

# A Panchronic Account Of Equine Verbal Zoosemy<sup>1</sup>

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*As postulated by cognitive linguists, the cognitive framework may successfully be applied to the analysis of linguistic phenomena that fall into the area of overlap between synchrony and diachrony; that is those phenomena whose explanation should be sought in language panchrony. The aim of panchrony is thus to account for the overall picture of language and all the processes and mechanisms operating in language. These processes and mechanisms, in turn, mirror our perception of the world.*

**Keywords:** *panchrony; zoosemy; cognitive framework*

## 1. The notion of panchrony

The term *panchrony* was first introduced by Saussure (1916), but his understanding of the concept was entirely different from the ways it is advanced and approached these days. Saussure (1916) regarded language as a static system rather than a dynamic process, and postulated a division between synchrony and diachrony. The great Swiss scholar opted for the synchronic method in language analysis, but admitted the possibility of *panchronistic laws* meant to explain language regularities claiming, however, that [...] *from the panchronic point of view, one cannot reach individual facts of language.*

The importance of panchronic perspective in language analysis is also acknowledged by Ullmann (1957) whose stand on the issue is the following:

It is fairly clear that a ‘panchronistic’ approach is, in certain situations, not only permissible and promising, but inevitable and imperative if some very deceptive pitfalls are to be avoided. The sceptical remarks of many scholars, including Saussure himself, should not act as deterrents but should be heeded as counsels of caution and as warnings against hasty generalizations in matters of such momentous import (Ullmann 1957: 261).

Ullmann’s (1957) understanding of panchrony is similar to that of Saussure (1916) in that the former makes a claim that if panchrony is understood as features or tendencies which are universally present (Saussure’s (1916) *panchronistic laws*), i.e. observable in any language and in any period of development, then research done with the aid of the new method would not be scientifically verifiable.

Much more recently, Łozowski (1999: 32) defines panchrony as a mixture of diachrony and cognition that can be paraphrased as language change set in the context of the evolution of human understanding. On the other hand, Grygiel (2005: 98) expresses the view that since language constitutes a spatio-temporal continuum the only way to describe it is to recognise panchrony as its most objective level of representation.

In contrast, Kleparski and Malicka-Kleparska (1994) and Kleparski (1996, 1997) regard panchrony as part and parcel of interpreting diachronic data in synchronic description and postulate the existence of a panchronic onomasiological dictionary which, in their view,

should contain all historically recorded expressions associated with a given concept at any and all stages of the development of a given language. For example, the data they analyse belong to the historical onomasiological dictionary of the concept BOY interpreted from O.E. to Mod. E. perspective.

As repeatedly postulated by Kleparski (1996), Łozowski (1999, 2000) and Kiełtyka (2008) among others, the cognitive framework may successfully be applied to the analysis of linguistic phenomena that fall into the area of overlap between synchrony and diachrony; that is those phenomena whose explanation should be sought in language panchrony. Since, as cognitive linguists claim, there is no clear-cut boundary between synchrony and diachrony in linguistic investigation, it seems plausible that an adequate semantic analysis of historical data cannot be carried out successfully without reference to both synchrony and diachrony.

In what follows an attempt will be made to formulate some partial conclusions which emerge from a historical analysis of selected aspects of English equine verbal zoosemy (animal metaphor).

## 2. Štekauer's *et al* (2001) model

The major point of reference here is Štekauer's *et al.* (2001) morpho-semantic study of the transfer of animal names to human beings. In their analysis of animal names used with reference to human beings, the authors differentiated five groups into which English naming units can be classified in accordance with the criteria summarised in their paper. In particular, they are based on various combinations of processes of word-formation and semantic formation. The basic patterns discussed by Štekauer *et al.* (2001: 71-73) are reproduced – with only the merest of alterations – below:

### PATTERN I

$N \longrightarrow V$

The basic animal name is converted to a Verb, e.g. *dog* 'Canis familiaris', *to dog* 'to follow closely'.

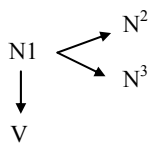
### PATTERN II

$N1 \longrightarrow N2$

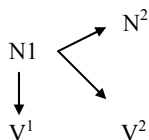
An animal name used metaphorically (semantic formation), e.g. *dog* 'Canis familiaris', *dog* 'an unattractive woman'.

