ranged from 18 to 25 years, as, according to Karaulov, they are the future carriers of the cultural and social life of an ethnic group, making their response suitable for assuming the future of the cultural, linguistic, psychological and sociological image of an ethnic group (Dragičević, 2005: 96).

The participants had the option to choose the answer closest to their age, and the answers were offered in 10-year spans (15–25, 26–35, 36–45, 46–55, 56–65, and more than 65). This was done to help the participants feel more comfortable and not hide their age. Most participants (26%) belonged to the 36–45 span. The other age spans followed as listed: 26–35 (22%), 56–65 (18%), more than 65 (15%), and 46–55 (13%). The smallest number of participants belonged to the 15 to 25 span (5%).

5. Domestic animal¹⁸

пес¹⁹ (20, конь / , мачка) 38; мачка (, крава/ , пес) 14; крава (, швиня, кура)

16 All the ethnonyms refer to the Vojvodina Ruthenians.

17 There is also possibility that participants literally understood term *mother language* (macerinski jazik) 'native language' in Ruthenian language.

18 Each associative field will first be presented in the form of a dictionary article in Ruthenian language, after which parts of the associative field will be presented (lexical/semantic center, core and periphery.)

19 The associations are presented in the descending order according to their frequency of occurrence. When several associations are equally frequent, they are listed in the alphabetical order.

20 Considering that the respondents often gave more than one response, that is, listed more words in connection with the stimulus, the author

10; швиня (, пес) 10; конь (, крава) 9; кура 5; валал 2; ганзлик 1; заяц 1; животиня о хторей ше стара человек у власним обисцу 1; животиня хтора ше хова у обисцу а ей месо, млеко, вайцо ше хасную за костиране 1; качка 1; когут 1; коза 1; магарец 1; папагай 1; питома животиня 1; праше 1; сваха 1.

100 (36) + 19 + 0 + 12

Lexical (and semantic²¹) center of the field of verbal associations to the stimulus *domestic animal* is the associate *dog* 38. The core of this field has 7 associates (*dog* 38;²² *cat* 14; *cow* 10; *pig* 10; *horse* 9; *chicken* 5; *village* 2). The periphery of the field consists of associates (12) that appear only once (*dwarf rooster* 1; *rabbit* 1; *animal which is taken care of by a man in its own household* 1; *animal which is raised in a household and its meat, milk, and eggs are used for human nutrition* 1; *duck* 1; *rooster* 1; *goat* 1; *donkey* 1; *parrot* 1; *tame animal* 1; *piglet* 1; *mother-in-law*). All participants provided a response to this stimulus.

In this field, the most common are the verbal associations with animals. The most frequent associations are those including pets (*dog*; *cat*), livestock (*cow*; *pig*; *horse*; *poultry (chicken)*) and the place where domestic animals are most commonly bred (*village*). Two idiosyncratic answers were found that describe what a domestic animal is (*an animal that a person takes care of in their home* 1; *an animal bred in a home, whose meat, milk, or eggs are used as food* 1).

considered the first word to be the relevant response. That is why these, according to our understanding, secondary responses are given in parentheses after the responses. For example, the response *dog (, horse / , cat)* means that the first word is the response that we consider relevant, the comma (,) means that the words in parentheses are part of the response, and the slash (/) indicates that the responses were given by different respondents. The presented example is therefore a combination of two responses (1. *dog*, *horse*; 2. *dog*, *cat*), whose common denominator is the response *пес /pes/ 'dog'* that both respondents wrote down first.

21 The authors of the *Serbian association dictionary* suggest that, to understand the structure of the prototype, it is important to consider both the frequency of the associate and their belonging to the same group or synonymic path, as the associate with a similar meaning are written down separately so it is easy to lose the wider image of which ones belong to the same functional group (Piper, 2005: 14).

22 Since responses can be enumerations, phrases, or sentences, each individual response will be separated by a semicolon (;).

One association has a negative meaning, namely *mother-in-law*, as this term is used figuratively for a domestic animal. Also, the synonymic lexeme *tame animal* was used once. If the associations are seen as a subcategory of the category *domestic animal*, such as livestock, poultry, and pets, then the most frequent responses are the ones related to pets (*dog; cat; parrot*). These are followed by livestock (*cow; pig; horse; goat; donkey; piglet*), and the least present ones are related to poultry (*chicken; duck; rooster*).

These results showed that the best representative of the category of domestic *animals* is the word *dog*, which is a bit unusual, as most Ruthenians live in villages and more than half of the participants also lived in villages. Yet, this can be understood as a change in the perception of domestic animals.

6. Livestock

крава (, коза, овца, конь, магарец/ , конь 2/ , швиня, коза) 45; швиня (, крави) 9; крави (, швині, овци 2/ , швині, кози, овци) 7; конь 7; буяк (/ , вол, конь, крава) 6; овца 4; коні 3; хлів 2; месо 2; буяци и крави 1; валал 1; домашні животині 1; домашні животині хтори человек трима же би ше од ніх достало поживово продукти - крави, овци, кози, зайци... 1; доходок 1; животиня 1; кармик 1; коза 1; множество 1; овци 1; скоро, месо 1; слабо хто хова 1; тиж крава? 1; у скупштини и на улічки 1; швині 1.

100 (36) + 24 + 0 + 15

The center of the field of verbal associations to the stimulus *livestock* is the associate *cow* 45. If the plural form of this noun, namely *cows* 7, is added to the center, then it has a frequency of 52. The semantic center is wider and includes the associates of similar or close meanings, as is the term for the male uncastrated type of domestic animal, *bull* 6. Such an understanding of the center of the field of verbal associations would then expand its frequency to 58 associates. The core of this field has 9 responses, and they each appear at least twice (*cow* 45; *pig* 9; *cows* 7; *horse* 7; *bull* 6; *a sheep* 4; *horses* 3; *stable* 2; *meat* 2).

The periphery of the field consists of 15 responses with the frequency 1 (*bulls and cows* 1; *domestic animals* 1; *pigsty* 1; *multitude, plenty* 1; *also cow?* 1; *in a parliament and on a street* 1; *village* 1; *domestic animals which are raised by a man in order to get food products - cows, a sheep, goats, rabbits* 1; *income* 1; *animal* 1; *goat* 1; *a sheep* 1; *skin, meat* 1; *few of them raise* 1; *pigs* 1). There were no omissions to the stimulus *livestock*.

Based on the semantics of the verbal associations, some responses denoted the domestic animals/livestock category (*cow; bull; bulls and cows; goat; horses; horse; cows; a sheep; sheep, also cow?; pig; pigs*), products, i.e. the way people benefit from these animals (*meat / skin, meat / income*), places related to breeding of domestic animals (*village; pigsty; stable*), the definition of the stimulus (*animal which is raised by a man in order to get food products - cows, a sheep, goats, rabbits*²³), and the function or reason for breeding the animals (*income*).

Most responses are subordinated members of the hypernym *livestock*, i.e. hyponyms: *cow; cows; bull; horse; horses; pig; pigs; a sheep; sheep; goat*. The following responses are considered hypernyms: *domestic animals; domestic animals which are raised by a man in order to get food products - cows, a sheep, goats, rabbits*. The relationship between a part and a whole is seen in the responses *meat; skin, meat*.

One response shows an example of metaphorical mapping. The response *in a parliament and on a street* combined with the stimulus *livestock* forms the sentence *Livestock - in a parliament and on a street*. The source domain of this metaphorical mapping is *LIVESTOCK* and the target domain is *PEOPLE*. The mapping is motivated by the fact that some people lack moral traits typical for people, such as honesty. Similar examples are seen in phraseologisms and figurative meaning of terms used for denoting domestic animals.

7. Poultry (*живина /živina/*)

кура (, гуска 4/ гуска, качка / , пулька) 47; кури (, гуски, пульки, качки / , качки, гуски / качки, гуски, морки / , пульки, гуски, качки, морки / , пульки, гуски, качки) 10; гуска (, пулька) 5; пулька 7; качка 6; когут (, морка) 6; вайца 2; гуски 2; курнік 2; курче 2; морка 2; пире 2; дробизг 1; исте цо и дробизг - кури, качки, морки... 1; препилка 1; фарма 1; частейше ше хова 1; у фризерских салонох 1; украс двора 1.

100 (36) + 18 + 0 + 7

The response *chicken* with the frequency of 47 and its plural form *chickens* with 10 occurrences are the center of the field of verbal associations to the stimulus *poultry* (*живина /živina/*). Together, these two forms make up more than half of all the respons-

²³ Idiosyncratic answers in every field have a minimal frequency and present an expression of the originality of an individual who filled out the survey, which is why they are further from typical answers.

es, i.e. 57 associates. The associate *rooster* 6 could also be considered to be part of the semantic center. All answers with a frequency of more than 2 appearances form the core of this field. There are 12 of them (*hen* 47; *chickens* 10; *goose* 5; *turkey* 7; *duck* 6; *rooster* 6; *eggs* 2; *geese* 2; *chicken coop* 2; *chicken* 2; *guineafowl* 2; *feathers* 2). Out of all of them, 6 associates appeared only two times. There are 7 associates that appeared only once and they form the periphery of this field (*drobizg*²⁴ 1; *same as a drobizg - chickens, ducks, guinea fowls ...* 1; *quail* 1; *farm* 1; *is raised more often* 1; *in hairdresser salon* 1; *backyard decoration* 1).

The most frequent associates related to domestic animals are members of the category *poultry*, i.e. the hyponyms of that category. The terms *hen*; *chickens*; *rooster*; *goose*; *geese*; *turkey*; *duck* appear more frequently. The terms *geese*; *guinea fowl*; *quail* were less frequent (2 or 1).

Terms denoting products that people get from these animals have a lower frequency (*eggs*; *feathers*), as do the terms denoting places where the animals are kept (*chicken coop*; *farm*), their synonymic terms (*drobizg*; *same as a drobizg - chickens, ducks, guinea fowls ...*), and the terms used for denoting their offsprings (*chicken*).

Qualifying terms as positive or negative is rare in the case of responses belonging to this field. There is one response marked as positive and one as negative.

The response *in hairdresser salon* with the stimulus forms the sentence *Poultry in the hairdresser salon*, with a negative connotation referring to women. This is the case of metaphorical mapping where the source domain is POULTRY and the target domain is WOMEN. This mapping was motivated by the stereotypical folk view of poultry, usually chicken, as stupid. The connection between the source and target domain is based on the similar behavior of the poultry and women, that is, on the opinion that going to a hairdresser to gossip is stupid.

On the other hand, the response *backyard decoration* is a positive qualification formed by using a metaphor. This metaphorical mapping can be presented as POULTRY → DECORATION. Here, poultry is the source domain whose appearance is seen as beautiful.

When it comes to hierarchical relations, the responses are most often the hyponyms of the category *poultry* (*goose*; *geese*; *duck*; *rooster*; *hen*; *chickens*; *chicken*; *guineafowl*; *turkey*). The responses *egg*; *feathers* are parts of the whole, i.e. they represent meronymic relations.

24 Archaic terms used for denoting poultry.

8. *The archaic term for poultry (дробизр /drobizg/)*

кура (, качка, гуска) 13; живина 6; гуска 4; курчата 4; морка 4; заяц 3; кури (, пульки, качки, гуски) 3; голуб 2; качка (, гуска) 2; курче 2; пире 2; пулька 2; бега по дворе 1; ганзли 1; голубче 1; гумно 1; гушата, морки 1; гунар, качур 1; даралов 1; думам же ма вязи зоз едзеньом за домашні животині, але не паметам точно у яким контексту. 1; джубане по дворе 1; дробни 1; дробне 1; дробни домашні животині - кури, гуски, пульки... 1; =живина 1; задні двор 1; едзене 1; каче 1; кредла 1; кукурица 1; мале-дробни животині 1; мали животині 1; маче 1; пес 1; прагане коньох 1; ташок 1; у заднім дворе 1; цошка дробне 1; швиня 1; о.О 1.

100 (36) + 39 + 25 + 28

The center of this field of verbal associations is the associate *hen* with a frequency of 13. If, besides the lexical center, the semantic center is included, with the associates of a close meaning, such as the plural form of nouns *hens* 3, *chickens* 4, then the center of this association field would be wider and would include 20 occurrences. The core of this field has 12 associates, 5 of which have a frequency of 2 (*hen* 13; *poultry* 6; *goose* 4; *chickens* 4; *guinea fowl* 4; *rabbit* 3; *hens* 3; *pigeon* 2; *chicken* 2; *feathers* 2; *turkey* 2; *duck* 2). The periphery of the field *poultry*(*дробизр*) /*drobizg*/)²⁵ is larger and contains 28 associates with the lowest frequency, i.e. only one occurrence (*run around the yard* 1; *dwarfrooster* 1; *little pigeon* 1; *threshing floor* 1; *goslings, guinea fowls* 1; *gander, drake* 1; *coarse ground corn* 1; *I think that it's related to food for domestic animals, but I don't remember in which context.* 1; *pecking in the yard* 1; *petty (m)* 1; *petty (n)* 1; *small-scale domestic animals - chickens, gees, turkey ...* 1; =*poultry* 1; *back yard* 1; *food* 1; *duckling* 1; *bantam (dwarf chicken)*²⁶ 1; *corn* 1; *small-scale animals* 1; *small animals* 1; *kitten* 1; *dog* 1; *horse harnessing* 1; *sparrow* 1; *in back yard* 1; *something small* 1; *pig* 1; о.О 1.). Stimulus (*дробизр*) /*drobizg*/ caused a large number of omissions (25).

Based on the meaning of associates, the most frequent associations denote domestic animals: *dwarfrooster*; *goose*; *goslings*; *gander*;

25 Given that two responses often have to be translated into English by using one word, as in the case of synonyms created under the influence of Serbian or Hungarian languages, in order to make it clearer why individual responses are repeated, these cases are clarified by adding the word in Ruthenian with a Latin transcription within two forward slashes.

26 <http://www.aviculture-europe.nl/nummers/12e06a07.pdf>
https://hr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hrvatska_patuljasta_koko%C5%A1

duckling; duck; bantam (dwarf chicken); chicken; chickens; chicken; guinea fowl; turkey; rabbit; pigeon; little pigeon; sparrow; dog; kitten; pig.

They are followed by the responses that show the size of members of this category, that is, the etymological connection with the term *дробни* /drobni/ 'small': *small animals; something small; small-scale animals; petty (m); petty (n); small-scale domestic animals - chickens, geese, turkey.* Responses that could be understood as associations to animal food are less frequent (*food; coarse ground corn; corn; I think that it's related to food for domestic animals, but I don't remember in which context.*), places in which they live (*threshing floor; back yard; in the backyard*), typical activities (*run around the yard; pecking in the yard*) and the synonymic terms of the category (*poultry; =poultry*).

The responses *pig; dog; cat; horse harnessing; I think that it's related to food for domestic animals, but I don't remember in which context; o.O²⁷*; prove that this term is not completely familiar to the carriers of the Ruthenian language.

Interestingly, *poultry* (*дробизр* /drobizg/ caused 25 omissions, most often presented as a blank space, but also with responses such as *unknown word; I don't know what that is²⁸; I don't know what that is²⁹; What is that?*

When the number of omissions between the association fields *poultry* (*живина* /živina/) and *poultry* (*дробизр* /drobizg/) are compared, it can be seen that the archaism *poultry* /drobizg/ is unfamiliar to the carriers of the Ruthenian language.

Additionally, based on the number of responses, it can be seen that the association field *poultry* is more stable and triggers fewer different associations. The instability of the field *poultry* (*дробизр* /drobizg/) and the bigger number of different associates show the non-transparency of this term. This is to be expected, since the Serbian term used for *poultry* has been generally used instead of the archaic term *poultry* (*дробизр* /drobizg/). It appears that borrowing the new term also resulted in a different understanding of the category *poultry*. This is shown in the *Dictionary of the Ruthenian folk language*, where two meanings of this term are listed: 1. 'Domestic birds, poultry' and 2. 'Small domestic animals and birds' (Ramač,

27 Type of a emoticon that shows surprise; wondering or shocked expression.

28 In Latin.

29 In Cyrillic.

2017 I: 381). As illustrated on the examples from the *Руски новини / Ruski novini / Ruthenian newspaper*³⁰, in the past, this category included rabbits as well:

[На вистави було] Одзелене за дробизг (голуби, зайци, кури, качки итд.), статок (коні, крави, овци итд.) (РН 22/1928, 4).

[The exhibition showed] the department for *poultry* (дробизг /drobizg/) (pigeons, rabbits, chickens, ducks, etc.), livestock (horses, cows, sheep, etc.) (RN 22 / 1928, 4).

Today, the most frequent term in this sense is the Serbian term *живина /živina/ 'poultry'* which seems to have reduced the number of members in this category to only small birds, leaving a rabbit in the domestic animal category, but whether it belongs to the category of poultry is unclear to the Ruthenian language speakers.

It appears that the participants of the survey noticed the similarity between this term and the Ruthenian word for *small* (дробне /drobne/), which can be seen in their responses (*petty* (m); *petty* (n); *small-scale domestic animals - chickens, geese, turkey ...; something small; small-scale animals*).

9. Cow

млеко (, сир / , гной/ , целе) 54; буюк 7; целе 6; статок (, мурчи/ , папкар) 5; млеко дава (/дава млеко) 3; му (/му-у!) 2; паше 2; рог 2; бик 1; велька 1; валал 1; доганово – била 1; домашня животиня 1; домашня животиня - статок - човекови є хасновита пре млеко, месо и скору. 1; масло 1; милка 1; милка чоколада 1; по[д] упечатком дробизга 1; сир 1; роги 1; таркаста 1; у бабовим дворе 1; хвост 1; хлів 1; цифрована 1; шаруља 1; яловка, дойка 1.

100 (36) + 25 + 0 + 16

The association field triggered by the stimulus *cow* consists of the center containing the term denoting the most common product of this domestic animal, *milk* with a frequency of 54. When the lexical center is broadened by the semantic one (*giving milk* 3; *butter* 1; *cheese* 1), then the frequency is 59. The core of the field of verbal associations has 8 different associates with a frequency

30 This newspaper was published weekly from 1924 to 1941. To learn more about the development of Ruthenian community in Vojvodina, Serbia, its literary language, press and literature, see (Tamaš, 1997, Ramač, 2016, Sabadoš, 2015, Rumjancev, 2008, Rimar, 2023, Mudri, 2018: 255-264, Hardi, 2019, Kwoka, 2023).

higher than 1 (*milk* 54; *bull* 7; *calf* 6; *livestock* 5; *giving milk* 3; *moo* 2; *is grazing* 2; *horn* 2). The periphery of this field is made up of 19 associates that appear only once (*bull* 1; *big (f)* 1; *village* 1; *brown - white* 1; *butter* 1; *domestic animal* 1; *domestic animal - livestock - it is useful to a man because of milk, meat and skin.*1; *milka*³¹ 1; *milka chocolate* 1; *under impression of drobizg* 1; *cheese* 1; *horns* 1; *маркаста /tarkasta*³² 1; *in grandmother's yard* 1; *tail* 1; *stable* 1; *цифрована /cifrovana*³³ 1; *шаруља /šarulja*³⁴ 1; *heifer, dairy cow* 1). In the association field *cow*, there are no omissions.

The most common responses related to a cow's appearance are (*brown - white*; *маркаста /tarkasta/*; *цифрована /cifrovana/*; *шаруља /šarulja/*; *big (f)*) the names of the members of this category, i.e. co-hyponyms (*bull*; *calf*; *heifer*; *dairy cow*), hypernyms of this category (*livestock*; *domestic animal (- livestock - it is useful to man because of milk, meat and skin.)*), products of this domestic animal (*milk*; *gives milk*; *butter*; *cheese*), body parts (*horn*; *horns*; *tail*), place of living (*stable*; *in grandmother's yard*; *village*), and a popular product related to a cow (*милка /milka/*; *Milk chocolate*). The last response is the result of the precedent texts, that is, an advertisement for a chocolate bar, the trademark symbol of which is a cow, and which is named after the typical cow's product - milk. This precedent text is not part of only the Ruthenian linguistic culture, but a global consumerism culture.

10. Horse

коч (, гаче / , прагане) 13; грива 7; кобула 7; шедло 5; копито 4; гаче 3; моц 3; польо 3; робота 3; шедлане 3; домашня животиня 2; коніцки обегованя 2; липицанер 2; моцни 2; потковка 2; статок (, копитар / , регочи) 2; фиякер 2; чилаш 2; гачур 1; дідо любел коні 1; домашня животиня - хасновало ше го за роботу, нешка ше го трима вше частейше пре пиху, спорт и рекреацию. 1; запрага 1; за роботу, спорт 1; елегантни 1; иха 1; копита 1; краса 1; красни 1; месо 1; обегованя 1; Орвел 1; очи 1; помоц у роботі 1; помоц на полю 1; прекрасни 1; роби 1; салаш 1; трки

31 Personal name for a cow.

32 Name for a patterned cow written in the Ruthenian Cyrillic, derived from the Hungarian word *tarka* 'colourful' (Ramač, II 2017: 573).

33 Name for a patterned cow written in the Ruthenian Cyrillic, derived from the Hungarian word *cifra* 'digit, number' (Ramač, II 2017: 695). Today, Ruthenians understand this word as *colorful* (Ramač, 2010: 817).

34 Name for a patterned cow written in the Serbian Cyrillic.

1; упартосц 1; хвост 1; хлів 1; цагање коча 1; цага коч – прикоч 1; цага приколицу 1; цагане терхи 1; шедлац 1; шерц 1; шлебода 1; штверци 1; яхане 1.

100 (36) + 44 + 1 + 32

The lexical center of the field of verbal responses triggered by the stimulus *horse* is the associate *farm carriages* (коч /коч/) 13. The semantic field can also consist of the associates *fiacre*³⁵, *farm carriages* (запрага /zapraha/), *pulling farm carriages*, *pulls farm carriages – farm trailer* (прикоч /prikoč/), *pulling farm trailer* (приколица /prikolica/), as they are similar in meaning, which brings the number to 18. The core of this field consists of 18 associates (*farm carriages* 13; *mane* 7; *mare* 7; *saddle* 5; *hoof* 4; *foal* 3; *domestic animal* 2; *power* 3; *field* 3; *work* 3; (шедлане /šedlanje/) *horse riding* 3; *horse racing* 2; *Lipizzan* 2; *strong* 2; *horseshoe* 2; *livestock* 2; *fiacre* 2; *čilaš*³⁶ 2). The periphery is fairly wide and contains 32 responses-associates (*colt* 1; *grandpa liked horses* 1; *farm carriages* (zapraha) 1; *domestic animal – it was used for work, nowadays it is used more often for pride, sport and recreation* 1; *for work, sport* 1; *elegant* 1; *Yee Haw* 1; *hooves* 1; *beauty* 1; *beautiful* 1; *meat* 1; *races* 1; *Orwell* 1; *eyes* 1; *help with work* 1; *help on a field* 1; *splendent* 1; *works* 1; *message* 1; *races*³⁷ 1; *persistence* 1; *tail* 1; *stable* 1; *pulling farm carriages* 1; *pulls farm carriages – farm trailer* 1; *pulls farm trailer* 1; *pulling load* 1; *to ride a horse* 1; *hair* 1; *freedom* 1; *harness equipment* (штверци /štverci/) 1; *horse riding*³⁸ (яхане /jahanje/) 1). There is only one omission in this verbal association field.

The associates in this field most commonly mark the function of this domestic animal (*to ride a horse*; *horse riding* (шедлане /šedlanje/); *races*; *horse riding* (яхане /jahanje/); *horse racing*; *horse riding*; *work*; *for work*; *sport*; *works*; *help with work*; *help on a field*); *vehicle* (*farm carriage* (коч); *farm carriages* (pikoč); *fiacre*), members of the same category; co-hyponyms (*mare*; *foal*; *livestock*; *colt*; *Lipizzan*), or body parts, meronyms (*mane*; *hoof*; *hooves*; *eyes*; *tail*; *hair*). Some responses describe the appearance of the animal (*elegant*; *beauty*; *beautiful*; *strength*; *strong*; *splendent*; *persistence*; *čilaš*), horse equipment (*horseshoe*; *saddle*; *harness equipment* (štverci)), emotionally colored associations (*orwell*; *grandpa liked horses*; *freedom*), a place

35 [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fiacre_\(carriage\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fiacre_(carriage))

36 Name for a white horse, deriving from Serbian.

37 Трки /trki/, deriving from Serbian.

38 Яхане /jahanje/, deriving from Serbian.

for breeding horses (*field; messuage; stable*), superordinate members of this category, hypernyms (*domestic animal; domestic animal (- it was used for work, nowadays it is used more often for pride, sport and recreation); livestock*). Only in one response each, the responses refer to the product of this domestic animal (*meat*) and the horse sound onomatopoeia (*Yee Haw*).

Interestingly, the center of the lexical and semantic field is the associate *carriage*, which suggests that a horse is seen as a domestic animal used for physical work, carrying heavy loads, etc. However, the participants whose first association was the function of this domestic animal usually focused on sports or racing (*to ride a horse; horse riding (jahanje); races; horse riding (šedlanje); horse racing (konjicki obehovanja); races (trki)*) rather than the work (*work; for work; sport; works; help with work; help on a field*). One answer is not typical for the association test because of its form and it carries the answer to the difference in understanding the function of a horse: *domestic animal - it was used for work, nowadays it is used more often for pride, sport and recreation*.

The responses with a positive connotation are the following: *grandpa liked horses; elegant; beauty; beautiful; strength; strong; eyes; help on a field; splendid; works; persistence; pulls farm carriages - farm trailer, pulls farm trailer, pulling load; pulling farm carriages; ride a horse; hair; freedom*.

The response *Orwell* is the result of a precedent text, a book by George Orwell *Animal Farm*, where the totalitarian system is presented via an allegorical story. In this story, the horse Boxer is strong, loyal, and hardworking, but naive.

11. Pig

кармик (, гной) 13; шунка 13; месо (, колбаси) 10; праше 7; сланіна 5; блато 4; колбаса (/ сланіна) 4; статок (, груллі виваляни) 4; корназ (, праше) 3; обор 3; колбаси (и шунки) 2; балега 1; бруд 1; брудна 1; вефер 1; гадне 1; грок грол 1; дебела 1; дзива 1; дисновтор 1; домашня животиня - человек трима швинї пре поживу - месо и продукти з меса. 1; едзене 1; з носом дриля 1; за месо и месни продукти 1; мангуліца 1; масц 1; первиска, стара 1; поніжене 1; помя 1; помії 1; прашата 1; ратички 1; тлустосц 1; тов шудов 1; у кармику 1; хлів 1; человек 1; шицкоед 1; шкварки 1; шмердзи 1; шудов 1; юшка 1; ядна, жаль ми ю 1.

$$100 (36) + 43 + 0 + 32$$

The lexical center of these verbal associations is divided into two

associates, *pigsty*³⁹ (кармик /karmik/) 13, and *ham* 13. If the semantically close responses are taken into account, then the meat products should also be part of the center, associates *ham* 13; *meat* 10; *sausage* 4; *bacon* 5; *sausages* 2. Such semantic center has a frequency of 34. The second part of the lexical center is gathered around the associate *pigsty* with the meaning of a place where pigs live *pigsty* 13; *pigsty*⁴⁰ (обор /obor/) 3; *stable* 1; *in pigsty* 1.

The core of this field consists of 11 associates (*pigsty* 13; *ham* 13; *meat* 10; *piglet* 7; *sausage* 4; *bacon* 5; *mud* 4; *livestock* 4; *boar* 3; (obor) *pigsty* 3; *sausages* 2) and the periphery of 32 responses with a frequency of 1 (*dung* 1; *dirt* 1; *dirty* 1; *fat* 1; *dirty* (гадне /gadne/) 1; *oink* (грок грол /grok grol/) 1; *food* 1; *humiliation* 1; *it stinks* 1; *obesity* 1; *fattening* 1; *pig rooting with snout* 1; *for meat and meat product* 1; *boar* 1; *wild* 1; *pig slaughter* 1; *domestic animal - man raises pigs for food - for meat and meat product* 1; *mangalica*⁴¹ 1; *grease* 1; *bred heifer, old* 1; *slop* 1; *slops* 1; *piglets* 1; *in pigsty* (кармик /karmik/) 1; *stable* 1; *man* 1; *omnivore* 1; *cracklings* 1; *weaner pig* 1; *soup* 1; *poor, I feel sorry for her* 1; *hooves* 1). There are no omissions in this field.

The associates of this field of verbal associations usually denote products of a pig (*pig slaughter*; *for meat and meat product* (?); *sausage*; *sausages*; *grease*; *meat*; *bacon*; *cracklings*; *ham*; *soup* (?)), building (*pigsty*(кармик /karmik/); *pigsty*(обор /obor/); *stable*; *in pigsty*(кармик /karmik/)), co-hyponyms (terms for the members of the category pig) (*boar*; *boar*; *mangalica*; *bred heifer*; *piglet*; *piglets*; *weaner pig*), physical appearance (*mud*; *dirt*; *dirty*; *dirty* (гадне /gadne/) ⁴²; *fat*; *pig rooting with snout*; *obesity*; *omnivore*; *it stinks*), and hypernyms (general terms; superordinate categories) (*domestic animal - man raises pigs for food - for meat and meat product*; *livestock*; *fattening* (?)). Some responses are difficult to place into one semantic group. Those are *oink* (грок грол /grok grol/) (voice); *man* (a metaphor); *wild*; *poor*; *I feel sorry for her*; *humiliation* (compassion; subjective relationship); *hooves* (part of a body; meronym); *slops*; *slop* (food); *dung* (physiological waste).

The response *man* with the stimulus *pig* forms a simple sentence with a subject. The word order has to be switched for the sentence to make sense: Man (is) pig. On the other hand, there is no need to add any other words, as such sentence does not require an auxil-

39 Word deriving from Ruthenian.

40 Word deriving from Serbian.

41 Hungarian domestic pig breed.

42 Everyday language; deriving from Serbian.

iary verb in the Ruthenian language. The form of this sentence could also present the metaphorical mapping PERSON IS PIG as part of the superordinate metaphor PERSON IS ANIMAL. The source domain of this metaphor is a domestic animal PIG, which among people is seen as dirty and bad, both in appearance and morality, so it is also used to describe a bad character or appearance of a PERSON. As explained in the part dealing with zoological phraseologisms and figurative use of the terms used for denoting domestic animals, PIG as the source domain of the metaphorical extensions is very common, and usually has a negative connotation.

The negative meaning can be seen in the following verbal associations: *dung; mud; dirt; dirty; dirty (gadne); fat; slops; slop; humiliation; obesity; man; omnivore; it stinks*. The positive ones could be the associations with the products of this domestic animal pig: *slaughter; sausage; sausages; grease; meat; bacon; cracklings; ham; soup; for meat and meat products*.

12. Donkey

уха 11; твардоглавосц 5; твардоглави 4; терха 4; иа 3; мазга 3; овци 3; осел 3; глупосц 2; глуптак 2; домашня животиня 2; конь 2; магарца 2; млеко 2; пажица 2; бависко 1; басна 1; вельки уха 1; водзел чупор 1; водзи овци 1; гаче 1; глупи як магарец 1; домашня роботна животиня 1; жаль ми го 1; жалосни 1; животиня 1; Исус 1; магарче 1; мидло 1; моц 1; мула 1; няка 1; ношене терхи 1; овчар 1; паше 1; помоц при овцох 1; преноши терет и водзи овци 1; присловка 1; регочане 1; ричане 1; Сима 1; слатки 1; смотани 1; спричне, упарте 1; стари 1; статок, ричи, глупи 1; статок, копитар 1; сушед 1; торина 1; туцане магарца 1; тупосц 1; умилни 1; упорносц 1; цага 1; цага терху 1; церпи 1; чарне 1; чежка робота 1; чачи 1; чувар овцох 1; шиве 1; шива фарба 1; Шрек 1; ясла 1.

100 (36) + 47 + 1 + 47

The field of verbal associations triggered by the stimulus *donkey* has a center containing the associate *ears* with 11 occurrences. Only one more associate (*large ears*) can be part of the semantic center, making its frequency 12. On the other hand, there are semantically close associates (*stubbornness* 5; *stubborn* 4; *stupidity* 2; *dumbass* 2; *stupid as a donkey* 1; *quarrelsome, persistent* 1; *dullness* 1; *persistence* 1), which, together with the previous one make 17. The core of the field consists of 15 associates, half of which have the frequency 2 (*ears* 11; *stubbornness* 5; *stubborn* 4; *load* 4; *hee-haw* (ua)

3; *hinny* 3; *a sheep* 3; *donkey* (осел /osel/)⁴³ 3; *stupidity* 2; *dumbass* 2; *domestic animal* 2; *horse* 2; *she-ass* 2; *milk* 2; *meadow* 2). The periphery of the field contains 47 associates with the number of occurrences 1 (*a game* 1; *fable* 1; *big ears* 1; *led the flock* 1; *lead sheep* 1; *foal* 1; *stupid as a donkey* 1; *domestic working animal* 1; *I feel sorry for him* 1; *sad* 1; *animal* 1; *Jesus* 1; *donkey colt* 1; *soap* 1; *power* 1; *mule* 1; *hee-haws* 1; *carrying load* 1; *sheepdog*⁴⁴ 1; *is grazing* 1; *help with sheep* 1; *carry the load and leads sheep* 1; *proverb* 1; *whinny* 1; *bellowing (braying)* 1; *Sima*⁴⁵ 1; *sweet* 1; *clumsy* 1; *quarrelsome, persistent* 1; *old* 1; *livestock, bellow (bray), stupid* 1; *livestock, ungulate* 1; *neighbor* 1; *sheep pen* 1; *fucking of a donkey* 1; *dullness* 1; *cuddly* 1; *persistence*⁴⁶ 1; *pulls* 1; *pulls load* 1; *suffer* 1; *black* 1; *hard work* 1; *čači*⁴⁷ 1; *sheep guardian* 1; *grey* 1; *grey colour* 1; *Shrek* 1; *manger* 1). There is one omission in this field.

