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**PROVERB USE BETWEEN COGNITION AND TRADITION IN
ENGLISH, FRENCH, ARABIC AND KABYLE**

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DEDICATION

In memory of my parents whose tender love and care I shall be missing forever.

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LETTERS AND SYMBOLS

Arabic Letters and Symbols

Arabic Letters	Symbols	Pronunciation
consonants		
ء	'	/ʔ/
ب	b	/b/
ت	t	/t/
ث	t̤	/θ/
ج	j	/dʒ/
ح	h	/h/
خ	x	/x/
د	d	/d/
ذ	d̤	/ð/
ر	r	/r/
ز	z	/z/
س	s	/s/
ش	ʃ	/ʃ/
ص	ʂ	/s/
ض	ʒ	/ð/
ط	t̤	/t̤/
ظ	d̤	/d̤/
ع	'	/ʕ/
غ	g̤	/ʁ/
ف	f	/f/
ق	q	/q/
ك	k	/k/
ل	l	/l/
م	m	/m/
ن	n	/n/
ه	h	/h/
و	w	/w/
ي	y	/j/
Long vowels		
با	ba:	/ba:/
بي	bi:	/bi:/
بو	bu:	/bu:/
Short vowels		
بَ	ba	/ba/
بِ	bi	/bi/
بُ	bu	/bu/

Kabyle Letters

Kabyle Letters	Pronunciation
Consonants	
ε	/ʕ/
b	/β/
c	/ʃ/
č	/tʃ/
d	/d/
ḍ	/ð/
f	/f/
g	/g/
ğ	/dʒ/
h	/h/
ḥ	/ħ/
j	/ʒ/
k	/k/
k	/ç/
l	/l/
m	/m/
n	/n/
q	/q/
γ	/ɣ/
r	/r/
ɾ	Velarized /r̥/
s	/s/
ʂ	velarized/s/
t	/t/
t	/θ/
ɟ	Velarized /t̥/
ɟ	/tʂ/
w	/w/
x	/x/
y	/j/
z	/z/
z	Velarized /z̥/
bw	labialized /bʷ/
gw	Labialized /gʷ/
γw	Labialized /ɣʷ/
qw	Labialized /qʷ/
vowels	
a	/a/
i	/i/
u	/u/

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ART	ARTICLE
CA	Contrastive Analysis
CCT	Cultural Cognitive Theory
CMT	Conceptual Metaphor Theory
FEM	Feminine
PART	Particle
Trans.	Translation
UK	United Kingdom

ABSTRACT

Research on metaphor in cognition and culture has revealed that conceptual metaphors vary across languages and cultures under the influence of cultural features. The present dissertation offers a cross-cultural cognitive study of some animal-related proverbs in English, French, Arabic, and Kabyle. Its main objective is to explore the socio-cultural influences upon conceptual domain mappings characterizing the HUMAN BEHAVIOUR IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR conceptual metaphor and upon the metaphoric use of animals in the proverbs of the four languages and cultures. To meet this objective, we refer to both the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) and its improved version the Cultural Cognitive Theory of metaphor (CCT). Then, relying on contrastive analysis, on corpora including dog, ass, ox, and camel proverbs, and on cultural representations of animals, we contrast conceptual domain mappings. We also contrast the characterization of animals in the proverbs in order to verify both the adequacy of CMT's embodiment hypothesis in the treatment of conceptual domain mappings involved in animal metaphors and the sufficiency of CMT's Great Chain of Being Metaphor theory for the comprehensive study of the metaphoric use of animals in the proverbs across the four languages. The results of the study show that conceptual domain mappings vary across the four languages and cultures due to cultural influences. In addition, culture-specific features mould the metaphoric use of animals in the proverbs. These results reveal that CCT performs better than CMT does in the study of metaphoric proverbs across English, French, Arabic, and Kabyle.

Keywords: Metaphor. Cognition. Culture. Cross-cultural variation. Conceptual domain mappings. Metaphoric use of animals. Proverbs. English. French. Arabic. Kabyle.

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1. **Background of the Study**
2. **Statement of the Problem.**
3. **Aim of the Study**
4. **Hypotheses.**
5. **Methodology**
6. **Structure of the Thesis**

1. Background of the Study

Worldwide communication gains great importance, nowadays, as the need for negotiation and exchange of meaning across languages and cultures in international relationships grows up. Therefore, attention should be drawn to the patterns of meaning being intrinsically coloured with cultural specific features that generally impede successful communication between individuals from different cultural backgrounds. This is the case with metaphors whose meaning is arbitrary, conventionally and socially shaped. When used in ordinary interactions, easy metaphor understanding requires the interlocutors to be *'members of a tightly knit culture or subculture'* (Fiske 1990: 164). Global communication, it should be signalled, is characterized by interculturality that language users are not always aware of, as Kövecses (2014) sustains, *'... in many cases we are not aware that the language, signs, objects, people, ideas, forms of behaviour and so on that we interact with come from another culture. We live in a world of increasing hybridization that blurs the distinction between our culture and that of the other, or in short, the distinction between the self and the other'* (Kövecses 2014: xiv).

Metaphor understanding, according to Lakoff and Johnson (1980), occurs through a mapping across conceptual domains; i.e., from a concrete source domain to an abstract target domain of experience. This means *'under-standing and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another'* (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 5). Research on metaphor interpretation acknowledges the difficulty encountered by non-native speakers of language in understanding metaphors, especially in foreign language learning. (Cf. Boers & Demecheleer 2001; Littlemore 2003; Boers 2003; Littlemore & Low, 2006).

Boers and Demecheleer (2001) conduct an experiment with French learners of English to evaluate their ability to interpret imageable idioms. Their findings show the learners' inability to interpret the conventional English idioms due to cross-cultural differences.

Therefore, they state that *'[c]onventions differ across cultures, so that straightforward images in one culture need not be self-evident in another. The imageable idioms of a given language may not call up the same conventional scenes in the minds of learners of that language [...]* *Comprehension problems caused by [...]* *cross-cultural differences will mostly be confined to situations where 'distant' cultures meet'* (Boers & Demecheleer 2001: 256).

Boers (2003), in his paper entitled *'Applied linguistics perspectives on cross-cultural variation in conceptual metaphor'*, deals with culture-dependent metaphors showing cross-cultural variation and argues that: *'[t]he culture-specific nature of certain figurative expressions may (initially) be a stumbling block for foreign language learners'* (Boers 2003: 234-235). He provides the example of French learners of English who find difficulties in guessing the meaning of English idioms relating to the domain of sailing than of those relating to the domain of eating.

Littlemore (2003), in her article *'The effect of cultural background on metaphor interpretation'*, investigates some Bangladeshi students' ability to interpret their British lecturers' metaphors. Her findings show that the students' metaphor interpretations reflect differences in value judgements due to the difference in their cultural backgrounds. This results in problems of metaphor interpretation that leads the students to misunderstand lecturers' discourse.

Littlemore and Low (2006) show that metaphor is involved in the learners' process of understanding and learning of a foreign language. However, their understanding of metaphors is not achieved in the same way as that of native speakers is, as they state, *'[w]hile native speakers may process conventional expressions in a rapid, automatised way, at times without much active thought about basic meanings and concepts [...], learners are in a very different situation. They are frequently unaware of standard meanings or default senses and thus may spend more time and effort processing than native speakers'* (Littlemore & Low 2006: 268).

In their view, learners should be helped to *'identify and understand their own metaphoric thinking processes, and exercise a degree of control over them'* (ibid) in order to facilitate both L2 learning and use and, accordingly, improve their communicative language ability.