### PATTERN III

A combination of Pattern I and Pattern II. It means that  $N^1$  is a source both for  $N^2$  and  $V$ . This basic pattern features various modifications, for example, *dog* has the following structure of word/semantic formation relations:

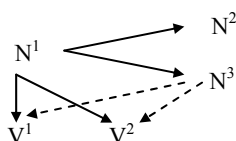


where N<sup>2</sup> means ‘wicked or worthless man’, N<sup>3</sup> ‘fellow’, and V means ‘to follow (sb.) closely and persistently’. If an untransferred meaning is taken into consideration too, the next modification is represented by *eel*:



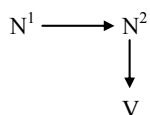
where N<sup>2</sup> means ‘a slippery person’, V<sup>1</sup> ‘to fish eels’ (untransferred meaning), and V<sup>2</sup> ‘to move like an eel’.

A combination of these two modifications is provided by *hound*:

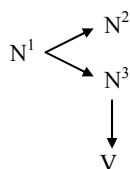


where N<sup>2</sup> means ‘a mean or despicable person’, ‘a person who pursues like a hound, esp. one who avidly seeks or collects something’, V<sup>1</sup> means ‘to pursue with or as if with hounds’, and V<sup>2</sup> ‘to drive or affect by persistent harassing, bait’. The problem here is whether V<sup>1</sup> and V<sup>2</sup> are derived from N<sup>1</sup> or N<sup>3</sup> or both. The possible answer could be that if we adopt a panchronic perspective the direction of derivation may not be so important because senses do not develop in a linear way.

#### PATTERN IV

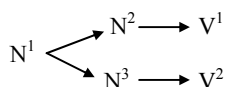


In this pattern, conversion is preceded by semantic formation, although it should be noted that the distinction between Pattern III and Pattern IV is vague in many cases (see Pattern III above). As an example of this pattern, the naming unit *hog* N<sup>1</sup> is first subject to semantic formation which yields N<sup>2</sup> ‘a greedy person’. Subsequently, this meaning motivated the conversion process resulting in *hog* V in the meaning of ‘take more than one’s fair share, selfishly’. An interesting modification of this pattern can be exemplified by *chicken*:



where N<sup>2</sup> means ‘a young woman’, N<sup>3</sup> ‘a coward’, and V ‘to get scared’.

#### PATTERN V



This pattern can be illustrated with the semantics of *bitch*. N<sup>2</sup> means ‘a lewd or immoral woman’, N<sup>3</sup> ‘a malicious, spiteful or domineering woman’, V<sup>1</sup> converted from N<sup>2</sup> means ‘to engage in coitus with’, and V<sup>2</sup> converted from N<sup>3</sup> ‘to make spiteful comments, to grumble’.

In this paper an attempt is made to discuss English verbal equine zoosemy. However, due to the space limitations it is necessary to constrain the ensuing investigation to one of the most spectacular equine developments, specifically the lexical item *horse*. The analysis is carried out in accordance with the mechanisms and patterns postulated during Štekauer’s *et al.* (2001) synchronic analysis of zoosemic phenomena demonstrated above.

### 3. English verbal zoosemy

The Pro.I.E. word for *horse*, \**ek<sup>h</sup>wos* is attested in all the early I.E. languages, for example, L. *equus* ‘a horse’, O.E. *eoh* ‘a horse’, O.Icel. *jør* (see *CEDEL*, *AHDIR* and *ODEE*). The *OED* informs us that the affinities of the word outside Germanic remain uncertain and the conjecture that O.Ger. \**horso-*/Pro.Ger. \**kurso-* was from the root \**kurs-* of L. *currere* ‘to run’ is favoured by many scholars, but other etymological derivations have also been suggested in the literature.

The lexical category *horse* is recorded in English already in the first half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century in the sense ‘a large solid-hoofed herbivorous mammal *Equus caballus*’ (825>Mod.E.). As pointed out by Biedermann (1992: 178), the early Church Fathers found the animal haughty and lascivious because it was said to neigh longingly when it saw a woman.

Throughout cultures, people and horses are often linked, the former being described in terms of the latter, in such areas as virility (*stallion*), fidelity, sensitivity, strength (*work like a horse*), selfishness, anger, stubbornness (*you can take/lead a horse to water, but you can’t make him drink*), stupidity and vanity (*to be/climb on one’s high horse* ‘to assume an attitude of moral superiority’). In psychology it can be the unconscious, subhuman side (see Jaffe 2001).