The physical and psychological (character, traits) descriptions are the most common associations the stimulus *donkey* triggers. The associates with this connotation are *stupid as a donkey*; *stupidity*; *dumbass*; *sad*; *proverb*; *clumsy*; *quarrelsome*; *old*; *stubborn*; *stubbornness*; *dullness*; *cuddly*; *persistent*; *persistence*; *suffer*; *black*. The total number of frequencies in this group of associates with a similar meaning is 25. The associates that denote the function of this animal are also common, where we can differentiate between carrying a heavy load (*carrying load*; *carry the load and leads sheep*; *load*; *pulls*; *pulls load* 4; *hard work*) and taking care of sheep in the field (*led the flock*; *lead sheep*; *domestic working animal*; *a sheep*; *sheepdog*; *help with sheep*; *sheep guardian*). The association with the members of the category, co-hyponyms, is also frequent (*she-ass*; *donkey colt*; *hinny*; *mule*; *donkey (osel)*; *foal*; *horse*), as is the one with the body parts, meronyms (*ears*; *big ears*), superordinate members, hypernyms (*animal*; *domestic animal*; *ungulate*; *livestock*; *voice donkey*: *hee-haw (ua)*; *hee-haws*; *bellowing*; *whinny*), and the place of living: (*sheep pen*; *manger*⁴⁸; *meadow*).

There are three responses originating from precedent texts (*Jesus*; *Sima*; *Shrek*). The first one relates to a person from the Bible, i.e. the image of Jesus on a donkey. The second one refers to cartoon char-

43 Archaic form *осел /osel/* = *магарец* 'donkey'.

44 Word *овчар /ovčar/* does not make it clear whether one is referring to a dog or a person, since this term could refer to both.

45 Serbian name.

46 Serbian origin (Serb. упорност - Rusin. упартосц).

47 Derogatory for a donkey.

48 Serbian origin. Ruthenian equivalent *яшля /jašlja/*.

acter from the cartoon Shrek. The origin of third association is not easy to decode, but it might refer to a donkey named Sima from the show *Dobar, Los, Zao*⁴⁹.

Some responses cannot be classified into a bigger group (*play; fable; milk etc.*).

13. Goat

млеко (, коже / , кожи сир) 24; роги 9; сир 8; коше (, седем кощата) 6; била 5; брада (, капуста) 4; статок (, бечи) 4; ме (ме-е! / ме ме) 3; рогата 2; скака 2; белка 1; бечи, скака 1; брадичка, млеко 1; веселе 1; вимне 1; домашня животиня - статок - човекови с хасновита пре млеко, месо и скору. 1; допитосц 1; здраве 1; коза 1; козак 1; кожи сир а може и на рожню 1; косци 1; крава 1; не вибер ако 1; наивносц 1; мечац 1; мидло 1; пендранс 1; папер 1; паше 1; рог 1; трава 1; седем кощата 1; слатка, мала як фино скака 1; стадо 1; у моей баби 1; умилна 1; хлив 1; цап, кожлятко, токлъов 1; чкода 1; шопа 1.

100 (36) + 40 + 2 + 31

The lexical and semantic center of this field of verbal associations to the stimulus *goat* is the associate *milk* with 24 occurrences. The core of this field contains 10 associates with a frequency higher than 1 (*milk* 24; *horns* 9; *cheese* 8; *kid* 6; *white* 5; *a beard* 4; *livestock* 4; *maa* 3; *horned* 2; *jumps* 2). 31 answers appear only once and form the periphery of this field of verbal associations (*white she-goat* 1; *bleating, jumping* 1; *beard, milk* 1; *happy* 1; *udder* 1; *domestic animal - livestock - it is useful to man because of milk, meat and skin*.1; *boredom* 1; *health* 1; *goat* 1; *he-goat*⁵⁰ 1; *goat cheese and maybe on the spit* 1; *bones* 1; *cow* 1; *doesn't choose*⁵¹ 1; *naivety* 1; *bleat* 1; *soap* 1; *climbing* 1; *paper* 1; *is grazing* 1; *horn* 1; *grass* 1; *seven goatlings* 1; *sweet, little one how nice did she jumps* 1; *herd* 1; *at my grandmother's* 1; *cuddly* 1; *stable* 1; *he-goat, kid* (кожлятко /kožljatko/), *buckling* 1; *a pity* 1; *shed* 1).

The most common associates in this case are those denoting products of this domestic animal (*milk; cheese; goat cheese and maybe on the spit; soap; kids* (коше); *seven kids*), goat's body parts,

49 <https://www.cenzolovka.rs/pritisci-i-napadi/vidojkovic-sns-koristio-fotomontazu-sa-djilasom-ali-bi-nama-da-zabrane-pravo-na-kritiku/>

50 *Козак* /kozak/. In literary language *cap*.

51 Unfinished answer не вибер ако. It should be не вибера ко.. /nje vibera ko/.

meronyms (*a beard; beard; udder; horn; horns*), description of a goat (*white; belka*⁵²; *happy; boredom; naivety; horned; sweet; little one how nice did she jumps; cuddly; a pity*), members of this category, co-hyponyms (*goat; he-goat; kids (кощe); he-goat; kids (kožljatko); buckling*), superordinate categories, hypernyms (*domestic animal - livestock - it is useful to man because of milk; meat and skin; herd; livestock*), goat's voice (*bleats; maa; bleat*), usual activities of goats (*graze; climbing; jumps*), places where goats live (*at my grandmother's; stable; shed*), unclassified (*bone cow; doesn't choose; paper; grass*).

14. Sheep

волна (, месо / , баран, вовк / , баранче / , сир) 60; баран (, ягнятко) 7; статок (, бечи) 4; баранче (, овчи сир, югас, а и баранчецина) 3; бе 3; сир 2; триков, волна 2; Доли 1; млеко 1; наивносц 1; патри телевизор 1; шено 1; шпиване 1; стадо 1; без мозга 1; била 1; домашня животиня - статок - човекови е хасновита пре млеко, месо и волну. 1; пажица 1; папригаш 1; питома 1; смрод 1; трава 1; у аклю 1; хмара 1; чупава 1.

100 (36) + 25 + 1 + 18

The center of this field of verbal association, the associate *wool*, has a high frequency of 60. The core consists of 7 associates (*wool* 60; *ram* 7; *livestock* 4; *lamb* 3; *baa* 3; *cheese* 2; *sweater, wool* 2). The periphery contains 18 associates with a frequency of 1 (*Dolly* 1; *milk* 1; *naivety* 1; *watches television* 1; *hay* 1; *singing* 1; *flock* 1; *brainless* 1; *white* 1; *domestic animal - livestock - useful to man because of milk, meat and wool* 1; *meadow* 1; *stew* 1; *tame* 1; *stink* 1; *grass* 1; *in pen* 1; *cloud* 1; *shaggy* 1).

In the verbal association field *sheep*, the most common associations are those with products that people get from sheep *wool; cheese; sweater; milk; stew* followed by the associations with members of the close categories, co-hyponyms (*ram; lamb*) and hypernyms (*domestic animal - livestock - useful to man because of milk, meat and wool*) or description of the animal (*brainless; white; naivety; tam; stink; shaggy*). There are also responses that denote the animal's voice (*baa*), space (*meadow; in pen*), food (*grass; hay*), and a larger number of animals of the same kind (*flock*).

The responses with a negative connotation can be seen in these examples: *brainless; naivety, stink; shaggy*. The positive ones are the associations with sheep products (*wool; cheese; sweater; milk; stew*),

52 White she-goat.

and the description of the sheep as tame, with the response that describes the benefits people get from sheep (*domestic animal - livestock - useful to man because of milk, meat and wool*).

The metaphorical meanings are *watches television; singing; cloud*. It is assumed that the associate (*a sheep*) *watches television* refers to a naive person who believes everything said on television and that the associate (*a sheep*) *singing* refers to a person who sings low-quality-songs. The metaphorical mapping of the natural occurrence cloud is motivated by the similar appearance of a sheep's wool and a cloud. This metaphor is described in the section dealing with phraseological material.

15. Chicken

вайцо (, юха) 49; вайца (, недзельови полудзенок (юшка) / , курче) 9; пире (, вайца, сцегно) 7; когут (, курчата / , курче) 5; живина (, кодкода) 3; юшка 3; коткода (кокода) 2; курче 2; кукурица 2; баш ми ю жаль, мила една 1; глупа 1; гребе по дворе 1; гребень 1; домашня животиня - дробизг - хаснує ше ю як поживу - месо, вайца. 1; дробизг 1; з ногу гура 1; коткодаканє 1; курячка :) 1; курнік 1; курчата 1; месо 1; неше вайца и дава месо 1; розгребана заграда 1; помаранчецовє пире и вайца 1; шпирта 1; шпиртанє 1; шпирта шором 1.

100 (36) + 26 + 0 + 18

The lexical center of this field of verbal associations triggered by the stimulus *chicken* is the associate *egg* 49. If we include the plural form of this noun *eggs* 9, then the field's center is wider and has a frequency of 58.

The core of this field consists of 9 associates and has a frequency higher than 1 (*egg* 49; *eggs* 9; *feathers* 7; *rooster* 5; *poultry* 3; *soup* 3; *clucks* 2; *chicken* 2; *corn* 2). There are 18 answers with a minimal frequency and they make up the periphery of this field of verbal associations (*I feel so sorry for it, dear one* 1; *stupid* 1; *scratching around the yard* 1; *comb* 1; *domestic animal - poultry (drobizg) - it is used for food - meat, eggs*. 1; *poultry (drobizg)* 1; *pushes with foot*⁵³ 1; *clucking* 1;

53 Part of a Ruthenian song for kids (Нешор /Nješor/ 'mess', Irina Hardi Kovačević) based on rhyme (*кура з ногу гура /kura z nohu gura/*).

На тим дворе-Неушоре
вишла крава-Млекодава,
вишла кура-Зногугура,

chicken droppings :) 1; *chicken coop* 1; *chickens* 1; *meat* 1; *lays eggs and gives meat* 1; *scratched out the garden* 1; *orange feathers and eggs* 1; *scratches* 1; *scratching* 1; *scratches respectively* 1).

The associates triggered by the stimulus *chicken* most frequently denote products derived from this animal: *eggs; egg; meat; feathers; orange feathers and eggs; soup*. There are also some associates that are hierarchically connected with the stimulus, co-hyponyms (*rooster; chicken; chickens*); and hypernyms (*poultry; poultry (drobizg); domestic animal - poultry (drobizg) - it is used as a food - meat; eggs*). These are followed by associations related to some typical behaviors that are characteristic of a chicken or the sound that it produces (*scratching around the yard; pushes with foot; clucks (кoкoдa /kokoda!); clucking; lays eggs and gives meat; scratched out the garden; scratches respectively; scratching*). There is also one response that refers to the body part of a chicken, which is the meronym

вишла миша-Погубиша.
Вибег Яни нагнівани,
та розогнал на сто страни,
тоту краву-Млекодаву,
тоту куру-Зногугуру.

На тим дворі-Неушорі:
вишла гуска-Водуплюска,
вишла качка-Рапотачка,
вишло праше-Оєдаше.

Вибег Яни нагнівани,
та розогнал на сто страни,
тоту краву-Млекодаву,
тоту куру-Зногугуру.

Настал мир на цілیم шорі,
бо змирело ше у дворі,
животині мир достали,
лєм ше мена паметали.

Вибег Яни нагнівани,
та розогнал на сто страни,
тоту краву-Млекодаву,
тоту куру-Зногугуру.

<https://youtu.be/1-B1OdwUs1A?si=ETKIFPc4DZUsZR0X>

comb. The response *feathers* was already listed under the category of products; but can also be seen as a body part. Some responses have unique occurrences (*I feel so sorry for her, dear one, stupid, corn; chicken coop; chicken droppings* :)).

16. Duck

вода (, мачкане) 14; рапотачка (, зоз дзєцинскей писньбочки) (ропотачка 2) 9; блато 8; качур (, каче) 6; качата 5; клюн 4; бара 3; живина 3; каче 3; масц 3; пире 3; вайцо 2; месо 2; барка 1; барки 1; Била 1; брудна вода 1; гунар? 1; дзива 1; добри плівач 1; домашня животиня - дробизг - хаснує ше ю як поживу - месо, вайца. 1; дробизг 1; жовти качата 1; з воду ше мачка 1; кадза 1; ква ква 1; купанє 1; купанє у води 1; курнік 1; люшта 1; неше вайца и дава месо 1; нос 1; печена 1; печена качка 1; пліванє 1; пліва по долини 1; птица 1; смотана 1; спомалшеносц 1; сцегно 1; трапаве 1; трачара 1; умилносц 1; шляпка як качка 1; юшка 1; ход 1; ше мачка 1; шмишно ходзи 1.

100 (36) + 45 + 0 + 35

The lexical center of the field of verbal associations triggered by the stimulus *duck* is the associate *water* 14. However, if we also include the semantically close associates that depict typical characteristics of a duck who likes to be in the water and mud (*mud; pond; frolic in the water; bathing; bathing in water; swims in the hemp retting pond; swimming; puddle; puddles; good swimmer; dirty water; bathtub*), then this number rises to 36.

Even though it is not a part of this field's center, the associate *talebearer* (рапотачка /rapotačka/) has a frequency of 9, making it the second most frequent associate. The reaction *talebearer* (рапотачка /rapotačka/) is derived from a precedent text. This association is related to a children's song Нешор /Nješor/ 'mess' where animals are given names based on some of their salient characteristics. So, the duck's name is *Рапотачка* /Rapotačka/ 'talebearer', the pig's name is *Оєдаше* /Ojedaše/ 'piglet that overeats' etc.

The core of this field has 13 associates (*water* 14; *talebearer* (рапотачка /rapotačka/) 9; *mud* 8; *drake* 6; *ducklings* 5; *beak* 4; *pond* 3; *poultry* 3; *duckling* 3; *grease* 3; *feathers* 3; *egg* 2; *meat* 2). There are 35 reactions with only one appearance that form the periphery of this field of verbal associations (*puddle* 1; *puddles* 1; *white* 1; *dirty water* 1; *drake* 1; *wild* 1; *good swimmer* 1; *domestic animal - poultry* (drobizg) - *it is used for food - meat, eggs*. 1; *poultry* (drobizg) 1; *yellow ducklings* 1; *bathtub* 1; *quack quack* 1; *bathing* 1; *bathing in water* 1;

chicken coop 1; *dirty one* 1; *lays eggs and gives meat* 1; *the beak* 1; *roast* 1; *roast duck* 1; *swimming* 1; *frolic in the water* 1; *bird* 1; *clumsy* 1; *slowness* 1; *drumstick* 1; *clumsy* 1; *a gossipy girl* 1; *cuddliness* 1; *trampling like a duck* 1; *soup* 1; *walk* 1; *walks funny* 1).

What we can establish based on the semantic center of this field is that the most frequent associations are the associates related to the characteristic behavior of this animal, which includes being in or close to the water (*mud*; *pond*; *water*; *frolic in the water*; *bathing*; *bathing in water*; *swims in the hemp retting pond*; *swimming*; *puddle*; *puddles*; *good swimmer*; *dirty water*; *bathtub*).

As with the previous fields, in this field of verbal associations, the associates carrying the meaning of a specific member of the hierarchy related to the stimulus make up quite a large group: *drake*; *wild*; *domestic animal - poultry* (drobizg) - *it is used for food - meat*; *eggs*; *poultry* (drobizg); *poultry*; *yellow ducklings*; *ducklings*; *duckling*; *drake*; *bird*. Within this group, we can differentiate between co-hyponyms (*gander*; *yellow ducklings*; *ducklings*; *duckling*; *drake*), hypernyms (*domestic animal - poultry* (drobizg) - *it is used for food - meat*; *eggs*; *poultry* (drobizg); *poultry*; *bird*), and members of other categories (*wild* (*duck*)).

The description of a duck is observed in the following associates: *white*; *dirty one*; *talebearer* (рапотачка /rapotačka/); *clumsy* (smotana f); *slowness*; *clumsy*; *gossipy girl*; *cuddliness*; *walk*; *trampling like a duck*; *walks funny*. The majority of this group of associates is related to the clumsy or slow walk that seems to be a salient trait of a duck: *clumsy*; *walk*; *trampling like a duck*; *clumsy* (smotana f); *walks funny*; *slowness*. Some of these associates have a metaphorical meaning (*gossipy girl*) created based on one of the characteristics of a duck stated by the associate *talebearer* (рапотачка /rapotačka/). It suggests that a duck often makes a sound that is unpleasant and annoying. This trait motivated the metaphorical mapping DUCK → PERSON WHO TALKS A LOT OF AND BADLY ABOUT SOMEONE.

The products of this domestic animal, i.e. the use that people derive from it, are also a frequent association: *egg*; *grease*; *meat*; *lays eggs and gives meat*; *roast*; *roast duck*; *feathers*; *drumstick*; *soup*.

Some responses do not belong to any of these categories: *quack quack* (the sound ducks make); *chicken coop*; *bathtub* (locations in which ducks are kept); *beak*; *nose*; *drumstick*; *feathers* (body parts; meronyms).

The responses from this field of verbal associations can have a positive connotation (*good swimmer*; *egg*; *grease*; *meat*; *lays eggs and gives meat*; *roast*; *roast duck*; *feathers*; *drumstick*; *soup*; *cuddliness*), or

a negative one (*dirty one; gossipy girl; clumsy; walk; trampling like a duck; clumsy (smotana f); walks funny; slowness*).

17. Goose

пире (, гушата) 24; масц 7; гуше (, биле пире / , гунар) 5; га га (gaga) 4; била фарба 3; биле пире 3; вода 3; гагане 3; гунар 3; живина (, гавчи, як на гуску води) 3; била 2; вайцо 2; воду плюска 2; глупа 2; гушата (, пире) 2; доліна 2; пажича 2; агресивна 1; велька 1; вода-доліна 1; глупосц 1; говенка 1; гордосц 1; гушатко 1; гагор 1; дзива 1; домашня животиня - дробизг - хаснує ше ю як поживу - месо, вайца. тиж мож хасновац масц, але и пире. 1; дробизг 1; заглавок 1; карк 1; Керестур 1; курнік 1; лабуд 1; надзера ше 1; наивносц 1; не видно их вецей на драже 1; не враци смс 1; неше вайца и дава месо и пире 1; печинка 1; пирко 1; писанки 1; пияц 1; рибняк 1; трава 1; у сушеда 1.

100 (36) + 45 + 0 + 28

The stimulus *goose* with the associate *feathers* 24 constitutes the lexical center of this field of verbal associations. Two more associates can be seen as part of the semantic center - the determinative form *white feathers* 3 and the diminutive form *small feather* 1, which increases the frequency of this central item to 28.

The core of this field consists of 17 associates that occur more than once (*feathers* 24; *grease* 7; *gosling* 5; *ga ga (honking)* 4; *white color* 3; *white feathers* 3; *water* 3; *honking* 3; *gander* 3; *poultry* 3; *white* 2; *egg* 2; *splashing water*⁵⁴ 2; *stupid* 2; *goslings* 2; *hemp retting pond* 2; *meadow* 2) and periphery of this field includes 28 associations with a frequency 1: (*aggressive* 1; *big (f)* 1; *water- in the hemp retting pond* 1; *stupidity* 1; *little sweet shits* 1; *pride* 1; *gosling* 1; *neck (gagor)* 1; *wild* 1; *domestic animal - poultry (drobizg) - it is used for food - meat, eggs. fats can also be used, but also feathers.* 1; *poultry (drobizg)* 1; *pillow* 1; *screams* 1; *you don't see them on the street anymore* 1; *does not return texts* 1; *neck (kark)* 1; *Kerestur* 1; *chicken coop* 1; *swan* 1; *naivety* 1; *lays eggs and gives meat and feathers* 1; *liver* 1; *feather* 1; *easter eggs* 1; *market* 1; *fishpond* 1; *grass* 1; *at the neighbor's* 1).

Within this field of verbal associations, responses are most frequently related to products that are derived from geese: *white feathers; egg; neck (gagor); pillow; neck (kark); grease; liver; feathers; feather; lays eggs and gives meat and feathers*. Some members of

⁵⁴ Based on a rhyme *гуска-воду плюска /huska - vodu pljuska/* 'goose is splashing water' from the same song.

this group of semantically related associates can also have different meanings. The associates *neck* (kark); *neck* (šija); *liver*; *feathers*; *feather*; *white feathers* also represent the body parts of the animal. In addition, the associate *white feathers* can be seen as part of the group of associates that describe a goose.

The hierarchically-based responses are common. These are the ones that are related to the members of the same category, or co-hyponyms (*goslings*; *gosling*; *gosling*; *gander*) or the superordinate members, hypernyms (*domestic animal - poultry* (drobizg) - *it is used for food - meat*; *eggs. fat can also be used as grease*; but also *feathers*; *poultry* (drobizg); *poultry*).

There are associates related to the location in which geese are typically kept, which can be divided into locations related to the goose's characteristic of being close to a body of water (*splashing water*; *water*; *hemp retting pond*; *water-in the hemp retting pond*; *fish-pond*) and simple locations (*Kerestur*; *meadow*; *market*; *at the neighbor's*; *chicken coop*). As can be seen, the locational seme is present in all the associates, but each carries additional information. For example, the associate *Kerestur* shows that participants link this place with geese, since they could be seen on the streets of this village (in the past more often than nowadays). The same applies to the associate *at the neighbor's*. The associates *chicken coop*; *meadow* are typical places in which geese are raised in the village. The reaction *market* also carries the meaning of the place in which geese are kept as in Ruski Kerestur there is a toponym *Гуши тияц* /*Нуši pijac*/ 'Geese market'. It refers to a part of a street where there was a pound with a lot of geese in it in the past⁵⁵.

The same number of associates occurs for the associations related to the appearance of the goose: *aggressive*; *white*; *white color*; *white feathers*; *big (f)*; *stupid*; *stupidity*; *shit*; *pride*; *naivety*; *does not return texts*. Some of these assumed traits are based only on our perception of a goose and, through the process of personification of domestic animals and relying on the typical behavior of a goose, the conclusion is drawn that this animal is *stupid*; *naive*; *proud*. These views of animals create a folk image that is often stereotypical.

One response is the result of a metaphor (*does not return sms*). When combined with the stimulus, the response forms the follow-

55 A similar term is found in the Ukrainian language; *Пташиний базар* 'the bird's farmers market - a place near the sea where a lot of birds gather' (Ramač, I 2017: 294). Miron Žiroš explained that because there was more water in that part of the village; the geese would gather there (Žiroš, 1984).

ing sentence *The goose does not return sms*. The goose, in this sense, is used figuratively to refer to a woman. The source domain of this metaphor is the domestic animal GOOSE and the target domain is WOMAN. The motivation for this figurative meaning can be a stereotypical view of a goose as stupid. This concept is used pejoratively to refer to a woman who infuriated the person in question by not texting back.

The view of a goose as unintelligent might have been reinforced by the sound it makes, which can be loud and annoying. The reactions with such an association are fairly common (*ga ga (honking); honking; screams*).

Some reactions remained outside of the listed groups. These are *you don't see them on a street anymore; easter eggs; grass*.

18. Turkey

пуляк (, преказоване / , пуљчата) 14; месо 10; сцегно 7; глупа (, але добри шницли) 6; двор 5; пире 4; живина (, пилъчи, пуљко една) 3; пазинска 3; пуљче 2; пуљчата (, пуљчецина) 2; Америка 1; батак 1; баш е гласна 1; биле месо 1; бульбуликане 1; булька 1; блблблблбл 1; велька 1; гласна 1; глупосц 1; галама 1; дзезинство 1; дробизг 1; домашня животиня - дробизг - хаснуе ше ю як поживу - месо, вайца. 1; заднї двор 1; з ногу шуљка 1; ешень 1; курнїк 1; медальони 1; месни нарезак 1; неше вайца и дава месо 1; паун 1; паше траву 1; пишна 1; пуљ пуљ пуљ 1; пуљково месо 1; ритка живина 1; розширени хвост (пуљков) 1; спомалшеносц 1; страх 1; сцегна 1; трава 1; трачара 1; хвост 1; шарена 1; шмих 1; юшка 1; ягода 1.

100 (36) + 48 + 6 + 38

The lexical and semantic center of this field of verbal associations triggered by the stimulus *turkey* is the associate *gobbler* 18. The core of this field has 10 associates that occur more than once (*gobbler* 14; *meat* 10; *drumstick* 7; *stupid* 6; *yard* 5; *feathers* 4; *poultry* 3; *Pazin turkey* 3; *poult* 2; *poults* 2). The periphery has 38 responses with a frequency of 1 (*America* 1; *drumstick* (*batak*⁵⁶) 1; *it's very loud* 1; *breast meat* 1; *gobbling* 1; *gobble* 1; *блблблблбл*⁵⁷ /*blblblblbl*/ 1; *big (f)* 1; *loud* 1; *stupidity* 1; *noise* 1; *childhood* 1; *poultry* (*drobizg*) 1; *domestic animal - poultry* (*drobizg*) - *it is used for food - meat, eggs*. 1;

⁵⁶ Serbian origin.

⁵⁷ Imitation of a turkey's voice based on a personal feeling.

back yard 1; *leg movement*⁵⁸ 1; *autumn* 1; *chicken coop* 1; *medallions* 1; *canned meat* 1; *lays eggs and provides meat* 1; *a peacock* 1; *is grazing grass* 1; *proud* 1; *нуль нуль нуль*⁵⁹ /pulj pulj pulj/ 1; *turkey meat* 1; *rare poultry* 1; *spread tail (of turkey cock)* 1; *slowness* 1; *fear* 1; *drumsticks* 1; *grass* 1; *gossip Girl* 1; *tail* 1; *colorful* 1; *laughter* 1; *soup* 1; *laughter* 1). The stimulus *turkey* triggered 7 omissions which include blank spaces and answers such as *I don't have any association*.

The most frequent meanings of the responses in this field of verbal associations are related to the use that people derive from this type of domestic animal (*drumstick (batak); white meat; medallions; canned meat; meat; lays eggs and gives meat; feathers; turkey meat; drumsticks; drumstick; soup*). The most common ones are co-hyponyms (*poults; poult; gobbler*), of hyperonym of this stimulus (*domestic animal - poultry (drobizg) - it is used as a food - meat, eggs; poultry (drobizg); poultry; rare poultry*). There are also hyponyms (*Paziin turkey*), and terms for members from related categories (*a peacock*).

Physical and psychological descriptions of this animal also represent common associations (*big (f); stupid; stupidity; leg movement; is grazing grass; proud; spread tail (of turkey cock); tail; slowness; fear; gossipy girl; colorful; laughter*). As with the previous fields, some responses in this group of semantically close answers are the result of the folk image, which means that they are stereotypical.

Turkeys make recognizable sounds, which is why associations that refer to it are frequent (*it's very loud; gobbling; gobble; блблблблбл /blblblblbl/; loud; noise; нуль нуль нуль /pulj pulj pulj/*). As in the cases of association fields related to a chicken, a duck, and a goose, the typical intense sound that a turkey makes is linked with low intelligence or negative traits that are transferred to a woman through metaphor (*gossipy girl; stupid; stupidity*) associations involving the place in which turkeys are kept (*yard; back yard; chicken coop*). Some associations remained outside of the listed groups (*America; childhood; autumn; grass; laughter*).

The associate *America* can be seen as an association related to this animal's place of origin or as the result of the precedent texts given the high probability that participants have been exposed to references to roasted turkey as a traditional American Thanksgiving

58 From mentioned song based on rhyme (*нулька з ногу шулька /puljka z nohu šuljka/*).

59 Imitation of a turkey's voice based on first three voice/letters of a name of turkey in Ruthenian *нулька /puljka/*.

ing meal through the media or literature.

The response *mulberry* is unclear. This plant occurs in the comparative phraseologism *to run as a duckling (ducklings; gosling) after a mulberry* which belongs to the concept CLUMSY MOVEMENT.

19. Rabbit

швидкосц (, мархва) 14; уха 9; швидки 5; мархва 5; польо 4; клітка 3; паска (, мархва) 3; бояжліви 2; Велька Ноц 2; домашня животиня 3; заячата 2; заяче 2; мегке 2; мегка шерсц (ест и красна шерсц) 2; месо 2; пажича 2; вельки уха 2; папригаш 2; самец (, самица, заячата) 2; бавиц ше 1; бежи 1; биле вино 1; бої ше шицкогo 1; дава месо за поживу 1; дзединство 1; депик 1; домашня животиня - статок - хаснує ше як пожива - месо. 1; Дуле 1; жаль ми го поєсц 1; желена шалата 1; заячина 1; здраве 1; коритнявка 1; красна шерсц 1; куриплах 1; лішка 1; любимец 1; мили є 1; миц миц 1; на полю 1; прави чкoди на полю 1; сцека по полю 1; трава 1; у клітки, швидки як заяц 1; умиляти 1; ухати 1; фришки 1; фришкосц 1; хвост 1; хруста 1; чкoди на полю 1.

100 (36) + 50 + 0 + 32

The center of the lexical field of verbal associations triggered by the stimulus *rabbit* is the associate *speed* with a frequency of 14. The associates *fast*, *speed* (фришкосц /friškosc/), *fast* (фришки /friški/), *in cage*, *as fast as a rabbit* are also included in the responses, which shows that the semantic center is wider and has an additional 8 occurrences, raising the total to 22. The core of this field has 19 associates which occur more than once, which is quite strong core in comparison with other fields (*speed* 14; *ears* 9; *fast* 5; *carrot* 5; *field* 4; *cage* 3; *paska* (Easter) 3; *domestic animal* 3; *scared* 2; *Easter* 2; *bunnies* 2; *a bunny* 2; *soft* 2; *soft fur* 2; *meat* 2; *meadow* 2; *big ears* 2; *stew* 2; *male* 2).

The periphery of the field is also wide and has 32 associates with the minimal number of occurrences (*to play* 1; *runs* 1; *white wine* 1; *afraid of everything* 1; *provides meat for food* 1; *childhood* 1; *small meadow* 1; *domestic animal* 1; *Dule*⁶⁰ 1; *I feel sorry to eat it* 1; *lettuce* 1; *rabbit meat* 1; *healthy* 1; *turtle* 1; *beautiful fur* 1; *coward* 1; *fox* 1; *pet* 1; *is dear* 1; *миц миц*⁶¹ /mic mic/ 1; *in a field* 1; *does damage to a field* 1; *runs across the field* 1; *grass* 1; *in cage*, *fast as a rabbit* 1; *cuddly* 1;

60 Nickname in Serbian language for Bugs Bunny.

61 Giving orders to a rabbit to come.

with big ears 1; fast (friški) 1; speed (friškosc) 1; tail 1; nibble 1; makes damage on the field 1.) The stimulus *rabbit* did not cause any omissions.

The most frequent associations within this field are descriptions or the rabbit as a domestic animal. They are related to its speed (*speed; fast; speed (friškosc); fast (friški); in cage; fast as a rabbit*), timidity (*afraid of everything; afraid; coward*), physical appearance (*big ears; beautiful fur; soft fur; soft; ears; with big ears; tail*), its usual activities (*in a field; makes damage on the field; runs across the field; to play; runs; nibble*), or some other descriptions (*cuddly; healthy*).

Additionally, the responses that represent hierarchically connected members are frequent. These can be hypernyms (*domestic animal - it is used as a food - meat; domestic animal; pet*), or co-hyponyms (*bunnies; a bunny; male*). The paradigmatic relations are also presented in the group of reactions that describe the physical appearance of the animal or its body parts. Such responses involve meronymic relations in the form of stimulus-response pairs.

The responses that refer to the place in which rabbits are typically kept can also be found in the data (*small meadow; meadow; field; cage*), as well as those that refer to food that rabbits typically consume (*lettuce; carrot; grass*), and the use people derive from this animal, i.e. rabbit's products (*gives meat for food; rabbit meat; meat; stew; white wine*⁶²).

Some answers are results of precedent texts, e.g. creatures from the literature or cartoons (*turtle; fox; Dule*). The first two are the creatures from Aesop's fables *The turtle and the rabbit* and *The fox and the rabbit*, while the response *Dule* is the translated name of the cartoon character Buggs Bunny. The examples *Easter* and *Easter (Paska*⁶³) are results of the precedent texts rooted in the Christian mythology.

The following responses are positive and subjective: *childhood; I feel sorry to eat it; is dear*. One response, the association with the sound made for calling the rabbit, was left out of the presented groups (*миц миц /mic mic/*).

