ON POLISH METONYMY-CONDITIONED ZOOSEMY AND ITS UKRAINIAN AND RUSSIAN COUNTERPARTS¹

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The most general aim set to this paper is to delve into new aspects of zoosemic animal metaphorics (zoosemy) in Polish, Ukrainian and Russian. We will examine a new category of animal metaphor where lexical units naming animal body parts undergo the process of metonymisation and are used either with reference to human beings or actions performed by human beings and thus may be said to embody the general schema that may be formulated as (PART OF) ANIMAL IS (PERCEIVED AS) (PART OF) HUMAN BEING/ACTION PERFORMED BY HUMAN BEING.

Zoosemy, metonymy, animal metaphor

Introduction

Zoosemy, also known as animal metaphorisation, is traditionally defined as a mechanism by which animal names come to be employed to designate human characteristics, e.g. John is a lion 'John is a courageous person' (see Kleparski 1997, Kiełtyka 2008). The article is meant to offer an examination of a novel category of zoosemy where lexical items that are primarily employed to name animal body parts undergo the process of **metonymisation** and are used with reference to human beings and/or the actions performed by human beings and thus may be said to embody the general schema (PART OF) ANIMAL IS (PERCEIVED AS) (PART OF) HUMAN BEING/ACTION PERFORMED BY HUMAN BEING. Take, for example, the Pol.² verb uskrzydlić (Ukr. окрилити, Rus. окрылять) – 'to give sb a boost; to inspire, to uplift' – clearly derived from the noun skrzydło 'a wing' (Ukr. крило, Rus. крыло) – that may be used in a number of metaphorical human-specific contexts, such as Lecial jak uskrzydlony 'He ran like the wind' (Ukr. Летів як на крилах, Rus. Летел как на крыльях) which are human-specific and somewhat indirectly testify to the validity of yet another schema UP IS GOOD in the sense of Lakoff and Johnson (1980).

Traditionally, especially in the rhetoric of the Antiquity, metonymy and synecdoche, were customarily treated as distinct figures of speech. Today, there seems to be no unanimous agreement among linguists on the issue of the relation between these two mechanisms discussed here. Some, like Bredin (1984) and Seto (1999), consider synecdoche a distinct process, yet bearing much similarity to metonymy, while others, such as Lakoff and Johnson (1980), Lakoff and Turner (1989), Kleparski (1997), Gibbs (1999), Koch (1999) and Kopecka (2009), treat synecdoche as a specific subtype of metonymy. Thus, one may generalise and say that synecdoche is frequently viewed as a subtype of

¹ The paper is an abridged and modified, but enriched with Ukrainian and Russian examples, version of Kiełtyka (in press). The author of this article would like to express his gratitude to **Professor Grzegorz A. Kleparski** for his contrastive criticism pertaining to an earlier version of this text and to **Doctor Alina Leśkiw**, one of the sources of Ukrainian and Russian examples.

² In this text the names of the languages targeted, that is Polish, Ukrainian and Russian are abbreviated to Pol., Ukr. and Rus., respectively.

metonymy which is related to parts and wholes, whereby either the part represents the whole or the whole represents the part (see Danesi (2000), McArthur (1992:1014), Rayevska (1979:168), among others). In the case of the synecdochic relationship PART FOR WHOLE, and – in particular – one of its realisations (ANIMAL) BODY PART FOR (PART OF) PERSON, the majority of examples that have been registered show the existence of a conceptual mapping between the categories **ANIMAL BODY PART** and **HUMAN BEING**.

Thus, in the pages that follow an attempt will be made to analyse selected historical meaning developments of the type animal/human-specific noun <> animal/human-specific verb which share the feature of resulting from various cases of metonymic projection. The lexical material targeted falls into two major groups. In the first group, the names of animal body parts are the result of deverbal derivation; that is they follow the direction **animal/human-specific verb** > **animal/human-specific noun naming an animal body part.** The latter group visualizes the opposite direction, that is **animal/human-specific noun naming an animal body part > animal/human-specific verb**. For reasons of space, the scope of the paper is limited to the examination of the former group represented by the Pol. verb *oganiać* (Ukr. *відгатяти*, Rus. *отеонять*).