2. Statement of the Problem

The proverb is a linguistic fact and a socio-cultural cognitive phenomenon. It germinates inside society and travels through time from generation to generation by the word of mouth. This is why many proverbs have an archaic form. The proverb lives on people's lips in various places of the world and because it is a strong bit of speech characterised by imagery, it attracts so much attention. This leads to considerable amounts of research that are conducted and classified within a field of study known as paremiology. Metaphor is an extensively used image in proverbs; indeed, metaphorical proverbs make up a greater portion compared to those having literal meaning. Metaphoric proverbs like animal-related ones represent interesting cultural instances of conventional metaphors. This feature makes them play an important role in acquiring cultural knowledge, metaphorical understanding and communicative ability in the process of language teaching/learning. However, their interpretation is often difficult to non-native speakers of language.

The ubiquity of metaphoric proverbs in language and the problems this phenomenon causes in foreign language teaching/learning bears considerable importance in the Algerian higher education context, particularly in English language teaching/learning in Kabyle speaking environments like Tizi-Ouzou, Bouira, Béjaia, and Sétif. This triggers our awareness as a teacher and researcher and stimulates our will to investigate metaphoric proverbs across languages and cultures to discover cultural specificities characterising metaphor that may constitute obstacles for Kabyle-speaking language learners and consequently draw teachers' attention to them. This may help learners overcome this difficulty and make them able to

apprehend metaphoric proverbs and cultural differences, and therefore contribute to the achievement of effective English language teaching/learning.

Metaphor has been, for many decades, considered as a figure of speech mainly used as aesthetic embellishment in literary texts. This view, which puts metaphor in the framework of rhetoric studies, is supplanted when the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) is introduced in cognitive linguistics. This theory brings an important change in the way metaphor is viewed. Metaphor is no longer regarded as a rhetorical device confined to language but a conceptual construct part of people's thought and manifest in everyday language. That is, human thought is structured by metaphors at a conceptual level. As a result, everyday speech is metaphorical in an unconscious and mechanical way. This new idea paves the way to the emergence of a universalistic cognitive trend whose central occupation is to account for the mental mechanisms underlying metaphor use and the identification of a set of conceptual metaphors shared by people around the world.

However, this theory suggested by the cognitive trend receives many criticisms. One of these concerns the fact that variation in conceptual metaphor across languages and cultures is a phenomenon that is overlooked by the proponents of the CMT. Due to the limitations of CMT and the increasing need to study metaphor in relation to society and culture to explore the extent to which it is diverse and culture-specific, an improved version of CMT is introduced; namely, the Cultural Cognitive Theory (CCT). In this theory, a number of issues are treated. Among these are the social and cultural dimensions that have a direct impact upon human experience and consequently upon metaphor. In addition, the causes of metaphor variation and the aspects of conceptual metaphor being subject to variation are investigated. This new way of dealing with metaphor comes out of a central debatable issue that is whether metaphor should be studied within a cognitive framework with the purpose of discovering

universal conceptual metaphors, or it should be treated within a social-cultural and cognitive scope so as to reveal that conceptual metaphors may also be diverse.

This controversial issue attracts our attention and stimulates our thinking about metaphoric proverbs across some different languages and cultures, and the advantages that we may gain if we, conduct a study with regard to the CMT on the one side and the CCT on the other in order to discover any similarities and cultural differences in metaphor that may be useful to teachers who teach English to Kabyle learners in the Algerian higher education context. Our research will therefore refer to two devices of metaphor analysis suggested within the two theories. It should be remarked that these devices are built upon a set of components that will be summarised in the methodology section.

All in all, the problem we propose to examine in the present research both relates to scientific research advance on conceptual metaphor at an international level and, at the national level, to Algerian learners of English facing difficulties understanding metaphoric language, especially proverbs.

3. Aim of the Study

When we make the decision to undertake scientific research, it is customary to begin with providing an answer to the question: Why do we have to carry out this research? Two major motives actually lie behind our intention to do the present investigation. The first motive relates to the proverb itself. The fascinating force of the message it conveys and the metaphorical expression it displays have seduced us and at the same time awoken our curiosity to know more about it. This leads us to have the desire to explore animal-related proverbs in our own mother tongue, Kabyle, and in some other languages; namely English, French and Arabic. Our intention is not to deal with these metaphoric proverbs from a pragmatic angle focusing on their actual usage by speakers, but rather to explore them from a cross-cultural cognitive perspective. This will allow us to understand them in our culture and

in the cultures of others. Moreover, our aim is not to investigate Algerian learners' ability to interpret metaphor across languages, by simply to draw attention to the possible differences in metaphor in animal-related proverbs that may give rise to a misunderstanding of figurative language that generally leads to learners' unsuccessful communication during their interaction with native speakers. The second motive links to the above-cited controversial issue characterising the study of metaphor. Our research will also aim at examining the extent to which CMT and its improved version CCT are efficient in studying metaphoric proverbs in the different languages we have chosen.

To reach these aims, we select one conceptual metaphor that is common to the proverbs of English, French, Arabic, and Kabyle; namely, the HUMAN BEHAVIOUR IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR conceptual metaphor. Our choice is not random but prompted by the ubiquity of this metaphor in the proverbs of the four languages under study. A wide range of metaphoric proverbs related to animals is found to be used in each of these languages. Humans' life is bound to that of animals. This fact influences thought and manifests linguistically. Interestingly, this makes our study worthwhile. Various wild and domestic animals are involved in metaphoric proverbs with variable frequencies. For our purposes, four domestic animals are selected to delimit the scope of our research. These include the dog, the ass, the ox, and the camel that are widely used to represent people metaphorically in these languages.

The central question that we raise in our work is the following: Is the HUMAN BEHAVIOUR IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR conceptual metaphor influenced by socio-cultural specificities in the animal-related proverbs of English, French, Arabic, and Kabyle? This question raises another issue of equal importance that is: which of CMT and CCT will allow us to conduct a satisfactory cross-cultural and cognitive study of animal-related proverbs in these languages in order to provide an answer to this central question in a comprehensive way?

The type of study that we propose to carry out is purely exploratory. The purpose of this type of scientific research is to gain wider knowledge about a subject matter and to contribute to a better understanding of it through the achievement of original insights into it. Having said this, we may wonder in what way or ways our present research will be of use to others and contribute to scientific research about metaphor in general. As was said earlier, our intention is to explore how one particular conceptual metaphor is conceptually and socio-culturally rendered in four different languages via a comparison of domain mappings involved in the HUMAN BEHAVIOUR IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR conceptual metaphor and a cognitive and cross-cultural investigation of proverbs main meaning foci. As far as we know, no contrastive study of this conceptual metaphor in English, French, Arabic and Kabyle has been achieved before. Thus, it would be interesting to conduct this investigation and bring valuable knowledge about metaphor across languages and cultures that may, at the national level - particularly in the Kabyle background - be useful to students, teachers and researchers interested in the subject matter. Another contribution of our research, at the international level, would be research advance by evaluating the efficiency of CMT and checking whether or not the CCT, which is CMT's improved version, performs well in the description and comparison of metaphoric proverbs across these different languages.