20. Cat

миша (, кандур, мачата) 10; миш 9; мачата 6; лапа миши (мишу) (, и забавля друштво) 5; любимец 4; кандур 3; предзе 3; маче (, кандур) 3; пес 3; мяу 2; лукавосц 2; очи 2; улізоване 2; умилна 2; умилятосц 2; шерсц,

62 We understand this response in sense that it uses with rabbits meat.

63 Other name for Easter.

длаки 2; дом 1; домашня животиња 1; домашня животиња - на хасен у обисцу, требала би лапац миши 1; допита 1; досада 1; душка шашава 1; зле 1; гране, премазоване, лапане мишох 1; кандурик 1; кретен 1; кућни любимец 1; любезносц 1; мазене 1; Марко 1; миле 1; миловац 1; млеко 1; мурик 1; мјавчане 1; најмилша 1; облізковане 1; отворени дзвери 1; пайташка 1; пишна 1; подмуклосц 1; препреденост 1; при пецу, коло пеца, предзе 1; розмазана 1; самостална живина 1; седем животи 1; слунко 1; спане 1; сушедова 1; схопносц 1; улізуе ше 1; умиљата 1; фотеля 1; хвост 1; шапи 1.

100 (36) + 54 + 0 + 39

The lexical center of this field of verbal associations triggered by the stimulus *cat* is the associate *mouse* (f миша /miša/) 10. The associate *mouse* (m миш /miš/) is the masculine form of the same noun and has the frequency of 9. Together with the associates *mouse* and *catches mouse* 5, it constitutes the semantic center of this field with 24 occurrences.

The core of this field has 16 associates (*mouse* (f миша /miša/) 10; *mouse* (m миш /miš/) 9; *kittens* 6; *catching mice* 5; *pet* (любимец /ljubimec/) 4; *tomcat* 3; *purrs* 3; *kitten* 3; *dog* 3; *meow* 2; *domestic animal* (- useful in the household, it should catch mice) 2; *cunning* 2; *eyes* 2; *ingratiating* 2; *cuddly* (умилна /umilna/) 2; *cuddling* 2; *fur, hairs* 2). On the other hand, the periphery is broader and has 39 responses with a frequency of 1 (*home* 1; *boring* 1; *boredom* 1; *silly sweetheart* 1; *evil* 1; *playing, pampering, catching mice* 1; *little tomcat* (кандурик /kandurik/) 1; *jerk* 1; *pet* (кућни любимец /kućni ljubimec/) 1; *affability* 1; *cuddling* (мазене /mazenje/) 1; *Marko*⁶⁴ 1; *dear* 1; *caress* 1; *milk* 1; *wall* 1; *meowing* 1; *the dearest one* 1; *licking itself* 1; *opened door* 1; *girlfriend* 1; *proud* 1; *perfidy* 1; *slyness* 1; *next to the stove* 1; *spoiled* 1; *independent poultry* 1; *seven lives* 1; *sun* 1; *sleeping* 1; *neighbor's* 1; *dexterity* 1; *ingratiates itself* 1; *cuddly* (умиљата /umiljata/) 1; *armchair* 1; *tail* 1; *paws* 1).

The associations of this field are most frequently related to the description of the domestic animal cat. These associates are connected to the real or imaginary, stereotypical character traits of a cats (*playing; boredom; pampering; catching mice; evil; jerk; cunning; affability; cuddling /mazenje/; dear; caress; dearest one; licking itself; girl friend; proud; perfidy; slyness; spoiled; seven lives; sleeping; dexterity; ingratiating; ingrateate itself; cuddly* (умилна /umilna/); *cuddly*

64 Name of a person and a male pet.

(умиљата /umiljata/); *cuddling*), its typical behaviors (*milk; meow; meowing; purrs; next to the stove; catching mice (mouse); mouse (f miša); mouse (m miš)*), body parts (*eyes; fur; hairs; paws; tail*), or the typical place in which it is kept (*home; wall; opened door; armchair*).

Several associates are the results of the metaphorical mappings. These include as *boredom; evil; jerk; cunning; affability; girl friend; purrs*. The animal receives the traits of a person through the process of personification, so it is described as evil, cunning, or nice. In everyday speech, it is common to refer to a person as a jerk when their behavior is socially unacceptable. The same epithet can be applied to a cat, ascribing it human characteristics. This process of personification describes the behavior of a cat through the information carried by the term *jerk* 'a person who behaves in a socially unacceptable way'. This mapping can be presented as PERSON (WITH UNACCEPTABLE BEHAVIOR) → (DOMESTIC) ANIMAL CAT (WITH AN UNACCEPTABLE BEHAVIOR). Some other associates describing a cat were also created through the process of metaphorization, (*boredom; evil; jerk; cunning; affability; girl friend; purrs*).

The associate *girlfriend* is also the result of metaphorization, but it raises the question of its motivation. The target domain of this mapping is CAT. It seems that there are two possible explanations for the source domain of this mapping. The first one is A FRIENDLY FEMALE PERSON, that is, a person who understands, encourages, etc., and the second one is AN ATTRACTIVE FEMALE PERSON. Based on the analysis of participants' responses, it seems that the first explanation is more probable, yet this cannot be stated with complete certainty.

The associate *seven lives* is the result of precedent texts or the myth that a cat has nine, seven, or six lives, depending on the version of the myth. The basis of this view of a cat and the source of the myth⁶⁵ probably lies in the fact that a cat always lands on its feet, making it seem agile, able to survive things that humans cannot survive.

The responses paired with the stimulus cat also exhibit paradigmatic relations. These relations come in the form of hypernyms (*domestic animal (- useful in the household; it should catch mice); / kućni ljubimec/ pet; / ljubimec/ pet*), and co-hyponyms (*tomcat, little tomcat, kittens, kitten*). One response displays these paradigmatic relations in an interesting way (*independent poultry*). The associate *independent poultry* reveals a cat's place in a village household, where poultry, or small animals, need to be fed, but a cat, even

65 The Egyptian myth, the number 9 is magical.

though it is a small domestic animal too, can fend for itself by catching mice. The primary role of a cat in a village household seems to be to catch mice rather than to act as a source of entertainment or company (i.e. as a pet). In a traditional Ruthenian household, cats and dogs were kept to catch mice and protect the house, but today their function is shifting towards that of pets which is shown in the associates (*pet* /kućni ljubimac/; *pet* /ljubimac/). This process of conceptual transformation is still ongoing.

Two responses were not included in the listed groups (*neighbor's*; *sun*). The first one provides information about the cat's owner, and the second could describe a personal feeling by means of metaphorical mapping to convey the meaning of love toward a cat.

Several words of Serbian origin can be noticed in this field of verbal association (*длаки* /dlaki/ 'hairs'; *шати* /šapi/ 'paws'; *мазене* /mazenje/ 'cuddling'; *подмуклосц* /podmuklosc/ 'perfidy'; *препреденост* /prepredenost/ 'slyness'; *умиљата* /umiljata/ 'cuddly'; *умиљатосц* /umiljatosc/ 'cuddliness').

Most of the responses have a positive connotation (*mouse*; *mouse*; *kittens*; *catching mice*; *pet*; *tomcat*; *pet*; *purrs*; *kitten*; *dog*; *meow*; *cuddly*; *cuddling*; *home*; *domestic animal*; *domestic animal* (- *useful in the household*; *she should catch mice*); *silly sweetheart*; *playing*; *pampering*; *catching mice*; *pet* /kućni ljubimec/; *affability*; *cuddling* /mazenje/; *Marko*; *dear*; *caress*; *milk*; *dearest one*; *girl friend*; *seven lives*; *sun*; *dexterity*; *cuddly*). There are fewer reactions with negative connotation (*cunning*; *ingratiating*; *fur*; *hairs*; *boring*; *boredom*; *evil*; *jerk*; *meowing*; *proud*; *perfidy*; *slyness*; *spoiled*; *ingrateate itself*). The following reactions are seen as neutral (*eyes*; *little tomcat*; *wall*; *licking itself*; *opened door*; *next to the stove*; *independent poultry*; *sleeping*; *neighbor's*; *armchair*; *tail*; *paws*).

21. Dog

вирносц (, чувар) 10; брехане 8; чувар 8; вирни 4; двор 4; приятель 4; шене (, сука) 4; чува дом 3; чувар обисца (, вирни газдови) 3; бавене 2; бреше (, куса, лапка / , чува дом) 2; гав гав (ав ав) 2; косц (, хижка /, приятельство) 2; мачка 2; најлепши пайташ 2; обисце 2; товариш 2; хижка 2; бависко 1; блихи 1; Бруно, мой пес 1; верни 1; вирни приятель 1; вирни товариш 1; добре го мац у дворе 1; дом 1; домашња животиња 1; домашња животиња - на хасен у обисцу. 1; каfoва вижла 1; крадоше 1; кућни лoбимац 1; ланцушок 1; лoбимац 1; лoбимец 1; махане зоз хвостом 1; Маза 1; мой мили 1; мудри 1; оганяц ше 1; пес 1; прилапйоване 1; радосц 1; салаш 1; сука, чарли 1; хижка за пса 1; чловеков вирни приятель 1; чува 1; шерц 1; щенята 1; щиросц 1; явля кед дахто придзе и чува обисце 1.

100 (36) + 47 + 0 + 31

The center of this field of verbal associations triggered by the stimulus *dog* is the associate *fidelity* 10. As with the previously discussed field, the lexical center is determined by ranking all the associates based on frequency. The semantic center is wider as it also includes the following associates *loyal* (вирни /virni/) 4, *a friend* (приятель /prijatelj/) 4, *best friend* 2, *a friend* (товариш /tovariš/) 2, *man's loyal friend* 1, *loyal* (верни /verni/) 1, *loyal friend* (вирни приятель /virni prijatelj/) 1; *loyal friend* (вирни товариш /virni tovariš/) 1. When all these related responses are combined, the center has a frequency of 26, or one quarter of all the answers.

The core of this field consists of 18 associates with a frequency higher than 1 (*fidelity* 10; *barking* 8; *guardian* 8; *loyal* /virni/ 4; *yard* 4; *a friend* /prijatelj/ 4; *puppy* 4; *guards the home* 3; *guardian of the household* 3; *dog house* 2; *playing* 2; *barks* 2; *woof woof* 2; *bone* 2; *cat* 2; *best friend* 2; *household* 2; *a friend* /tovariš/ 2). The periphery has 33 answers that appeared only once (*play* 1; *lice* 1; *bruno, my dog* 1; *loyal* /verni/ 1; *a loyal friend* /virni prijatelj/ 1; *loyal friend* /virni tovariš/ 1; *it is good to have it in a courtyard* 1; *home* 1; *domestic animal* 1; *domestic animal - for the benefit of the household* 1; *brown vizsla*⁶⁶ 1; *thieves* 1; *pet* /kućni ljubimac/ 1; *chain* 1; *pet* /ljubimac/ 1; *pet* 1; *tail wagging* 1; *Maza*⁶⁷ 1; *my dear* 1; *wise* 1; *chasing* 1; *dog* 1; *acceptance* 1; *joy* 1; *mes-suage* 1; *bitch, Čarli* 1; *dog house* 1; *man's loyal friend* 1; *guards* 1; *fur* 1; *puppies* 1; *sincerity* 1; *announces when someone comes and guards the household* 1)⁶⁸.

The responses are usually connected to the person's stereotypical view of a dog as a faithful companion⁶⁹ (*loyal* /virni/; *fidelity*; *loyal* /verni/; *a friend* /prijatelj/; *best friend*; *a friend* /tovariš/; *man's loyal friend*; *loyal friend* /virni prijatelj/; *loyal friend* /virni tovariš/). Its function is to protect the home (*it is good to have him in a courtyard*; *thieves*; *guards*; *guards home*; *guardian*; *guardian of the house-*

66 <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vizsla>

67 The name for a female dog, literally *Cuddly*.

68 <https://royalsocietypublishing.org/doi/full/10.1098/rspb.2020.1715>

69 This stereotype differs from the concept of a dog as the carrier of bad characteristics that can be seen in the phraseological material and nominations. The stereotype and concepts are prone to changes. In this case, they show a fragment of an archaic image of the world based on the mythological representations of a dog.

hold; announces when someone comes and guards household), or entertain the owner, and bark (playing; play; barking; barks; woof woof; Maza; tail wagging; chasing).

There are also some hierarchically conditioned responses, hypernyms (*pet /kućni ljubimac/, domestic animal (- for the benefit of the household.)*), hyponyms (*brown vizsla*), co-hyponyms (*dog; bitch; puppy; puppies*), and members of other categories (*cat*).

The responses include associations with the place in which dogs are typically kept (*yard; dog house; household; home; messuage*), or emotions and attitudes towards dogs (*Bruno; my dog; my dear; wise; sincerity; joy; acceptance*). The typical concepts related to the concept of a dog are *lice; bone; chain; fur*.

One response is identical to the stimulus (*dog*).

It is assumed that the response *Maza* is the result of a precedent text. This word is the translated name of one of the characters in the Disney cartoon *Lady and the Tramp*⁷⁰. However, this cannot be confirmed with certainty since the participant spelled all the responses with the first capital letter making it unclear whether this is a name or characteristic of a dog (the meaning of the name when used as a regular noun can be translated as “the cuddly one”).

The only answers that have negative connotation are *lice; chain*. The positive ones are far more frequent (*Bruno; my dog; Maza; my dear; wise; sincerity; joy; acceptance; loyal; fidelity; loyal; a friend / prijatelj; best friend; a friend /tovariš; man's loyal a friend; loyal a friend; loyal a friend /tovariš; it is good to have him in a courtyard; thieves; guards; guards home; guardian; guardian of the household; announces when someone comes and guards household; playing; play; barking; barks; woof woof; tail wagging; chasing*).

22. The sexual intercourse of domestic animals

парене (, бегане, гонене / , гажене) 23; гукане (, гонене, пиркане, бегане / , гажене / , пирхане, скакане) 4; бегане (, гукане, гажене / , гажене, гукане) 3; розмножоване 3; водзене 2; оплодзене 2; потомство 2; репродукция 2; буюк 1; гамжене 1; гетеросексуалне 1; гуманосц 1; два животинї 1; доставане младих 1; елитна нява 1; журка 1; заяц 1; збунетосц 1; инцест 1; интересантне 1; їх розмножоване? ніч ми широко не пада на розум. писанки можебуц? Най будзе же пре манди курчата и зайци. 1; корназ 1; крава ше сце бегац, швиня ше сце гукац, та гу ней водза корназа, кобула пита

70 <https://d23.com/a-to-z/lady-and-the-tramp-film/>; https://sr.wikipedia.org/sr/%D0%9C%D0%B0%D0%B7%D0%B0_%D0%B8_%D0%9B%D1%83%D1%9A%D0%B0

вайчака... 1; любов 1; мачата 1; множење 1; нагон 1; наопако 1; наставак живота 1; нормалне 1; не патриц 1; неприємност 1; оплодзоване 1; парада 1; парене мачкох 1; пиркане 1; побегали ше, потреба 1; предложене файти 1; природа 1; природне 1; пси 1; пуштели на ню 1; скакаю 1; цошка цо муши буц 1; щенята 1.

100 (36) + 45 + 21 + 37

The lexical center of this field of verbal associations triggered with the stimulus *The sexual intercourse of domestic animals* is the associate *mating* 23. The semantic center includes additional associates at the same level of generality: *breeding* 3; *impregnation*⁷¹ 2; *reproduction* 2; *impregnation*⁷² 1. However, the following hypernyms can also be included in this center: *tupping* 3; *mating* 2; *wrestling* 1; *coupling* 4; *mating of cats* /пиркане/ 1; *they let the bull on her* 1; *bulling* 1; *cow is in heat*; *the pig wants to couple, so they are preparing the boar*; *the mare wants a stallion* 1; *cat mating* 1; *they tupp* 1. In its broadest form, the center has a frequency of 50.

The core of this field consists of 10 associates with more than one occurrence (*mating* 23; *coupling* 4; *tupping* 3; *breeding* 3; *mating* 2; *impregnation* 2; *the offspring* 2; *reproduction* 2). The periphery of the field is quite broad comprising 37 responses (*bull* 1; *wrestling* 1; *heterosexual* 1; *humanity* 1; *two animals* 1; *getting cubs* 1; *elite porn* 1; *party* 1; *rabbit* 1; *confusion* 1; *incest* 1; *interesting* 1; *Their breeding? To be honest, nothing comes to mind. easter eggs maybe? let's say that because of the chickens and the rabbits* 1; *boar* 1; *cow is in heat*; *the pig wants to mate, so they are preparing a boar*; *the mare wants a stallion* 1; *love* 1; *kittens* 1; *multiplication* 1; *urge* 1; *awry* 1; *continuation of life* 1; *normal* 1; *don't look* 1; *discomfort* 1; *impregnation* 1; *parade* 1; *cat mating* 1; *the mating of cats* /пиркане/ 1; *they tupp* 1; *need* 1; *species extension* 1; *nature* 1; *naturally* 1; *dogs* 1; *they let the bull on her* 1; *bulling* 1; *something that must be* 1; *puppies* 1). This field of verbal associations has high number of omission 21. Answers such as *I have no association* 1; *I have no idea* 1; were considered to be omissions.

The most frequent responses depict the activity of sexual intercourse. There are some associations in the form of specific terms for the sexual intercourse of certain breeds of domestic animals

71 Deverbal noun *оплодзоване* /oplodzovanje/ is formed from the perfective verb *оплодзиц* /oplodzic/.

72 Deverbal noun *оплодзене* /oplodzenje/ is formed from the imperfective verb *оплодзовац* /oplodzovac/.

(*tupping; mating; wrestling; coupling; mating of cats /пиркане/; cow is in heat; the pig want to couple, so they are preparing a boar; the mare wants a stallion*) as well as general terms for the sexual intercourse of domestic animals (*mating; mating of cats; they tuppel; they let the bull on her; bulling*), more general, scientific terms (*multiplication; impregnation; impregnation; reproduction; breeding*), and the result or function of the reproduction (*the offspring, species extension; continuation of a life; getting cubs*), or the association with the physiological need for reproduction (*urge*).

This field also includes associations in the form of terms for domestic animals that come into existence as a result of reproduction, or the offspring (*puppies; kittens; Their breeding? To be honest; nothing comes to mind. easter eggs maybe? let it be because of the chicken and the bunny*), as well as typical participants in an intercourse (*bull; rabbit; boar; dogs*). The responses *bull* and *boar* denote male uncastrated animals meant to be used for reproduction.

The plural form *dogs* is not completely clear, but it could be related to the negative association of two dogs having an intercourse on the street. One response refers to the number of participants in an intercourse, indicating that this activity involves two participants (*two animals*).

The attitude towards sexual intercourse is seen in the following associates: *heterosexual; incest; elite porn; party; parade; confusion; don't look; awry; discomfort; interesting; love; normal; something that must be; nature; naturally; humanity*.

23. Birth of the offspring of a domestic animal

радосц 16; коцене (, прашене / , , прашене, целене / , ;?) 15; нови живот (, нове дацо) 6; окоцене 5; целене (прашене, коцене /, коцене /, прашене, вилягнуце – вишедзене 2) 5; окот 4; щене 4; окоциц (ше) (, опрашиц, вилягнуц) 3; коциц ше 2; праше 2; целе 2; щесце 2; будучносц 1; вилягло ше 1; виляговане 1; гаче 1; жребене, целене, коцене 1; кожлене, целене, жребене, ягнене 1; коште*** 1; крава ше оцелела, швиня - опрашела, коза - окожела, кура ше насадзела, та виведла курчата, курчата ше наджубали, а вец и вилягли... 1; краса 1; курчата з инкубатора 1; мале 1; мале слатке 1; ніжносц 1; опрашела, вилягла 1; опрашене, оцелене, окоцене, вилягнуте 1; опраси 1; оцелене 1; оцелела ше 1; рост 1; потомки 1; принова 1; природа успишна 1; природа 1; сладке 1; целене крави 1; целятко 1; шумне 1; шумносц 1; щенята 1; щенятко 1; щешліве збуване 1; ягнене 1; ягнятко 1;

100 (36) + 45 + 1 + 33

The center of the field of verbal associations triggered by the stimulus *Birth of the offspring of a domestic animal* is the associate *joy* 16. Two additional associates belong to this lexical center, and these are *happiness* 2 and *happy event* 1. The frequency of the lexical and semantic center is 19. The second most frequent associate is *parturition* 15. It is primarily similar in meaning with the associates *birthing* (окоцене /okocenje/) 5; *litter* 4; *to give birth* (коциц ше /kocic še/) 2; *to give birth* (окоциц (ше) /okocic (še)/) 3 but also with the associates that denote the birth of a specific domestic animal: *calving* 5; *lambing* (кожлене /kožljenje/), *calving* (целене /celjenje/), *foaling* (ждребене /ždrebenje/), *lambing* (ягнене /jahnjene/) 1; *farrowed* (опрашела /oprašela/); *layed* 1; *farrowed* (опрашене /oprašene/); *calved*; *birthed* (окоцене /okocene/); *hatched* (вилягло ше /viljahlo še/) 1; *calving cows* 1; *calving* (оцелене /oceljenje/) 1; *she calved* (оцелела ше /oceljela še/) 1. All of these associates form a group with a frequency of 29 in a narrow and 40 in a broader sense.

The core of this field has 12 associates with a frequency higher than 1 (*joy* 16; *parturition* 15; *new life* 6; *birthing* 5; *calving* 5; *litter* 4; *puppy* 4; *to give birth* /okocic (še)/ 3; *to give birth* 2; *piglet* 2; *calf* 2; *happiness* 2), and the periphery of the field has 33 associates with the minimal frequency of 1 (*future* 1; *hatched* /viljahlo še/ 1; *laying* 1; *foal* 1; *foaling*; *calving*; *birthing* (коцене /kocenje/) 1; *lambing*; *calving*; *foaling* /ždrebenje/ 1; *lambing* /jahnjene/ 1; *goatling* 1; *the cow has been calved*; *sow - farrowed*; *goat - kidded*; *broody hen was sat and she hatched chickens*; *they grew and then layed eggs* 1; *beauty* 1; *chickens from the incubator* 1; *a little one* 1; *a little sweetheart* 1; *tenderness* 1; *farrowed* 1; *layed* 1; *farrowed* /oprašene/ 1; *calved* 1; *birthed* /okocene/); *layed* 1; *опраси* /oprasi/⁷³ 1; *calving* /oceljenje/ 1; *she calved* /oceljela še/ 1; *growth* 1; *offspring* 1; *a new member* (принова) 1; *successful nature* 1; *nature* 1; *sweet* 1; *calving cows* 1; *calf* 1; *beautiful* 1; *beauty* 1; *puppies* 1; *puppy* 1; *happy event* 1; *lambing* /jahnjene/ 1; *sweet little lamb* 1). There was only one omission.

The associations in this field are related to the general terms for the birth of cattle (as well as other domestic and wild animals, except birds) (*parturition*; *to give birth* /kocic še/; *birthing* /okocenje/; *to give birth* /okocic še/), and poultry (*layed* /viljahla/; *hatched*

73 A word derived from the Serbian form *prase* 'piglet'. It is not clear whether this response represents an imperative 2nd person singular form (ti oprasi 'you farrow') or a noun with the meaning 'a result of farrowing'. The meaning is non-transparent.

/viljahlo še/); *laying*). Some responses name the process of birthing more specifically. In that sense, we can make a distinction between those related to horses (*foaling* /žrebenje/), goats (*lambing*), pigs (*farrowed*; *farrowed* /oprašene/), cows (*calving*; *a cow has been calved*; *calved*; *calving* /oceljenje/; *calving cows*), and sheep (*lambing* /jahnjene/). There were several associations in three reactions (*foaling* /žrebenje/; *calving*; *birthing* (/kocenje/) / *calved*; *birthed* (/okocene/); *hatched* /viljahnute/; *cow have been calved*; *sow - farrowed*; *goat - kidded*; *broody hen was sat, and she hatched chicks, they grew and then layed eggs*).

References to the result of the process of giving birth can be seen in the following associates: *foal*; *goatling*; *chickens from the incubator*; *a little one*; *litter*; *onpacu* /oprasil/; *offspring*; *piglet*; *a new member*; *calf* /celje/; *sweet little calf*; *sweet little puppy*; *puppy*; *puppies*; *lamb*. Again, we can see some associates that have a more general meaning and relate to the result of giving birth without giving any information about the species of the animal (*a little one*; *new member*; *offspring*; *litter*), as well as those that provide information about the species (*foal*; *goatling*); *chickens from the incubator*; *onpacu* /oprasil/; *piglet*; *calf*; *sweet little calf*; *sweet little puppy*; *puppy* /ščenje/; *puppies*; *sweet little lamb*).

The birth of young animals triggers positive emotions and produces the following associations: *future*; *beauty*; *a sweet little one*; *tenderness*; *new life*; *nature*; *successful nature*; *growth*; *joy*; *sweet*; *happiness*; *happy event*; *beautiful*; *beauty*).

24. *That would be a good horse if it had*

доброто газду 10; красну гриву 5; подкови 5; гриву 4; моци 4; швицацу шерц 4; моцни ноги 3; педигре 3; гаче 2; дсплови 2; длуги хвост 2; добри копита 2; добри подкови 2; копита 2; кридла 2; хвост 2; шедло 2; швидки ноги 2; билу длаку 1; вельо моци – сили 1; вельки, моцни 1; велькосц-моцносц 1; вецей моци 1; вецей сили за цагане прикоча 1; добри зуби 1; добри и моцни ноги 1; досц кили 1; длукши ноги 1; добре допатране 1; друштво и траву 1; зуби 1; елеганцију, грациозносц 1; квалитетну покарму 1; кед би мал добру пару 1; кили 1; лепши слух 1; моц 1; моцне цело 1; моцне цело же би могол цагац коч, або же би ше го могло шедлац 1; моцни мускули 1; моцни хрибет 1; подковка 1; подковки 1; подковку 1; полни яшля 1; приповедал 1; таки розум 1; швидкосц 1; швицацу гриву 1; шерцо 1; широки карк и няклов 1; шорового газду 1; зязк 1.

The center of the field of verbal associations triggered by the stimulus *That would be a good horse if it had* is the associate *good owner* 10. The following associates could be added to this lexical center: *honest owner* 1; *good raising* 1. These associates broaden the scope of the field slightly and bring its frequency up to 12. As has been observed in reference to the previously discussed field, an alternative center can be formed around the associate *beautiful mane* 5. The associates with a similar meaning are *mane* 4; *shiny hair* 4; *white hair* 1; *shiny mane* 1. Taken together these associates produce a center with a frequency of 15.

The core of this field consists of 18 associates with a frequency of occurrence higher than 1 (*good owner* 10; *beautiful mane* 5; *horseshoes* 5; *mane* 4; *strength* (мощи /мочи/) 4; *shiny hair* 4; *strong legs* 3; *pedigree* 3; *foal* 2; *reins* 2; *long tail* 2; (*good*) *teeth* 2; *good hooves* 2; *good horseshoes* 2; (*enough*) *kilograms* 2; *hooves* 2; *wings* 2; *tail* 2; *saddle* 2; *fast legs* 2). The periphery of this field consists of 35 responses with the minimum frequency, making the periphery quite broad (*white hair* 1; *a lot of strength - power* 1; *big; strong* 1; *size - power* 1; *more strength* 1; *more power to pull farm carriages* 1; *good and strong legs* 1; *longer legs* 1; *good raising* 1; *company and grass* 1; *elegance; grace* 1; *quality fodder* 1; *if it had good match* 1; *kilograms* 1; *better hearing* 1; *strength* (мощ /моч/) 1; *strong body* 1; *strong body to pull farm carriages; or if it can be ridden* 1; *strong muscles* 1; *strong back* 1; *horseshoe* 1; *horseshoes* 1; *horseshoe*⁷⁴ 1; *full manger* 1; *talk* 1; *this kind of mind* 1; *speed* 1; *shiny mane* 1; *heart* 1; *wide neck and bridle* 1; *honest owner* 1; *tongue* 1). There are 7 omissions in this field.

The associates can be related to desired general characteristics (*big; strong; size - power; A lot of strength - power; more strength; more power to pull farm carriages; strength* (мощ /моч/), *strength* (мощи /мочи/); *strong body; strong body to pull farm carriages or if it can be ridden; (enough) kilograms; kilograms; speed*, as well as the specific ones, such as body parts (*mane; (good) teeth; longer legs; long tail; good and strong legs; good hooves; hooves; beautiful mane; strong muscles; strong legs; strong back; better hearing; tail; heart; fast legs; shiny hair*). The desired characteristics can be related to the animal's food (*quality fodder; company and grass; full manger; if it had good match*), the owner and the way in which they look after animals (*good owner; honest owner; good raising*), appearance (*elegance; grace; pedigree*), and offspring (*foal*). A horse has to have quality

74 *подковка* /podkovka/ is diminutive of *подкова* /podkova/.

equipment to be able to fulfill its role (*reins; good horseshoes; wide neck and bridle; horseshoe* (подкова /podkova/); *horseshoe* (подковка /podkovka/); *horseshoes* (подковки /podkovki/); *horseshoe* (подковку /podkovku/); *saddle*).

Desired and expected qualities of a horse can also be unrealistic (*wings; talk; this kind of mind; tongue*).

25. *That would be a good cow if it had*

млека 29; вельо млека (, целята, мяса) 25; вещей млека 7; целе 4; вельке вимне 2; добру пашу 2; дос(ц) млека 2; вещей поживи за едене 1; вимне 1; давала вельо млека 1; добре вимне 1; добре млеко 1; добри оброк 1; добре шено 1; добру поживу 1; досц едзения 1; лилови платки 1; митралез 1; 20 l млека 1; надосц млека 1; най ше нїгда не страци 1; своєю целе 1; покарми 1; фарму 1; целята 1; чоколадне млеко 1; швицацу шерсц 1; шена 1; шлебоду 1.

100 (36) + 29 + 5 + 22

The center of the lexical field of verbal associations triggered by the stimulus *That would be a good cow if it had* is the associate *milk* 29. The following associates with similar meanings can be included here as well, *a lot of milk* 25; *more milk* 7; (*enough*) *milk* 2; *gave a lot of milk* 1; *good milk* 1; *20 l milk* 1; *a lot of milk* 1. The broader semantic center of this field has a frequency of 67.

Since the center is very strong, (i.e. two most frequent associates constitute more than half of all the answers) it is not surprising that the core is relatively small and consists of 7 associates with a frequency higher than 1 (*milk* 29; *a lot of milk* 25; *more milk* 7; *calf* 4; *big udder* 2; *good pasture* 2; (*enough*) *milk* 2) and the periphery of the field of contains 22 responses with one occurrence (*more food to eat* 1; *udder* 1; *had given a lot of milk* 1; *good udder* 1; *good milk* 1; *good ration* 1; *good hay* 1; *good food* 1; *enough food* 1; *purple spots* 1; *machine gun* 1; *20 l milk* 1; *a lot of milk* 1; *never gets lost* 1; *its own calf* 1; *fodder* 1; *a farm* 1; *calves* 1; *chocolate milk* 1; *shiny hair* 1; *hay* 1; *freedom* 1). There are 5 omissions in this field.

This field includes associations referring to the typical product of a cow, which is milk (*milk; a lot of milk; more milk; (enough) milk; had given a lot of milk; good milk; 20 l milk; a lot of milk*), but the body part that produces milk is also important (*big udder; udder; good udder*). An additional benefit of having a cow, besides milk, is also its offspring (*calf; own calf; calves*).

The participants found food, or taking proper care of the animal,

to be an important factor (*more food to eat; good hay; good ration; good pasture; good fodder; enough food; fodder; the farm; hay; shiny hair; freedom*).

The unrealistic responses are *purple spots; machine gun; chocolate milk*. The responses *purple spots and chocolate milk* could be the result of a precedent text, i.e. the ads for chocolate products which include a purple cow as one of their core symbols.

The associate *machine gun* has no clear motivation.

26. *That would be a good donkey if it had*

моци 6; розум 5; моцни хрибет 4; уха 4; доброго газду 3; млека 3; векши уха 2; газду 2; моцни ноги 2; розума 2; векши чупор 1; векшу висину 1; вельки уха 1; вельо мяса 1; вельо моци 1; вецей кили 1; вецей цо есц 1; вецей поживи за едене 1; водзел овци 1; густу шерцц 1; длугоки уха 1; добре шедло 1; добри глас 1; добри, мирни темперамент 1; добри уха 1; доброго чобана 1; добру норов 1; дом 1; зуби 1; кед би не бул твардоглави 1; кили 1; кого водзиц 1; красни 1; красну шерцц 1; кратши уха 1; криж 1; мале 1; мењеј роки 1; мяса 1; магарче 1; магарицу за приплод 1; меней твардогласоци 1; могол векшу терху ношиц 1; мозга 1; най будзе конь 1; ношиц досц терхи 1; няклов и небул упарти 1; овци 1; послушносц 1; роги 1; сцерпеня 1; терху 1; торби 1; фину шерцц 1; хвост 1; хто да го чува 1; ченгельов 1; чупор овцох 1; шедло 1; шена 1; шлебоду 1; швидкосц 1; 4 кошата 1;

100 (36) + 62 + 13 + 53

The lexical center of the field of verbal associations triggered by the stimulus *That would be a good donkey if it had* is the associate *strength* 6. The semantic center formed around this lexical center includes associates such as *strong back* 4; *strong legs* 2; *a lot of strength* 1; *more kilograms* 1; *kilograms* 1; *could carry a bigger load* 1; *load* 1; *carried a heavy load* 1. This semantic center has a frequency of 12. If different possessive forms were counted together, the lexical center *mind* (розум /rozum/); 5 *mind* (розума /rozuma/ 2 would have a frequency of 7. With its semantically-related associates (*obedience* 1; *if he weren't so stubborn* 1; *less stubbornness* 1; *brain* 1; *bridle and wouldn't be persistent* 1; *patience* 1; *good temper* 1), this lexical center would form a semantic center with a frequency of 14. Both characteristics, strength and mind, seem to be very important for the image of a donkey.