With respect to the historically primary sense of the word, the analysis of the semantic pole of the O.E. *horse* seems to point to well-pronounced entrenchment<sup>2</sup> links to the attributive paths of the conceptually central **DOMAIN<sup>3</sup> OF SPECIES [...]**, with the element (EQUINE) highlighted, **DOMAIN OF SEX [...]**, for which the sex-specific attributive value (MALE) is activated and **DOMAIN OF AGE [...]** with the conceptual element (ADULT) foregrounded. The conceptual periphery of the analysed sense comprises entrenchment relations to the attributive paths of **DOMAIN OF PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS AND APPEARANCE [...]** and **DOMAIN OF BEHAVIOUR [...]**, for which the attributive values (LARGE)  $\wedge$  (SOLID-HOOFED) and evaluatively tinged (HAUGHTY)  $\wedge$  (LASCIVIOUS) are activated. The diachronically original sense ‘a large solid-hoofed herbivorous mammal *Equus caballus*’ may be documented with the following *OED* material:

c825 Nyllað bion swe swe *hors* & mul in ðæm nis ond...et.  
c1205 þe king..his *hors* he gon spurie.

**1848** Not a *horse* appears on the monuments prior to Thothmes III, who clearly in his conquests brought them from Asia.

In turn, at the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century the semantics of the analysed lexical item entered a metaphorical path and started to be applied contemptuously or playfully to a man, with reference to various qualities of the quadruped (1500>1973).

Rawson (1989: 199) describes the metaphorical *horse* as a big, strong though somewhat stupid fellow, especially a plain or ugly one, a *horseface*. Couched in our methodology, the semantics of *horse* involves entrenchment links to the attributive paths of the **CDs** which determine its conceptual core, i.e. **DOMAIN OF SPECIES [...]**, **DOMAIN OF SEX [...]** and **DOMAIN OF AGE [...]**, with the activation of such attributive values as (HUMAN), (MALE) and (ADULT). Additionally, one must posit the rise of entrenchment relations to the conceptually peripheral **DOMAIN OF MORALITY [...]**, **DOMAIN OF PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS AND APPEARANCE [...]** and **DOMAIN OF ABUSE [...]** with the attributive values (HAUGHTY)^(LASCIVIOUS), (STRONG)^(UGLY), as well as the negatively charged element (CONTEMPTIBLE) clearly activated. The following *OED* quotations document the sense in hand:

**1500-20** Tak in this gray *horss*, Auld Dunbar.

**1596** If I tell thee a Lye, spit in my face, call me *Horse*.

**1648** Your Maior (a very *Horse*, and a Traitour to our City).

**1806** His wife somewhat pretty and amiable..his eldest daughter good-looking, but his youngest a third *horse*.

**1973** It is a joke, isn't it? As far as I know, old *horse*.

In the framework adopted here, senses or readings of words are believed to embody certain conceptual dimensions or spheres, such as *BEHAVIOUR/CHARACTER*, *APPEARANCE/PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS* or *MORALITY*. Therefore, it emerges from our discussion of the historical semantics of *horse* that during the course of the E.Mod.E. period (16<sup>th</sup>>20<sup>th</sup> centuries) the analysed lexical category started to function as a term embodying not only the conceptual dimension *CONTEMPT/OPPROBRIUM* (the association with the element *contemptuous*), but also the conceptual spheres *MORALITY* (the element *lascivious*) and *APPEARANCE/PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS* (the element *ugly*).

Moreover, as evidenced by Wright (1898-1905: 236), *horse* entered a number of semantically human-specific compounds which all testify to its relation to such conceptual dimensions as *BEHAVIOUR/CHARACTER*, e.g. *horse-comber* 'a rude, boisterous girl', *horse-magog* 'a boisterously frolicsome clown', *horse-mallison* 'a person who treats his horse cruelly', *horse-morsel* 'a coarse woman', *horse-of-knowledge* 'a person who knows everything and is always ready with advice'; *PROFESSION/SOCIAL FUNCTION*, e.g. *horse-couper* 'a horse-dealer, of a low type, dealing in inferior horses', *horse-fettler* 'the man who has care of horses in a pit', *horse-gentler* 'a horse-breaker', *horse-hirer* 'one who lets out saddle-horses', *horse-keeper* 'a groom', *horse-knacker* 'one who kills and cuts up old horses', *horse-knave* 'a hostler', *horse-man* 'a servant who has charge of a pair of horses on a farm' or 'a man who attends to and travels with a stallion', *horse-monger* 'a dealer in horses', *horse-setter* 'a horse-dealer' or 'one who lets out horses', *horse-protestant* 'a person indifferent to religion' and *APPEARANCE/PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS*, e.g. *horse-godmother* 'a tall, ungainly, masculine woman', *horse-marine* 'a stout, clumsy person'.