4. Hypotheses

It is, now, clear that in the present exploratory study we propose to carry out, metaphoric proverbs in the four languages under study will be contrasted and analysed through two interrelated dimensions:

- The cognitive dimension
- The cross-cultural dimension

The two dimensions are not conceived separately, because the cognitive and socio-cultural analyses of the proverbs will be conducted simultaneously as advocated in the CCT. We

expect these analyses to reveal that CMT is limited in its treatment of metaphoric proverbs in English, French, Arabic and Kabyle. We do not aim at denying that this theory offers valuable insights into how metaphor works in cognition, as it clarifies how common mental mechanisms function in the process of metaphoric proverb understanding. This is just how far CMT actually can go, overlooking the tight link between metaphor, cognition and culture. In so doing, it ignores that though conceptual metaphor is a universal phenomenon, it is subject to change across different languages and cultures. This change is caused by various factors many of which are social-cultural. We furthermore consider that the analyses we shall conduct through the interdependent cognitive and cross-cultural dimensions would likely demonstrate that though the HUMAN BEHAVIOUR IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR conceptual metaphor is common to different languages and cultures, it is also characterised by diversity, as claimed in the CCT. This would reveal that the CCT performs better than does CMT in the study of conceptual metaphor. Once we have expressed our expectations, we put forward the following hypotheses:

First hypothesis:

Conceptual mappings characterizing the generic-level metaphor HUMAN BEHAVIOUR IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR and the specific-level ones it involves are likely to be influenced by cultural features and thus be subject to cross-cultural variation.

Second hypothesis:

CMT's embodiment hypothesis would be proved to be inadequate for the treatment of conceptual domain mappings involved in animal metaphors across English, French, Arabic, and Kabyle proverbs.

Third hypothesis:

Socio-cultural influences are expected to shape the metaphoric use of animals in proverbs.

Fourth hypothesis:

CMT's Great Chain of Being Metaphor theory would not, on its own, suffice to account comprehensively for the metaphoric use of animals in proverbs.

Fifth hypothesis:

If all the hypotheses above were proved to be true, then, the CCT would truly be an improved version of CMT that would deal with animal-related proverbs across English, French, Arabic and Kabyle in a more satisfactory way.

These are the hypotheses that we shall attempt to verify. In order to do so, an appropriate methodology is required. This will be presented hereafter focusing on both the methods of analysis that need to be applied and the necessary materials collected for the analysis.

5. Methodology

The major method that our research is based on is contrastive analysis (CA). The importance of this method should be stressed, because any comparison of a particular linguistic, cognitive, or cultural aspect in different languages or cultures is achieved by means of it. One of the characteristics of this method is that it is corpus-based and that one of the conditions that make it possible is the presence of the contrasted aspect in all of the languages involved in the study. All these conditions are fulfilled in our research.

Other methods of analysis that will be used in our investigation are CMT's cognitive device and CCT's cross-cultural cognitive apparatus. It is convenient to present each of them succinctly to the readers. CMT's device is made up of constituents that include the source domain, the target domain, experiential basis (embodiment), neural circuitry, metaphorical linguistic expressions, mappings, entailments and blends. For the sake of the readers, we will succinctly introduce these constituents.

Conceptual metaphor is said to be composed of two domains: a source domain which is concrete and specific and a target domain which is abstract and generic. For instance, SMOKE and FIRE are source domain concepts and TRUTH IN RUMOURS is the target domain in the metaphoric proverb '*No smoke without fire*'. Experiential basis is people's embodied experience which leads them to select the source and target domains. This act has a direct impact upon neural circuitry in such a way that connections are made between the two parts of the brain responsible for the source and the target domains. Then, metaphorical linguistic expressions result from the relation being made between the two conceptual domains: the source and the target. This relation is made through mappings between the conceptual domains. For instance, in the metaphoric proverb above, the mappings are as follows: [SMOKE-RUMOURS] and [FIRE-TRUTH].

It often happens that some more mappings are added to the basic ones. These mappings are referred to as entailments. Blends occur when new conceptual materials are integrated during the mapping of the two conceptual domains. CCT's apparatus is built upon similar components but some other essential components are integrated to complete those of CMT's device and improve it. These integrated components are two dimensions of analysis, i.e., the cross-cultural and the within-culture dimension that allow the analysis metaphor variation across and within languages and cultures. Related to the first dimension are the causes that influence conceptual metaphor and lead to differences from language to language. These are categorised into two broad types: 1. differential experience, and, 2. differential cognitive concerns and interests. We shall not refer to all the factors categorised within these two types. Our study needs only some of the factors related to the cross-cultural dimension and relevant to the HUMAN BEHAVIOUR IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR conceptual metaphor. The selected factors are: 1. the natural physical environment, 2. social history, and 3. Differential Prototypes. Through the first factor, we shall look at the geographically related fauna

characterising England, France, Arabia and Algeria with particular attention being paid to Kabylia. Then, we will attempt to investigate how differences in this feature are apparent in metaphor conceptualisation and conceptual mappings' structure. This will be done with regard to dogs, asses, oxen, and camels. On the basis of the second factor, we shall investigate how possible differences in the social histories of the different societies influence the structuring of conceptual domain mappings in the HUMAN BEHAVIOUR IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR conceptual metaphor, i.e., the impact of specific historical facts or prominent personalities and events in each society upon mappings. Relying on the third factor, we shall attempt to investigate in what ways particular cultural experiences that people have with their animals influence the prototypical animal concepts used in the mappings of the HUMAN BEHAVIOUR IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR conceptual metaphor.

Once we have described the methods of analysis that we need to rely on in our study, we move on to the presentation of the materials selected for analysis. In any descriptive and contrastive study, corpora constitute empirical data on which the study is based. Hence, the selection of appropriate and authentic data is one of the conditions that permit us to carry out this investigation to a successful end. Before describing these corpora, it is pertinent to present the four languages from which the data are drawn. We have collected proverbs used in Standard languages instead of those used in local varieties for two reasons. The first is that Algerian Kabyle learners are exposed to the Standard varieties in school and university. The second reason is the fact that the proverbs of Standard varieties are more easily accessible to us. The Standards that we have chosen are Standard British English, Standard French used in France and Standard Arabic used in Arabia. It has to be signalled that the Tamazight language has never been standardised before. Kabyle is one of the Tamazight's varieties; it represents the Kabyle learners' first language. Algerians, particularly the Kabyle, have been exposed to Kabyle, Arabic, French, and English to varying extent. They have acquired Kabyle, their first

language at home. Later, they have learned Standard Arabic in school, then, they have learned Standard French, and finally, they have learned Standard British English in medium, secondary school and university. Kabylia has been exposed to different languages over more than twenty years. Therefore, it is possible that understanding metaphoric proverbs across different languages constitutes a problem to Kabyle-speaking university learners of English.

The corpora are selected with regard to their relevance and appropriateness to the problematic issue raised in our research. As was said previously, they include a set of metaphoric proverbs related to animals, and which display THE HUMAN BEHAVIOUR IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR conceptual metaphor. We have restricted the list of the proverbs to those related to four domestic animals: the dog, the ass, the ox, and the camel. The proverbs are extracted from some compilations. In English, we have drawn proverbs from Rosalind Ferguson's *Penguin Dictionary of Proverbs* (1983/2000), Martin H. Manser's *Facts on Files Dictionary of Proverbs* (2007) and Wilson's *Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs* (1970). In French, proverbs have been extracted from Alain Ray's and Sophie Chantreau's *Le Dictionnaire des Expressions et Locutions* (1985), *Le Robert Dictionnaire des Proverbes et Dictons* (1989), and Vigerie's *La Symphonie Animale. Les Animaux dans les Expressions de la Langue Française* (1992). In Arabic, proverbs are taken from Hassan Al Youssi's *Zahr 'al 'akam fi 'al-amthal wa 'al-ḥikam* (1981), Abi-Hilal Al-Askari's *Kita:b Jamhartu 'al-'amṭa:l* (1988), Ḥamza Al-Asbahani's *'aḍarra 'al-fa:xira fi: 'al-'amṭa:l 'assa:'ira* (1988), and Abu Al-Fazl Al-Maydani's *Majma'u 'Al-'Amṭa:l* (1996). In Kabyle, we have taken proverbs from Youcef Nacib's *Proverbes et Dictons Kabyles* (2009) and Remdan At Mensur's *Dictionnaire des Proverbes Kabyles* (2010). Other materials that are used in our analysis of the domain mappings include the cultural representations of dogs, asses, oxen, and camels in the English, French, Arabic, and Kabyle societies.