The core of this field consists of 10 associates with a frequency

higher than 1 (*strength* 6; *mind* 5; *strong back* 4; *ears* 4; *good owner* 3; *milk* 3; *bigger ears* 2; *owner* 2; *strong legs* 2; *mind* 2). The periphery is quite broad with 53 associates that occur only once (*bigger flock* 1; *greater height* 1; *big ears* 1; *a lot of meat* 1; *a lot of strength* 1; *more kilograms* 1; *more to eat* 1; *more food to eat* 1; *lead sheep* 1; *thick hair* 1; *long ears* 1; *good saddle* 1; *good voice* 1; *good, calm character* 1; *good ears* 1; *good shepherd* 1; *good temper* 1; *home* 1; *teeth* 1; *if it weren't so stubborn* 1; *kilograms* 1; *who to look after* 1; *beautiful* 1; *beautiful hair* 1; *shorter ears* 1; *cross* 1; *a little one* 1; *fewer years* 1; *meat* 1; *colt donkey* 1; *she-ass for insemination* 1; *less stubbornness* 1; *could carry a bigger load* 1; *brain* 1; *were a horse* 1; *carry a heavy load* 1; *bridle and weren't persistent* 1; *sheep* 1; *obedience* 1; *horns* 1; *patience* 1; *load* 1; *bags* 1; *fine hair* 1; *tail* 1; *someone to guard him* 1; *cowbell* 1; *flock of sheep* 1; *saddle* 1; *hay* 1; *freedom* 1; *speed* 1; 4 *goatlings* 1). There were 13 omissions in this field.

The common associations in this field refer to a donkey as un-intelligent and stubborn (*good; calm temperament; good temper; if it weren't so stubborn; less stubbornness; brain; bridle and weren't persistent; mind* (розум /rozum/); *mind* (розума /rozuma/); *obedience; patience*), and its strength, which is important in fulfilling its function (*a lot of strength; more kilograms; kilograms; could carry a bigger load; strength; strong legs; strong back; carry a heavy load; load; speed*). Food also seems to be important for this type of domestic animal (*more food to eat; more to eat; hay*). This might be related to the previously noted desired characteristic of a donkey, which is strength.

Body parts are also seen as important (*bigger ears; big ears; long ears; good ears; shorter ears; greater height; a lot of meat; thick hair; good voice; teeth; beautiful hair; meat; horns; fine hair; tail*). One response refers to *horns* as an important characteristic of a donkey. All the other body parts are realistic, in the sense that every donkey has them.

It appears that the role of a donkey in the past was to lead the sheep to the field, which can be seen in the following associations: *bigger flock; lead sheep; who to look after; sheep; flock of sheep*.

The associations referring to the equipment for donkeys are rarer (*good saddle; bags; cowbell; saddle*), as well as those that refer to a mate or offspring (*she-ass for insemination; colt donkey; a little one*). Some responses were not included in the listed groups (4 *goatlings; cross; fewer years; milk; it were a horse; freedom*). It is difficult to understand the motivation behind some associates, such as *a cross*, for instance. The associates 4 *goatlings; it were a horse* show a

negative view of a donkey as a species. The responses fewer *years*⁷⁵; *milk and freedom* seem to be realistic.

27. *That would be a good goat if it had*

млека 18; кошката (козчата/кожчата) 17; вельо млека (и два кошката) 6; вецей млека 4; млеко 4; добре млеко 3; роги 3; браду 2; вецей кошката 2; добре вимне 2; досц млека 2; (тройо) кошката 2; 4 (штvero) кошката 2; баранче 1; били роги 1; били флеку 1; билу шерсц 1; брадичку 1; вельки роги 1; вельо кошката 1; вельо меса, млека, кошката 1; вецей меса 1; вецей места у шопи 1; вецей поживи за едене 1; вецей шлебоди 1; дзе пасц 1; длушки цццки 1; добре коцене, добре месо и млеко 1; доброго газду 1; добру покарму 1; кажди рок двойнята 1; коза добра така яка с. 1; коще 1; [л]ешпу храну 1; моцни роги 1; най ю не колю 1; розум 1; 7 кошката 1; хижку же би ше попендрала 1; швицацу шерсц 1.

100 (36) + 39 + 7 + 26

The most important characteristics that define a typical goat are milk and offsprings, as the most frequent associates are *milk* 18 and *goatlings* 17. This means that the lexical center of the field of verbal associations triggered by the stimulus *That would be a good goat if it had* is the associate *milk* 18. A broader semantic center can be formed around this lexical center by including the associates of a similar meaning (*milk* 18; *A lot of milk* 6; *more milk* 4; *milk* 4; *good milk* 3; *enough milk* 2). The frequency of this semantic center is 37. On the other hand, the group of associates with meanings related to the second most frequent associate *goatlings* 17 (*(three) goatlings* 2; *A lot of goatlings* 1; 7 *goatlings* 1; *goatling* 1; 4 *(four) goatlings* 2) has a combined frequency of 24.

There are 13 associates with more than one occurrence forming the field's core (*milk* 18; *goatlings* 17; *A lot of milk (and two goatlings)* 6; *more milk* 4; *milk* 4; *good milk* 3; *horns* 3; *beard* 2; *more goatlings* 2; *good udder* 2; *enough milk* 2; *(three) goatlings* 2; 4 *(four) goatlings* 2) and 26 associates with a minimal frequency forming the field's periphery (*lamb* 1; *white horns* 1; *white spots* 1; *white hair* 1; *goatee beard* 1; *big horns* 1; *a lot of goatlings* 1; *a lot of meat; milk; goatlings* 1; *more meat* 1; *more place in the shed* 1; *more food to eat* 1; *more freedom* 1; *where to graze* 1; *longer teats* 1; *good offspring; good meat and milk* 1; *good owner* 1; *good fodder* 1; *twins every year* 1; *a goat is fine as it is* 1;

75 This associate can be triggered with the phraseologism *стари як стари магареу*, literally 'as old as an old donkey'.

goatling 1; better food 1; strong horns 1; weren't slaughtered 1; mind 1; 7 goatlings 1; own house to climb on to 1; shiny hair 1). The stimulus *That would be a good goat if it had* triggered 7 omissions.

The responses are typically connected to the product of this type of domestic animal (*milk; goatlings; a lot of milk (and two goatlings); more milk; milk; good milk; enough milk; lamb; a lot of meat; milk; goatlings/; more meat; good meat and milk*). A goat's offspring can also be seen as one of its products (*good birthing; twins every year; goatlings; (three) goatlings; a lot of goatlings; 7 goatlings; goatling*).

The responses depicting desired characteristics, or the conditions for a goat to be a goat are related to its body parts, i.e. meronyms (*white horns; white spots; white hair; goatee beard; beard; big horns; longer teats, good udder, strong horns; horns; shiny hair*). Some of them, such as *good udder; longer teats*, are body parts that produce milk.

The associations referring to food can also be related to the expectations from or the function of a goat: *better food; more food for eating; where to graze; good fodder*.

Some responses were not included in the listed groups (*more place in shed; more freedom; goat is fine as it is; not to slaughter her; mind; own house to climb on to*).

28. *That would be a good sheep if it had*

вельо волни 10; волну 10; вецей волни 8; волни 7; баранчата 5; добру волну 4; млека 4; барана 3; баранче 3; красну волну 3; вецей баранчата (вечей) 2; два баранчата 2; баранчатко 1; бетельнини 1; векшу пашу 1; вельо меса, волни, млека, баранчата 1; вельо финеи волни 1; вельо шерсци 1; вецей поживи за едене 1; грубшу волну 1; густу волну 1; давала вецей млека 1; двойо баранчата 1; двойо ягнята 1; дзвончок коло шиї 1; дзе пасц 1; длугу волну 1; доброго газду 1; досц простору 1; здравя 1; златну волну 1; кед би давала лем кисле млеко. 1; месо, млека и волни 1; млеко 1; мудросц 1; овчатка 1; пажицу 1; розума 1; субвенциї 1; свидомосц же є овца 1; тепих 1; хвост по жем 1; чисту волну 1; югаса 1.

100 (36) + 44 + 5 + 32

The center of the field of verbal associations triggered by the stimulus *That would be a good sheep if it had* is the associate *a lot of wool 10 and wool 10*. These two associates are similar in meaning, as are: *more wool 8; wool 7; good wool 4; beautiful wool 3; a lot of nice wool 1; a lot of fur 1; thicker wool 1; thick wool 1; long wool 1; golden*

wool 1; *clean wool* 1. The combined frequency of this semantic field is 49.

This field's core consists of 12 associates (*A lot of wool* 10; *wool* 10; *more wool* 8; *wool* 7; *lambs* 5; *good wool* 4; *milk* 4; *ram* 3; *lamb* 3; *beautiful wool* 3; *more lambs* 2; *two lambs* 2). The periphery consists of 32 answers (*lamb* (баранчатко /barančatko/) 1; *clover* 1; *bigger pasture* 1; *a lot of meat, wool, milk, lambs* 1; *a lot of nice wool* 1; *a lot of fur/hair* 1; *more food to eat* 1; *thicker wool* 1; *thick wool* 1; *to give more milk* 1; *two lambs* (баранчата /barančata/) 1; *two lambs* (ягњята /jahnjata/) 1; *bell around the neck* 1; *where to graze* 1; *long wool* 1; *good owner* 1; *enough space* 1; *health* 1; *golden wool* 1; *if it were to give only sour milk* 1; *meat, milk and wool* 1; *milk* 1; *wisdom* 1; *lambs* (овчатка /ovčatka/) 1; *meadow* 1; *mind* 1; *subsidies* 1; *consciousness that she is a sheep* 1; *carpet* 1; *tail to the ground* 1; *clean wool* 1; *shepherd* 1).

This field of verbal associations shows that the products of this type of domestic animal are one of the most important characteristics of a good sheep. It seems that Ruthenians find it very important for a sheep to have wool (*a lot of wool*; *wool*; *more wool*; *wool*; *good wool*; *beautiful wool*; *a lot of nice wool*; *a lot of fur/hair*; *thicker wool*; *thick wool*; *long wool*; *golden wool*; *clean wool*); offspring (*lambs*; *lamb* /barančatko/; *lamb*; *more lambs*; *two lambs*; *two lambs*; *two lambs* /jahnjata/; *lambs* /ovčatka/), a ram to enable it to reproduce (*ram*), milk (*give more milk*; *if she would give only sour milk*; *milk* (млека /mljeka/); *milk* (млеко /mljeka/)), and meat (*a lot of meat*; *wool*; *milk*; *lambs*; *meat*; *milk and wool*). Food (*clover*; *bigger pasture*; *where to graze*; *more food to eat*; *meadow*) and the way it is provided for (*good owner*; *bell around the neck*; *health*; *enough space*; *subsidies*; *shepherd*) can be seen as related to a sheep's products.

Several responses stem from metaphorical or personified mappings (*wisdom*; *mind*; *consciousness that she is a sheep*; *carpet*).

29. *That would be a good pig if it had*

вельо прашата 11; прашата 7; вельо меса 5; кили 5; вельо кили 3; меса (, прашата) 3; вецей меса 2; мало масци 2; меса, вецей прашата 2; меснату сланіну 2; праше 2; садла 2; сланіни 2; тринац (13) прашата 2; 200 кили (200kg) 2; векши кармик 1; векши обор 1; вельки кармик 1; вельки шунки 1; вельо прашата и меса 1; вецей есц 1; вецей поживи за едене 1; газду 1; дванац пр тоашата (прашата А.М.) 1; дзе да рие 1; добре допатране 1; добре потомство 1; доброго газду 1; добру килажу 1; добру покарму 1; добру фарму 1; достоїнство 1; здрави шкварки 1; златни кабат 1; карички 1; кармик 1; квалитетне месо 1; кед би не едла патканьох 1; когута 1;

кратку шерс 1; лепши шунки 1; меней кили 1; меней масци 1; осем шунки... 1; поживи 1; покарму 1; прашатаайца 1; прашатка 1; ратици 1; рило, розума 1; 120 кили 1; хвосцик 1; церковни календар 1; цо да поє 1; чежину 1; шлебоду рушаня 1; 4 ноги 1.

100 (36) + 55 + 5 + 40

The center of the field of verbal associations triggered by the stimulus *That would be a good pig if it had* is the associate *a lot of piglets* 11. The associates with similar meanings can be added to this lexical center (*piglets* 7; *piglet* 2; *thirteen (13) piglets* 2; *twelve piglets* 1; *piglets (прашатаайца⁷⁶ /prašataajca/)*, 1; *piglets* 1; *a lot of piglets and meat* 1). This semantic field has a frequency of 26.

The core of this field consists of 14 associates with a frequency higher than 1 (*a lot of piglets* 11; *piglets* 7; *a lot of meat* 5; *kilograms* 5; *a lot of kilograms* 3; *meat (, piglets)* 3; *more meat* 2; *little lard* 2; *meat, more piglets* 2; *meaty bacon* 2; *piglet* 2; *fat* 2; *bacon* 2; *thirteen (13) piglets* 2; *200 kilograms (200 kg)* 2). The field's periphery has 42 answers with a minimal frequency (*bigger pigsty* 1; *bigger (obor) pigsty* 1; *big pigsty* 1; *big hams* 1; *a lot of piglets and meat* 1; *more to eat* 1; *more food for eating* 1; *owner* 1; *twelve piglets* 1; *where to root* 1; *good care* 1; *good offspring* 1; *good owner* 1; *good weight* 1; *good fodder* 1; *good farm* 1; *dignity* 1; *healthy cracklings* 1; *golden wedding dress* 1; *pig rings* 1; *pigsty* 1; *quality meat* 1; *if it didn't eat rats* 1; *rooster* 1; *short hair* 1; *better hams* 1; *fewer kilograms* 1; *less lard* 1; *eight hams... 1*; *food* 1; *fodder* 1; *piglets (prašataajca)* 1; *piglets* 1; *hoovess* 1; *snout, mind* 1; *120 kilograms* 1; *bobtail* 1; *church calendar* 1; *something to eat* 1; *weight* 1; *freedom of movement* 1; *4 legs* 1). There are 5 omissions in this field.

In this associative field, one of the most frequent conditions for a pig to be considered good are the products that are derived from it. These are the offspring, piglets (*a lot of piglets*; *piglets*; *piglet*; *thirteen (13) piglets*; *twelve piglets*; *good offspring*; *piglets (prašataajca)*; *piglets*; *a lot of piglets and meat*) and the products made of pork (*big hams*; *more meat*; *meat*; *healthy cracklings*; *quality meat*; *big hams*; *meat*; *more piglets*; *meat*; *meaty bacon*; *eight hams... ; fat*; *bacon*). The responses show that not all the participants expect a pig to provides a lot of meat and fat (*little fat*; *fewer kilograms*; *less grease*). Generally, Ruthenians believe that a good pig should weigh a lot (*120 kilograms*; *200 kilograms (200kg)*; *a lot of kilograms*; *good weight*;

76 The word is spelled incorrectly, but it can be assumed that the intension was to produce some kind of form related to the word *piglet* in the plural, Ruthenian *прашата*.

kilograms; weight). All of these characteristics are related to breeding and raising pigs, i.e. good pig food (*more to eat; more food to eat; where to root; good fodder; food; fodder; what to eat*) and to nurturing ((*good owner; good care; good farm; freedom of movement*), and the place where a pig lives (*bigger pigsty* (кармик /karmik/); *bigger pigsty* (/obor/); *big pigsty; pigsty*). For some of the participants, indicators related to the external appearance of the animal are important, as well. These characteristics are typically related to body parts (*short hair; hoofs; snout; bobtail; 4 legs; pig rings*).

The extraordinary characteristics are *mind; dignity; golden wedding dress; church calendar*. They result from a personified mapping in the direction PERSON → ANIMAL, followed by the metaphorical one ANIMAL → PERSON.

30. *That would be a good chicken if it had*

вайца (, вайцо, вайцо як нойово/ (кед би несла вайца) / , курчатка) 21; вельо вайца 8; курчата 7; когута 5; добри сцегна 4; доброго когута 3; вецей вайца 2; пире 2; биле пире 1; вайцо 1; вайцо як нойово 1; векши курнік 1; вельке гумно 1; вельке сцегно 1; вельки вайца 1; велькосц, вельо вайца 1; вельо курчата 1; вельо мяса 1; вельо мяса и несла вельо вайца 1; вецей вайца рочне 1; вецей гнізда 1; вецей когутох 1; вецей поживи за єдене и гніздо 1; 2 вайца на дзень 1; дискретносц 1; добри вайца 1; добру газдиню 1; желеней трави 1; златне вайцо 1; качура 1; кед би не скакала 1; кед би несла вельо вайца 1; кед би несла вецей вайца, а не лєм єдно на дзень. 1; косовнски пасош 1; красне пире 1; кресту 1; кридла 1; мали курчата коло себе 1; меней роки 1; остроги, пазури, вольо 1; розума 1; свойо дзеци шльободу 1; сушеда 1; сцегна 1; фине пире 1; форму 1; цифровани вайца 1; 4 батаки 1.

100 (36) + 46 + 6 + 36

The center of the field of verbal associations triggered by the stimulus *That would be a good chicken if it had* is the associate *eggs* 21. The semantic field consists of associates with similar meanings (*eggs* 21; *a lot of eggs* 8; *more eggs* 2; *if it would lay more eggs (, and not just one a day.)* 2; *egg* 1; *like an ostrich egg* 1; *big eggs* 1; *size, a lot of eggs* 1; *more eggs annually* 1; *2 eggs a day* 1; *good eggs* 1; *golden egg* 1; *if it would lay a lot of eggs* 1; *colorful eggs* 1) and has a frequency of 43.

The core of this field consists of 8 associates (*eggs* 21; *a lot of eggs* 8; *chickens* 7; *rooster* 5; *good drumsticks* 4, *more eggs (annually)* 3; *good rooster* 3; *a lot of meat (and lay a lot of eggs)* 2; *if it would lay more eggs (, and not just one a day.)* 2; *feathers* 2). The periphery is broader

and consists of 40 associates with a frequency of 1 (*white feathers* 1; *egg* 1; *like an ostrich egg* 1; *bigger hen house* 1; *big threshing floor* 1; *big drumstick* 1; *big eggs* 1; *size, a lot of eggs* 1; *a lot of chickens* 1; *A lot of meat* 1; *a lot of meat and lay a lot of eggs* 1; *more eggs annually* 1; *more nests* 1; *more roosters* 1; *more food to eat and a nest* 1; *2 eggs a day* 1; *discretion* 1; *good eggs* 1; *good lady owner* 1; *green grass* 1; *golden egg* 1; *drake* 1; *if it didn't jump a lot* 1; *if it laid a lot of eggs* 1; *Kosovo passport* 1; *beautiful feathers* 1; *crest* 1; *wings* 1; *little chickens around itself* 1; *fewer years* 1; *spurs, claws, crop* 1; *mind* 1; *its own children* 1; *neighbor* 1; *drumsticks* 1; *nice feathers* 1; *form* 1; *colorful eggs* 1; *freedom* 1; 4 *drumsticks* 1.). In this field of verbal associations, 6 participants did not produce any responses resulting in omissions.

As was the case for the previously discussed association field, in which the boundaries of the category in question were tested (i.e. the characteristics that are important for marking a domestic animal as the typical representative of its species), the associations pertaining to the function of the animal were the most frequent responses in this field. These can be products such as eggs (*eggs; a lot of eggs; more eggs (annually); if it laid more eggs; egg; like an ostrich egg; big eggs; size, a lot of eggs; more eggs annually; 2 eggs a day; good eggs; golden egg; if it laid a lot of eggs; colorful eggs*), drumsticks, meat (4 *drumstick, big drumstick, a lot of meat (and lay a lot of eggs), good drumsticks, drumsticks*), or feathers (*white feathers, beautiful feathers, feathers, nice feathers*). Chickens, or the offspring, can also be counted among the products of this animal (*a lot of chickens, more nests, little chickens around itself, own kids, freedom*), which require a rooster (*more roosters, good rooster*). Nurturing and proper care are also very important for a chicken to be seen as good (*bigger hen house, big threshing floor, more food for eating and nest, green grass, good lady*). The characteristics pertaining to external appearance are attested in the responses referring to body parts (*crest, wings, spurs, claws, crop*).

The extraordinary characteristics are shown with the following responses: *discretion, mind, form, Kosovo passport, drake, if it did not jump, fewer years, neighbor*.

31. *That would be a good duck if it had*

качата (, меса, пиря) 17; яйца 6; вельо качата 4; вельо меса (вельо) 4; качура 4; биле пире 2; вельо яйца 2; добре месо 2; воду 2; кридла 2; (вельо) кили 2; пире 2; базен 1; блата 1; вельку бару 1; вельо пире 1; вецей яйца 1; вецей качата 1; вецей поживи за едене 1; дзе да неше вайцамо 1; дзе пльивац 1; дзе ше купац 1; дзе ше мачкац 1; 10 kg 1; длуги баюси 1;

длужей лецела 1; длуksi ноги 1; друштво 1; доброго качура 1; желени вайца 1; здраве месо 1; експрес гарчок 1; качка добра така яка є. 1; кед би була на доліни 1; красше пире 1; мали качата 1; масци 1; мачата (1)? (качата?а.м.); меней масци 1; писк червени! 1; плодни вайца 1; полне гніздо 1; розум 1; садла 1; своєю качата 1; своєю бару 1; смачни сцегна 1; стално води 1; червени ноги 1.

100 (36) + 49 + 13 + 37

The center of this field of verbal associations triggered by the stimulus *That would be a good duck if it had* is the associate *ducklings*, with a frequency of 17. This lexical center can be broadened with semantically related associates, such as: *a lot of ducklings* 4, *more ducklings* 1, *little ducklings* 1, *own ducklings* 1. The frequency of this semantic field is 24.

The core of this field consists of 12 associates with a frequency higher than 1 (*ducklings* 17; *eggs* 6; *a lot of ducklings* 4; *a lot of meat (a lot)* 4; *drake* 4; *white feathers* 2; *a lot of eggs* 2; *good meat* 2; *water* 2; *wings* 2; (*a lot of*) *kilograms* 2; *feathers* 2). The periphery of the field is quite wide, with 37 responses occurring only once (*pool* 1; *mud* 1; *large pond* 1; *a lot of feathers* 1; *more eggs* 1; *more ducklings* 1; *more food to eat* 1; *where to lay eggs* 1; *where to swim* 1; *where to take a bath* 1; *where to frolic in water* 1; 10 kg 1; *long whiskers* 1; *fly longer* 1; *longer legs* 1; *company* 1; *a good drake* 1; *green eggs* 1; *healthy meat* 1; *pressure cooker* 1; *a duck is good as it is*. 1; *if it was in a hemp-retting pond* 1; *more beautiful feathers* 1; *little ducklings* 1; *grease* 1; *kittens* 1; *less grease* 1; *red beak!* 1; *fertile eggs* 1; *full nest* 1; *mind* 1; *fat* 1; *own ducklings* 1; *own pond* 1; *tasty drumsticks* 1; *water all the time* 1; *red legs* 1). The frequency of omissions in this field of verbal associations is quite high.

In this association field, the key characteristics associated with a good duck are products derived from this animal, its habitat, i.e. its reliance on water, and its physical characteristics. The associates related to products derived from a duck can be categorized into the ones referring to its offspring, ducklings (*a lot of ducklings*; *more ducklings*; *ducklings*; *little ducklings*; *own ducklings*), duck eggs (*eggs*; *a lot of eggs*; *more eggs*; *where to lay eggs*; *green eggs*; *fertile eggs*; *full nest*), meat or weight (*a lot of meat (a lot)*; *good meat*; *grease*; *fat*; *tasty drumsticks*; (*a lot of*) *kilograms*; 10 kg), and feathers (*white feathers*; *a lot of feathers*; *more beautiful feathers*; *feathers*). One response indicates an association with a type of pot used for cooking a duck

(*pressure cooker*).

A prominent characteristic of a duck is its need to be close to water (*pool; mud; large pond; water; where to swim; where to take a bath; where to frolic in water; if it was in a hemp-retting pond; own a hemp-retting pond; water all the time*). The external characteristics that are considered important for a good duck are evident in the following associates: *long whiskers; longer legs; healthy meat; wings; less grease; red beak; mind; red legs*. Some responses refer to the possibility of reproduction (*good drake; drake; company*). The idiosyncratic ones include: *more food to eat; fly longer; a duck is good as it is*.

32. *That would be a good goose if it had*

гушата 15; вельо пиря (, гушата, мяса) 6; вайца 5; биле пире 5; пиря 5; вельо мяса (биле пире/, вайца/ и добре ше несла и дала пире) 3; вецей пиря 3; добре пире 3; базен 1; бару 1; билше пире 1; благши карактер 1; векшу доліну (воду) 1; вельки сєгна 1; велгку печинку 1; вельо вайца 1; вельо кили 1; вельо пиря, гушата, мяса 1; вельо трави 1; вецей гушата 1; вецей пиря и гунара 1; вецей поживи за єдене 1; вецей шлебоди 1; врациц кусур! 1; гніздо 1; громаду гушата 1; гуска вше добра окреме кед ма коло себе и гунара. 1; дзе пасц траву 1; длугоки карк 1; добре месо 1; добри чупор 1; доброго гунара 1; доліну 1; досц мяса 1; заглавчок або перину 1; златни пирка 1; и гушата 1; кридла 1; мегке пире 1; моцни кридла 1; пажицу 1; пайташох 1; пире 1; червени писк, кед би ше дала клюкац 1; чисте пире 1; шию 1.

100 (36) + 46 + 16 + 38

The center of this field of verbal associations triggered by the stimulus *That would be a good goose if it had* is the associate *goslings* 15. The following associates have similar meanings: *more goslings* 1, *goslings* 1, *and goslings* 1, *a bunch of goslings* 1. The frequency of the semantic field is 19.

The second most frequent associate can be used to form the semantic center (*white feathers* 5; *whiter feathers* 1; *a lot of feathers* 6; *a lot of feathers, goslings, meat* 1; *more feathers* 3; *more feathers and a gander* 1; *good feathers* 3; *golden feathers* 1; *soft feathers* 1; *feathers* 1; *feathers* 5; *clean feathers* 1) with a frequency of 29.

The core of this field consists of 8 associates occurring more than once (*goslings* 15; *a lot of feathers* 6; *eggs* 5; *white feathers* 5; *feathers* 5; *a lot of meat* 3; *more feathers* 3; *good feathers* 3). The periphery of the field is quite broad and consists of 38 responses with unique occurrences (*pool* 1; *pond* 1; *whiter feathers* 1; *milder character* 1; *larger*

hemp-retting pond (water) 1; big drumsticks 1; big liver 1; a lot of eggs 1; a lot of kilograms 1; a lot of feathers, goslings, meat 1; a lot of grass 1; more goslings 1; more feathers and a gander 1; more food to eat 1; more freedom 1; return the change! 1; nest 1; a bunch of goslings 1; a goose is always good especially when around a gander. 1; where to graze grass 1; long neck 1; good meat 1; good flock 1; good gander 1; hemp-retting pond 1; enough meat 1; pillow or down comforter 1; golden feathers 1; and goslings 1; wings 1; soft feathers 1; strong wings 1; meadow 1; friends 1; feathers 1; red beak, if she could be gavaged 1; clean feathers 1; neck 1). The frequency of omissions in this field is quite high, including responses such as 'I don't know' (16).

Similarly to previously discussed association fields, this field also affirms that the utility or products derived from a domestic animal are important for it to be considered valuable. This can include offspring (*more goslings; goslings; and goslings; a bunch of goslings*), feathers (*white feathers; whiter feathers; a lot of feathers; a lot of feathers, goslings, meat, more feathers; more feathers and a gander; good feathers; golden feathers; soft feathers; feathers; feathers; clean feathers*), eggs (*eggs; a lot of eggs*), and meat (*a lot of kilograms; a lot of meat; big drumsticks; big liver; good meat; enough meat*).

Ruthenians find external indicators important for determining the quality of a goose: *long neck; wings; strong wings; neck*. Similar to ducks, water is a characteristic need of every good/typical goose, resulting in associations related to water (*pool; pond; bigger hemp-retting pond (water); hemp-retting pond*). Food, proper care, space, and reproductive potential are key characteristics that define a typical goose (*a lot of grass; more food to eat; where to graze grass; meadow; nest; good flock; good gander; friends; more freedom; a goose is always good especially when around a gander*).

Some associates appear to be used metaphorically (*red beak, if it could be gavaged; milder character; return the change; a pillow or down comforter*).

33. *That would be a good turkey if it had*

пульчата 17; вельки сцегна 4; вайца 5; вецей кили 5; вельо меса (вайца 1/, пульчата 1) 4; вецей меса 4; пуляка 3; вельо кили 2; вельо пульчата 2; красне пире 2; меса 2; чежину 2; били вайца 1; векши батак 1; векши перши 1; векши сцегна 1; вельо вайца 1; вецей едзена 1; вецей сцерпеня 1; вецей фарби на пирю 1; вольо 1; 20 кг 1; даяке дружтво 1; длуги ноги 1; добре месо 1; добри глас 1; добри ноги 1; добри сцегна, гагор 1; доброго газду 1; добру храну 1; досц меса 1; джубок 1; змиреносц 1; красни хвост

1; краши випатрунок 1; мегке месо 1; 15 кг 1; простору 1; пулька добра така яка є. 1; сядла 1; траву 1; хвост 1; штири ноги 1.

100 (36) + 43 + 16 + 31

The center of this field of verbal associations is triggered by the stimulus *That would be a good turkey if it had* is the associate *poults* 17. Only one additional associate (a *lot of poults* 2) can be included in this semantic field, resulting in a frequency of 19.

The core of this field consists of 12 associates with a minimal frequency of 2 (*poults* 17; *big drumsticks* 4; *eggs* 5; *more kilograms* 5; *a lot of meat* 4; *more meat* 4; *gobbler* 3; *a lot of kilograms* 2; *a lot of poults* 2; *beautiful feathers* 2; *meat* 2; *weight* 2). There are 31 responses with unique occurrences constituting the periphery of this field of verbal associations (*white eggs* 1; *bigger drumstick* 1; *bigger breast* 1; *bigger drumsticks* 1; *a lot of eggs* 1; *more food* 1; *more patience* 1; *more colourful feathers* 1; *crop* 1; *20 kg* 1; *some kind of company* 1; *long legs* 1; *good meat* 1; *good voice* 1; *good legs* 1; *good drumsticks, neck* 1; *good owner* 1; *good food* 1; *enough meat* 1; *beak* 1; *calmness* 1; *beautiful tail* 1; *better looking* 1; *soft meat* 1; *15 kg* 1; *space* 1; *a turkey is good as it is*. 1; *fat* 1; *grass* 1; *tail* 1; *four legs* 1). There were 16 omissions in this field, where participants left the space blank or responded with 'I don't know.'

The usefulness of a turkey is one of the most significant characteristics that define its value to people. This can include its offspring (*poults*; *a lot of poults* 2), drumsticks (*bigger drumstick*; *bigger drumsticks*; *big drumsticks*; *good legs*; *good drumsticks*; *neck*), or meat and weight in general (*15 kg*; *20 kg*; *bigger breast*; *a lot of kilograms*; *a lot of meat*; *more kilograms*; *more meat*; *enough meat*; *meat*; *fat*; *weight*; *good meat*; *soft meat*; *tail*), and eggs (*white eggs*; *eggs*; *a lot of eggs*). Associates related to the external characteristics of a turkey are also included (*more colourful feathers*; *beautiful feathers* *crop*; *beak*; *long legs*; *better looking*; *good voice*). Nurturing and proper care, access to food, and adequate space are also important (*more food*; *good owner*; *good food*; *grass*; *space*; *some kind of company*; *gobbler*).

Some associates are unusual, such as: *more patience*; *calmness*; *four legs*. The associates *more patience* and *calmness* are related to the stereotypical perception of a turkey as impatient, as its behavior can resemble that of an impatient person. This is a case of metaphorical mapping in the directions PERSON → ANIMAL and ANIMAL → PERSON, based on the characteristic behavior of a turkey that resem-

bles that of an impatient person. This process involves personification of an animal, where human traits are attributed to an animal.

34. *A domestic animal makes sounds*⁷⁷

му (му!, му-у, мууу, му-ууу) (, бе!, кукурику!, кокода! / , бе, га - га, / , и-аа, бее / , hav-hav) 18; кукурику (кукурику!/ку-ку-ри-ку, ко-ко-ко, бе-е, ме-ее, му-у, нїї-га, иа-иа, пуль-пуль, а качка и гуска сичи) 10; бреше (гав-гав 1/ мавчи 1/ мурчи, мявчи, регочи 1/ мявчи, груглі 1/ мнявчи 1/ мавчи, ричи, мурчи...1) 8; ав ав 5; (з) бее 4; гласно 4; регочи (, мурчи / , мурчи , бечи, ричи, кукурика, коткода, бреше и тд. / , мурчи, бреше / , ричи, кодкода, бреше) 4; гав, гав (гав, мняв, му, мее, бее, / гав-гав) 3; ко ко да (кокода/ ко-ко-да) 3; мяу (мяу мяу/ мняу) 3; бечи (, кодкодака, мучи, гага, бреше, мнявчи, регочи) 2; гласом 2; га га 2; (зоз) брехањом 2; з(оз) мурченьом (/мурчаньом) 2; мурчи (мучи) (, ричи, бреше, мавчи) 2; ричи 2; хтора як 2; вав 1; вау, вау 1; гей 1; зоз звуком 1; з криком 1; з тоном 1; завиши хтора 1; иа-иа 1; кажди дзень 1; кед є гладна або злєкнута 1; кед є гладна и кед єй дацо завадза 1; кед увидзи газду 1; кодкодаканє, бреханє, мявчанє 1; кукуриканє 1; ме 1; на свой способ 1; рано 1; реготанє , бреханє 1; ричанє 1; у руским слове 1; як дожие, як є розположена 1; ясно 1.