Furthermore, Palmatier (1995: 201) draws our attention to the fact that in Mod.E. a *horselaugh* is a loud, coarse, vulgar laugh: a guffaw. In this respect, the author implies that horses do not laugh, but rather they do sometimes curl back their lips when they neigh, giving the impression of a sardonic smile. Therefore, people who laugh boisterously, spontaneously and unceremoniously convey the impression that they are uncultured or uncivilised, like a horse. This expression seems to show its relation to the conceptual dimension *BEHAVIOUR/CHARACTER*. On the other hand, the context *horse marines* refers to a fictitious seagoing cavalry. Palmatier (1995: 201) explains that horses, and horse soldiers, have been carried on ships since the Age of Exploration began; but the soldiers presumably did not ride their steeds aboard ship and they certainly did not conduct cavalry charges there. By the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, *horse marines* had become a somewhat absurd contradiction linked to the conceptual sphere *PROFESSION/SOCIAL FUNCTION*.<sup>4</sup>

Finally, as pointed out by Rawson (1989: 202), the compound *war-horse* refers to a battle-scarred politician; a musical or dramatic production that has been mounted so many times as to become *hackneyed* and a *wheel horse*; in politics it stands for a party regular – dependable but uninspired – virtually synonymous with the political *war horse*. Note that these two contexts are again related to the conceptual dimension *PROFESSION/SOCIAL FUNCTION*. According to Partridge (2002: 571), in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century *horse* was used in the sense ‘an arrogant or supercilious officer’ (1867>1930) and in the 20<sup>th</sup> century it developed the sense ‘a South African prostitute’s customer’ (1946>?); ‘a prostitute’ (since the 1940s); ‘a casual girl’ (since 1950). Interestingly, in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century a *horse-breaker* was used with reference to a woman hired to ride in the park (1860-1870) and, later, a courtesan given to riding, especially in the park (1864>1915).

The compound *horse thief* ‘a scoundrel’ shows its relation to the conceptual dimension *MORALITY* and it is an example of a collocation where synchrony meets diachrony, because in order to understand the present day English sense of the compound one has to bear in mind that in the frontier days a man’s most valuable possession was his horse. Not only was it his primary means of transportation, tilling and herding, but it was often his only companion. To steal a man’s horse was to steal his livelihood and only a dirty rotten scoundrel would do such a thing (see Palmatier 1995: 204). Thus a *horse thief* is not merely a thief who steals a horse, but one who deprives another man of his livelihood.

In what follows we shall merely analyse those cases in which it is stated in the *OED* that particular verbs are derived from nouns which refer to equine quadrupeds and only those verbs which are used with reference to people, i.e. undergo the process of verbal zoosemy.

According to the *OED* all the verbal senses of *horse* used with reference to human beings are derived from the following nominal ones:

- N<sup>1</sup> ‘a solid-hoofed perissodactyl quadruped (*Equus caballus*), having a flowing mane and tail, whose voice is a neigh. It is well known in the domestic state as a beast of burden and draught, and especially as used for riding upon (825>P.D.E.)
- N<sup>2</sup> ‘a horse and his rider; hence a cavalry soldier’ (1548>?)
- N<sup>3</sup> ‘applied contemptuously or playfully to a man, with reference to various qualities of the quadruped’ (1500-Mod.E.)
- N<sup>4</sup> ‘a lottery ticket hired out by the day’ (1726>1731)
- N<sup>5</sup> ‘among workmen, work charged for before it is executed’ (1770>1823)

#### 4. The discussion of verbal developments

To start with, at the beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> century the verb *horse* acquired the sense ‘to provide with a horse or horses; to set on horseback’ (e.g. **a1100** *ǰær þa warð se here horsad æfter þam ...efeohte.* > **1867** The Danes *horsed* themselves and ravaged the whole western part of the shire)<sup>5</sup> (the shift N<sup>1</sup>>V<sup>1</sup>). This sense seems to represent the conceptual dimension UTILITY.

In the 15<sup>th</sup> century the analysed lexical category started to be employed in the sense ‘to mount or go on horseback’ (e.g. **c1400** *Polidamas..Hors it in hast.* > **1853** He had to *horse* it with guides, and carry all necessaries.), but also ‘to raise or hoist up’ (e.g. **c1460** *Stand nere, felows, and let se how we can hors oure kyng so fre.* > **1637** *If hee tread on the trapp hee is horsed up by the legg, by meanes of a pole that starts up and catcheth him.*) (the shift N<sup>1</sup>>V<sup>2</sup>). The relevant senses may be said to be variously linked to the conceptual dimension UTILITY/LOCOMOTION.