So far, we have described the methods and corpora that are selected for the study of metaphoric proverbs in English, French, Arabic and Kabyle. In what follows, we provide the structure of the thesis.

6. Structure of the Thesis

Our thesis is structured in the following way: it begins with a general introduction and ends with a general conclusion. It encloses three main parts. The first part bears the title “Clarification of Concepts and Theoretical Issues” It includes chapter one and two. The second part is entitled “Presentation of the Methodological Approaches and Corpora”. It encloses chapter three and four. The last part’s title is: “Cross-Cultural Cognitive Study of the Animal-Related Proverbs”. It is a practical part comprising chapter five and six.

Chapter one aims at clarifying some crucial concepts involved in our work; namely, cognition, language, culture link, metaphor and the proverb. Its major aim is to supply some definitions given to these concepts and to show how they relate to our research.

Chapter two reviews some relevant theoretical issues concerning the study of metaphor. It begins with an overview of CMT: its emergence, its major principles and some of the criticisms it has received. Then, the chapter will describe the CCT and its main principles.

Chapter three introduces the research methods that we intend to adopt in our work. It first provides an account of contrastive analysis, its objectives and methodological principles. Then, it presents the parameters of the cross-cultural cognitive analysis of domain Mappings. Finally, it introduces Parameters of the cross-cultural cognitive analysis of animals use in proverbs.

Chapter four is devoted to the description of the materials and corpora. It first presents the four languages involved in the study. Then, describes the socio-cultural representations of dogs, asses, oxen, and camels in English, French, Arabic and Kabyle. Finally, it introduces the corpora on which our investigation will be based.

Chapter five investigates the cultural influence upon domain mappings in the proverbs. It begins with a descriptive account of domain mappings in the animal-related proverbs. Then, it moves on to a comparison of these domain mappings. It ends up with the discussion of the findings. The latter is achieved with reference to both metaphors' universality as maintained in CMT's embodiment hypothesis and to metaphors' cross-cultural variation as advocated in the CCT.

Chapter six examines cultural influence upon the metaphoric use of animals in the proverbs. It first provides a descriptive account of the proverbs' main meaning foci. Then, it discusses the findings focussing on both the convergence and culture-specificity in the use of animals in the proverbs. This discussion is carried out with regard to the Great Chain of Being theory and cultural representations of animals.

CHAPTER ONE

CLARIFICATION OF CONCEPTS

Introduction

1.1. Cognition, Language, Culture

- 1.1.1. Defining Cognition, Language, and Culture
- 1.1.2. Language, Cognition, and Culture Connection

1.2. Metaphor

- 1.2.1. Definitions
- 1.2.2. Metaphor in the Classical Rhetoric View
- 1.2.3. Metaphor in the Standard CMT's View
- 1.2.4. The Functions of Metaphor
 - 1.2.4.1. The Cognitive Functions of Metaphor
 - 1.2.4.2. The Linguistic Functions of Metaphor
 - 1.2.4.3. The Socio-cultural Functions of Metaphor
- 1.2.5. Types of Metaphors
 - 1.2.5.1. Linguistic Metaphors vs. Conceptual Metaphors
 - 1.2.5.2. Types of Linguistic Metaphors
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- 1.2.6. Metaphor and Metonymy

1.3. The Proverb

- 1.3.1. Definitions of the Proverb
- 1.3.2. Origins of the Proverb
- 1.3.3. The Functions of the Proverb
- 1.3.4. The Meaning of Proverbs
- 1.3.5. Types of Proverbs

Conclusion

Introduction

The starting point for our investigation of animal-related proverbs in English, French, Arabic and Kabyle will be to define some essential and pertinent concepts. We will begin with defining the terms cognition, language, and culture and describing the tight link that joins them. Then, we shall move on to consider the concept of metaphor, and finally, we will end up with a survey of the notion of proverb. The purpose of such a clarification is not to provide additional information about the matter or introduce a different point of view about these concepts. Our intention is simply to raise the reader's awareness about the existence of multiple opinions pertaining to these concepts and to determine in what ways these concepts are referred to in our research and relate to our goals.

1.1. Cognition, Language, Culture

The interaction between cognition, language and culture is largely recognised among linguists, psychologists, philosophers and anthropologists. However, there is debate over how these three aspects interact. This leads to the emergence of three major issues. The first concerns whether cognition influences language and vice-versa. The second is about the relationship of culture and language. The third deals with the impact of culture on cognition. It would be worthwhile to give a brief account of these issues. However, before doing so, it is necessary to consider, first, what the concepts of cognition, language and culture mean.

1.1.1. Defining Cognition, Language, Culture

The concepts of *cognition, language, and culture* need to be introduced to the reader before we consider how they relate to one another. To do so, we will refer to some definitions supplied by dictionaries and scholars.

In the Oxford English Dictionary (2001), the term *cognition* is defined in the following way: '2.a. *The action or faculty of knowing taken in its widest sense, including sensation,*

perception, etc., as distinguished from feeling and volition; also, more specifically, the action of cognizing an object in perception proper' (The Oxford English Dictionary 2001: 445).

The adjectival form of the word, *cognitive*, is used in the sense of *of or pertaining to cognition, or to the action or process of knowing; having the attribute of cognizing* (ibid: 446). This adjective is found in such a phrase as *cognitive linguistics* which is a field of scientific research that began in the 1970's. *It is characterised by an emphasis on explicating the intimate interrelationship between language and other cognitive faculties* (The MIT Encyclopaedia of Cognitive Sciences 1999: 134).

In the field of cognitive psychology, Matlin (2005) defines cognition as a mental activity that has to include some cognitive processes. She states that *'[c]ognition, or mental activity, describes the acquisition, storage, transformation, and use of knowledge. [...] Cognition must include a wide range of mental processes, [...] such as perception, memory, imagery, language, problem-solving, reasoning, and decision making'* (Matlin 2005: 2).

As far as the term *language* is concerned, Danesi (2004) defines it as *'the use of the tongue to create forms of thought known as words, or more accurately signs'* (Danesi 2004: 2). According to Wolff and Malt (2010), Language is a system of symbols or signs that humans use to communicate their knowledge and feelings about the world. It also allows them to handle information mentally. In addition, they argue that *'[a]lthough language may be crucial to cognition, the basic units of cognition are not words'* (Wolff & Malt 2010: 3). Crystal (2008) draws attention to the distinction that should be made between the term *language* used in the sense of a linguistic system utilised to speak or write in actual situations and *language* meaning the faculty that humans, in general, have and which enable them to learn language (Cf. Crystal 2008: 265). Language, in the former sense, involves a great deal of conventional expressions, such as, proverbs and metaphorical expressions which fulfil the communicative function of transmitting knowledge and opinions.