The evaluatively neutral verb oganiać (Ukr. еідгатяти, Rus. отгонять) 'to drive (something) away; to drive away/off' linked to the conceptual sphere **BEHAVIOUR** surfaced in Polish in the 14th century (see *BED*) in the animalspecific sense 'to drive flies away'. Its sense in present-day Polish, that is 'to drive (something) away; to drive away/off' is employed in human-specific applications as in *Oganiał muchy z owoców* 'He drove the flies away from the fruit'.³ Apart from this, the verb in question may also be used together with the reflexive *się*, that is *oganiać się* 'to flick away, to drive off/away' in the animaland human-specific axiologically neutral contexts related to the conceptual zone **BEHAVIOUR**, e.g. *Krowa ogonem oganiała się od much* 'The cow flicked flies away with her tail; *Kijem oganiał się przed atakującymi go wilkami* 'He drove the attacking wolves away with a stick'. When used metaphorically, *oganiać się* acquires the evaluatively negative sense 'to shun, to avoid', e.g. *Czemu się przede mną tak oganiasz*? 'Why do you avoid me so?'.

Notice that in Ukr. and Rus. the above mentioned Pol. sense 'to flick away, expressed drive off/away' by the Ukr. відбива́тися to is (відма́хуватися/відхре́щуватися), відби́тися (відмахну́тися/відхрести́тися) and Rus. отмахиваться 'wave one's hands or arms to drive away from sb, not allow sb to approach'. Interestingly, in colloquial contexts Ukr. відма́хуватися and Rus. отмахиваться acquire the axiologically negative figurative sense 'not to pay attention to sb's words, treat sb with disrespect' again linked to the conceptual sphere **BEHAVIOUR**.

As argued by *BED*, at one point of its history, through the process of **deverbal nominal formation** Pol. *oganiać się* (Ukr. *відганяти* (мухи), Rus. (мух) *отганять*, *отмахиваться* (от налетевших ос)) 'drive something (flies) away' (animal-specific) gave rise to the noun *ogon* (Ukr. *xвіст*, Rus. *xвост*) 'a tail' linked to the conceptual zone **BODY PART** (e.g. *Pies zamachał ogonem*

³ All the Polish examples are, unless otherwise indicated, quoted from *PWN-OXFORD* or *USJP*, the main source of Ukrainian and Russian examples are Балла (1996), Domagalski (2008) and Ожегов and Шведова (1998), respectively, English examples are quoted from the *OED*.

'The dog wagged its tail') which – by **metonymic projection** (synecdoche PARS PRO TOTO) – has acquired the evaluatively neutral sense 'a farm animal' related to the conceptual sphere **DOMESTICATED ANIMAL** (e.g. *Miał trzy świńskie/krowie ogony* 'literally He had three pig's/cow's *tails* > He had three pigs/cows'), as clearly evidenced by its ability to take plural endings.

What is more, the semantics of ogon (Ukr. xeicm, Rus. xeocm) 'a tail' (animal body part) shows that by metonymy-driven zoosemy (synecdoche PARS PRO TOTO) the noun is used in the axiologically negative sense 'a person/people following/tracing others' grounded in the conceptual sphere BEHAVIOUR (e.g. Udało mu się zgubić policyjny ogon 'He managed to lose the police tail (Ukr. позбутися хеоста, Rus. избавиться от хеоста 'to get rid of sb who follows or persues you', e.g. За мной (увяза́лся) хвост 'They have put a tail on me/There is a spy following me')) and when it is contextually modified by the adjective koński as in koński ogon (Ukr. кінський хвіст, Rus. конский xeocm) it is in a metonymic PARS PRO PARS relation (animal body part > human body part) as it stands here for 'a ponytail' linked to the conceptual sphere APPEARANCE (e.g. Czesała córkę w koński ogon 'She did/arranged her daughter's hair in a ponytail', Ukr. зачіска кінський хвіст, зачіска хвіст, зав'язати хвіст, зав'язати кінський хвіст з волосся, Rus. сделать конский xeocm 'to do/arrange one's hair in a ponytail'). Let us point to the fact that in PI. the same sort of relationship seems to hold between ogon 'a tail' (animal body part) and evaluatively negative colloguial ogon 'a penis' (human body part) (see BED, SPP and SEP).