In the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century *horse* started to be used in the sense ‘to carry on a man’s back or shoulders’ (e.g. **c1560** *Madynis..hes their mynōnis on the streit to horsst thaim quhair the gait is ruch.* > **a1843** [The] Irish custom of *horsing* a girl, and then hurling for her, that the winner may marry her’ as well as ‘to elevate on a man’s back, in order to be flogged; hence, to flog’ (e.g. **156387** *The capteine commanded the child to be horsed up and scourged.* > **a1863** *The biggest boy..horsed me—and I was flogged.*) (N<sup>1</sup> > V<sup>3</sup>). This sense seems to represent the conceptual dimension UTILITY/LOCOMOTION.

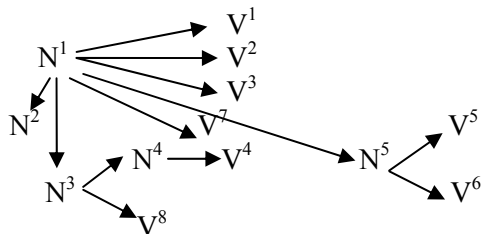
At the outset of the 18<sup>th</sup> century the phrasal verb *horse away* was used in the sense ‘to spend in a lottery’. The *OED* links this sense to the nominal sense of *horse* ‘a lottery ticket hired out by the day’ (e.g. **1731** *Should we behold poor wretches horse away the labour of a twelvemonth in a day.*) (N<sup>4</sup> > V<sup>4</sup>). The sense in hand may be said to embody the conceptual sphere BEHAVIOUR/CHARACTER. Note that this phrasal verb is a good example of a case where synchrony and diachrony meet because it has a scrap of history built into its conceptual structure. In other words, in order to be able to understand the synchronic meaning of the phrasal verb one has to know the 18th century nominal sense ‘a lottery ticket hired out by the day’ it developed from.

The second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century witnesses the rise of the sense ‘to drive or urge at work unfairly or tyrannically; also (*workmen’s slang*), ‘to work to death’, to out-work’ (e.g. **1867** *To horse a man, is for one of two men who are engaged on precisely similar pieces of work to make extraordinary exertions in order to work down the other man.*) (the shift N<sup>5</sup>>V<sup>5</sup>).

In the same century the phrase *horse it* started to be employed in the sense ‘to charge for work before it is done’ (e.g. **1857** *A workman ‘horses it’ when he charges for more work than he has really done.*) (the shift N<sup>5</sup> > V<sup>6</sup>). The above-mentioned senses seem to represent the conceptual dimension BEHAVIOUR/CHARACTER, MORALITY.

At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the word developed yet another verbal sense, that of ‘to make fun of, to ‘rag’, to ridicule; to indulge in horseplay; to fool *about* or *around*. orig. *U.S.*’ (e.g. **1901** *Because we chose to chew his statements and remove the bones before we swallowed them, he developed the idea that we had no interest in the work and were trying to ‘horse’ him.* > **1971** *Two black kids...were horsing around just outside the club*) (the shift N<sup>3</sup> > V<sup>7</sup>). These senses may be said to embody the conceptual dimension BEHAVIOUR/CHARACTER.

Finally, in the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the sense ‘to philander; to sleep *around*’ started to spread in English (e.g. **1952** It isn’t as if I didn’t love her. I’d die for her. Literally. Then why do I have to go *horsing around* with dames? > **1956** She’d be *horsing around* with Nicky, giving me grounds for divorce.) (the shift N<sup>3</sup>>V<sup>8</sup>). This sense may justifiably be linked to the conceptual sphere MORALITY. The panchronic development of the lexical item/concept *horse* can be diagrammed in the following way:



This pattern seems to be an interesting modification of Štekauer’s *et al.* (2001) patterns III, IV and V.

It has to be borne in mind that semantic change should not be viewed as a linear process in that not all the secondary senses develop directly from the original one; some of them may have been influenced by other secondary senses. However, it is not our aim here to speculate which sense-thread developed out of which, but to classify the analysed senses to certain categories according to patterns of nominal/verbal development they seem to resemble.