Similar to the notion of *language*, *culture* is a concept whose meaning is not easy to capture. There is no widely accepted standard definition of culture. What actually is available is a number of various meanings that are provided to define it. It would not be viable, in this subsection of our work, to account for all these definitions. Hence, we will provide some and attempt to show how our research relates to them.

The English word *culture* comes from the Latin *cultura* that has the sense of "to cultivate". This word has been given different meanings that are generally grouped into three main senses: the first sense defines culture with regard to the prestigious achievements of a society '*in such fields as art, literature, and music*'. The second denotes culture as '*consisting of all the ideas, objects, and ways of doing things created by a group*'. The third looks at culture as a set '*including arts, beliefs, customs, inventions, language, technology, and tradition*' (World Book Encyclopedia 1986: 942).

An early definition of culture, assimilated to civilization, is provided in '*Primitive culture*' by Tylor (1871) in the following terms: '*culture, or civilization [...] is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society*' (Tylor 1871: 62). This definition '*includes three of the most important characteristics of culture: (1) Culture is acquired by people. (2) A person acquires culture as a member of society. (3) Culture is a complex whole*' (World Book Encyclopedia 1986: 942).

Therefore, some scholars' view of culture goes against considering it as a faculty that people are born with. They, rather, prefer to emphasize the idea of seeing it as something that is transmitted and learned. In this sense, culture is thought of as something that is taught and handed down from one generation to another through the oral medium. Oswalt (1986) remarks:

In anthropology, a culture is the learned and shared behaviour patterns characteristic of a group of people. Your culture is learned from relatives and

other members of your community as well as from various material forms such as books and television programs. You are not born with culture but with the ability to acquire it by such means as observation, imitation, and trial and error (Oswalt 1986: 26).

A pertinent example that illustrates this is the tradition of using proverbs and metaphors in speech. These conventional expressions are passed on from generation to generation. Then, within one society and in a specific era, the young learn from the elders the meaning and usage of proverbs and metaphors. This act can be described as a traditional cultural behaviour. It is claimed that such behaviour is relevant to the culture in which individuals are raised. In this sense, the notion of *cultural relativism* emerges in relation to the concept of culture in the field of anthropology. Individuals' beliefs, values, behaviours, and the way they perceive the world is in some way arbitrary since these relate to cultures that differ from one another. Therefore, one has to be cautious when judging cultures, as Monaghan and Just (2000) argue '*cultures can only be judged relative to one another, and the meaning of a given belief or behaviour must first and foremost be understood relative to its own cultural context*' (Monaghan & Just 2000: 49)

So far, we have attempted to provide some definitions of the notions of cognition, language, and culture as this is pertinent to our research. Next, we shall examine how these three concepts interact. We shall do this by referring to some researchers' relevant studies.

1.1.2. Language, Cognition, and Culture Connection

Interest in the study of the relationship of cognition and language goes back to the American anthropologist Boas (1949) whose interest was laid on the linguistic diversity of American Indian languages. Later on, Sapir (1951) and his pupil Whorf (1956) went on to put forward a hypothesis known as the linguistic relativity principle or Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis. In the strong version of this hypothesis, language is said to shape or affect cognition. That is, language determines the way we think about the world. This conclusion is drawn from the

observation that people from different cultures speak differently and this linguistic diversity leads them to think differently. One of the arguments that Whorf (1956) provides is the differences in the way time is conceived in Hopi, an Indian language, and English. Another example is the considerable amount of words used in the Eskimo language to refer to snow which English lacks. This leads him to conclude that differences between languages in different cultures necessarily involve differences in people's thought. This implies that because speakers have different languages this leads them to have different thoughts of reality. Lakoff (1987a) reacts against this position and argues:

There are no great conceptual consequences of having a lot of words for snow [...]. Anyone with an expert knowledge of some domain of experience is bound to have a large vocabulary about things in that domain – sailors, carpenters, seamstresses, even linguists. When an entire culture is expert in a domain (as Eskimo must be in functioning with snow), they have a suitably large vocabulary. That's no surprise, and no big deal. It is no more surprising than the fact that people who sail have a lot of sailing terms, like lee, port, jib, or that Americans have lots of names for cars (Lakoff 1987a: 308).

Accordingly, the principle of linguistic determinism is found to be inadequate. As a result, a weak version is proposed. Kramersch (1998) states that this weak version is widely accepted and '*supported by the findings that there are cultural differences in the semantic associations evoked by seemingly common concepts...*' (Kramersch 1998: 13).

Whorf's linguistic determinism raises an important question among researchers: why does language determine thought and not the other way round? The hypothesis that language affects cognition is no longer sustained. Instead, scholars prefer to defend other views on the link between language and cognition on the basis of their own studies and findings. A case in point that supports this fact is the recent research dedicated to the study of metaphor in relation to thought enhanced by the work of Lakoff and Johnson (1980) *Metaphors We Live By*. These cognitive linguists point out that metaphor is pervasive in humans' thought and everyday language. They, accordingly, analyse metaphors as conceptual constructs that

structure thought and allow humans to understand the world. In this cognitive approach, cognition is then viewed as shaping language because cognitive schemas provided by metaphors produce linguistic forms that are metaphorical. In short, *the metaphors are responses to cognitive and expressive needs*, as Knowles and Moon (2006) say. They moreover argue that it is acceptable to say that metaphor can be related to the argument that language influences thought because it is not always easy for humans to think of abstract concepts by means of something other than language. In conclusion, we may say that language affects cognition and vice-versa.

Language is also bound up to culture. This relationship is seen from three perspectives. First, people use language to talk about their experience of the world that is shared by others in the same community. Therefore, language is expressive of culture. Second, people communicate their own opinions that bear the imprint of their cultural values, beliefs and attitudes. Hence, culture is embodied by language. Third, language plays a cultural role because people identify themselves and others through the language they use. This language is viewed as a symbol of their identity. Therefore, culture is symbolized by language. In sum, language expresses, embodies and symbolizes cultural reality (Cf. Kramsch 1998: 3). Language can also be considered as a means that allows the transmission of culture. Pertinent examples that provide evidence of this fact, is the frequent use of metaphors and proverbs in various cultures.

As far as the relationship between Culture and Cognition is concerned, it is worth noting that some cognitive linguists and cognitive psychologists reject the traditional view of cognition which they describe as being disembodied and isolated from culture (e.g., Lakoff 1987a; Gibbs 1999). The cognition and culture link is studied within an approach in cognitive linguistics termed *experientialism*. This approach is advanced by Lakoff (1987a) to react against the traditional view of cognition that he qualifies as objectivist, disembodied, abstract,

and literal. He, instead, defends the view that cognition is embodied and imaginative (both metaphoric and metonymic). Humans' cognition is shaped by their physical experience, the environment where they live, and the way they function in it. Lakoff (1987a) describes *experientialism* in the following way:

On the experientialist view, reason is made possible by the body – that includes abstract and creative reason, as well as reasoning about concrete things. Human reason is not an instantiation of transcendental reason; it grows out of the of the organism and all that contributes to its individual and collective experience: its genetic inheritance, the nature of the environment it lives in, the way it functions in that environment, the nature of its social functioning, and the like (Lakoff 1987a: xv).

Gibbs (1999) defends a similar position on the relationship of cognition and culture. He says: *'[t]he traditional view of cognition assumes that representation are exclusively in the mind (e.g., propositions, schemas, productions, mental images, connectionist network). External representations (e.g. real-world objects, situations, codified aspects of language) are seen to, at best, have only a peripheral role in cognitive behaviour'* (Gibbs 1999: 152).