Furthermore, by the process of **diminutivisation** ogon 'a tail' (animal body part) we obtain the derived evaluatively neutral form ogonek 'a little tail' (Ukr. хвостик, Rus. хвостик) (e.g. Piesek zamachał do nas przyjaźnie ogonkiem 'The little dog cheerfully wagged his *tail* at us') which through **metonymic projection** (synecdoche PARS PRO TOTO) gives rise to the diminutive zoosemic axiologically neutral human-specific sense 'a line' (AmE), 'a queue' (BE) linked to the conceptual zone **BEHAVIOUR** (e.g. Stać w ogonku, Ukr. Стояти у самому хвості черги, Rus. Стоять в хвосте очереди/выстра́иваться в хвост 'To queue, to wait in line'), while by means of the relation PARS PRO PARS (animal body part > human body part) the compound mysi ogonek (Ukr. мишачий хвіст, Rus. мышиный хвост/крысиный хвост) (warkocz 'plait') acquires the evaluatively neutral sense 'pigtail' related to the conceptual sphere APPEARANCE (e.g. To wear one's hair in pigtails, Ukr. зачесати волоссячко в хвостики, Rus. сделать хвостик(и) на голове). Additionally, the Pol. noun ogon 'a tail' as well as Ukr. xeicm and Rus. *xeocm* are frequently used in human specific – mainly colloquial – phraseological units related to the conceptual dimension **BEHAVIOUR**, such as, for example, trząść się jak barani ogon 'to be all of a tremble' (see PWN-OXFORD) (Ukr. піджати хвіст, e.g. От чудовий приклад боягузів, котрі здатні лише піджати xeicm 'Here's a great example of cowards who can only pull your tail', Rus. испуганно поджимать хвост 'to tremble because one is frightened'), wlec się/iść/zostawać/znajdować w ogonie 'to fall behind' (Ukr. бути у хвості, Rus. быть/плести́сь в хвосте, e.g. Соседи наш рекорд побили, нас в хвосте ocmasunu. 'The neighbours beat our record and made us fall behind') (see PWN-OXFORD, PSF), mieć ogon 'not to close the door when one enters a room' (see wziąć/skulić/schować/zawinąć ogon pod siebie 'to become SPT). docile.

meek/chicken out' (see PSF) similar to Ukr. nidxamu xeicm 'to run away because one is frightened and colloquial and pejorative Rus. поджать хвост/поджимать xeocm 'become more careful because one is afraid of the consequences'; zjadać/pożerać własny ogon (Ukr. пожирати свій хвіст, e.g. Регіонали відійдуть, поки Тимошенко пожирає свій хвіст⁴ 'Regions recede as Tymoshenko devours her tail') 'to act to one's disadvantage, especially to process/copy one's own academic output' (see SPT), czepiać/uczepić/przyczepić/trzymać się jak rzep psiego ogona 'to pick on/to seize on/to hang on/to latch on (to sth/sb) persistently/importunately/obsessively' (see SFWP) which corresponds in meaning, but not in form to Ukr. mpumamuca ak eou кожуха 'to latch on (to sth/sb) like a louse to a sheepskin coat', trzymać/łapać kilka srok za ogon 'to have many irons in the fire', nie wyleciałem/wypadłem sroce spod ogona 'I'm not just anybody' (see SFWP and PWN-OXFORD), odwracać/wvkrecać kota ogonem 'to twist everything round' (see SFWP, WSF and PWN-OXFORD), nie ma i już, diabeł ogonem nakrył (Ukr. накрив пес хвостом) 'it's just disappeared, vanished into thin air' (see SFWP and PWN-OXFORD).

Notice that the dictionaries of Russian⁵ list a number of colloquial zoosemic contexts in which the noun *xeocm* 'a tail' is metonymically projected as an important constitutive element and its mainly axiologically negative senses are linked to the conceptual sphere **BEHAVIOUR**: (*u*) *e xeocm u e epúey* 'with might and main', *eepmémь xeocmów* 'beat about the bush', *eunámь xeocmów* 'kiss up (to)', *eunьнýmь xeocmów* 'skip out; do a disappearing act', *xeocm eunáem co6ákoŭ* 'it's a case of a tail wagging the dog', *saðpámь xeocm* 'stick one's nose in the air', *Hakpymúmь xeocm* 'chew/bawl out' and 'put ideas into sb's head', *Hacmynámь Ha xeocm komý-n/cudémь Ha xeocmé y kozó-n* 'be/sit on sb's tail', *Hacmynúmь xeocm* 'stice on sb's toes', *noðxámь xeocm* 'have one's tail between one's legs', *noðxáe xeocm* 'with one's tail between one's legs', *pacnycmúmь xeocm* 'spread one's tail', 'strut like a peacock', copóka Ha xeocré npuHecná 'a little bird told me', *ykopomúmь/npuщeмúmь xeocm* 'bring in line (to heel)'.