## 5. Conclusions

One of the easily observable characteristics is that the panchronic analysis of English equine verbal zoosemy shows that, starting with the 16th century, one may observe a change of reference from the dimensions/spheres of UTILITY/LOCOMOTION to BEHAVIOUR/CHARACTER/MORALITY; the dimensions BEHAVIOUR/CHARACTER/ MORALITY seem to be the most productive.

Down the centuries the process of verbal zoosemy seems to be relatively equally productive at all stages of the history of English. The number of secondarily (i.e. metaphorically) motivated conversions (N<sup>3</sup> > V<sup>7</sup>, N<sup>3</sup> > V<sup>8</sup>, N<sup>4</sup> > V<sup>4</sup>, N<sup>5</sup> > V<sup>5</sup>, N<sup>5</sup> > V<sup>6</sup>) exceeds the number of derivations from the primary senses (N<sup>1</sup> > V<sup>1</sup>/V<sup>2</sup>/V<sup>3</sup>).

Here, an attempt has been made to show that a panchronic perspective – viewed as an overlap between synchrony and diachrony – may justifiably be labelled as the only method of analysing historical data in an adequate way. It is therefore possible to assert, following Kleparski (1996:82), that a plausible onomasiological analysis must take the diachronic aspect into account and – therefore – none of the zoosems scrutinised here could have been adequately examined semantically by means of the synchronic approach only.

Naturally, we share Kleparski’s (1996: 82) views that phraseological idiomatic expressions, archaisms and dialectal expressions are precisely those areas where synchrony meets diachrony and since the cognitive approach to language analysis makes no strict diachrony/synchrony division, [...] *it makes it possible to show that, although such idioms function in present-day English, they have scraps of history built into their conceptual structure.*



For example the semantics of the Polish expression *wyskoczyć jak filip z konopii* ‘(literally) to jump out as/like *filip* from hemp’ and metaphorically ‘to do something quickly and unexpectedly’ is utterly inexplicable in synchronic terms, and it is only due to the reference to diachronic information (*filip* used to be a dialectal synonym for *hare*) that it becomes comprehensible. Another example of this kind is the phraseological unit *konia z rzędem temu kto...* ‘a horse with (literally) a row for the one who...’ which can only be understood if we bear in mind that historically the noun *rzqd* ‘a row’ was used in the sense ‘a decorative harness’. Thus, the historical meaning of the expression in hand was the following: ‘a horse with a decorative harness for the one who...’.

To conclude, one of the major observations that may be formulated in our panchronic analysis of verbal zoosemy is that panchronic investigations should be and – perforce – are more detailed and more explanatory. This is not, of course, to say that any attempts at purely synchronic semantic investigations should be abandoned altogether. Quite the contrary, the merits of synchronic analyses are not to be underestimated, but as far as semantic change is concerned one feels justified in claiming that reference both to synchronic and diachronic, i.e. panchronic phenomena is indispensable.

The examination of language from a panchronic perspective thus provides a way to link past and present facts with a view to understanding the universal phenomenon of language which, in turn, enables the perception of the world we live in. One of the tenets of cognitive linguistics is a lack of clear-cut boundaries between synchrony and diachrony, in accordance with which all the language phenomena both past and present should be treated as a continuum. Therefore, the aim of panchrony is to account for the overall picture of language and all the processes and mechanisms operating in language. These processes and mechanisms, in turn, mirror our perception of the world.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> The author would like to express his gratitude to Grzegorz A. Kleparski for insightful comments on an earlier version of this paper.

<sup>2</sup> The notion of entrenchment should be understood here in the way it is defined and applied by Kleparski (1997) and Kiełtyka (2008). Namely, a lexical category may be said to be entrenched in the attributive path of a given conceptual domain (**CD**) or a set of conceptual domains (**CDs**) if its semantic pole is related to certain locations within the attributive path of a given **CD** or a set of **CDs**.

<sup>3</sup> In the view of many linguists, semantic structures may be characterised relative to cognitive domains, which are – after Kleparski (1997) and Kiełtyka (2008) – understood as **CONCEPTUAL DOMAINS** which, in turn, are viewed as sets of attributive values specified for different locations within the attributive paths of **CDs**. According to Taylor (1989), a lexical category gets its meaning by the process of **highlighting** (or **foregrounding**) a particular location within the attributive path of a **CD** or a number of different **CDs**.

<sup>4</sup> For an in-depth analysis of English lexical items diachronically linked to the conceptual zone PROFESSION/SOCIAL FUNCTION see Cymbalista (2009).

<sup>5</sup> In the case of the data drawn from the *OED* we provide the first and last quotation documenting the relevant sense of the discussed lexical category.

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