He, instead, suggests:

One cannot talk about, or study, cognition apart from our specific embodied interactions with the cultural world (and this includes the physical world which is not separate from the cultural one in the important sense that what we see as meaningful in the physical world is highly constrained by our cultural beliefs and values) (ibid: 153)

This implies that the study of humans' linguistic and non-linguistic behaviour has to account for the cognitive operations performed in the brain in relation to the socio-cultural world that directly influences these operations and subsequently this behaviour. This will successfully be done only if the study is believed to depend on the interaction between cognition, language and culture.

Another aspect relating to the cognition and culture link is the notions of cognitive models and cultural models. According to Ungerer and Schmid (1996):

Cognitive models [...] represent a cognitive, basically psychological, view of the stored knowledge about a certain field. [...] description of cognitive models are based on the assumption that many people have roughly the same basic knowledge about things like sandcastles and beaches (Ungerer & Schmid 1996: 49-50)

Gibbs (1999) claims that '*cultural models are intersubjectively shared cultural schemas that function to interpret experience and guide action in a wide variety of domains including events, institutions, and physical and mental objects*' (Gibbs 1999: 153). The intricate link joining cognitive models to cultural models lead Ungerer and Schmid (1996) to conclude that they are thus just two sides of the same coin (Ungerer & Schmid 1996: 50)

In the above section of our work, we have looked at how the notions of cognition, language and culture are defined, then, we attempted to show the interaction that characterizes them. In the following subsection, we shall attempt to clarify the concept of metaphor.

1.2. Metaphor

Interest in metaphor as a subject of study witnesses a long history of thorough and rich research that dates back at least to Aristotle's works. Since then, metaphor has been tackled from various perspectives within different disciplines. For our purposes, we shall refer to two of them only: rhetoric and cognitive linguistics. Our objective behind this is to provide some useful data of how metaphor is perceived by different scholars in distinct fields of research. But before we do so, it is convenient to begin with defining what metaphor is. Then, move to the description of its functions. This will be followed by an account of its types and the relationship that it has with metonymy.

1.2.1. Definitions

Scholars' definitions of metaphor vary according to their focus and interests in the disciplines in which they conduct research. Glucksberg and McGlone (2001) suggest that *metaphor has come to mean different things to different people, so much that specialists in the area are often temporarily confounded when asked for a definition of metaphor*' (Glucksberg & McGlone 2001: 3). In their view, this difficulty in defining metaphor rises out of two main reasons:

First, the term is used in several different, albeit related senses. Second, both within and between its different senses, definitions vary to reflect sharply different theoretical agendas and assumptions. Sometimes the theoretical boundaries coincide with scholarly disciplines; thus philosophers; linguists, and psychologists might each define metaphor in their own terms. But there are differences even within disciplines, as well as different views of the nature of language itself (ibid).

It would be interesting to begin with providing some dictionary and encyclopaedic definitions, then, move on to considering definitions within classical rhetoric and CMT.

In the Oxford English Dictionary (2001), the word *metaphor* is said to be derived from the Latin word *metaphora* meaning to transfer. It is defined as: *'[t]he figure of speech in which a name or descriptive term is transferred to some object different from, but analogous to, that to which it is properly applicable; an instance of this, a metaphorical expression'* (The Oxford English Dictionary 1991: 676).

In the *World Book Encyclopedia* (1986), it is defined as:

A figure of speech in which an expression is taken from one field and is used to say something in another field. For example, when we say 'he is a sly fox', we are using metaphor. That is we are using the name of an animal to describe a man. A metaphor suggests a comparison without using a word 'like' and 'as'. The statement 'he is like a sly fox' or 'as...' is a simile (World Book Encyclopedia 1986: 353).

In the *Metaphors Dictionary*, Sommer and Weiss (2001) supply the following definition:

... a metaphor compares two unlike objects or ideas and illuminates the similarities between them. It accomplishes in a word or phrase what could otherwise be expressed only in many words, if at all. If we say 'don't let her rough manner scare you, she's a pussy cat', we condense into a single word the characteristics associated with an affectionate, gentle, non-intimidating personality. Since the word or phrase used to set up the comparison evokes a mental picture, you might say that metaphor embodies the phrase 'a picture is worth a thousand words' (Sommer & Weiss 2001: vii).

These three definitions above reveal that, on the one hand, metaphor is conceived as a linguistic phenomenon, and on the other, as a mental picture or representation. The two conceptions of metaphor are noticeable in two disciplines: rhetoric and cognitive linguistics. It is worth attempting to unveil the differences in the way metaphor is perceived, defined and treated in both branches. This will illuminate our understanding of how metaphor is defined across disciplines. Hereafter, we shall start with an account of metaphor in rhetoric.

1.2.2. Metaphor in the Classical Rhetoric View

In the Western rhetoric tradition, Aristotle is acknowledged as the first Greek philosopher who evokes metaphor as a process that operates within language. For him, metaphor is a talent that belongs to poets and eloquent people. He says: *'The greatest thing by far is to be a master of metaphor. It is the one thing that cannot be learned from others; it is also a sign of genius, since a good metaphor implies an eye for resemblance'* (Aristotle 1457: 4). Aristotle defines metaphor as follows: *'Metaphor consists in giving the thing a name that belongs to something else; the transference being either from genus to species, or from species to genus, or on the ground of analogy'* (Aristotle 1457: 4).

In Aristotle's view, analogy is a major principle that allows the transference of meaning from one subject to another. This is possible only if there is resemblance between the two subjects involved in the metaphor.

Glucksberg and McGlone (2001) hold that contemporary studies of metaphor have shown so much interest for genus-for-genus metaphor, i.e., nominal and predicative metaphors. They furthermore assert that Aristotle defines these as the substitution of one noun for another, as in the example '*some lawyers are sharks*' in which the word *lawyers* is substituted by the word *sharks*' (Glucksberg & McGlone 2001: 4-5).

Fontanier (1821), an influential figure among French rhetoricians, considers metaphor as a trope of resemblance. In the *Traité Général des Figures du Discours* (1821), he defines metaphor as follows: '*Les tropes par ressemblance [c'est à dire les métaphores] consistent à présenter une idée sous le signe d'une autre idée plus frappante ou plus connue, qui, d'ailleurs, ne tient à la première par aucun autre lien que celui d'une certaine conformité ou analogie*' (Fontanier 1821/1977 : 99).

At this point, it is worth summarizing the rhetoric view of metaphor. First of all, classical scholars describe metaphor as a purely literary aspect. This leads them to focus on words as a major element in the study of metaphor. For instance, the metaphor *he is a sly fox* is classified as a nominal metaphor in which the noun *fox* is used metaphorically to describe a person. In this way, metaphor depends on both the substitution of one word for another and the comparison of two entities via the principle of resemblance. This principle requires that the two entities involved in the comparison have some features in common. For instance, the feature cunning that is shared by a fox and a person in the metaphor *he is a sly fox*. The use of metaphor has a single main purpose; that is, embellishing texts. This purpose is restricted to poets and writers who are endowed with the talent of using words metaphorically in literary texts. Moreover, the use of metaphor is a deliberate and conscious action. These scholars also maintain that metaphor is not inevitable and that we can do without it, as Lakoff and Johnson (1980) explain '*most people think that they can get along perfectly well without metaphor*' (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 4).