100 (36) + 39 + 2 + 21

The center of this field of verbal associations triggered by the stimulus *A domestic animal makes sounds* is the associate му⁷⁸ /mu/ 18. Variations of this associate, му! /mu!/, му-у /mu-u/, мууу /muuu/, му-ууу /mu-uuu/, were also included. The associate му /mu/ is both the lexical and semantic center of this field. The second most frequent associate is кукурику⁷⁹ /kukuriku/ 10.

The core of this field consists of 18 associates with a frequency higher than 1 (му /mu/ 18; кукурику /kukuriku/ 10; barks 8; ав ав /av av/⁸⁰ 5; (з) бее /beee/ 4; loud 4; neigh 4; гав, гав /hav, hav/ 3; ко ко да /ko ko da/ 3; meow 3; bleat 'бечу' 2; with a sound 2; га га /gaga/ 2; with a bark 2; with a moo 2; mooing 2; roars 2; it depends which one (хтора як /htora jak/) 2. The periphery of this field includes a similar

77 Considering that the respondents often provided arbitrary forms of onomatopoeic interjections, they will not be translated. Instead, we will list these words in Latin, along with information about the specific interjection.

78 Onomatopoeic interjection of a cow.

79 Onomatopoeic interjection of a rooster.

80 Onomatopoeic interjection of a dog.

number of associates as the core. It consists of 21 responses with a single occurrence (*вав* /vav/ 1; *вау, вав* /vau, vau/ 1; *yes* 1; *with a sound* 1; *with a scream* 1; *with a tone* 1; *it depends which one* (завиши хтора /zaviši htora/) 1; *ua-ua* /ia/ia/ 1; *every day* 1; *when it is hungry or scared* 1; *when it is hungry and when someone bothers it* 1; *when it sees its owner* 1; *cackling, barking, meowing* 1; *crowing* 1; *ме* /me/ 1; *in its own way* 1; *in the morning* 1; *neighing, barking* 1; *bellowing* 1; *in ruske slovo*⁸¹ 1; *how it experiences it, depending on mood* 1; *clearly* 1). There are only 2 omissions in this field.

The associates in this field of verbal associations occur in three fundamental meanings. The first one is imitation of the sounds domestic animals produce (*ав ав* /av av/; *беее* /beee/; *вав* /vav/; *вау вау* /vau vau/; *гав гав* /hav hav/; *га га* /ga ga/; *иа-иа* /ia-ia/; *кукуруику* /kukuruiku/; *ме* /me/; *му* /mu/; *меов*), and nouns that nominate such onomatopoeic interjections ((зоз) *брехањом* ‘with a bark’; *бечи* ‘bleats’; *barks*; з(оз) *мурченьом* ‘with a moo’; *кодкодакане* ‘cackling’; *кукуруикане* ‘crowing’; *мурчи* ‘mooing’; *реготане* ‘neighing’; *регочи* ‘neighs’; *ричи* ‘roars’), the second one is related to the manner in which animals produce sounds (*loud*; *with a voice*; *with a scream*; *with a tone*; *with a sound*; *in its own way*; *how it experiences it, depending on its mood*; *clearly*), and finally, the time or reason for animals to make sounds (*every day*; *when it is hungry or scared*; *when it is hungry and when someone bothers it*; *when it sees its owner in the morning*).

Some reactions are non-informative and non-transparent (*yes*; *it depends which one*, (/htora jak/), while one is a joke resulting from metaphorical mapping (*in ruske slovo*).

35. Giving orders to a domestic animal⁸²

(г)иш (гиииш, иш, иш иш) (, шиц) 18; шиц(!) (, гиш, мирна / , кест / , марш) 7; (г)айде (тамадз) (, гога / , гога, цурик, фарто) 5; мир 5; го-га (гого/ вога/ оћа) 4; марш (, гиш, гога, шиц / , иш) 4; гласом 3; не идзеш (далей) 3; ноле фарто (но! фарто!/ фарто+не!) 3; з(оз) бешеду 2; кшо 2;

81 Ruthenian media institution “Ruske slovo”. <https://www.ruskeslovo.com/>

82 Onomatopoeic interjections associated with domestic animals are described in detail in the paper: *In wich Language does Rooster Roots? Onomatopoeic Interjection of Domestic Animals in Language of Ruthenians in Vojvodina, Serbia* (На хторим язичу кукуруика когут? Ономатопейски интерекциј домашних животиньох у язичу войводянских Руснацох) (Mudri, 2018: 89-106). <https://rusinisticnitudi.ff.uns.ac.rs/index.php/rs/article/view/23/19>

строго 2; ало! 1; апорт 1; випатрунок 1; гибай, гиш 1; гибай тадзи - ту ци едене, склонь ше од мне) 1; гинто 1; гишага 1; гласно 1; гласнейше 1; гуч, гиш-ага, фарто, шо! шиц 1; гамбати 1; еј 1; добра буц 1; же би слухала 1; з руками и бешеду 1; з словами 1; зоз пориском 1; кеди як 1; кед ю треба склоніц дагдзе 1; кратко, императив, дієслово 1; не 1; ноле 1; нормално же ше ей розказує - цици/шиц (мачка; го-га (конь; иш (дробизг; марш, место (псови)... 1; нука! 1; махам з пальцом 1; место 1; мир, шиц, марш 1; на место 1; оштро 1; по потреби 1; розумно 1; так же ше ей пове иш 1; шу 1; цица 1; чежко 1; чувай 1.

100 (36) + 46 + 4 + 32

The center of this field of verbal associations triggered by the stimulus *Giving orders to a domestic animal* is the associate (є)иш / hiš/ 18. The core of this field consists of 12 associates with a frequency higher than 1 ((є)иш /hiš/ 18; ииц(!) /šic/ 7; (є)айде (тамадз) / (h)ajde (tamadz)/ 'come on (there)' 5; мир /mir/ 'calm down' 5; го-га /ho-ha/ 'Whoa' 4; марш /marsh/ 'shoo' 4; with a sound 3; не идзеи (далей) /nje idzeš daljej/ 'go away' 3; ноле фарто /nolje farto/ 'over, command a horse or a cow to move' 3; by talking 2; кшо /kšo/ 'command a pig to go away' 2; (на) место /na mesto/ 'to your place' 2; strictly 2). The periphery of this field comprises one-third of all responses, i.e. 36 associates, each occurring with a minimal frequency (*Hallo! ало /alo/ 1; apportер 1; appearance 1; гибай /hibaj/ 'come', гиш /hiš/ 'shoo' 1; come here - here's your food, get away from me 1; гинто /hinto/ 'back' 1; гишага /hišaha/ 'shoo' 1; loud 1; louder 1; гуч, гиш-ага, фарто, шо! шиц /huč/ 'shoo goose', /hiš-aha/ 'shoo chicken', /farto/ 'move horse/cow', /šo!/⁸³, ииц /šic/ 'shoo cat' 1; гамбати / gambati/⁸⁴ 1; hey 1; be good 1; to listen 1; with hands and speech 1; with words 1; with shaft 1; it varies depending on when it is used 1; when it needs to be put away somewhere 1; short, imperative, verb 1; no 1; come on 1; it is normal to command it to do so- kitty/shoo (cat; го-га (horse; иш (poultry (drobizg); марш, место (псови) 'go to your place' (to the dog)... 1; inside! 1; I wave my finger 1; мир, ииц, марш /mir/ 'be calm' /šic/ 'shoo' /marš/ 'go away' 1; sharply 1; optionally 1; reasonable 1; by telling it to shoo 1; иу /šu/ 'shoo' 1; цица /cica/ 'kitty' 1; difficult 1; guard⁸⁵ 1). There are 4 omissions in this field.*

83 Such an interjection does not exist in the Ruthenian language.

84 It refers to a person with big lips.

85 Imperative.

The associates within this field of verbal associations most frequently denote exclamations used for giving orders to animals. They can be categorized based on the type of animal they are intended for: a cat (*цица* /cica/ 'kitty'; *шиц* (!) 'shoo cat'), chicken/poultry ((*з*)*шиц* /hiš/ 'shoo'; *зишага* /гишага/ 'shoo'; *by telling her to shoo*), a horse (*зо-за* /ho-ha/ 'whoa'; *come on*; *ноле фарто* /nolje farto/ 'over, command a horse or a cow to move'), a pig (*кшо* /kšo/ 'command a pig to go away'), or a dog (*apporter*). Some of these commands are not used exclusively for a single type of domestic animal ((*з*) *ајде* (*тамадз*) /(*h*)ajde (tamadz)/ 'come on (there)'; *зуч* /huč/ 'shoo goose'; *марш* /marš/ 'go away'; *мир* /mir/ 'be calm'; *мир* /mir/ 'calm down'; *шиц* /šic/ 'shoo cat'; *марш* /marš/ 'go away'; *но*; *inside*; *shoo*). There are also some non-traditional forms of exclamations (*на*) *место* /na mesto/ 'to your place'; *hey, hallo*; *come here - here's your food*; *get away from me, be good*; *не идзеш (далеј)* /nje idzeš dalje/ 'go away'; *guard*). They differ from the traditional ones as they are more transparent, suggesting that they are of a more recent origin.

The second category of associates pertains to the manner in which orders are given to a domestic animal (*louder; loud; using voice; using hands and speech; using words; by speaking; with shaft; short; imperative; verb; I wave my finger, sharply; optionally; reasonable; strictly; difficult; it varies depending on when it is used*), or the reasons for issuing these commands (*for it to listen; when it needs to be put away; it is normal to command it to do so - kitty-kitty/ shoo (cat); зо-за /ho-ha/ 'whoa' (horse); шиц /iš/ 'shoe' (poultry (drobizg)); марш /marš/ 'go away'; place (dog)*).

Some associates do not exhibit an evident association (*гинто* /hinto/ 'back then'; *гамбати* /gambati/; *appearance*).

The associate *apporter* is likely a result of exposure to the precedent texts or media.

36. Male domestic animals

заяц (, кандур) 32; буюк 7; когут (, качур) 6; корназ (, буюк) 5; баран (, буюк, коњ, козак, когут, качур, пуляк) 4; вайчак (, буюк/, буюк, баран, цап) 4; пес 4; кандур 3; коњ (, корназ, баран, козак) 3; вол 2; мужяк (, заяц) 2; самец (-мужяк) 2; вепер 1; единка 1; коњ, буюк, баран, козак, кандур 1; козак 1; мой папагај 1; мачор 1; мушки 1; мушко 1; најчестејше заяц - прето же наркае на шицко цо з нџм ведно. 1; на пушанно 1; небитни 1; оец 1; папагај 1; пишни 1; сам 1; стари качур 1; хлапец 1; хлопскогo роду 1; хунтир 1.

100 (36) + 31 + 7 + 19

The lexical and semantic center of this field of verbal associations triggered by the stimulus *Male domestic animals* is the associate *rabbit*, with a high frequency of 32. The core of this field consists of 22 associates with a frequency higher than 1 (*rabbit* 32; *bull* 7; *rooster* 6; *boar* 5; *ram* 4; *stallion* 4; *dog* 4; *tomcat* 3; *horse* 3; *ox* 2; *мужяк* /mužjak/ (buck) 'male' 2; *male* 2). The periphery includes 19 associates occurring only once (*boar* 1; *individual* 1; *horse*, *bull*, *ram*, *he-goat*, *tomcat* 1; *he-goat* 1; *my parrot* 1; *tomcat* 1; *мушки* /muški/ 'male'⁸⁶ 1; *мушко* /muško/ 'male'⁸⁷ 1; *usually rabbit - because it jumps on everything around it* 1; *на пуцаню* /na puščanju/ 'literally released, i.e., in the process of mating' 1; *irrelevant* 1; *father* 1; *parrot* 1; *proud* 1; *alone* 1; *old drake* 1; *a boy* 1; *masculine gender* 1; *хунтир* /chuntir/) 1). There were 7 omissions in this field.

The high frequency of the associate *rabbit* shows that among Ruthenians, the typical representative of a single male animal is a buck. This may stem from the perception of a buck as potent. Yet, this term is increasingly associated with male domestic animals or even animals in general.

The most frequently used terms for male domestic animals in this field are *ram*; *bull*; *stallion*; *boar*; *ox*; *rabbit*; *tomcat*; *rooster*; *he-goat*; *horse*; *boar*; *tomcat*; *parrot*; *dog*; *old drake*. They can be categorized based on the function of insemination, i.e., non-castrated (*stallion*; *boar*; *bull*) and castrated males that are infertile (*boar*; *ox*; *gelding* (конь⁸⁸ /konj/)). Other terms do not provide any information about whether the animal was castrated or not (*ram*; *rabbit*; *tomcat*; *rooster*; *he-goat*; *tomcat*; *parrot*; *dog*; *old drake*). One response refers to a pet (*my parrot*).

The second group of associates provides information about gender (*мужяк* /mužjak/ 'male'; *мушки* /muški/ 'male'; *мушко* /muško/ 'male'; *alone*, *male*; *a boy*; *masculine gender*), or the function of insemination (*на пуцаню* /na puščanju/ 'literally released, i.e. in the process of mating', *usually rabbit - because it jumps on everything around it*; *father*). Certain associates lack an edvident connection with the stimulus (*хунтир* /chuntir/).

37. Female domestic animals

заячица (, сучка) 31; кобула (, сука, заячица/ , яловка, сука, прашачка/ крава) 9; крава 7; сука (, крава) 4; кура 3; мачка 3; овца 3; швиня 3; женка

86 Adjective.

87 Noun.

88 All horses, including castrated horses.

2; коза 2; самица (- женка) 2; випиряца 1; гуска 1; єдинка 1; женски заяц 1; женского роду 1; женско 1; заяц 1; заячка 1; кавез, ланец 1; качка, кура 1; квока 1; кобила 1; магарица 1; мац 1; найчастейше заячица - же би могла одкармиц заячата треба єй окреме место дзе будзе сама. 1; сама 1; стара 1; сучка 1; прашачка 1; тиж так небитна 1; ше гонї 1.

100 (36) + 33 + 10 + 21

The center of this field of verbal associations triggered by the stimulus *Female domestic animals* is the associate *doe* (заячица /zajačica/) 31. The following associates with similar meaning can also be included in this lexical field: *female rabbit, rabbit, doe, usually doe - to raise bunnies, it needs a dedicated place to be alone*. This semantic center has a frequency of 35.

Similar to the one in the previous field of verbal associations, the center of this field exhibits a high frequency. The number of associates that form the core of this field and have a frequency higher than one is also significant, with a total of 11 associates (*doe* /zajačica/ 31; *mare* 9; *cow* 7; *bitch* 4; *hen* 3; *cat* 3; *a sheep* 3; *pig* 3; *женка* /ženka/ 'female' 2; *goat* 2; *самица (-женка)* /samica (-ženka)/ 'female' 2). The periphery of this field consists of 21 associates occurring once (*spread their tail feathers* 1; *goose* 1; *individual* 1; *female rabbit* 1; *female gender* 1; *женско* 'female' 1; *rabbit* 1; *doe* (заячка /zajačka/) 1; *cage, chain* 1; *duck, hen* 1; *broody hen* 1; *mare* 1; *she-ass* 1; *mother* 1; *usually doe - to raise bunnies, it needs a dedicated place to be alone*. 1; *alone* 1; *old one* 1; *bitch* 1; *sow* 1; *also irrelevant* 1; *is mating* 1). 10 omissions were observed in this field.

The terms used for female domestic animals are the most prevalent associates in this field based on their meaning (*goose, female rabbit, doe* /zajačica/; *doe* /zajačka/; *duck, broody hen, mare, mare, goat, cow, hen, she-ass, cat, usually doe - to raise bunnies, it needs a dedicated place to be alone, a sheep, sow, самица* /samica/ 'female'; *bitch, bitch, pig*). Similar to the previous field, the terms in this one can also be categorized based on specific functions, e.g. *sow* 'a pregnant pig', *bitch* (сука /suka/); *bitch* (сучка /sučka/); *broody hen* 'a chicken that sits on eggs to hatch them'. In Ruthenian, there are also terms such as *первиска* /perviska/ 'bred heifer, a young cow or mare about to have its first offspring'; and *доячка* /dojačka/ 'dairy cow, a cow that has already calved and which is kept to produce milk.'

The second category of associates is related to gender (*женка* /

ženka/ 'female'; *женско* /žensko/ 'female'; *female gender*; *сама* /sama/ 'alone'⁸⁹; *самица* /samica/ 'female'), as well as the function of breeding (*mother*), resulting from metaphorical mapping in the direction PERSON → ANIMAL.

The associate *самица* 'female' is the only instance of identical stimulus and response observed in this research.

38. *The offspring of a domestic animal*

целе (, гаче, козичка, овечка/ , праше/ , праше/ , праше, гаче, баранче, заячата, курчата, качата, пуљчата, гушата, пуљчата, мачата, шенята...) 18; гаче (, каче, гуше, коше, целе / , целе / , целе / , целе, курче, баранче / , целе, праше, шене / , шене, целе / , целе, праше, коше, маче) 14; курче (, праше, каче, маче, шене/ , праше/ пуљче, каче, праше) 10; шене 9; праше (заяче, целе) 7; маче (, каче/ , курче/ , шене, гаче, целе, курче, пуљче, каче/ , шене) 5; баранче 4; заяче (, шене, маче, курче, праше) 3; коше 3; дзецко 2; мале 2; младунче 2; беба 1; бебче 1; веселе 1; гачатко 1; заячок 1; каче 1; качатко 1; кошатко 1; мала пипа 1; манде 1; младе 1; младе домашней животини 1; окоцене, вилягнуте 1; осудзене на исту судбу 1; прашатко 1; предлужене файти 1; пшичок 1; штреднього роду 1; шудов 1; шумне 1; яловка 1.

100 (36) + 32 +1 + 20

The lexical center of this field of verbal associations triggered by the stimulus *The offspring of a domestic animal* is the associate *calf* 18. Only one other associate with a similar meaning can be included in this field, which is the term *heifer* with a frequency of 1, resulting in a total of 19 occurrences in this semantic center. 12 associates with a frequency higher than 1 constitute its core, but, interestingly, many of them have a higher frequency compared to those in other fields, including the following associates: *calf* 18; *foal* 14; *chicken* 10; *puppy* 9; *piglet* 7; *kitten* 5; *lamb* 4; *a bunny* 3; *goatling* 3; *a child* 2; *little* 2; *offspring* (младе /mlade/) 2; *offspring* (младунче /mladunče/) 2.

It appears that this developed core influenced the formation of the periphery, which consists of only 21 answers, each with a frequency of 1 (*baby* 1; *sweet little baby* 1; *happy* 1; *sweet little foal* 1; *buck* 1; *duckling* 1; *sweet little duckling* 1; *sweet little goatling* 1; *мала нана* /mala pipa/⁹⁰ 1; *little one* 1; *birthed, hatched* /viljahnute/ 1; *doomed to*

89 Etymologically related to the word /samica/ 'female'.

90 Ambiguous meaning.

the same fate 1; sweet little piglet 1; species propagation 1; sweet little dog 1; neuter gender 1; шудов /šudov/ 'a young male domestic pig' 1; beautiful 1; heifer 1). Only one omission occurred in this field.

The terms used for referring to offspring of a domestic animals are the most frequently occurring associations in this field of verbal associations (*lamb; sweet little colt; sweet little foal; a bunny; buck; sweet little duckling; duckling; sweet little goatling; goatling; chicken; kitten; sweet little piglet; sweet little dog; puppy; calf; a young male domestic pig; puppy*). The number of diminutives/hypocorisms in this field is higher compared to other fields (*sweet little colt; buck; sweet little duckling; sweet little goatling; sweet little piglet; sweet little dog; heifer*). Since these terms inherently convey information about the animal's size, i.e. that young domestic animals are small, the use of diminutive forms is redundant. Such forms could be interpreted as hypocorisms.

The response *heifer* carries the meaning of a young animal, but also denotes 'a slightly older, not yet fully developed cow, that did not yet have offspring.' A similar situation occurs with the response *шудов /šudov/ 'young male domestic pig'* that also denotes a 'a four-month piglet.' These responses highlight distinctions among young animals based on their age or function. Additional examples in the Ruthenian language include *buckling* 'a one-year-old lamb', *вайчачок /vajčačok/ 'colt'*, etc.

Other responses denote certain characteristics of young domestic animals, such as their size (*little; little one*), offspring (as a result of giving birth) (*birthed; hatched; species propagation*), gender (*neuter gender*), description (*happy; beautiful*), and synonyms (*offspring (младе /mlade/) (domestic animal), offspring (младунче /mładunče/)*). Some responses denote this category by using figurative terms typically used for describing human offspring (*baby; бєбчє /bebče/ 'baby'; child*).

The latter associates stem from a metaphor formed according to the schema AN OFFSPRING OF A DOMESTIC ANIMAL IS A HUMAN BABY. The source domain of this metaphorical mapping is a person's baby, BABY, CHILD, while the OFFSPRING OF A DOMESTIC ANIMAL represents the target domain. On the other hand, there are also metaphorical mappings occurring in the opposite direction A HUMAN BABY IS AN OFFSPRING OF A DOMESTIC ANIMAL, for example, when a child is referred to as a chicken, foal, kitten, etc.

39. *Products derived from domestic animals*

млеко (, сир, месо/ , вайца, масц, месо, скоро, волна, пире до перини/ , колбаса, вайцо/ , месо пире волна/ , месо пире волна/ , сир/ , сир, вайца, месо/ , скоро, месо/ , сир/ , вайца) 30; месо (, волна/ , млеко/ , млеко, вайцо, пире/ , млеко, пире, волна, скоро/ , сир, млеко/ , млеко, вайца, волна) 17; вайцо (, млеко, месо/ , млеко, месо/ , млеко, месо/ , млеко/) 13; сир (колбаса/ , месо/ , млеко) 13; колбаса 5; шунка (, колбаса, сир, бендов, гурки, сланіна/ , сланіна) 3; масц 2; сланіна (млеко, сир, масло) 2; вайца 1; волна 1; здрави 1; колбаси 1; курче 1; непотребни 1; папригаш 1; подценени 1; пожива 1; пупорок, варени гагор 1; смачни 1; хаше 1; шерсц 1; шкварки 1.

100 (36) + 22 + 2 + 14

The lexical and semantic center of this field of verbal associations triggered by the stimulus *Products derived from domestic animals* is the associate *milk* 30. The core of this field consists of 8 associates with a frequency higher than 1 (*milk* 30; *meat* 17; *egg* 13; *cheese* 13; *sausage* 5; *ham* 3; *grease* 2; *bacon* 2). Interestingly, there are several associates with a high frequency, e.g., *meat* 17; *egg* 13; *cheese* 13. On the other hand, the periphery of this field consists of 14 associates with a minimal number of occurrences (*eggs* 1; *wool* 1; *healthy* 1; *sausages* 1; *chicken* 1; *unnecessary* 1; *stew* 1; *underrated* 1; *food* 1; *gizzard*, *boiled neck* 1; *tasty* 1; *hash* 1; *hair (/fur)* 1; *cracklings* 1). There are two omissions in this field.

All associates in this field of verbal associations can be considered products derived from a certain domestic animal (*for food, else*) (*eggs; egg; boiled neck; wool; sausage; sausages; chicken; grease; meat; milk; stew; food; gizzard; cheese; bacon; hash; cracklings; ham*), or descriptions of such products (*healthy; unnecessary; underrated; tasty*). Ruthenians seem to prioritize products intended for human consumption over other types of animal-derived products (*wool; hair (/fur)*). The products for consumption that appear in the responses can be categorized as unprocessed (*eggs; egg; chicken; meat; milk*), or processed (*boiled neck; sausage; sausages; grease; stew; food; bacon; hash; cracklings; ham; gizzard*).

40. *Domestic animals are raised in*

хліве (, заднім дворе, паживици/ , кармику 3/ , кармику, курніку, гумну, аклю/ , кармику, курніку, дворе/ , кармику, оборе, аклю, (фангу)/ , оборе/

, оборе, курніку, фангу/ , оборе, курніку) 35; (у) дворе (, кармику, хліве, оборе, курніку/ курніку, кармику, хліве) 14; кармику (, хлів, курнік шопа/ , хліве, гумне/ , оборе, хліве, на дворе) 9; заднім дворе (, на гумне/) 8; (у) оборе 7; доме (, на дворе/ (думаю же го воламе гумно, на гумне)) 4; (у) гумне 3; обисце 3; хлів (, курнік, обор, клітка.../) 2; валале 1; валове 1; вонка 1; дворе-хліве 1; загради 1; заднім дворе обисца 1; здоровим околїску 1; жеми 1; курніку 1; обектох направених за ніх 1; обор 1; фамелії 1; хліве кармику оборе 1; хліве/оборе 1; хлівох, кармикох, кліткох 1;

100 (36) + 24 + 0 + 15

The center of this field of verbal associations triggered by the stimulus *Domestic animals are raised in* is the associate *stable* 35. The following associates constitute the semantic field: *stable* 35; *stable* 2; *yard-stable* 1; *stable pigsty* (кармику /karmiku/) *pigsty* (оборе /obore/) 1; *stable / pigsty* (оборе /obore/) 1; *stables, pigsties* (кармикох /karmikoch/), *cages* 1. The frequency of the semantic field is 41. The core of this field consists of 9 associates with a frequency higher than 1 (*stable* 35; *in the yard* 14; *in pigsty* (кармику /karmiku/) 9; *in the back yard* 8; *pigsty* (оборе /obore/) 7; *at home* 4; *on the threshing floor* 3; *household* 3; *stable* 2). The periphery of this field consists of 15 different associates with unique occurrences (*in the countryside* 1; *in a trough* 1; *outside* 1; *yard stable* 1; *in the garden* 1; *in the back yard of a household* 1; *in a healthy environment* 1; *in the country* 1; *in the hen house* 1; *in facilities constructed for them* 1; *pigsty* (обор /obor/) 1; *in the family* 1; *stable pigsty* (кармику /karmiku/) *pigsty* (оборе /obore/) 1; *stable /pigsty* (оборе /obore/) 1; *stables, pigsties* (кармикох /karmikoch/), *cages* 1).

The meanings of the associates in this field are related to places where domestic animals are raised (*in a hen house*; *in a pigsty* /karmiku/; *in a pigsty* /obore/; *stable*; *in a stable*; *in a yardstable*; *in facilities constructed for them*; *stables, pigsties* /karmikoch/, *cages*; *stable pigsty* /karmiku/ *pigsty* /obore/; *in stable / pigsty* /obore/), parts of a household (*in threshing floor*; *in the yard*; *in the garden*; *in the back yard*; *in the back yard of a household*; *household*), or other spaces (*in the countryside*; *in a trough*; *outside*; *at home*; *in the country*; *in a healthy environment*). The response *in a family* together with the stimulus (domestic animals are raised in), implies that domestic animals are regarded as children. The connotation of this metaphor is negative.

The places occurring in the responses are associated with raising specific domestic animals, e.g., a henhouse is a place intended for

chickens and other poultry; a pigpen is a place intended for pigs; a barn is a place intended for cows, horses, sheep, and goats; and a cage is a place intended for rabbits or poultry⁹¹.

41. *A person who raises specific domestic animals*

статкар 21; газда (, газдиня) 9; параст 9; фармер 7; газдиня 4; козар (итд параст) 4; коняр (, голубкар/ , кравар, швиняр/ , кравар, чобан) 4; югас (, коняр/ -овци) 4; кравар (, заячар, швиняр, овчар) 3; кондаш 3; дідо 2; любитель животиных (, фармер) 2; селян 2; тато 2; пастир 2; швиняр (, овчар, козар, кравар) 2; вихователь 1; домашні 1; забригована и ма вельо робиц 1; кажде може 1; мац 1; мини фармер 1; мушки член 1; накармйовац 1; польопривреднік 1; овчар, статкар, 1; особа хтора хова одредзени домашні животині 1; хова газдиня, газда 1; храна и помоц у роботы 1; человек 1.

100 (36) + 30 + 8 + 14

The associate *cattleman* with a frequency of 21 is the lexical and semantic center of this field of verbal associations triggered by the stimulus *A person who raises specific domestic animals*. There are other associates with closely related meanings, but they are either more general (*owner, owner lady, small-scale farmer, a person who raises certain domestic animals, farmer* (параст /parast/), *agriculturist, a villager, farmer* (фармер /farmer/), *owner lady, owner raise*) or more specific (*the goatherd, swineherd, horseman, cowherd, sheepdog, herdsman, pig farmer, shepherd*). The core of this field consists of 16 associates with a frequency higher than 1 (*cattleman* 21; *owner* 9; *farmer* (параст /parast/) 9; *farmer* (фармер /farmer/) 7; *owner lady* 4; *goatherd* 4; *horseman* 4; *shepherd* 4; *cowherd* 3; *swineherd* 3; *grandpa* 2; *animal lover* 2; *a villager* 2; *dad* 2; *herdsman* 2; *pig farmer*. The periphery of this field consists of 14 associates with a minimal frequency (*stockman* (вихователь /vichovatelj/) 1; *domestic* 1; *worried and have a lot of work* 1; *anyone can* 1; *mother* 1; *small-scale farmer* 1; *male member* 1; *to feed* 1; *agriculturist* 1; *sheepdog, cattleman*, 1; *a person who raises certain domestic animals* 1; *owner lady, owner raise* 1; *food and help with work* 1; *man* 1). There are 8 omissions in this field.

91 More information about names of agricultural buildings in Ruthenian language in Vojvodina, Serbia is presented in paper "Назви будинкох у польоділстве при Руснацох у Войводини" (*Nazvi budinkox u pol'odjilstve pri Rusnacox u Vojvodini*. Švetlosc, 2, 79-84. (Mudri, 2012: 79-84).

The majority of associates in this field of verbal associations refer to general terms for agricultural occupations: *owner*; *owner lady*; *small-scale farmer*; *a person who raises certain domestic animals*; *farmer* (параст /parast/); *agriculturist*; *a villager*; *cattleman*; *farmer* (фармер /farmer/); *owner lady*; specific terms for people who raise domestic animals: (*goatherd*; *swineherd*; *horseman*; *cowherd*; *sheep-dog*; *herdsman*; *pig farmer*; *shepherd*), or masculine gender individuals (*stockman* /vichovatelj/; *grandpa*; *domestic*; *animal lover*; *male member*; *a villager*; *dad*). One response refers to a female person or a female member of the family (*mother*) and another to a person of masculine gender (*man*). Some refer to family members (*grandpa*; *dad*; *mother*). The term *owner lady* also represents feminine gender. These associates provide information about the person raising specific domestic animals (*to feed*; *food and help with work*), their personality traits and how they approach their job (*worried and have a lot of work*; *anyone can*).

The nominal associates most frequently denote a person of masculine gender performing specific tasks, suggesting that Ruthenians perceive livestock-related work as intended for men. However, based on data collected from the interviewees, it is evident that there is a division of labor, where men take care of livestock, while women are responsible for taking care of poultry. Additionally, there are no specific terms for people who raise poultry: *живинар/живинарка* /živinar/živinarka/ 'man or lady raising poultry, literally poultryman/poultrylady'; *курар/курара* /kurar/kurara/ 'chicken man/chicken lady'; *гускар/гускара* /huskar/huskara/ 'gooseman/gooselady'.

42. *The function of a domestic animal*

пожива (робота/ , чуване обисца, розвага) 14; едзене 4; хасен 4; чуване обисца 4; покорма 3; робота (, месо/ , млеко, месо/ , пожива) 3; чувар (, пожива) 3; за поживу (, коні за цагане коча.) 2; заробок 2; месо (, волна, скоро, чувар) 2; обезпечоване поживи 2; опстанак 2; прехрана 2; бавиц ше 1; вайца 1; вше меней маю функцию, окрема же су домашні любимци. 1; дава млеко, месо, волну, прага ше до коча 1; давац млеко, месо, вайца за костирание людзох 1; дава месо и млеко 1; дай месо 1; да прави дружба 1; доставане едзения 1; доставане поживи од ней 1; доставане рижних продуктох як цо сир, млеко 1; дружене 1; заклац 1; за костирание, за приплод 1; за роботу, за репродукцию 1; же би давала поживу. 1; же бизме хасновали їх продукти 1; же би ме любела и же би ю любела 1; же би розвешелели домашніх 1; костирание 1; любене 1; любимец або пре поживу 1; мац хасну од ней 1; най людзе маю цо робиц 1; най нас ушесцуе

1; на поживу, мєлко (млєко А.М.), волну, роботу 1; оросположиц 1; отриманє газдовства 1; отримовносц фарми 1; пес чува, швиня дава месо 1; пожива човекови 1; полудзенок 1; помоц 1; помоц и храна човекови 1; помоц човекови 1; помоч у роботи и преживляваню (помоц у роботи у преживйованю А. М.) 1; привредзованє, хасен, любимец 1; продукт - чувар 1; продукция пиживи (поживи А.М.) 1; служи човекови 1; твориц модерне европейске друштво 1; хасен и задовољство 1; хасен човекови 1; хасновитосц 1; храна и помоц у роботи 1; цагане коча 1; чувар обисца, олєхчац живот 1;

100 (36) + 61 + 7 + 48

The center of this field of verbal associations triggered by the stimulus *The function of a domestic animal* is the associate *food* 14. The semantic center of this field can be formed by grouping the following associates around the associate *food*: *food* (пожива /poživā/) 14⁹²; *food* (єдзєнє /jedzenje/) 4; *fodder* (покарма /pokarma/) 3; *for food* 2; *provision of food* 2; *fodder* (црехрана /prechrana/) 2; *getting food* 1; *getting food from it* 1; *for nutrition* 1; *to provide food* 1; *nutrition* 1; *provide food and help with work* 1; *food for people* 1; *lunch* 1; *food production* 1; *for food, milk, wool, work* 1. The frequency of this semantic center is 36, which could increase if we included the associates related to specific terms for animal-derived products such as *meat, milk, and eggs*.