Additionally, as attested by the dictionaries that have been consulted⁶, in present day colloquial Ukr. one finds a few other phraseological phrases which make use of the noun *xeicm* 'a tail', that is *mpumamu ydavy sa xeicm* (Rus. *depxamb cvacmbe sa xeocm*) 'not let the happiness go way', *mpumamu (depxamu) sa xeicm (sa xeocma)* (Rus. *depxamb sa xeocm*) 'not to give somebody an opportunity to go away', *mpumamu xeicm mpy6oi* 'to be optimistic'.

Finally, as for the proverbial use of *ogon* 'a tail', one may encounter a number of proverbs in which the lexeme in question is a constitutive part. Consider the following proverbs extracted from *WKMP*:

Gdzie ogon rządzi, tam głowa błądzi (Rus. Где хвост начало, там голова мочало) 'The head goes astray where the tail rules' (cf. Rus. Хвост виля́ет соба́кой 'It's the tail wagging the dog').

Kto w ogon wierzy, ten piórko z ogona znajdzie. 'The one who believes in the tail will find a feather from the tail'.

⁴ See http://medua.org/index.php?newsid=1637.

⁵ See www.slovari.ru.

⁶ See Балла (1996) and Domagalski (2008).

Merdanie ogonem znamionuje psa, a nie człowieka (Edward Lipiński). 'Wagging of a tail is typical of a dog and not a person'.

Próżno za ogon chwytać, gdy się wymknie głowa. 'Catching the tail is pointless when the head is away'.

One must not overlook the fact that, according to some etymological sources (see, for example, WSEHJP), the noun ogon 'a tail' (used from the 16th century) is not a derivative of the verb oganiać 'to drive (something) away; to drive away/off', but rather of the verb gonić 'to chase/try to catch' (Ukr. догнати, наздогнати, сісти на хвіст/переслідувати, невідступно слідувати, ходити по п'ятах, Rus. догнать, доганять, сесть на хвост 'follow sb closely, pursue') (used from the 14th century) (e.g. *Pies goni kota* ' A dog tries to catch a cat') and metaphorically 'to pressure, to prod' (e.g. Gonić kogoś do nauki/pracy 'To pressure sb to study/to do some work'; Goni nas czas 'We are running out of time/We're pressed for time' (see PWN-OXFORD)). Additionally, the latter seems to give rise to a number of other derivatives, such as gon 'hunting' (used from the 16th century) (Ukr. нагінка, рискання, Rus. oxoma травля), goniec (Ukr. гінець, Rus. гонец) 'a messenger' (used from the 15th century), goniony (ukr. гнаний, Rus. гонимый) 'past participle form, one being chased' (used from the 15th century), *gończy* (Ukr. гоньчий, Rus. гоньчий) 'used for chasing' (used from the 15th century), gończak (Ukr. гоньча, Rus. гоньчая) 'a hound/a tracking dog' (used from the 19th century), gończarz 'a hunter with hunting dogs' (used from the 19th century). Finally, the noun was frequently used with prefixes, such as the already mentioned above ogon 'a tail' (used from the 16th century), wygon (Ukr. вигін, e.g. Край великого зеленого вигону стояла корчма 'There was an inn at the end of a big, green pasture', Rus. выгон, пастбище 'pasture') 'cattle track' (used from the 16th century), zaon 'exile/death/loss' (used from the 16th century) (e.g. Wszystko niknie po śmierci, kazda rzecz ma zgony 'Everything fades away after death, everything is lost), przegon (Ukr. перегони, Rus. перегонки) 'chasing away' (used from the 17th century).

Conclusion

The most general aim set to this paper has been to delve into new aspects of zoosemic metaphorics in Polish, Ukrainian and Russian. We have examined a new category of animal metaphor where lexical units naming animal body parts undergo the process of metonymisation and are used either with reference to human beings or actions performed by human beings and thus may be said to embody the general schema that may be formulated as (PART OF) ANIMAL IS (PERCEIVED AS) (PART OF) HUMAN BEING/ACTION PERFORMED BY HUMAN BEING.

From the analysed lexical material featuring *ogon* 'a tail' it follows that one may point to some striking similarities between Polish and Ukrainian and in many cases also Russian as far as metonymy-conditioned zoosemy is concerned. It remains, however, for future research whether the degree of similarity is comparable in the case of the zoosemic metonymisation of other lexical items naming body parts.

All in all, one feels entitled to say that broadly understood zoosemy in all its internal complexity is part and parcel of what has been referred to in the literature of the subject as an all-pervasive **Linguistic Picture of the World** where not

only does it show the link between the animal kingdom and the human world, but, more importantly, its ubiquitous linguistic presence facilitates the understanding of various non-linguistic or extralinguistic phenomena.

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