The classical rhetoric approach to metaphor has received criticism from such scholars as Richards (1936), and cognitive linguists as Lakoff and his followers. Richards (1936) reacts against Aristotle's treatment of metaphor. In his work *the Philosophy of Rhetoric*, he puts forward a new theory where he suggests dealing with metaphor in terms of *tenor*, *vehicle* and *ground*. These three concepts that he introduces need to be defined and exemplified. First, the *tenor* consists in the entity that is referred to by the metaphoric word or phrase. Second, the *vehicle* is the metaphoric word or phrase itself. Hence, in the example *he is a sly fox*, the word *he* represents the *tenor* and he phrase *sly fox* the vehicle. Third and last, the concept *ground* is the feature that is referred to when one uses a given vehicle with regard to the tenor. In the example above, man is believed to have a feature or features associated with the fox. In this particular case, the feature is cunning. Advocates of the cognitive approach to metaphor also react against the rhetoric view. Their position towards metaphor will be dealt with hereafter.

1.2.3. Metaphor in the CMT's View

Since the publication of the epoch-making book *Metaphors We Live By* in 1980, Lakoff and Johnson have paved the way to the emergence of a different vision of what metaphor is. This vision goes against the view held within the classical rhetoric approach which puts metaphor in the literary and aesthetic framework. As a result, the word metaphor is defined in a completely different way, as Lakoff (1993) argues:

[...] the word metaphor has come to be used differently in contemporary metaphor research. The word metaphor has come to mean a cross-domain mapping in the conceptual system. The term metaphorical expression refers to a linguistic expression (a word, phrase, or sentence) that is the surface realisation of such a cross-domain mapping (this is what the word metaphor referred to in the old theory) (Lakoff 1993: 202).

In this way, a clear-cut is made between conceptual metaphors on the one side and metaphorical linguistic expressions on the other. The latter are viewed as mere manifestations

of the former. Compared to conceptual metaphors that have a predominant position in the cognitive linguists' research framework, metaphorical linguistic expressions are considered secondary and unimportant in their study. *In short, the locus of metaphor is not in language at all, but in the way we conceptualize one mental domain in terms of another* (ibid.)

This new theory of metaphor based on thought and reasoning raises too much interest among researchers, as Kövecses (2002) remarks:

Today an increasing number of cognitive scientists, including cognitive linguists, engage in the research on metaphor. The reason is that metaphor plays a role in human thought, understanding, and reasoning and beyond that, in the creation of our social, cultural, and psychological reality. Trying to understand a vital part of who we are and what kind of world we live in. (Kövecses 2002: xi).

If we turn again to the definition of metaphor in the Standard CMT's view, we understand clearly that it is defined non-linguistically in terms of conceptualization. This is regarded as a mental phenomenon in which one conceptual domain like LIFE is understood via another conceptual domain like JOURNEY. This entails that people's thinking about the concept LIFE is mapped onto the concept JOURNEY when they use the metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY. This conceptual metaphor is manifested in language in such linguistic expressions as *I'm at a crossroads in my life* and *He's gone through a lot in life* (Lakoff 1993: 206). In other words, this conceptual metaphor consists of two domains that include, first, a source domain JOURNEY which is concrete and, second, a target domain LIFE which is abstract, and a number of mappings that link them (Cf. Lakoff & Johnson 1980; Lakoff 1993).

Kövecses (2002) identifies a set of common source domains which include the HUMAN BODY, HEALTH AND ILLNESS, ANIMALS, MACHINES AND TOOLS, BUILDINGS AND CONSTRUCTIONS, PLANTS, GAMES AND SPORTS, COOKING AND FOOD, etc. As far as the ANIMAL source domain is concerned, Kövecses (2002) maintains that this source domain is *extremely productive*. This means that there is a large quantity of metaphors referring to

animals in which humans and their behaviour are understood through animal attributes. For instance, humans' characteristics and behaviour are often compared to those of dogs, cats, foxes, bitches, pigs, lions, and so on.

In addition, Kövecses (2002) surveys a set of common target domains which comprise EMOTION, MORALITY, THOUGHT, SOCIETY, RELIGION, POLITICS, ECONOMY, HUMAN RELATIONSHIPS, etc. He furthermore describes conceptual metaphors as *unidirectional* phenomena. That is to say, '*[t]hey go from concrete to abstract domains; the most common source domains are concrete, while the most common targets are abstract concepts. In this way, conceptual metaphors can serve the purpose of understanding intangible, and hence difficult-to-understand, concepts*' (Kövecses 2002: 25).

After having shown how metaphor is viewed in Classical Rhetoric and CMT, we shall move on to consider its functions. This will be done with regard to three main levels: the cognitive, linguistic and socio-cultural levels.

1.2.4. The Functions of Metaphor

In the metaphor literature, scholars account for different functions of metaphor relating to distinct levels. Among these are the cognitive, the linguistic, and the socio-cultural levels. This divergence of focus is due to the fact that each of them defends a particular point of view of the functions that metaphor actually has. The present subsection will aim at accounting, in a succinct way, for the cognitive, linguistic and socio-cultural functions of metaphor with regard to these different views and trying to provide pertinent examples.

1.2.4.1. The Cognitive Functions of Metaphor

The cognitive school led by Lakoff focuses on the importance of investigating the function that metaphor achieves at the level of cognition. As a result, various cognitive functions are, recognized. In *Metaphors We Live By* (1980), Lakoff and Johnson point out the central role that metaphor plays in structuring humans' thought. They claim, '*...metaphor is*

pervasive in everyday life, not just in language but in thought and action. Our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature' (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 4).

Thus, metaphors that structure people's thinking bear the label *conceptual metaphors*. In this view, thinking metaphorically has a direct impact on the use of language. This implies that when metaphors are found in language, this indicates their existence at a conceptual level. Consequently, such linguistic expressions as *Your claims are indefensible* and *I never won an argument with him* (ibid), being part of everyday metaphorical language, are no more than a reflection of a structuring conceptual metaphor; namely, ARGUMENT IS WAR. In this metaphor, the structure of the abstract concept ARGUMENT is understood in terms of the structure of the concrete concept WAR. As a result, people speak of arguments as something indefensible or something to win in the same way as they do with wars.

In addition to structuring humans' conceptual systems, metaphor is found to function as the organiser of their knowledge as well. For instance, the conceptual metaphors HAPPY IS UP and SAD IS DOWN that are instantiated in the following linguistic expressions: *I'm feeling up* and *I'm feeling down* are organised on the ground of people's knowledge and experience of physical orientation. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) argue: *'Drooping posture typically goes with sadness and depression, erect posture with a positive emotional state'* (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 16).

Another principal function accomplished by metaphor is that of allowing people to use and understand abstract concepts that cannot be physically apprehended in terms of concrete concepts that are easily and bodily perceived, as Lakoff (1993) claims:

Metaphor is the main mechanism through which we comprehend abstract concepts and perform abstract reasoning... [It] allows us to understand a relatively abstract or inherently unstructured subject matter in terms of a more concrete, or at least a more highly structured subject matter (Lakoff 1993: 244).

Advocates of CMT argue that this cognitive function of metaphor is essential for it makes possible the expression of some particular concepts that cannot be expressed through literal language. This is the case of the expression ‘... *the course of human lives*’ which Deignan (2005) uses in her book *Metaphor and Corpus linguistics*. She justifies her recourse to this metaphor as follows: ‘*My lack of success in finding a literal way of describing the ‘course’ of human life suggests that for many metaphorical expressions there are no literal paraphrase, and certainly none that are ‘exactly and literally what we mean’*’ (Deignan 2005: 17).