The core of this field consists of 13 associates occurring more than once (*food* 14; *food* 4; *benefit* 4; *guardian of the household* 4; *fodder* 3; *work* 3; *guardian* 3; *for food* 2; *profit* 2; *meat* 2; *provision of food* 2; *survival* 2; *nutrition* /prechrana/ 2). There are 48 associates with the minimal frequency of 1, accounting for more than half of the responses, as there are also 7 omissions (*to play* 1; *eggs* 1; *they have less and less function, except as domestic pets* 1; *provides milk, meat, wool, it is harnessed to farm carriages* 1; *to provide milk, meat, and eggs for human consumption* 1; *provides meat and milk* 1; *provides meat* 1; *to keep company* 1; *getting food* 1; *getting food from it* 1; *getting different products such as cheese and milk* 1; *friendship* 1; *slaughter* 1; *for nutrition, for breeding* 1; *for work, for reproduction* 1; *to provide food* 1; *to use products derived from them* 1; *that it loves me and that I love it* 1; *to cheer up the householders* 1; *nutrition* 1; *slaughter* 1; *as a pet or for food* 1; *benefit from it* 1; *so that people would have something to do* 1; *to make us happy* 1; *for food, milk, wool, work* 1; *cheer up* 1;

92 for people.

preserving a farm 1; farm sustainability 1; a dog guards, a pig provides meat 1; food for people 1; lunch 1; no strength 1; help and provide food for people 1; help people 1; help with work and survival 1; economy /privredzovanje/, benefit, pet 1; product - guardian 1; food production 1; serves people 1; to create a modern European society 1; benefit and pleasure 1; benefits people 1; usefulness 1; food and help with work 1; pulling farm carriages 1; guardian of the household, make life easier 1).

According to participants, the primary function of domestic animals is to be of use to their owners. This can include the food obtained from domestic animals (*food; food; fodder; for food; provision of food; fodder /prehrana/; getting food; getting food from it; slaughter; for nutrition; to provide food; nutrition; food and help with work; food for people; lunch; food production; for food, milk, wool, work*), animal-derived products (*eggs; provides meat and milk; providing milk; meat; wool; it is harnessed to farm carriages; to provide milk; meat, eggs for human nutrition; provide meat; getting different products such as cheese, milk; to use products derived from them; product - guardian*), protection of the household (*a dog guards, a pig provides meat; guarding a household; guardian; guardian of a household*), help with work (*for work; for reproduction; help with work and survival; so that people would have something to do; help; help and provide food for people; help people; work, serves people; pulling farm carriages; make life easier*), as well as companionship and comfort (*to play; they have less and less function; except as domestic pets; for company; friendship; that it loves me and that I love it; to cheer up the householders; slaughter, as a pet or for food; to make us happy; cheer up*). The following associates also emphasize the functions of animals (*profit; survival; preserving farms; farm sustainability; economy /privredzovanje/, benefit, pet; benefit from it; meat; benefit and pleasure; benefit people; benefit; usefulness*).

The response *to create a modern European society* can be considered as a metaphorical mapping in the direction DOMESTIC ANIMAL → PERSON with an expressive connotation.

43. Food for domestic animals

кукурица (, даралов, концентрат/ , жито, овес, ярец/ , шено/ , шено, трава) 25; шено (даралов отруби/ , бетеліна/ , даралов, бетеліна/ , , кукурица, концентрат./ , овес/ , даралов) 16; даралов (, гранули) 9; трава (, млеко) 7; бетеліна 5; житарки 5; месо (, сир, млеко/ , вайца, млеко) 4; зарно (, шено и друге/ , трава, шено) 3; рошліни 3; концентрат 2; биле месо 1; вайцо 1; гранули 1; желенява и житарки 1; едзене 1; косци 1; кукуричанка 1; медіи

и циганство 1; млеко, сир, шметанка, колбаса, месо... 1; овца (овса? А.М.) 1; остатки 1; покарма, шено, даралов, концентрат 1; потрава 1; просо 1; рижни концентрати, житарки, желеняви итд. 1; рижни рошліни1; слама 1; хтора цо 1.

100 (36) + 28 + 2 + 18

The center of the field of verbal associations triggered by the stimulus *Food for domestic animals* is the associate *corn* 25. The associate *hay* also has a high frequency of 16. However, the lexical and semantic center of this field is the associate *corn*. The core of this field consists of 10 associates with a frequency higher than 1 (*corn* 25; *hay* 9; *grass* 7; *clover* 5; *cereals* 5; *meat* 4; *grains* 3; *plants* 3; *concentrates* 2). 10 associates with a minimal number of occurrences constitute the periphery of this field (*breast meet* 1; *egg* 1; *granules* 1; *vegetables and cereals* 1; *food* 1; *bones* 1; *corn stalk* 1; *media and lies* 1; *milk, cheese, sour cream, sausage, meat...* 1; *oat* 1; *leftovers* 1; *fodder, hay, coarse ground corn, concentrate* 1; *fodder* 1; *millet* 1; *different concentrates, cereals, vegetables* 1; *different plants* 1; *straw* 1; *it differs depending on the breed* 1).

The associates in this field of verbal associations can be categorized as grains (*cereals; grains; corn; corn stalk; oat; millet*), grass (*hay; grass; straw; clover*), ground grains (*coarse ground cornmeal; concentrate; different concentrates; cereals; vegetables*), plants and vegetables (*vegetables and cereals; different plants; plants*), general terms for animal feed (*food; hay; fodder*), and dog and cat food (*meat; breast meet; egg; bones; leftovers; milk, cheese, sour cream, sausage, meat... ; granules*).

The associate *media and lies* has a low frequency but carries an interesting figurative meaning. This is a result of metaphorical mapping from the source domain of *FOOD FOR DOMESTIC ANIMALS* to the target domain of *MANIPULATION OF A PERSON*.

44. *Body parts of domestic animals*

хвост (, кридла/ , роги, сцегна/ , роги, члава) 14; сцегно (, грива, гребень,хвост/ , ножка, кридло, гагор, хрибет, задок, хвост, похребцина) 13; глава (, ноги/ , роги) 12; нога (, хвосц (хвост А. М./ , глава, хвост))11; шунка 6; вимне 4; кридло (, рог, хвост, лаба.) 4; грива (, копито, ратица, острога, гребень) 3; батак 2; лаба 2; писк 2; уха 2; шия 2; баюси 1; брух 1; бураги! 1; бут, похребцина 1; гребень 1; гагор 1; живина - глава, гагор, сцегна, кридла 1; копито 1; кридла 1; лаби 1; нюшка 1; острожка 1; очи 1;

пире або шерсц 1; ратица 1; ратици 1; ребро 1; рог 1; роги 1; ухо 1; хрибет 1; шунка (курена) хвост на юху 1.

100 (36) + 35 + 2 + 22

The associate *tail* has the highest frequency (14) in this field of verbal associations triggered by the stimulus *Body parts of domestic animals*. There is another associate with a similar frequency (13), the associate *drumstick /scehno/*. If Serbian-influenced term *drumstick /batak/ 2*, was also considered, the associate *drumstick /scehno/ 13* would constitute the lexical and semantic center of this field (*drumstick /batak/ 2*) with a frequency of 15. There are no associates similar to the associate *tail*. However, participants often provided multiple responses instead of a single one, as if they were listing them, e.g., *tail (, wings/ , horns, drumsticks/ , horns, head) 14; drumstick (, mane, comb, tail/ , leg, wing, neck, back, buttock, tail, spine) 13*.

If these responses were treated as associates, then the frequency of the associate *tail* would equal 19, and *drumstick* 17. Consequently, the associate *tail* would constitute the lexical center of this field, while the associate *drumstick* would constitute the semantic center. This suggests that the associates *tail* and *drumstick* stand out as the two most common members within the category of domestic animal body parts.

The core of this field consists of 13 responses occurring more than once (*tail* 14; *drumstick* 13; *head* 12; *leg* 11; *ham* 6; *udder* 4; *wing* 4; *mane* 3; *drumstick* 2; *paw* 2; *beak* 2; *ears* 2; *neck* 2). The periphery consists of 22 associates with a minimal frequency (*mustache* 1; *stomach* 1; *animal intestines!* 1; *shank, spine* 1; *comb* 1; *neck* 1; *poultry-head, neck, drumsticks, wings* 1; *hoof* 1; *wings* 1; *paws* 1; *snout* 1; *spur* 1; *eyes* 1; *feathers or fur* 1; *cloven hoof* 1; *cloven hoofs* 1; *rib* 1; *horn* 1; *horns* 1; *ear* 1; *back* 1; *ham (dry-cured)* and *tail for soup* 1). There are only two omissions in this field.

Based on their meaning, these associates can be categorized into those that represent a domestic animal's body part or a product derived from it. For example, *shank (but); spine; udder; mane; hoof; paw; snout; cloven hoof; cloven hoofs; horn; horns; tail* and other associates refer to body parts of domestic animals, while the associates *ham; ham (dry-cured)* and *tail for soup* refer to products derived from domestic animals. Within this field, only the last two associates carry such meaning, while the rest denote a domestic animal's

body part. They can be grouped based on whether the animal belongs to the category of livestock or poultry. The associates *udder; mane; hoof; paw; snout; cloven hoof; cloven hoofs; horn; horns; tail (feathers or fur)* can be interpreted as body parts of large domestic animals, i.e., livestock. The associates *drumstick; comb; neck; poultry - head; neck; drumsticks; wings; wing; spur; feathers or fur; beak; drumstick* describe body parts of poultry. However, some associates can belong to both groups, such as *feathers or fur*. The remaining associates in this field pertain to body parts of domestic animals that both categories share, including the associates *stomach; animal intestines; head; eyes; rib; ears; ear; back; neck*. The responses *tail; paw; snout* are general terms that can refer to livestock as well as certain members of poultry, such as rabbits. The associate *whiskers* could be interpreted as a body part of pets, such as dogs or cats, but it could also denote a body part of an atypical member of the poultry family, such as a rabbit.

The majority of body parts are in hyponymic relation to the stimulus, while the reactions exhibit meronymic relations among themselves.

45. Personal names given to domestic animals

Боби (, Тарчи) 9; Белка 6; Бурко 5; Лайка 5; Милка 4; Леси 3; Ружа 3; Цифра 3; Бундаш (, Тапши, Боби) 2; Маза 2; Дунка 2; Лиска (-Кобула, Мена, Ружа -Крава, Чипси -Гунар, Видра, Гаров, Линда -Пси, Пан - Гунар, Когут, А Кури Волам - Господя, Лидка, Киро -Мачки, Коза - Белка) 2; Мали ((Пес)/, Вилма, Белка) 2; Олга 2; Путко (, Цифра) 2; Ага 1; Астра 1; Биса 1; Бруно 1; Буби 1; Василие 1; Вила 1; Вилма, Цура, Мила, Цифра, Путко, Берци* 1; Гара 1; Гидран 1; Густин, Тарка, Пици, Ригов 1; Джеки 1; Джина 1; Джипси 1; Дона 1; Думка Дона, Рекс... 1; Емилка 1; Йошка 1; Качка 1; Кешель, Ружа, Цифра 1; Клара 1; Кура -Цвергланка 1; Курчечина 1; Лаки, Буки 1; Лео 1; Майло 1; Мала 1; Марко 1; Ми Даваме 1; Нера 1; Пумба 1; Ревка - Крава 1; Ридке 1; Руменка 1; Симба, Джими, Мила 1; Стара 1; Сцегно 1; Тайсон 1; Цвета 1; Цуца - Пес 1; Шарго 1; Шаруля 1; Шунка 1.

100 (36) + 60 +5 + 43

The center of the field of verbal associations triggered by the stimulus *Personal names given to domestic animals* is the associate *Боби /Bobi/ 9*. It is evident that the lexical center of this field does not have a high frequency.

The core of this field consists of 15 associates with frequencies

ranging from 9 to 2 (*Боби* /Bobi/ 9; *Белка* /Belka/ 6; *Бурко* /Burko/ 5; *Лайка* /Lajka/ 5; *Милка* /Milka/ 4; *Леси* /Lesi/ 3; *Ружа* /Ruža/ 3; *Цифра* /Cifra/ 3; *Бундаш* /Bundaš/ 2; *Маза* /Maza/ 2; *Дунка* /Dunka/ 2; *Лиска* /Liska/ 2; *Мали* /Mali/ 2; *Олга* /Olga/ 2; *Путко* /Putko/⁹³ 2).

Surprisingly, the periphery consists of 43 associates with a minimal number of occurrences ((*Ага* /Aga/ 1; *Астра* /Astra/ 1; *Биса* /Bisa/ 1; *Бруно* /Bruno/ 1; *Буби* /Bubi/ 1; *Василие* /Vasilije/ 1; *Вила* /Vila/ 1; *Вилма*, *Цура*, *Мила*, *Цифра*, *Путко*, *Берци* /Vilma, Cura, Mila, Cifra, Putko, Berci/ 1; *Гара* /Gara/ 1; *Гидран* /Gidran/ 1; *Густин*, *Тарка*, *Пици*, *Ригов* /Gustin, Tarka, Pici, Rigov/ 1; *Джеки* /Džeki/ 1; *Джина* /Džina/ 1; *Джипси* /Džipsi/ 1; *Дона* /Dona/ 1; *Думка* *Дона*, *Рекс...* /Dumka/ 1; *Емилка* /Emilka/ 1; *Јошка* /Joška/ 1; *Диск* 1; *Кешель* /Kešelj/⁹⁴, *Ружа* /Ruža/, *Цифра* /Cifra/ 1; *Клара* /Klara/ 1; *Нен* - *Цвергланка* /Cverglanka/ 1; *Курчецина* /Kurčecina/ 'chicken meat' 1; *Лаки*, *Буки* /Laki, Buki/ 1; *Лео* /Leo/ 1; *Майло* /Majlo/ 1; *Мала* /Mala/ 1; *Марко* /Marko/ 1; *Ми Даваме* 1; *Нера* /Nera/ 1; *Пумба* /Pumba/ 1; *Ревка* /Revka/ - Cow 1; *Ридке* /Ridke/ 1; *Руменка* /Rumenka/ 1; *Симба*, *Джимми*, *Мила* /Simba, Džimi, Mila/ 1; *Стара* /Stara/ 1; *Drumstick* 1; *Тайсон* /Tajson/ 1; *Цвета* /Cveta/ 1; *Цуца* /Cuca/ - Dog 1; *Шарго* /Šargo/ 1; *Шаруля* /Šarulja/ 1; *Нат* 1. There are 5 omissions in this field.

The list of names gathered from participants' responses to this field of verbal associations is extensive. The following classifications are often based on assumptions. Certain associates can be categorized as names given to dogs or cats⁹⁵ (*Ага* /Aga/; *Астра* /Astra/; *Боби* /Bobi/; *Бруно* /Bruno/; *Буби* /Bubi/; *Бундаш* /Bundaš/; *Бурко* /Burko/; *Василие* /Vasilije/; *Вила* /Vila/; *Вилма* /Vilma/; *Гара* /Gara/; *Гаров* /Garov/; *Линда* /Linda/; *Джеки* /Džeki/; *Джина* /Džina/; *Джипси* /Džipsi/; *Дона* /Dona/; *Думка* /Dumka/; *Емилка* /Emilka/; *Јошка* /Joška/; *Лайка* /Lajka/; *Лаки* /Laki/; *Лео* /Leo/; *Леси* /Lesi/; *Маза* /Maza/; *Майло* /Majlo/; *Мала* /Mala/⁹⁶; *Мали* /Mali/⁹⁷; *Марко* /Marko/; *Нера* /Nera/; *Тайсон* /Tajson/; *Цуца* /Cuca/). Most common-

93 A Serbian origin word for a horse that has white hair above its hooves.

94 A Ruthenian origin word for a horse that has white hair above its hooves.

95 It is difficult to accurately determine which animal each name refers to. Some participants included this information in their responses. However, by comparing these written responses with those obtained during fieldwork, we can assume which names are typically associated with specific types of domestic animals.

96 A female name.

97 A male name.

ly, these names are personal names of foreign origin. Some names are inspired by the color of the animal, e.g. *Гаров* /Garov/, or motivated by a specific color *Гара* /Gara/; *Нера* /Nera/; *Джипси* /Džipsi/.

The following associates can be categorized as names typically used for livestock, although some are specific to particular breeds, mostly cows and horses (*Белка* /Belka/ (goat); *Биса* /Bisa/(?); *Гидран* /Gidran/ (horse); *Густин* /Gustin/ (?); *Дунка* /Dunka/ (?); *Кешель* /Kešelj/ (horse); *Лиска* /Liska/ (horse); *Милка* /Milka/ (cow); *Олга* /Olga/ (cow); *Путко* /Putko/ (horse); *Ревка* /Revka/ (cow); *Ружа* /Ruža/ (cow); *Руменка* /Rumenka/ (cow); *Стара* /Stara/ (?); *Цвета* /Cveta/ (cow); *Цифра* /Cifra/ (cow); *Цура* /Cura/ (cow); *Шарго* /Šargo/ (cow); *Шаруля* /Šarulja/ (cow)).

Several names were identified as secondary in participants' responses: *Белка* /Belka/ (goat); *Берци* /Berci/ (?); *Буки* /Buki/ (?); *Видра* /Vidra/ (dog); *Гаров* /Garov/ (dog); *Леди* (hen); *Джими* /Džimi/ (?); *Киро* /Kiro/ (cat); *Клара* /Klara/ (?); *Лидка* /Lidka/ (cat); *Линда* /Linda/ (dog); *Мила* /Mila/ (?); *Пан* /Pan/ (gander, rooster); *Пици* /Pici/ (?); *Ригов* /Rigov/ (breed of a bird *Turdus*); *Симба* /Simba/ (cat); *Ташчи* /Tapši/ (dog); *Тарка* /Tarka/ (cow); *Тарчи* /Tarči/ (dog); *Цвергланка* /Cverglanka/ (hen); *Цифра* /Cifra/ (cow); *Цура* /Cura/ (cow); *Чипси* /Čipsi/ (gander).

In terms of the type of domestic animal, the majority of names referred to dogs and cats.

Names given to domestic animals frequently stem from a metonymic process, where a domestic animal is named after a color, a distinctive physical characteristic, or its current state (*Белка* /Belka/; *Кешель* /Kešelj/; *Лиска* /Liska/; *Мали* /Mali/; *Ружа* /Ruža/; *Руменка* /Rumenka/; *Стара* /Stara/; *Шаруля* /Šarulja/; *Цифра* /Cifra/; *Милка* /Milka/; *Цвета* /Cveta/). Names based on a distinctive characteristic include examples such as *Лиска* /Liska/; *Ружа* /Ruža/; *Цвета* /Cveta/ after markings on the head, *Руменка* /Rumenka/; *Шаруля* /Šarulja/; *Цифра* /Cifra/ after the animal's colour, *Стара* /Stara/ for animal's of old age, *Милка* /Milka/ for an animals that provides milk, and *Кешель* /Kešelj/; *Путко* /Putko/ stemming from white markings on an animal's legs.

In addition to metonymy as a naming convention for domestic animals, there are also associates, i.e., names given to domestic animals that are metaphorical extensions. In two instances, names such as *Mrs* (gander, rooster) and *Mrs* (hen) arise from metaphorical mapping in the direction PERSON → ANIMAL. The term for the PERSON representing the source domain, in this case, a woman with refined manners, is used for naming domestic animals. From this, we can

conclude that these animals exhibit proud and arrogant behavior, which adds a layer of irony or humor to their names.

The collective use of metaphonymy is evident in the example *Джипси* /Džipsi/, where the English term for the ethnic group GYPSIES is the source domain. This metaphor is derived from the skin color associated with people of this ethnic background. Naming a domestic animal based solely on this color represents a metonymic process. However, naming a dog in this manner can be interpreted as discriminatory and as comparing Gypsies to dogs, implying this ethnic group is inferior.

The names *Олга* /Olga/; *Киро* /Kiro/ are the result of personification. These names might be used because they sound serious when used for naming people but take on a humorous tone when given to animals.

The names *Лайка* /Laika/; *Леси* /Lesi/; *Маза* /Maza/; *Симба* /Simba/; *Пумба* /Pumba/ are derived from precedent texts. The name Laika⁹⁸ is globally recognized as the name of the dog that travelled to space in 1957. In Disney's animated film *The Lion King*, Simba⁹⁹ is the name of the main character, a lion. Pumbaa is the name of a warthog featured in Disney's *Lion King spin-off series, Timon and Pumbaa*¹⁰⁰.

Names like *Джеки* /Džeki/, or *Бурко* /Burko/ also derive from precedent texts. The name *Джеки* /Džeki/ is also present in the Serbian language, but it is unclear which specific precedent text it originated from. The name *Бурко* /Burko/ is presumed to have originated from precedent texts from Ruthenian culture.

A smaller category of responses includes names that are not typically given to domestic animals (*Качка* /качка/ 'duck'; *Кура-Цвергланка* /Kura-Cverglanka/ 'bantam chicken'; *Ми Даваме* /Mi Davame/ 'We give'; *Ридке* /Ridke/ 'Rare'; *Нам, Drumstick*).

46. Names for domestic animals based on their color¹⁰¹

Белка (, гара,/ , Жућко) 21; Гара (, шивка, чилаш, богар) 6; Жучко

98 <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Laika>

99 <https://disney.fandom.com/wiki/Simba>

100 [https://sr.wikipedia.org/ sr-ec/Тимон_и_Пумба_\(ТВ_серија\)](https://sr.wikipedia.org/ sr-ec/Тимон_и_Пумба_(ТВ_серија)); <https://disney.fandom.com/wiki/Pumbaa>

101 Numerous mistakes were observed in the paper surveys, most of which are easily detectable if a specific word is misplaced. For instance, if the response *farmer* (параст /parast/) is provided in response to the stimulus *Domestic animals are raised in*, it can be assumed that this was a mistake.

(zucko/zučko) 5; Цифра 4; чилаш (, гаров/ , таркасти) 4; Била 3; Богар (, цифра,) 3; Гаров (, Белка,) 3; Жучо (zuco/žučo) 3; Чарна 3; Бела 2; Белко 2; Били 2; Чарни 2; шарга /коњ/ 2; Белкош 1; Беља, гари 1; Билка 1; Билки 1; Баксуз 1; Бурко 1; врани 1; Гари 1; Гарави 1; джипси 1; златопирка 1; Кафова 1; Мено 1; Мрков 1; Назвиско 1; пире 1; платкаста 1; ридя, белка 1; Ружа 1; Сивко 1; таркасти 1; Шара 1; шарац 1; Шаров 1; Шаруля 1; Шиви 1; яраба 1; ярабаста кура 1.

100 (36) + 43 + 7 + 28

In this field of verbal associations triggered by the stimulus *Names for domestic animals based on their color* the associate *Белка / Belka/ 21* has the highest frequency. If we take associates motivated by the white color of domestic animals into account, a significant difference in the frequency of their occurrences in the lexical and semantic field becomes evident. The semantic field consists of the following associates: *Белка /Belka/ 21; Била /bila/ 3; Бела /Bela/ 2; белко /belko/ 2; Били /bili/ 2; Билки /bilki/ 1; Беља /belja/, гари /gari/ 1; Билка /bilka/ 1; Белкош /belkoš/ 1*. This semantic center has a frequency of 34.

The core of this field consists of 15 associates with a frequency higher than 1 (*Белка 21; Гара /gara/ 6; Жучко /žučko/ 5; Цифра /cifra/ 4; чилаш /čilaš/ 4; Била /bila/ 3; Богар /bogar/ 3; Гаров /garov/ 3; Жучо /žučo/ 3; Чарна /čarna/ 3; Бела /Bela/ 2; Белко /belko/ 2; Била /bila/ 2; Чарни /čarni/ 2; шарга /horse/ 2*). The field's periphery consists of 28 associates with a minimal number of occurrences (*Белкош /belkoš/ 1; Беља /belja/, Гари /gari/ 1; Билка /bilka/ 1; Билки /bilki/ 1; Баксуз /baksuz/ 1; Бурко /burko/ 1; врани /vrani/ 1; Гари /gari/ 1; Гарави /garavi/ 1; джипси /džipsi/ 1; златопирка /zlatopirka/ 1; Кафова /kafova/ 1; Мено /meno/ 1; Мрков /mrkov/ 1; Назвиско /nazvisko/ 1; пире /pirje/ 1; платкаста /platkasta/ 1; ридя /rida/, белка /bilka/ 1; Ружа /ruža/ 1; Сивко /sivko/ 1; таркасти /tarkasti/ 1; Шара /šara/ 1; шарац /šarac/ 1; Шаров /šarov/ 1; Шаруля /šarulja/ 1; Шиви /šivi/ 1; Яраба /jaraba/ 1; ярабаста кура /jarabasta kura/ 1*). There are 7 omissions in this field.

The associates in this field can be categorized based on the color that inspired the name and the type of animal the name was given to. In terms of color, the associates are most frequently motivated by white (*Белка /Belka/; Била /Bila/; Бела /Bela/; Белко /Belko/; Били /Bili/; билки /bilki/; беља /belja/ (white pig); билка /bilka/; белкош /belkoš/; чилаш /čilaš/*), black or dark colors (*Богар /Bogar/ (black);*

врани /vrani/ (*black*); *Гара* /Gara/; *гарави* /garavi/; *гари* /gari/; *Гаров* /Garov/¹⁰²; *джипси* /Džipsi/; *Чарна* /Čarna/; *Чарни* /Čarni/), yellow; red; or brown (*Жучко* /Žučko/; *Жучо* /Žučo/; *златопирка* /zlatopirka/ 'golden'; *шарга* /šarga/ (horse); *мрков* /mrkov/ 'brown'; *ридя* /riđa/ 'red-yellow horse'; *кафова* /kafova/), multiple mixed colors (*платкаста* /platkasta/; *таркасти* /tarkasti/; *цифра* /cifra/; *шарац* /šarac/; *шаруля* /šarulja/ (cow); *шаров* /šarov/¹⁰³ (dog); *яраба* /jaraba/; *ярабаста кура* /jarabasta kura/ 'grey hen with white spots'), and grey (*Сивко* /Sivko/; *Шара* /Šara/; *Шиви* /Šivi/).

Certain associates do not seem to be motivated by colors (*Jinx*, *Бурко* /Burko/, *Name*, *Nickname*, *feathers*, *rose*).

In terms of the type of animal the names refer to, the associates denote the color of a cow (*ридя* /riđa/; *платкаста* /platkasta/; *таркасти* /tarkasti/; *цифра* /cifra/; *шаруля* (cow) /šarulja/), horse (*чилаш* /čilaš/; *врани* /vrani/; *шарга* /šarga/; *мрков* /mrkov/; *ридя* /riđa/; *шарац* /šarac/; *сивко* /sivko/), a dog (*Богар* /Bogar/; *Гара* /Gara/; *гарави* /garavi/; *гари* /gari/; *Гаров* /Garov/; *джипси* /džipsi/; *Чарна* /Čarna/; *Чарни* /Čarni/; *шаров* /šarov/), a dog or a cat (*Жучко* /Žučko/; *Жучо* /Žučo/), a pig (*беля* /belja/), poultry (*златопирка* /zlatopirka/; *яраба* /jaraba/; *ярабаста кура* /jarabasta kura/), or remain unspecified (*шара* /šara/; *шиви* /šivi/). The terms *Белка* /Belka/; *Била* /Bila/; *Бела* /Bela/; *Белко* /Belko/; *Били* /Bili/; *билки* /bilki/; *билка* /bilka/; *белкош* /belkoš/ can refer to a white cow, goat, sheep, or rabbit. Some terms can be used as names for several types of animals.

The associates were recorded using both uppercase and lowercase letters, making it unclear whether they refer to a particular animal breed or if they also function as names.

In terms of the origin of the names, the participants used names from the Serbian (*врани* /vrani/; *Гаров* /Garov/; *Мрков*¹⁰⁴ /Mrkov/; *ридя* /riđa/; *таркасти* /tarkasti/; *шаруля* /šarulja/; *шаров* /šarov/; *сивко* /sivko/) and the Hungarian language (*Богар* /Bogar/; *чилаш* /čilaš/; *шарга* /šarga/).

As in the previous field, the majority of these names result from metonymy, including the following terms: *Бела* /Bela/; *белка* /belka/; *Белко* /Belko/; *Белкош* /Belkoš/; *Била* /Bila/; *Били* /Bili/; *Богар* /

102 In the Serbian language, this is a common name for black dogs (Miloradov, et. al). <https://sr.m.wiktionary.org/sr-ec/%D0%B3%D0%B0%D1%80%D0%BE%D0%B2>

103 In the Serbian language, this name is used for multi-colored cows (Bošnjaković, 1983: 156).

104 In Serbian language name for a dark horse (Bošnjaković, 1985: 131).

Bogar/; врани /vrani/; Гара /Gara/; Гарави /Garavi/; Гари /Gari/; Гаров /Garov/; Жучко /Žučko/; Жучо /Žučo/; златопирка /zlatopirka/; Каfoва /Kafova/; Мрков /mrkov/; ридя /riđa/; платкаста /platkasta/; Сивко /Sivko/; таркасти /tarkasti/; Цифра /Cifra/; Чарна /Čarna/; Чарни /Čarna/; чилаш /čilaš/; Шара /Šara/; шарац /šarac/; шарга /šarga/; Шаров /Šarov/; Шаруля /Šarulja/; Шиви /Šivi/; яраба /jaraba/; ярабаста кура /jarabasta kura/. In these instances, the motivation for the mapping stemmed from the color or a distinctive feature of an animal.

An example of metaphonymy observed as an association in this field, as well as in the preceding one, is the term *джинси* /džipsi/. The term *Бурко* /Burko/ is considered to stem from precedent texts.

47. Domestic animal breeds

липицанер (, легхорн, санс/ , сименталка, мангуліца) 5; язавичар 5; сименталка 4; пекинезер 4; немецки овчар ((pes)) 4; лабрадор 4; ландрас (, пулин, цигая, сименталска, буша, голштайн, липицанер, арабер) 3; мангулица (и мангуліца) 3; златни ретривер 2; вучяк 2; ганцли(к) 2; пазинска пулька (и пулька пазинска) 2; патканьош 2; персийска мачка 2; пулин 2; ротвайлер 2; цигая (, праменка, буша, херефорд) 2; чилаш (čilaš) 2; япанка (– качки) 2; акита 1; вранац 1; беркшир 1; далматинац 1; дурок 1; заяц 1; йоркшир 1; категорії 1; кречка 1; ландраст 1; ловарски 1; мерино 1; мерима 1; мопс 1; нониус 1; носилі 1; овчар 1; орияш, педигре 1; пекинезер пес, мангулица швиня 1; пес 1; пистрен 1; птичар 1; ретривер 1; санска коза 1; сименталске 1; симентал 1; темпо (файта швині) 1; файта 1; файферка 1; хемшир 1; херефорд 1; холштайн 1; шкотски овчар 1; яраба 1.

100 (36) + 43 + 7 + 28

The associates Lipizzaner 5 and dachshund 5 constitute the center of the field of verbal associations triggered by the stimulus *Domestic animal breeds*. It is not possible to form semantic centers around these associates, as they specify distinct breeds of domestic animals. If we consider the domestic animals these terms refer to, the center of this field would be formed around associates denoting a dog breed: *Akita; German shepherd; Dalmatian dog; golden retriever; Labrador; hunting dog; pug; German sheepdog; sheepdog; ratter; Pekingese; Pekingese dog; bird dog; pulin*¹⁰⁵; *retriever; Rottweiler; Scottish sheepdog; dachshund* (19). The frequency of this group of associates is 34.

105 <https://worldoffourdogs.wixsite.com/hellobalto/pulin-breed>

The core of this field consists of 19 responses with a frequency of occurrence higher than 1 (*Lipizzan* 5; *dachshund* 5; *Simmental* (сименталка /simentalka/) 4; *Pekingese* 4; *German sheepdog* 4; *Labrador* 4; *landrace* 3; *Mangalica* 3; *golden retriever* 2; *German shepherd* 2; *Croatian bantam* 2; *Pazin turkey* 2; *ratter* 2; *Persian cat* 2; *puhin* 2; *Rottweiler* 2; *Tsigai* 2; чилаш /čilaš/ 2; *japanese (-ducks)* 2). The periphery consists of 34 responses occurring once (*Akita* 1; *вранац /vranac/* 1; *Berkshire* 1; *Dalmatian dog* 1; *Duroc* 1; *rabbit* 1; *Yorkshire* 1; *categories* 1; *Croatian bantam* 1; *landrace* 1; *hunting dog* 1; *Merino* 1; *merima* 1; *pug* 1; *Nonius*¹⁰⁶ 1; *laying hen* 1; *sheepdog* 1; *ориаш /orijaš/*¹⁰⁷; *pedigree* 1; *Pekingese dog*, *Mangalica pig* 1; *dog* 1; *Piétrain* 1; *bird dog* 1; *retriever* 1; *Saanen goat* 1; *Simmental*¹⁰⁸ (симентал /simental/) 1; *Simmental* (сименталске /simentalske/) 1; *темпо /tempo/* (*a pig breed*) 1; *breed* 1; *файферка*¹⁰⁹ /fajferka/ 1; *Hampshire* 1; *Hereford* 1; *Holstein* 1; *Scottish sheepdog* 1; *яраба /jaraba/* 'grey with white spots'1).

The associates in this field can be categorized by hyperonymy, i.e., by the type of animal. This reveals that the participants most frequently listed dog breeds (*Akita*; *German shepherd*; *Dalmatian dog*; *golden retriever*; *Labrador*; *hunting dog*; *pug*; *German sheepdog*; *sheepdog*; *ratter*; *Pekingese*; *Pekingese dog*; *bird dog*; *Pulin*; *retriever*; *Rottweiler*; *Scottish sheepdog*; *dachshund*). Other responses include pigs (*Berkshire*; *Duroc*; *Yorkshire*; *landrace /landras/*; *landrace /landrast/*; *Mangalica*; *Piétrain*; *Tempo (pig breed)*; *файферка /fajferka/*; *Hampshire*), cows (*Simmental /simental/*; *Simmental /simentalka f/*; *Simmental /simentalske/*; *Hereford*; *Holstein. buša*¹¹⁰), horses (*вранац /vranac/*; *Lipizzaner*; *nonius*; *чилаш /čilaš/*; *Arab horse*), sheep (*merima*; *Merino*; *Tsigai*; *pramenka*), chicken (*ганицлик /hanclik/*¹¹¹; *Croatian bantam*; *laying hen*; *яраба /jaraba/*; *leghorn*), rabbits (*rabbit*; *ориаш /orijaš/*), cats (*Persian cat*), goats (*Saanen goat*), turkeys (*Pazin turkey*), and ducks (*japanese (-ducks)*).

Some responses are synonymous with or closely related to the stimulus (*categories*; *pedigree*; *breed*), while others refer to terms for domestic animals (*dog*). The latter responses likely result from misinterpretations of the stimulus. Our goal was to obtain hyponyms,

106 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nonius_horse

107 Short for /belgijski orijaš/ 'Belgian Giant, Flemish Giant rabbit'.

108 An adjective.

109 https://sh.wikipedia.org/wiki/Crna_slavonska_svinja

110 <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bu%C5%A1a>

111 The same as a *krečka*, i.e. *Croatian bantam*.

the subordinate members of the category of domestic animal breeds (a *cow*; a *horse*; a *sheep*; a *pig*, etc.). The majority of participants understood the stimulus in this manner.

One drawback of this stimulus is that participants provided responses regarding all domestic animals based on a single stimulus. A clearer picture might have been obtained if the researcher had used the same question for each distinct breed. However, this would have increased the number of questions, potentially causing the participants to feel tired and lose interest in responding. Additionally, since the terms for domestic animal breeds are gradually becoming archaic, it is likely that some stimuli would have resulted in numerous omissions.

5.7. Conclusions

5.7.1. Omissions

Omissions occurred for the following stimuli: The archaic term for poultry (дробизг /drobizg/) (24); The sexual intercourse of domestic animals (21); That would be a good turkey if it had (16); That would be a good goose if it had (15); That would be a good donkey if it had (13); That would be a good duck if it had (13); Female domestic animals (10); A person who raises specific domestic animals (8); That would be a good horse if it had (7); That would be a good goat if it had (7); Male domestic animals (7); The function of a domestic animal (7); The name of a domestic animal based on its color (7); A breed of a specific domestic animal (7); Turkey (6); That would be a good chicken if it had (6); That would be a good cow if it had (5); That would be a good sheep if it had (5); That would be a good pig if it had (5); Personal names given to domestic animals (5); Giving orders to a domestic animal (4); Goat (2); A domestic animal makes sounds (2); Food for domestic animals (2); Body parts of domestic animals (2); Horse (1); Donkey (1); Sheep (1); Birth of the offspring of a domestic animal (1); The offspring of a domestic animal (1); Products derived from domestic animals (1).

The highest number of omissions occurred with the stimulus Drobizg (archaic term for poultry) which was expected given the low frequency of the word in the contemporary Ruthenian language spoken in Serbia. Supposedly the preceding stimulus (*živina* - poultry) could cause a high number of omissions because respondents were confused by the two stimuli with similar meanings.

There were no omission in the following fields: Domestic animal; Livestock, Poultry (*живина /živina/*); Cow; Pig; Chicken; Dog; Goose; Rabbit; Cat; Domestic animals are raised in; Duck.

5.7.2. *The highest number of different answers*

More than 50 different answers were obtained for the following stimuli: That would be a good donkey if it had (62); The function of a domestic animal (61); Personal names given to domestic animals (60); That would be a good pig if it had (55); Cat (54); Domestic animal breeds (52); That would be a good horse if it had (52); Rabbit (50).

Fewer than 50 different answers were obtained for the following stimuli: That would be a good duck if it had (49); Turkey (48); Dog (47); Donkey (47); That would be a good chicken if it had (46); That would be a good goose if it had (46); Giving orders to a domestic animal (46); The sexual intercourse of domestic animals (45); Birth of the offspring of a domestic animal (45); Duck (45); Goose (45); Horse (45); That would be a good sheep if it had (44); That would be a good turkey if it had (43); The name of a domestic animal based on its color (43); Pig (43); Goat (40); That would be a good goat if it had (39); A domestic animal makes sounds (39); The archaic term for poultry (*дробизг /drobizg/*) (38); Body parts of a domestic animal (35); Female domestic animal (33); The offspring of a domestic animal (32); Male domestic animals (31); A person who raises specific domestic animals (30); That would be a good cow if it had (29); Food for domestic animals (28); Chicken (26); Goat (25); Cow (25); Domestic animals are raised in (24); Livestock (24); Products of domestic animals (23); Domestic animals (19); Poultry (18).

The highest frequency have center of associative field Sheep. That is the associate *wool* 60. The following centers of associative fields also have a high frequency: Cow - *milk* 54; Chicken - *egg* 49; Poultry - *chicken* 47; Livestock - *cow* 45; Domestic animals - *dog* 38; Domestic animals are raised in - *a stable* 35; Female domestic animal - *rabbit* 32; Male domestic animals - *a doe* 31.

Lowest frequency have center of associative field Domestic animal breeds - *lipizzan* 5 / *dachshund* 5. Besides this associative field, the following ones also have a low frequency: Personal names given to domestic animals - *Bobi* 9; That would be a good donkey if it had - *strength* 6.

5.7.3. *The core*

Frequency of the answers with frequency 1 is the following: That would be a good donkey if it had (53); The function of a domestic animal (48); Personal names given to domestic animals (45); That would be a good pig if it had (40); Turkey (38); That would be a good goose if it had (38); Cat (37); That would be a good duck if it had (37); The sexual intercourse of domestic animals (37); That would be a good chicken if it had (36); Birth of the offspring of a domestic animal (33); Domestic animal breeds (33); Giving orders to a domestic animal (32); That would be a good horse if it had (32); That would be a good sheep if it had (32); Pig (32); Donkey (31); That would be a good turkey if it had (31); Goat (31); Rabbit (30); Duck (29); The name of a domestic animal based on its color (28); Goose (28); Dog (27); Horse (27); The archaic term for poultry (*дробизг /drobizg/*) (26); That would be a good goat if it had (26); That would be a good cow if it had (22); Body parts of a domestic animal (22); Female domestic animal (22); A domestic animal makes sounds (21); The offspring of a domestic animal (20); Male domestic animals (19); Sheep (18); Food for domestic animals (18); Chicken (16); Cow (16); Livestock (15); Products of domestic animals (15); Domestic animals are raised in (15); A person who raises specific domestic animals (14); Domestic animals (12); Poultry (7).

The type of relation is stimulus-reaction.

The following relations between the stimulus and reaction are found in the analyzed associative fields:

Collocational relations: *качка - ше мачка /kačka-še mačka*¹¹² 'duck is frolic in the water';

Hyponymic relations: *livestock - cow*

Co-hyponyms: *horse - mare*

Hypernymic relations: *chicken - poultry*

Meronymic relations: *cow - horn*

Synonymic relations: *poultry - fowl*

Causative relations: *horse - strength/work*.

As it can be seen, there are no coordinational, antonymic, and situational relations.

112 Based on a rhyme.

6. Conclusion

6.1. Categorization of domestic animals in Ruthenian's linguistic image

The goal of this work was to research the fragments of Ruthenians' linguistic image related to the conceptualization and categorization of domestic animals. The object of the research was the analysis of Ruthenians' linguistic image done on the material consisting of nominations, phraseologisms, and the results of the associative experiment. The analysis of the material showed that there are two major categories of domestic animals among Ruthenians. These are LIVESTOCK and POULTRY. The category PETS occupies the third place.

There are the center and the periphery of a category, based on the place of a specific member of that category. The center of a category is the member that is the most common and typical one in that category. The prototypical member can be selected based on the frequency of that member in forming nominations or phraseologisms. Such a view of the hierarchy can show us the archaic image of the world. As an additional tool for selecting the prototypical member and as a way to inspect obtained results, we can use the associative test, which can show us whether or not the modern image of the world corresponds to the primary image collected through centuries and remembered by Ruthenians.

6.1.1. *The category of a domestic animal*

The prototypical member of the category DOMESTIC ANIMALS is a *dog*. This category is superordinate to categories LIVESTOCK, POULTRY, and PETS. The prototypical member of the category LIVESTOCK is the domestic animal *cow*. The periphery of this category consists of domestic animals such as *goats, sheep, horses, donkey, and pigs*. The most recognizable and most typical member of the category POULTRY is the domestic animal *chicken*¹. Less recognizable members

1 Based on a rhyme.

that make up the periphery of this category are domestic animals *goose, turkey, duck, rooster, and rabbit*².

The conceptual analysis on nominations showed that the central or prototypical member of the category LIVESTOCK in the material of nominations is the domestic animal *horse* (39³). The periphery of this category consists of *cow* (25), *pig* (13), *goat* (10), *sheep* (10), and *donkey* (7).

The central member of the category POULTRY in the material on nominations is the domestic animal *chicken* (20), and the less common members that form the periphery of this category are *goose* (8), *rabbit* (4), *duck* (2), and *turkey* (2).

The category of PETS is most recognizable in this material by its members *dog* (12) and *cat* (5). As can be seen from the results, the domestic animal *dog* is a better and more recognizable member of this category.

Based on the frequency of the source domain in the phraseological material, we can find a place of a specific member in a category. By looking at the overview of entities related to the raising of domestic animals, we can see that *dog* (28) is the most common member of the category of DOMESTIC ANIMALS, followed by *cow, pig, horse, and chicken*. In the category LIVESTOCK, the highest frequency is that of *cow* (14) and *pig* (14), followed by *horse* (13), *sheep* (7), *goat* (7), and *donkey* (7). The prototypical member of the category POULTRY is the domestic animal *chicken* (14), followed by *rabbit* (6), *duck* (4), *goose* (3), and *turkey* (2). The prototypical member of the category PETS is *dog* (28), and the less recognizable one is *cat* (13).

The category of livestock

COWS

The association test showed that Ruthenians nowadays see a cow as a domestic animal whose most striking characteristic is the color (*brown-white, patched* (цифрована /cifrovana/), *colorful шаруља* /šarulja/), its hierarchical place, i.e. co-hyponyms (*bull, calf, heifer, dairy cow*), or hypernyms (*livestock, domestic animal*). This is a domestic animal that provides products that people use for food (*milk, butter, cheese*)⁴. A person recognizes it based on the charac-

2 A chicken has a similar frequency (47, 45) as a prototypical member in the associative fields *poultry* (archaic) and *poultry*.

3 A rabbit appears only in the associative field *Poultry* (archaic).

4 The number of source domains that participate in forming nomina-

teristical body parts (*horns, a tail*) or the place where it is kept (*a stable, grandmother's backyard, a village*). The significance of milk as a product that makes a cow recognizable is seen in the number of answers to the stimulus *That would be a good cow if it had* which shows the characteristics without which a cow cannot be seen as a good or typical representative of this breed (*milk, a lot of milk, more milk, enough milk, gave a lot of milk, good milk, 20l of milk, sufficient amount of milk*), but body parts that produce milk are also important (*a big udder, udder, good udder*). A cow's offspring is also seen as one of the functions of a cow (*calf, its own calf, calves*).

According to the participants, another important factor is the food that a cow eats or the conditions it is kept in, which suggests that Ruthenians attach great importance to this animal because of its use and function (*more food to eat; good hay; good ration; good pasture; good fodder; enough food; fodder; a farm; hay; shiny hair; freedom*).

A cow, as a source domain, appears in 25 metaphorical extensions, in which its physical appearance or the sounds that the animals denoted by the co-hyponyms of this category emits motivate the naming of other animals (*волово очко* "a small brown bird", *водови буюк* "a bird with the voice similar to bull's"), plants (*волово очко* "a plant with a round flower", *волово хвост* "a plant with a grape-like shape of the flower", *буючок, водови буюк* "a plant with a fruit/a part similar to the shape of bull's head") or insects (*панбоска кравичка/богова/божа катичка* "a small insect with dots on its body"). Cows, more specifically the uncastrated males used for insemination, are seen as strong so they are used in the process of naming the physical changes of a person, most usually a man (*забуячиц ше* "become stronger and bigger"). A cow's body parts are also seen as its important characteristics (*буюче чоло* "the front part of the haystack"), and organs (*бамбух* "a person's big stomach", *буюча жила* "an animal's product").

Members of this category are perceived to be unintelligent or unappealing so they are part of the metaphorical extensions used to insult a person (*вол* "a stupid man", *крава* "degradation of a women"). The result of the personification of a cow observed in the word *битанга* 'a person of bad character' suggests that a cow is also seen as a domestic animal that often causes damage and has a bad personality.

The importance of the use of cows for Ruthenians is seen in the long list of names given to cows based on their function (*дойка* "a

tions through the process of metaphorization.

nursing cow, an animal producing milk”, *первиска* “a cow that has its first calf”), the inability to fulfill its function (*яловка* “an infertile cow, the one that cannot have a calf”), or the product it provides (*милка* “the name for a cow”).

Movements of this domestic animal, e.g. the process of calving (*целіц ше* “a drunk person vomiting”, *вишиліц ше* 1. “spending a lot of money”, 2. “a very difficult job”), the way of chewing (*руметац* “eating slowly and for a long time”), the process of stopping to milk a cow (*заяловиц ше* “to not rain”) were also recognizable.

Since the role of a cow is to produce some value to its owner in the form of milk, meat, or by giving birth to calf, the metaphorical extension *целє* “a bottle of paljenka (a wedding custom), fruit brandy” can be understood as a valuable gift to a host.

Even though the main relationship between the owner and the cow is the usefulness of this animal, owners still name them (*Белка* /Belka/, *Билка* /Bilka/, *Жуя* /Žuja/, *Жучко* /Žučko/, *Тарка* /Tarka/, *Цифра* /Cifra/, *Шарена* /Šarena/, *Шара* /Šara/), which suggests that the animal has additional significance for the owner apart from mere function. Not all domestic animals receive names from their owners. This happens usually with cows, horses, dogs, and cats.

From the preceding discussion, it can be seen that the typical characteristic of these animals that are noticed by Ruthenians is their physical appearance of a cow, i.e. the fact that they are strong, have horns, and emit loud noise voice. This domestic animal is also perceived by Ruthenians as intellectually limited, uncultured, and of a bad character. On the other hand, since the primary function of the cow is to provide products that people can use, it has a great value.

In the phraseological world image of the Ruthenian’s, a cow is physically big and heavy (*не стої ци крава на ноги / не станула ми крава на ногу* ‘there is no cow standing on your foot’), lazy and clumsy (*(робиц) як крава з хвостом* ‘to work like a cow wagging its tail’, *розруцац (розтрєсц) як крава вигризки* ‘to scatter like cow scatters corn sticks’, *добра жена як тота крава цо до полного жохтара виргне* ‘a good woman is like this cow that kicks a full bucket of milk’), intellectually limited (*патри як целє на нову капуру* ‘staring like a calf at a new gate’, *вон ма розум як у крави бамбух* ‘he has brain like a cow’s stomach’, *могло би го гу яшльом привязац* ‘you could tied him to the manger’), aggressive (*исц, (нападац, наваліц) як буюк на червене* ‘to attack like a bull on red colour’), disrespectful to the societal norms (*пребходзиц (прейсиц) як вол (не поздравкац)* ‘to pass by as an ox (without a greeting)’, *чежко (яй) тому дому (домови) дзе розказує крава*

волу (волови) ‘woe onto the house where the cow gives orders to the ox’), eats a lot (*єси як вол* ‘to eat like an ox’, *дає дакому як волом* (як волови, як за воли) ‘to give [food] to someone as if they were an ox’), loud (*ричає (дрець ше) як буюк* ‘to bellow like a bull’) but also a good mother (*и крава старша а целєцу риц лїже* ‘a cow is older too, but it still licks a calf’s buttocks’), and as an animal of high value for a household (*кед (дзе) пошла крава най идзе и целє* ‘since the cow is gone, let the calf go too’).

PIGS

The association test showed that Ruthenians perceive a pig as a source of food produce, which is its primary function (*pig slaughter; for meat and meat product; sausage; sausages; grease; meat; bacon; cracklings; ham; soup*). This is confirmed by the fact that the answers to the stimulus *That would be a good pig if it had* most frequently revolved around the products of this animal (*a lot of piglets* 11; *piglets* 7; *a lot of meat* 5). The function of the pig is also seen through the place in which it is kept (*pigsty* (кармик /karmik/); *pigsty* (обор /obor/); *stable; in pigsty* (кармик /karmik/)). This type of domestic animal has several co-hyponyms (*barrow; boar; mangalica; bred heifer; piglet; piglets; weaner pig*). A typical pig’s appearance is seen as gluttonous (*omnivore, slops; slop*), obese (*fat; obesity*), and dirty (*dung (physiological waste), mud; dirt; dirty; dirty* (гадне /gad-ne)⁵, *pig rooting with snout; it stinks*).

13 nominations resulted from metaphorical or metonymic mappings with a PIG as the source domain. One of the most striking characteristics of a pig is its appearance. A pig is perceived as a dirty domestic animal (*швиня* “untidy, dirty appearance of a person”, *праше* “a child with a dirty face”) that eats a lot (*дурок* “a person that eats a lot”), is obese (*швиня* “an obese person”), makes a mess (*коборловац* “to make a mess”, *коборлов* “a person that makes a mess”), makes a space dirty and smelly (*швинїц* “to make a space dirty and smelly”), etc. Due to its dirty and unappealing appearance, a pig is also seen as morally dirty, which is why this animal is used when someone wants to offend another person (*швиня* “degradation of a person”). The appearance of the pig triggered a metonymical extension for the food made of this domestic animal (*швиня, праше* “food made of this animal”). Pigs’ bristles gave rise to metaphorical extensions that yielded names for certain plants (*швиньска шерсц* “plant that resemble to pig’s coat (juncus l.)”).

5 Everyday language; serbian origin word.

A boar, as a member of this category, is perceived as proud because of its function of inseminating pigs (*корнажиц ше* "to act proudly, with the nose up in the air").

The phraseological material shows that Ruthenians see pigs as dirty (*брудни як швиня* 'dirty as a pig', *мусави (мурцави) як праше* 'as dirty in one's face as a piglet'), obese (*тлусти як швиня* 'as obese as a pig'), unpleasant and of poor character (*облещ швиню до злата а вона пойдзе до блата* 'dress a pig in gold, and it would still go into the mud'), angry (*нагнівани як корназ* 'as angry as a boar'), gluttonous (*добра швиня гоч яки помії (кажду помію) попиє / за добру швиню нет подли помії* 'good pig drinks every swill that it gets / for good pig there isn't bad swill'); (*хтора швиня раз курче пожре тота ше на паспаль не враци* 'a pig that once eats a chicken never goes back to wheat feed flour'), aggressive (*дриляц ше як праше до помійох* 'to push oneself like a pig into pigwash'), messy (*коборлує як тота швиня у оборе* 'he/she is causing damage like a pig in a pigsty', *вшадзи ше (ви) найдзе як швиня у бундавох* 'he/she is like a pig among pumpkins'), and as having a negative influence on others (*една швиня шицок чупор розрие* 'one pig breaks up a whole drove (group of pigs)').

Finally, it can be concluded that a pig in the linguistic image of Ruthenians represents a domestic animal that is raised for meat products that people use for food. A typical pig is gluttonous, obese, and dirty.

The stereotypical views of pigs appear to be induced by their behavior, e.g. gluttony causing the lack of restraint and the absence of the criteria for food quality. These stereotypes induced the image of a pig as aggressive and of poor character (angry, aggressive, makes a mess, has a negative influence on others). The physical appearance (dirtiness and low hygiene) gave raise the stereotypical view of a pig as an animal with bad moral qualities.

HORSES

The members of the field of verbal associations in response to the stimulus horse show that Ruthenians see horses as domestic animals whose function is to work or being ridden. Also, they function as entertainment (*to ride a horse; horse riding* (шедланє /šedlanje/); *races; horse riding* (яханє /jahanje/), *horse racing* (трки /trki/); *work; for work; sport; works; help with work; help on a field*), or means of transportation (*farm carriage* (коч); *farm carriages* (zapraha); *fiacre*).

These answers show the change in how a horse is perceived, since in the past, its primary function was as a means of transportation or carrying heavy load, dragging a plow, whereas nowadays it is

more related to being ridden for fun or sports⁶. In the contemporary linguistic image of the Ruthenians, a horse is seen as a co-hyponym of other members of this category (*mare; foal; livestock; colt; Lipizzan*). Meronyms, or the names of body parts, make it stand out *mane; hoof; hooves; eyes; tail; hair*).

There are also the responses used to describe the appearance of the animal (*elegant; beauty; beautiful; strength; strong; splendid; persistence; čilaš*), the equipment for horses (*horseshoe; saddle; harness equipment (štverci)*), emotionally-colored associations (*Orwell; grandpa liked horses; freedom*), places for raising horses (*field; mesuage; stable*), and the superordinate members of this category, hypernyms (*domestic animal; domestic animal (- it was used for work, nowadays it is used more often for pride; sport and recreation); livestock*). A horse is less frequently recognized for its meat products than a cow or a pig, as the association *meat* appears only once. The same occurs with the imitation of the sound it emits (*Yee Haw*).

Interestingly, the most frequent response to the stimulus *That would be a good horse was if it had was a good owner* (10). This answer can be connected to the horse's function since if the horse has a good owner who takes care of it, it can work and fulfill its other function well.

In the analyzed material of nominations, i.e. forming the terms in the metaphorical, metonymic, or metaphonymic processes, there are 39 examples in which the source domain is HORSE (and its co-hyponyms, its movements, the work that it performs, or the equipment associated with horses).

Ruthenians perceive this domestic animal as beautiful, attractive, and sexually active (*вайчак* 1. "a sexually attractive man", 2. "a sexually active man", *кобулка* "a buckle on women's clothes", *вайчачок* "a buckle on male's pants"). It appears that the view of a horse as beautiful and elegant resulted in many references to its appearance in the names of objects (*коніки* "figures of horses on carousels", *конік з медовніка* "a candy shaped like horse").

The striking characteristic of the appearance can also be seen in the following examples: *кобула* "a tool for making wooden wheels", *конь* "a bone left after eating a cooked chicken", *бугери* "a round-shaped patch on horse hair".

Some members of this category are seen as infertile or cold when in love (*нутрак* 1. "an infertile man", 2. "a man that is cold when in

⁶ This is seen in one idiosyncratic answer: a domestic animal - used for work; today is owned usually for showing off, sport, or recreation.

love”).

Our material shows that Ruthenians often give names to horses based on characteristic details of their appearance, e.g. *Лисак, Лиска, Гвиздаш, Ружа, Цвета* “names of horses based on the characteristic details”, or color *ридя* “a name of a horse based on its color”.

A horse also makes a characteristic sound and moves in a specific fashion which, because of its suggestiveness, is used as a metaphorical extension for describing a characteristic sound or movement of a person (*форкац* “the strong sniffing sound made by a person”).

As with the other domestic animals, a horse is also seen as unintelligent, so it is used to insult another person (*конь* “a stupid man”, *кобула, конь* “degradation of a person”).

Horses' characteristic movement or appetite resulted in the formation of terms for plants (*требиконіна* “the name of a plant”) or insects (*конік* “an insect that jumps”). The manner of movement triggered the reference to a horse in the name of a chess figure (*конь* “a chess piece that symbolizes the animal, the knight”). The manner of movement, i.e. jumping, possibly motivated the metaphorical extension related to weaving, which is archaic and not fully transparent (*конь* “a mistake made when weaving”).

Since horse is one of the animals most often referenced in mythology and folk traditions⁷, in the past, the reference to the appearance (and the character) of a horse in a name for an object used for protection, mainly from lightning (*коні* “an object on the roof of a house in the shape of a horse's head”, *коньска глава* “an object on sleds in the shape of a horse's head”).

The main function of a horse is to pull or carry heavy objects, which is why some parts of musical instruments that “carry” strings were named after this domestic animal (*кобулка, конік* “a part of string instruments (that carries the string)”). Similarly, terms that measure the strength of the means of transportation were formed in reference to a horse (*коні* “the strength of a vehicle”). Horse's ability to run fast and cover long distances is seen in the personified terms *бегун* “a galloping horse” and *бегач* “a trotting horse”.

A horse also undergoes various activities that have given rise to different lexemes that are used in these activities, e.g. the activity of preparing a horse to function as a means of transportation

7 As was already discussed, a horse represents a connection with supernatural, or out of this planet, as it is an animal whose main role is to transport heavy objects. The cult of fertility and the cult of dead people are related to horses (Tolstoj, Radenkovic, 2001: 280-281).

(*прагац* “to announce leaving”, *зубадлац* “to calm a person down”), blocking the horses’ legs to prevent it from escaping while being saddled (*нутац* “to stop a person’s movement or improvement”, *путац* “to stumble”), cleaning it (*окефац* “to beat someone up”), horse’s equipment (*подкова* “a piece of fish shaped like a horse-shoe”). This category also includes ways of communicating with a horse, *зога* “to order a person / wait, stop talking”. This also suggests a horse’s inferior role, i.e. its role of serving a person that is typical for all domestic animals.

In the past, metaphorical processes might have been influenced by the mythological view of a horse as suggested in the formation the names of certain games ([бавиц ше] *на коні* “a game of imitating the harnessed horses”, [бавиц ше] *на коніки* “a game of riding a wooden stick”).

The image of a horse in the linguistic image of the Ruthenians can also be seen through personification. Ruthenians perceive a horse as an animal that can have a bad character or act capriciously (*поган* “a horse with bad character”, *зноровиц ше* “a capricious behavior of a horse”). The practice of refraining from eating certain foods during the Christian Lent is ascribe to a horse (*коньски пост* “to give worse or stale food/corn to horses”).

In the Ruthenian’s phraseological image of the world, the most striking characteristic of a horse is its function (*спуциц ше з кефетика* ‘to free oneself from a harness’, *вжац/тримац дєплови до /своіх/ рукох* ‘to hold/take the reins in one’s own hands’, *тримац дєплови у обисцу* ‘to hold the reins in a household’, *вируциц (дакого) зоз шедла / вилєциц зоз шедла* ‘throw someone out of the saddle / fly out of the saddle’, *ані прагац ані шедлац* ‘neither for harnessing nor for saddling’, *виробени як конь (вол)* ‘as tired as a horse (an ox)’, *вистал як поштарски конь* ‘to be tired as a post rider’s horse’, *робиц (цагац) як конь* ‘to work/to pull like a horse (ox, buffalo)’, *дац (чєрац) коня за матарца* ‘to trade a horse for a donkey’, *спаднуц з коня на матарца (осла)* ‘fall off a horse onto a donkey’, *як зога и пр* ‘like *hoha* (a Ruthenian exclamation for a horse) and *pr* (a truncated form of a Soviet (Russian and Ukrainian) exclamation for a horse)’, *доброго вайчака перше зрадзи вид а вєц другє* ‘a good stallion first loses its vision and then everything else’, *ходзи як францияш* ‘he/she walks like knock-kneed horse’) or its typical behavior (*бежац як гачє опрез друка* ‘to run towards something like a foal runs to the front of a carriage’, *забула кобула же и вона дараз гачє була* ‘a mare forgot that it, too, was once a foal’, *змухавел ше як конь* ‘he is nervous like a horse defending itself against flies’). Some phraseologisms are related to the myth-

ical role of a horse or its equipment, which again suggest that its primary importance is seen in its function (*ма подкову* 'he/she has a horseshoe', *буц на коню (коньове)* 'to be on horseback').

SHEEP

Based on the results of the verbal association for the field *sheep*, the most salient characteristic of a sheep is its function, i.e. the products derived from this domestic animal (*wool; cheese; sweater; milk; stew*). This is confirmed by the responses to the stimulus *That would be a good sheep if it had (a lot of wool 10; wool 10; more wool 8; lambs 5)*.

The important characteristic of a sheep is also that it belongs to the category recognized by the co-hyponyms (*ram; lamb*) and hypernyms (*domestic animal - livestock - useful to man because of milk, meat and wool; livestock*). Some other typical characteristics that are related to sheep also include their appearance (*white; cloud; stink; shaggy*), behavior (*tame*), the sound that it emits (*baa*), the space it is kept in (*meadow, in pen*), the kind of food that it eats (*grass; hay*). Sheep's behavior also triggered some stereotypical views (*brainless; naivety; watches television; singing*).

Similar salient characteristics are also seen in the material of nominations. Metaphorical and metonymic extensions with the source domain of the domestic animal SHEEP show that in Ruthenian's linguistic image, the central characteristic of sheep is their appearance, i.e. the white color of the sheep wool (*овци* "white clouds in the sky", *баранчата* "small white clouds in the sky", *багнітка* "the ceremonial wooden stick in Christianity", *баранчики* "a flower with small blossoms *primula veris* l.", *овчи ретик* "a plant", *баранов язык* "a plant with oval and smooth leaves", *баранче* "food made out of this animal"). The reference to the appearance of a small sheep, i.e. a lamb, in the form of an object as a type of food made for a Christian holiday exhibiting the iconic look of this domestic animal which has special importance in the Christian tradition (*баранче* "a food shaped like this animal"). An important function of sheep can be seen in the nomination *пирханє* "intercourse between people".

Ruthenians also perceives sheep as intellectually immature, especially when referring to a young person that resembles a young and immature sheep (*токльов* "intellectually immature young person"). The possibility of insulting a person by using the term *sheep* also confirms that this animal is seen as intellectually immature and naive. These images were probably triggered by the tame

behavior of a sheep that makes it look naive.

The Ruthenian's phraseological imagery shows that the striking characteristics of a sheep are its behavior (*мирни як баранче (ягнятко)* 'as calm as a lamb', *набрац (навишац, натрепац) на себе як баран на роги* 'to load oneself as much like a ram loads its horns', *заблукана (страчена) овца* 'a wandered (lost) sheep'), and appearance (*стари баран але роцок тварди* 'an old ram but with a hard horn', *баранчата на небе* 'lambs in the sky', *вовк у овчей (баранчецовей, ягнятковей) скори* 'wolf in the sheepskin' (lambskin)').

GOATS

The frequency of the associates within this association verbal field shows that the salient characteristic of a goat is its function which is to provide food (*milk; cheese; goat cheese and maybe on the spit; soap; kids (коцце); seven kids*).

This is confirmed by the most frequent responses to the stimulus *That would be a good goat if it had (milk 18; kids 17)*.

The appearance of a goat is also an important characteristic. This refers primarily to color (*white; belka⁸; sweet*), but also its body parts (*a beard; beard; udder; horn; horns*). Additionally, a goat's behavior is also of high importance (*sweet, little one how nice did she jumps; graze; climbing; jumps; cuddly*), goat's voice (*bleats; maa; bleat*), as manifested in the stereotypical views of a goat (*happy; boredom; naivety*). Its hierarchical place puts the goat among the other animals in the same category (*goat; he-goat; kids (коцце); he-goat; kids (kozljatko); buckling*), or the superordinate category (*domestic animal - livestock - it is useful to man because of milk, meat and skin.; herd; livestock*).

Based on the metaphorical extensions with the source domain *goat*, it can be seen that the important characteristic of a goat is its appearance, which is why many objects with four legs are named after this domestic animal (*кози* "a four-legged object used for putting a baby to sleep", *коза, кожлік* "a table with four legs", *коза* "a four-legged table", *кожлік* "an exercise equipment with four legs"). This can refer to the whole animal (*цан* "a mistake made when weaving"), or one characteristic body part (*кожи/кози цицки* "a type of grapes"). An important characteristic in appearance is also seen in the metonymical extension *баранче* "a food made out of this animal".

As with all the other domestic animals, a goat is seen as unintel-

8 White she-goat.

ligent and it is insulting to be compared to one (*коза* “degradation of a person”).

The phraseologisms with the domestic animal *goat* show that its most striking characteristic is its function (*и коза сита и капуста цала* ‘the goat is full and cabbage is untouched’, *патри як коза зарезана* ‘he is staring like a slaughtered goat’, *пришла коза под нож* ‘a goat came under a knife by itself’, *любиц дакого як коза нож* [*а фаркаи капуста*] ‘to love someone like a goat loves a knife [and a wolf loves cabbage], *я о коже ти о божје* ‘I’m talking about goat, and you are talking about God’, *баба гоні кози* ‘grandma chases goats’).

DONKEYS

The external and assumed internal characteristics (of the character, traits) are the most common associations triggered by the stimulus *donkey*. The associates with this connotation are the following: *a game, stupid as a donkey, stupidity, dumbass, sad, proverb, clumsy, quarrelsome, old, stubborn, stubbornness, dullness, cuddly, persistent, persistence, suffer, black*. Such a view of a donkey results from the behavior and nature of this domestic animal. Another striking characteristic seems to be the appearance of a donkey (*ears, big ears*), behavior, or the sounds it emits (*hee-haw (ua), hee-haws, bellowing, whinny*), its place in the hierarchical system of categories, hypernyms (*animal, domestic animal, ungulate, livestock*), and co-hyponyms (*she-ass, donkey colt, hinny, mule, donkey (osel), foal*), or members of other categories (*foal, horse*).

Also, the associates that depict the function of this animal are common. A difference can be seen in the function of carrying heavy cargo (*carrying load, carry the load and leads sheep, load, pulls, pulls load, hard work*), leading sheep (*led the flock, lead sheep, domestic working animal, a sheep, sheepdog, help with sheep, sheep guardian*), the place it is kept in (*sheep pen, manger, meadow*), and products from a donkey (*milk*).

The responses to the stimulus that examines the domain *That would be a good donkey if it had* (*strength 6; brain 5; strong back 4*) show that the striking characteristic of a donkey is its function, but they also uncover the stereotypical view of a donkey as stupid.

From the examples of the metaphorical mappings where the source domain is a DONKEY, as well as in the association test, it can be seen that Ruthenians see it as an unintelligent domestic animal (*и-а* “you’re so stupid”, *магарцац* “insult and call someone a donkey”, *магарец/магаруца* “degradation of a person”). This view is based on the behavior and function of a donkey. These important

functions have also given rise to the name of a game [*бавиц ше*] на *матарци* “a game of jumping over other players”. We can see the typical function of a donkey in associates related to carrying cargo (*матарец* “an object for hanging clothes on”), the typical sounds that it makes (*матарчи кашель* “a strong and dry cough”), and the character of a young donkey (*матарче вайцо* “a small rubber ball for playing”). The animals that do not have a lot of use for a person are seen as the ones with many negative traits (e.g. a dog or a donkey).

The phraseological image, formed based on the small number of phraseologisms, shows that the typical traits noticed by Ruthenians are a donkey’s behavior (*твардоглави як матарец* ‘as stubborn as a donkey’, *упарти як матарец* ‘as persistent as a donkey’), function (*стої як матарец медзи овцями* ‘he/she stands like donkey among sheep’, *ані осла ані посла* ‘neither a donkey nor an envoy came’), and appearance (*стари як стари матарец* ‘as old as an old donkey’, *правиц (робиц) з дакого матарца* ‘to make someone look like donkey, i.e. stupid’, *яка у царици така у матарици* ‘it is the same in (the possession of) a Tzar’s wife and in (the possession of) a she-ass’).

The category of poultry

CHICKENS

The association test shows that Ruthenians see a chicken as a domestic animal whose main function is to provide different products that people consume (*eggs; egg; meat; feathers; orange feathers and eggs; soup; lays eggs and gives meat*).

The answers to the stimulus *That would be a good chicken if it had confirmed the importance of this function of a chicken (eggs, an egg, an egg like an ostrich’s (if it laid eggs)/chicks* 21; *a lot of eggs* 8; *chicks* 7).

This domestic animal is seen as a member of the same category as its co-hyponyms (*rooster; chicken; chickens*), and as a member of the subordinate level category of hypernyms (*poultry; poultry (drobizg); domestic animal - poultry (drobizg) - it is used for food - meat; eggs*). Chickens exhibit characteristic behaviors (*scratched out the garden; pushes with foot; lays eggs and gives meat; scratched out garden; scratches respectively; scratching*) and emit distinguishable sounds noises they make (*clucks (кокода /kokoda/); clucking*). The image of a chicken as stupid (*stupid*) was formed on the basis of its behavior. Another salient characteristic of a chicken is the place where it is kept (*chicken coop*). The responses frequently involved expressions of sympathy for chickens because of the way their lives end in order to fulfill their main function as a source of food

(I feel so sorry for it, dear one).

The analysis of nominations related to the concept of a chicken showed that the metaphorical, metonymical, and metaphonymic extensions with this concept as the source or target domain are most often based on its appearance (*кура риц* “a skin disease”, *курчецово / кури перши* “a deformity of a person’s chest”, *когутів гребень* “a plant with a flower that resembles a comb”, *гребень когута* “a rooster’s body part”, *когуцик* “an object that shows the direction of the wind, shaped like a rooster”, *когуцик* “an object on an iron”, *когуцик* “an object on a measuring scale”, *мендюши* “growths on a chicken’s head”, *остроги* “chicken’s body part”, *когуцик* “boy’s haircut”, *когуцик* “an object on a gun”, *пирко* “meat from chicken’s breasts”, *гніздо* “a place for raising, nurturing children”).

A salient characteristic that makes a chicken recognizable can also be the specific sound it produces (*кукурайкац* “to talk loudly”, *кракориц ше, кукурайкац, коткодац* “to nag”). For Ruthenians, the behavior of a chicken is also important (*куруплах* “a scared person”, *кура война* “a fight about something unimportant”), as well as a specific characteristic related to its visual system (*курушлеп* “a problem with seeing”).

The phraseological analysis shows that Ruthenians recognize chickens’ behavioral patterns (*легац (спац) з курами* ‘to go to sleep with chickens’, *шедзиц як квока [на вайцох]* ‘he/she sits like broody hen on eggs’, *чвиркац як квока* ‘to squirt like a broody hen’, *круци ше як кура з вайцом* ‘to move around like a hen with an egg’, *замервиц ше (зашпотац ше) як курче до клоча* ‘to tangle up like chicken in hemp tow’, *як кед би спаднул з бантох* ‘as if he had fallen from a roof beam in the henhouse’, *озда сом не спаднул з бантох* ‘I didn’t fall down from a beam in the henhouse, did I?’, *войсц як курче до помийох* ‘to enter like a chicken in a swill, pigwash’), and the characteristics or poor eyesight (*пришкапело ше му як шлепей кури зарно / и шлепей кури ше уйдзе, зарно* ‘he got lucky like a blind hen that found a grain / even a blind hen sometimes gets a grain’). These behavioral patterns were also the basis for the construction of the image of a chicken as unintelligent, (*розуми ше до дачого як кура до пива* ‘to know one’s way around something like a hen knows its way around beer’, *розум як у курчеца* ‘to have a small brain like a chicken’).

A chicken represents something important to its owner, as can be seen from the phraseologisms (*обрац дакого як куру до гарчка* ‘to completely pluck off someone like a chicken to be cooked in a pot’, *йому кура а мне вайцо* ‘a hen to him and a egg to me’).

GEESE

The association test showed that the salient characteristics that make this animal recognizable are the products that are derived from them as well as their function (*white feathers; egg; neck /gagor/; pillow; neck /kark/; grease; liver; feathers; small feather; lays eggs and gives meat and feathers*). The most frequent answers to the stimulus *That would be a good goose if it had* (*goslings 15; a lot of feathers (goslings, meat) 6*) confirmed the importance of this characteristic function. At the same time, some of these characteristics show that the appearance of a goose is also what makes this animal stand out from the others (*neck /gagor/, neck /kark/; feathers; small feather; white feathers; aggressive; white; white color; big (f); little sweet shits*). Again, like many other animals, a goose is perceived as unintelligent (*pride; naivety; does not return texts; stupid; stupidity*).

The concept of a goose has a dedicated position in the hierarchical system of categories. This concept is endowed with co-hyponyms derived from function (*goslings; gosling; sweet little gosling; gander*) as well as superordinate members, hypernyms (*domestic animals; poultry (drobizg); poultry*). The place in which these animals are kept is another salient characteristic of geese (*Kerestur; market; at neighbor's chicken coop; meadow*). Closely related to this is the characteristic need of a goose to be close to the water (*splashing water; water; hemp retting pond; water-in the hemp retting pond; fishpond*).

The reason for perceiving a goose as stupid might be the noise it makes which can be intense and annoying. The reactions with the association for the voice of a goose are relatively common (*ga ga (honking); honking; screams*).

The material with nominations derived from this concept shows similar results. A salient characteristic of a goose is its behavior, mainly the typical sound it produces (*гарац* “the name of the animal”, *гарац* “to talk loudly”), or the behavior towards the offspring (*[бавиц ше] на гушата* “a game of catching and imitating goslings”). Ruthenians see a goose as unintelligent which is why they use it to insult another person (*гунар, гуска* “a stupid person”, “degradation of a person”).

The appearance of this animal, that is, its yellow-colored offspring, triggered the naming of a plant where the source domain is the gosling with the prototypical and characteristic yellow color (*гушатково квице* “a yellow-colored flower”, *гуска* “a meal made of this animal”).

The function that a goose performs represents another salient characteristic. This animal is raised for its meat that people use as food, which is why it is fed more than what would be sufficient (*клюкац* “to forcefully feed (gavage) a child”).

The number of phraseologisms where the source domain is the domestic animal goose is not very extensive, but it shows that Ruthenians recognize this animal based on its external appearance (*жовти як гуше* ‘yellow as a gosling’), its ability to handle the water well (*як кед на гуску води плюнєш / як на гуску води сипац* ‘like when you splash water on a goose’) and its function, i.e. the provision of meat resulting in its excessive feeding (*не за гуски шено* ‘hay is not food for geese’).

TURKEYS

Based on the verbal association field *turkey*, it can be seen that Ruthenians emphasize the food products that are derived from this animal turkey, suggesting that its salient characteristic is its function (*drumstick /batak/; breast meat; medallions; canned meat; meat; lays eggs and provides meat; feathers; turkey meat; drumsticks; drumstick /scehno/; soup*). The place in which turkey’s are raised is not different from the other domestic animals in the category POULTRY (*yard, back yard, hen house*) and it shows that the function of this domestic animal is one of the most important characteristics. This is confirmed by the responses to the stimulus *That would be a good turkey if it had* (*poults 14; big drumsticks 4*).

As in the case of other domestic animals, turkeys have their own position within the hierarchical category of domestic animals. This includes co-hyponyms (*poults; poult; gobbler*), hypernyms (*domestic animal - poultry (drobizg) - it is used for food - meat, eggs; poultry (drobizg); poultry; rare poultry*), hyponyms (*Paziin*), or names of the member of similar categories (*a peacock*).

The description of the appearance of this type of animal is also a common association (*big (f); colorful; tail*). *A turkey’s behavioral patterns* are one of the striking characteristics as well (*leg movement; is grazing grass; spread tail (of turkey cock); slowness*).

The typical behavioral patterns associated with turkeys are connected to the sounds that they produce (*it’s very loud; gobbling; gobble; блблблблбл /blblblblbl/; loud; noise; пуль пуль пуль /pulj pulj pulj/*). A frequent, typical, and intensive sound a turkey makes is associated with low intellect or negative characteristics that are typically transferred to women through a metaphorical mapping. In the linguistic image of contemporary Ruthenians, a turkey is

seen as intellectually immature and timid (*stupid; stupidity; proud; fear; gossipy girl; laughter*). As in the case of previously discussed domestic animals, some responses are quite stereotypical.

There are not a lot of nominations where the source domain is the domestic animal turkey. Yet, they suggest that one of the typical characteristics that make a turkey recognizable is its appearance (*пульчи нос* “a plant with a tube-like shape of flowers”, *пулька* “a food made out of this animal”).

The domestic animal turkey appears only twice in our collection of phraseologisms, and both of them reference male members of this species (1.13%). These phraseologisms show that the salient characteristic of a turkey is its appearance (*нагнівани (надуті) як пуляк* ‘as angry (puffed up) a gobbler’, *спуциц нос як пуляк* ‘to put one’s nose down like gobbler’).

DUCKS

Based on the results of the association test, it can be seen that the salient characteristic of a duck is its behavior, mainly the need to be close to the water (*mud; pond; frolic in the water; bathing; bathing in water; swims in the hemp retting pond; swimming; puddle; puddles; good swimmer; dirty water; bathtub*), the sound it produces (*quack quack, talebearer*), and the way it moves (*clumsy; slowness; walk, trampling like a duck, walks funny*).

The place of a duck in the hierarchical system of categories is also an important characteristic that makes this type of domestic animal stand out. In this group, we can differentiate between co-hyponyms (*gander; yellow ducklings; ducklings; duckling; drake*), hypernyms (*domestic animal - poultry (drobizg) - it is used for food - meat, eggs; poultry (drobizg); poultry; bird*), and members of other categories (*wild (duck)*).

In addition to the behavior and the place in the hierarchical system, another salient characteristic of a duck seems to be its appearance (*white; dirty one; beak, the nose*), and the function, or the products derived from this domestic animal (*egg; grease; meat; lays eggs and gives meat; roast; roast duck; feathers; drumstick; soup*).

The importance of the duck’s function is also seen through the responses to the stimulus *That would be a good duck if it had (ducklings (meat, feathers) 14; eggs)*.

The domestic animal duck, like the domestic animal turkey, was the source domain for the nominations derived from both metaphorical or metonymic mappings. Again, like a turkey, a duck is recognized based on its appearance, especially its beak, which is

why a plant was named *качи писки* “a plant with a tube-like shape of the flower” or the appearance of this domestic animal as a whole (*качка* “a food made out of this animal”).

Out of four phraseologisms related to a duck, three refer to this animal's offspring, a duckling (*мокри (змокнути) як каче* ‘as soaked as a duckling’, *бежац як каче (качата) за ягоду* ‘to run like a duckling (ducklings, gosling) after mulberry’, *не за качата мачанка* ‘sauce is not food for ducklings’). The phraseologism involving a DUCK as the source domain is a result of the precedent text (*правиц ше [на] злату качку* ‘pretend to be a golden duck’). Based on this phraseologism, it can be seen that Ruthenians recognize a duck because of its typical behavior (*мокри (змокнути) як каче* ‘sopping wet as a duckling’, *бежац як каче (качата) за ягоду*), and its function to be raised for products that its owners use for food (*не за качата мачанка* ‘sauce is not food for ducklings’).

RABBITS

The field of verbal associations defined by the concept of a *rabbit* shows that, nowadays for Ruthenians, a salient characteristic of the animal denoted by this concept is its behavior (*in a field; makes damage to a field; runs across the field; to play; runs; nibble*). A rabbit has a characteristic appearance (*big ears; beautiful fur; soft fur; soft; ears; with big ears; tail*) and physical traits (*speed; fast; speed /friškosc/; fast /friški/; fast as rabbit*).

The stereotypical view of a rabbit as timid has been formed based on these salient characteristics (*afraid of everything; scared; coward*).

Another important piece of information in the conceptualization of a rabbit involves its place in the hierarchy of categories. These are the hypernyms *domestic animal - it is used for a food - meat; domestic animal; pet* and co-hyponyms (*bunnies; a bunny; male*).

Apart from the use that people derive from rabbits, i.e. its products, (*provides meat for food; rabbit meat; meat; stew, I feel sorry to eat it; is dear; white wine*), we also identified responses related to the place in which they are kept (*small meadow; meadow; field; cage*) and food it eats (*lettuce; carrot; grass*). All of these responses show that another salient characteristic of a rabbit is its function that brings some kind of benefit to a person.

A rabbit is recognized by its appearance, mainly its ears (*заячи уха* “a plant with wide, long and teardrop-like shaped leaves, usually covered in small hair”), and paws (*заяча талпа* “a plant with heart-shaped leaves”). The metonymic extension *rabbit* “a food made

out of this animal” also shows that appearance is the rabbit’s important function. A rabbit is also viewed as overly frightful (*rabbit* “a scared person”).

The phraseological image created based on the small number of phraseologisms shows that a rabbit’s important characteristic is its behavior (*сцєкац як заяц* ‘to run like a rabbit’, *снац як заяц* ‘to sleep like a rabbit’, *робота нє rabbit - нє сцєкнє (нє одскака)* ‘work is not a rabbit - it will not hop away’), *(швидки (фришки) як заяц* ‘as fast as a rabbit’), *(з єдним вдереньом /забиц/ два заяци (мухи)* ‘to kill two rabbits (flies) with one strike’), *(з нїм нє влатиш заяца* ‘you will not catch a rabbit with him’).

The category of pets

DOGS

The contemporary Ruthenian world image observed from the association test stereotypically recognizes a dog as faithful (*fidelity; loyal /virni/; loyal /verni/; a friend /prijatelj/; a friend /tovariš/; best friend; man’s loyal friend; a loyal friend /virni prijatelj/; loyal friend /virni tovariš/*). Its function is to protect the home (*it is good to have it in a courtyard; thieves, guards, guards the home, guardian, guardian of the household; announces when someone comes and guards the household*) or entertain the owner and bark (*playing; play; barking; barks; woof woof; Maza; tail wagging; chasing*). The typical behavior of a dog is also its function in this case.

A dog is recognizable based on its connection with hypernyms *pet /kućni ljubimac/; domestic animal (- for the benefit of the household)*, hyponyms (*brown vizsla*), co-hyponyms (*dog; bitch; puppy; puppies*), and members of other categories (*cat*).

This domestic animal has a characteristic place in which it is kept (*yard; dog house; household; home; message*). The development of a connection with the owner is also a typical property of a dog (*Bruno; my dog; my dear; wise; sincerity; joy; acceptance*). The reaction *Maza* is the result of the precedent texts based on the animated movie *Lady and the Tramp*, which also denotes the fulfillment of the function of the dog. As can be observed from the association test, the traditional function of a dog has changed. Nowadays, a dog is not only a guard, but also a domestic animal-friend towards which people develop stronger feelings (like in the case of other pets) than towards animals belonging to categories such as LIVESTOCK OR POULTRY.

Typical concepts related to a dog are *lice*; *bone*; *chain*; *fur* which are seen as a description of a dog, or its characteristic appearance.

In the nomination a dog is also perceived as a reference points for comparisons indicating low value or negative traits (*ниша риба* “stage of development of a frog”, *затишец* “stunned”, *ниша вишня* “poisonous plant”, *нише грозно* “poisonous plant”, *бабин пец* “caterpillar”, *сука* “degradation of a person”). Such a stereotypical image of a dog might be based on the relatively low usefulness of a dog compared to other domestic animals.

Among the salient characteristics we also observed a dog’s function (*патканьоши*, *патканьошка* “the name of the animal based on the goal, where the goal is to catch a rat”, *бойтар* “a dog that helps a shepherd”, *пишчок* “an object that holds a gate on the ground”), appearance (*пиши уха* “a plant with long or round leaves usually covered in short hair”, *бундаши* “uncombed hair of a person”), and voice (*брехун* “a loud mouthed person”).

Ruthenian’s phraseological world image shows that a dog is perceived to be a domestic animal with negative traits. All phraseologisms can be grouped into a couple of basic characteristics that describe a typical dog. These include its behavior (*не вер псу (псови) ані кед шти* ‘don’t trust the dog even when it’s asleep’, *поишол пишим лицом* ‘he left with a dog face’, *пойси як пец з косцу* ‘to leave like a dog with a bone’, *спац як бундаши* ‘to sleep like a lazy dog’, *пуц пса под стол виграбе ше на стол* ‘leave a dog to go under a table, and it will climb on top of it’, *ані пец на хвост би не позберал* ‘even a dog would not collect it with its tail’, *пец пса позна* ‘a dog knows another dog’, *ані пец би го не пребрехал / не пребрехал би го ані пец* ‘not even a dog could out bark him’, *пец хтори вельо бреше, не куса* ‘a dog that barks a lot, does not bite’, *ані пец не збрехне на ньго* ‘not even a dog would bark at him’) and the function which is double-sided. The function of protecting the home is inherited from the traditional images of a dog ((*с*)*пуциц ше з ланца* ‘free oneself from a chain’, *веси на порвазку (на ланцу, за руку)* ‘to lead the dog on a leash’, *гладни як пец* ‘to be as hungry as a dog’, *як пец на ланцу жиц* ‘to live like a dog on a chain’, *жиц [себе] як пец на паздзерчу* ‘to live like a dog on a hemp residue’, *ані пса би человек не вигнал вонка* ‘to defecate/cow dung to someone’, *набиц дакого як пса* ‘to beat someone like a dog’, *руц то за псами* ‘throw that after dogs’, *швечи му як псови дзвончок* ‘it suits you like a cowbell on a dog’, *швечи му як псови пията нога* ‘it suits you like a fifth leg to a dog’, *треба му як псу (псови) колік* ‘he needs it like a dog needs a stake’, *не будзе зоз пса сланіна [лем више пишина]* ‘there won’t be any bacon from a dog’, *вистал як югаски пец* ‘to be tired as

a shepherd's dog'). This function shows that the owner does not obtain any products from a dog, as he does from a cow for example, so it does not have a high value for the owner. Since a dog represents low qualities, in the process of personification, people are compared to dogs based on, lying (*цигані як пес* 'he/she is lying like a dog') and anger (*нагнівал ше (нахмурел ше, нагнівани) як бабов пес* 'as angry as a grandmother's dog'), but is also faithfulness (*вирни як пес* 'as faithful as a dog'). The last personified trait of the dog (faithfulness) appears to be related to its second function as a pet or a friend (*пес човеков најлешти приятель* 'dog is mens best friend').

CATS

Based on the answers from the association test, it can be observed that a salient characteristic of a cat is its behavior (*playing, pampering, catching mice, cuddling /mazenje/; предзе; licking itself; dexterity; milk; meow; meowing; next to the stove*).

The stereotypical image of a cat were formed based on its behavior (*boredom; evil; jerk; cunning; affability; dear; caress; the dearest one; girl friend; proud; perfidy; slyness; spoiled; seven lives; sun; sleeping; ingratiating; ingratiates itself, cuddly /umilna/; cuddly /umiljata/; cuddling*).

A cat is also recognized by its body parts (*eyes; fur; hairs; paws; tail*), or the typical place in which it is kept (*home; wall; opened door; armchair*). The reason behind a larger number of responses describing the behavior or appearance of a cat is that nowadays it is more common for a cat to be perceived as its owner's friend and its value is derived from entertainment. The remnants of the traditional function where a cat was supposed to catch mice are also observed (*catching mice (mouse); mouse f /miša/; mouse m /miš/*). Remarkably, the associate *independent poultry* reveals the place of a cat in a rural household, where poultry and small animals need to be taken care of and fed, but a cat can fend for itself by catching mice.

The place of a cat in the hierarchy separates this domestic animal from the others. The categories include both hypernyms (*domestic animal (- useful in the household; it should catch mice); pet /kućni ljubimec/; pet /ljubimec/*) and co-hyponyms (*tomcat; little tomcat; kittens; kitten*).

A small number of nominations show that a salient characteristic of a cat is its appearance (*мачков/мачи хвост* "a plant with a grape-like shape of flowers") and behavior (*[бавиц ше] на шлети мачки* "a game of hide and seek", *мачка* "an anchor on a boat", *железна мачка* "an object used to take out things from a deeper water", *железна мачка* "an object used for catching wild animals").

Based on the concepts derived from the concept of a cat, it can be seen that Ruthenians perceive a cat as greedy, overly sensitive, manipulative, and, consequently, a cause of poor relationships among other members of the household. These associations are triggered by a cat's character (*злагодзиць ше як пес и мачка* 'to get along like a dog and a cat', *олізоваць ше як кандур* 'to lick one's own face like a tomcat', *ходзиць (скакаць) як кандур коло колбасох* 'to move and jump like a tomcat around sausages', *кварни як мачка* 'to be as greedy as a cat'), behavior (*як кед мачки на хвост станеш/ стануць мачки на хвост* 'as when you stepped on a cat's tail', *роздарти як маче* 'cries like a kitten', *страцени як маче (як страцене маче)* 'as lost as a kitten', *бавиць ше з даским як мачка з мишу (мишом)* 'to play with someone as a cat plays with mouse', *есць як маче* 'to eat like a kitten'), and function, or the value to the owner (*кед мачки нет, миши по хижи бегаю* 'when cats are away, mice are running around the house', *купиць мачку у меху* 'to buy a cat in a sack', *ані мачку би не увредзел* 'would not even offend a cat').

6.1.2. A comparative overview of the frequencies of the members of categories domestic animal (livestock, poultry, pets)

levels of analysis	nominations	phraseologisms	associations
1	cow (25)	cow (14)	cow (10 ⁹), cow (45 ¹⁰)
2	horse (39)	horse (13)	horse (9), horse (7)
3	pig (13)	pig (14)	pig (10), pig (9)
4	sheep (10)	sheep (7)	sheep (4), sheep (1)
5	goat (10)	goat (7)	goat 0, goat (1)
6	donkey (7)	donkey (7)	donkey (1)
7	chicken (20)	chicken (14)	chicken (5), chicken (47)
8	goose (8)	goose (3)	goose (5)
9	rabbit (4)	rabbit (6)	rabbit (1/0/3 ¹¹)
10	turkey (2)	turkey (2)	turkey (7)
11	duck (2)	duck (4)	duck (6)
12	/	/	guineafowl (2)
13	dog (12)	dog (28)	dog (38)
14	cat (5)	cat (13)	cat (14)

TABLE 1. A COMPARATIVE OVERVIEW OF THE FREQUENCIES OF THE MEMBERS OF CATEGORIES DOMESTIC ANIMAL (LIVESTOCK, POULTRY, PETS)

9 Number of responses to stimulus *domestic animal*.

10 Number of responses to stimuli *livestock, poultry, poultry /drobizg/*.

11 Response *rabbit* occurred three times to stimulus *poultry /drobizg/*. Stimulus *domestic animal* triggered response *rabbit* only once and stimulus *poultry /živina/* haven't induce any response related to *rabbit*.

As was already said, the analysis of nominations and phraseologisms shows an older linguistic image of Ruthenian's world. Based on the frequency of nominations or phraseologisms, we can see that in the past, the prototypical member of the category LIVESTOCK was the domestic animal *horse* (39/13) followed by a *cow* (25/14), *pig* (13/14), *goat* (10/7), *sheep* (10/7), and *donkey* (7/7). The prototypical member of the category POULTRY was the domestic animal *chicken* (20/14), followed by a *goose* (8/3), *rabbit* (4/6), *duck* (2/4), and *turkey* (2/2). The prototypical member of the category PETS was the domestic animal *dog* (12/28), and the less recognizable member was a *cat* (5/13).

It can be noticed that there is a significant difference in the frequencies of the members *horse* (39/13), *cow* (25/14), and *dog* (12/28). When the results of the association test are added to this, it can be concluded that the domestic animal *horse* has lost the place of the prototypical member of the category LIVESTOCK and was replaced by a *cow*. This change was triggered by the fact that nowadays fewer people breed horses, which are being replaced by machinery as means of performing physical labor. This is also the reason behind the change in the function of a horse from an animal used for labor to one that finds its primary function in sports, entertainment, and prestige.

The places of the members of the category POULTRY are almost the same in all three levels of the analysis. There are small differences in frequency between the members of the category *duck* (2/4) and *turkey* (2/2). Additionally, only the association test showed the presence of a domestic animal in the category POULTRY.

Even though this cannot be seen at the levels of nomination and phraseology, the domestic animal *rabbit* seems to be on its way to losing its place in the category of POULTRY. The responses to the stimulus *poultry* do not include this animal and there is only one response to the stimulus *poultry* /*drobizg*/ (archaic). This change is not the result of changes in the function or use of a rabbit, but rather the incorporation of the concepts borrowed from the conceptosphere of Serbian culture.

A dog, on the other hand, is a superordinate member compared to a cat in all three types of materials (12/28). If the responses to the stimulus domestic animal in the associative test are taken into consideration, we can see that the prototypical member of this category is a *dog* (38). A dog also has the highest frequency in the phraseological material (28).

This increase in the recognizability of a dog, in our opinion, is

due to a change in the function of a dog from a guardian of the house to a pet, that is, a friend.

On level of nominalization which is oldest level of metaphorical mappings, a dog still have function of a guardian, while on the phraseological level which is more dynamic, dog slowly takes over function of a pet.

In the overview of the more salient traits of domestic animals, we can see that those are most often the behavior, appearance, function, and place of the domestic animal in the hierarchical system of categories.

The stereotypical representations of domestic animals are based on salient characteristics and are most commonly related to the behavior of a domestic animal or its function. It was noticed that the lower the use for the owner, the more negative stereotypes about that animal are. In that sense, the least useful domestic animals are placed closer to the wild ones¹².

6.1.3. Hedges

The association test shows that the most common response to the stimuli with hedges suggested that the product derived from the animal in question or its function within the household are their most striking characteristics. The typical products derived from domestic animals were mentioned in the responses to the stimuli such as: That would be a good cow if it had - *milk* (29); That would be a good goat if it had - *milk* (18) and *goatlings* (17); That would be a good sheep if it had - *a lot of wool* (10) / *wool* (10); That would be a good pig if it had - *a lot of piglets* (11); That would be a good chicken if it had - *eggs* (21); That would be a good duck if it had - *ducklings* (17); That would be a good goose if it had - *goslings* (15); That would be a good turkey if it had - *poults* (17); That would be a good donkey if it had - *strength* (6).

In that sense, a donkey is defined by its *strength* which is important to fulfill its function. For the domestic animal horse, the most frequent answer was *a good owner*. As has already been mentioned, such a response is related to the function of a horse which is con-

12 The view of animals as stupid, lazy, or smart and hardworking is stereotypical. According to Mislava Bertoša, a person sees the animal as a resource that can be used, and for that reason, marks the domestic animals positively, and the wild ones usually negatively, from the perspective of the useful or harmful animals (Bertoša, 1999: 64).

ditioned upon a good owner.

The importance of function is also confirmed by the responses to the stimulus The function of a domestic animal, whose center of the field of verbal association was *food*.

As we saw, the striking characteristics of domestic animals are usually their function, behavior, and appearance. Such a view of domestic animals is in accordance with their scientific image¹³.

However, there are stereotypical characteristics that are contrary to the scientific image. The stereotypical representations of domestic animals are based on their salient characteristics, most often on their behavior, e.g. the sound that an animal produces can be used to mark it as unintelligent, timidness of a sheep or a goat result in them being perceived as naive. The most common stereotype about domestic animals is that they are unintelligent. Only pigs, rabbits, cats, and dogs do not have this stereotypical marking.

The stereotypical views of domestic animals based on the materials form nomination, phraseology, and association tests are the following:

A cow - unintelligent, of poor character, uncultured, antagonized by the color red, eats a lot;

A pig - aggressive, angry, bad influence on others, greedy;

A horse - unintelligent, impatient, nervous, proud;

A sheep - unintelligent, naive;

A goat - unintelligent, naive;

A donkey - unintelligent, stubborn, persistent;

A chicken - unintelligent, scared, quarrelsome;

A goose - unintelligent, proud-spirited, naive;

A turkey - unintelligent, proud, timid;

A duck - unintelligent, clumsy;

A rabbit - timid;

A dog - unreliable, unfaithful, faithful;

A cat - evil, cunning, proud, kind.

If we compare the stereotypical representations at the level of nomination and phraseological level, on the one hand, and as-

13 Domestic animals are those bred by people for their use, i.e. those domesticated by people to adapt them for their agricultural needs. Other characteristics are being connected to a home and owner, as well as the obedience, bringing an agricultural use and regular reproduction to transfer their traits to the offspring (Krajinović, Čobić, Đinkulov, 2000: 34).

sociations, on the other, we can identify some differences in the images of domestic animals. At the levels of nomination and phraseological image, for example, a cow is viewed as unintelligent, but in the association test, there were no responses to that effect. This might suggest that there has been a change in the image of a cow in Ruthenian's linguistic world image, which could have arisen as a result of the decreasing number of cows in villages.

A pig is depicted as greedy on all levels, but the other stereotypical views (aggressive, angry, bad influence on others) do not appear in the associative test. A horse is depicted as unintelligent of bad character, and capricious only in nominations, and as nervous, impatient and proud only at the phraseological level. The absence of the stereotypical view of a horse suggests that people no longer encounter this animal as frequently.

A sheep is seen as unintelligent and naive at the level of nomination and in the associative material, while at the level of phraseology it also appears as naive. A goat is viewed as stupid at the level of nomination and associative material, and as naive only in the associative test. A donkey, on the other hand, is seen as stubborn and persistent at all three levels while also being viewed as unintelligent at the levels of nomination and associations. A chicken is frightful and quarrelsome in nominations and unintelligent at the level of associations and phraseologisms. A goose is also seen as unintelligent, but in nominations and associations while only on a level of associations is marked as proud and naive. The stereotypical representations of a turkey are found only in the associative material. This domestic animal is presented as unintelligent, gossipy, proud, and timid. The stereotypical views of a duck are also found only in the associative material (*clumsy, gossipy, cuddly*). The stereotypical view of a rabbit as timid is found at all levels of analysis. A dog is seen as devoid of value and usefulness in the nominations. On the level of the phraseological analysis, a dog is seen as someone who cannot be trusted and unfaithful, but also has the opposite characteristics, as faithful, and even a person's friend. Like in the case of the phraseological material, the results of the associative test present an image of a dog as faithful and as a person's friend. The stereotypes about a cat are found only in the associative material (*evil, cunning, proud, kind, has seven lives*).

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