It should be signalled that Lakoff (1993) strongly advocates the primacy of the cognitive function of conceptual metaphor over that of its linguistic expression. He argues:

The metaphor is not just a matter of language, but of thought and reason. The language is secondary. The mapping is primary, in that it sanctions the use of source domain language and inference patterns for target domain concepts. The mapping is conventional, that is, it is a fixed part of our conceptual system, one of our conventional ways of conceptualizing love relationships. This view of metaphor is thoroughly at odds with the view that metaphors are just linguistic expressions (Lakoff 1993: 208).

However, some other contemporary scholars defend a different view. That is, linguistic metaphors are important and, therefore, need to be investigated to achieve a satisfactory description of language. This view will be described in the linguistic functions of metaphor.

1.2.4.2. The Linguistic Functions of Metaphor

In the classical rhetoric view, the main function of metaphor is to embellish texts. It is conceived as a stylistic ornament used by poets and writers to render their ideas and feelings in a more vivid way. As pointed out above, Lakoff (1993) as well as his associates reject this view and put emphasis on the cognitive function of metaphor. Yet, interest in the study of metaphor within language characterizes the research of some other linguists (Cf. Goatly 1997; Steen 2004; Deignan 2005; Cameron 2008).

Goatly (1997), in his book *The Language of Metaphors*, maintains that metaphor's function in language and communication has long been neglected and that it is important to take it into account when studying metaphors. In response to the view held by the advocates of CMT, he asserts:

Although Lakoff and his followers see metaphor as primarily a cognitive phenomenon, [...] I stress its linguistic and textual nature. Cognitive metaphors have to find expression in some medium, and when that medium is language the form of the expression will have important consequences for their recognition and interpretation (Goatly 1997: 40).

In addition to the above mentioned view, Steen (2004) maintains that, in discourse, metaphor performs three major functions at once. These include linguistic, conceptual, and communicative functions. He claims that '*the linguistic function is to express meanings by means of words, clauses, and clause complexes...*' (Steen 2004: 1298).

In *Metaphor and Corpus Linguistics*, Deignan (2005) studies metaphors in natural language on the basis of data that she collects from the Bank of English. She claims that CMT, which is essentially '*concerned with thought rather than language, is important for language description*' (Deignan 2005: 25). She also contends that metaphor plays a major part in the development of language caused by changes in society and technology. For instance, at the lexical level, metaphor contributes to the creation of words and new word meanings. She argues that '*metaphor [...] motivates new word forms altogether, when it coincides with changes to form as compounding (ibid.)*' This can be exemplified by such word forms as *browbeat, foothill, and pigeon-hole*' (Knowles & Moon 2006: 3). A great number of new word meanings relating to technical areas like computer science are created. For instance, the words *web, bug, and virus* are considered as metaphorical extended uses of pre-existing words (ibid.). Moreover, metaphor has an important role in facilitating the understanding of the technical language used by specialists. Cameron (2008) argues that when teachers talk to

their students or doctors talk to their patients, metaphor acts as a facilitator that enables the non-specialists to grasp the technical language being used (Cf. Cameron 2008: 206 for more examples).

In addition to its function at the level of lexis, metaphor is extensively used in idioms and proverbs such as *kick the bucket* and *don't put all your eggs in one basket* respectively. It has also a role at the level of discourse. Knowles and Moon (2006) mention several functions that metaphor achieves at the level of discourse. These functions include '*explaining, clarifying, describing, expressing, evaluating, entertaining*' (ibid.). They say:

There are many reasons why we use metaphors in speech or writing: not least, because here is sometimes no other word to refer to a particular thing. But where we have choice, we choose metaphors in order to communicate what we think or how we feel about something; to explain what a particular thing is like; to convey a meaning in a more interesting or creative way; or to do all of these (ibid.)

Studying Metaphor's function within language is different from the study of its function within cognition. While the former focuses on the role of the linguistic forms of metaphor, the latter is concerned with the function of its conceptual structure. Hence, the two functions need to be clearly distinguished. According to Steen (2007),

Research on the linguistic aspects of metaphor in grammar and usage should focus on the linguistic forms of metaphor. Research on the conceptual aspect of metaphor in grammar and usage should focus on the conceptual structure. Researchers aiming to look at metaphor in both language and thought at the same time need to pay attention to linguistic forms and conceptual structures (Steen 2007: 10).

Scholars interested in studying metaphor in relation to society and culture acknowledged further functions of metaphor. In the following subsection, we shall describe the socio-cultural functions that metaphor performs.

1.2.4.3. The Socio-cultural Functions of Metaphor

In this subsection, we shall look at metaphor in relation to society and culture and refer to researches carried out by some scholars with regard to this issue. We shall then attempt to draw, from these researches, the essential socio-cultural functions of metaphor.

The relationship between metaphor and culture has been found to be of great value in the study of metaphor, as there is wide agreement that metaphors are expressions that are culturally loaded. This issue is tackled in many ways. From a psycholinguistic and cognitive linguistic point of view, this tight relationship has long been discarded in studies of metaphor in thought (e.g., Lakoff & Johnson 1980). However, some scholars have started to realize the importance of studying metaphor in relation to culture. For instance, Gibbs (1999), a psycholinguist, claims that *'[w]hat is missing from the psycholinguistic work, and from aspects of the work on metaphor in cognitive linguistics, is an explicit acknowledgment of culture and its important, perhaps defining, role in shaping embodiment, and consequently metaphorical thought'* (Gibbs 1999: 153).

This view is also shared by the cognitive linguist Kövecses who, in his article *'Universality and Variation in the Use of Metaphor'* (2008), argues that the cognitive linguistic theory of metaphor is not complete and suggests a complementary and revised version that deals with metaphorical thought, culture and society altogether. Kövecses' main interest is to investigate cultural variations in metaphor from both cognitive and cultural perspectives. In his article *Language, figurative thought, and cross-cultural comparison* (2003), he says:

As the cultural factors change from culture to culture, so does the metaphor and its linguistic expression. In it, the cognitive and the cultural are fused into a single conceptual complex. In this sense, what we call conceptual metaphors are just as much cultural entities as they are cognitive ones. (Kövecses 2003: 319).

Metaphor is acknowledged to have various socio-cultural functions. These pertain to the collective as well as the individual level. Drawing from applied linguistics, Boers (2003) states that metaphor has the function of reflecting the history of a country, especially when a particular metaphor is frequently used. For instance, a great number of metaphors related to sailing are used in British English. This fact shows that the history of Britain is characterised by such a practice. He also argues that, in countries other than Britain, like, for instance, Andes whose history is not marked by sailing, such metaphors are not used (Cf. Boers 2003: 235). He moreover states that *'in such cases, awareness of metaphor might even serve as a window onto a community's "culture"'* (ibid).

Hidasi (2008), in her article *'The Cultural Messages of Metaphor'*, maintains that metaphor denotes the wisdom and experience shared by the members of the same community. These members adopt this wisdom as a rule of conduct among their group. She says that *'[a]ll kinds of metaphors – proverbs, sayings and idiomatic expressions – are [...] used to convey the common-sense wisdom and experience of a certain cultural group. In a certain sense, these metaphors serve as "guides" in coping with the complexity of the surrounding reality'* (Hidasi 2008: 103).

Littlemore (2003) argues that metaphors are indicative of people's value judgements. In her article *'The effect of cultural background on metaphor interpretation'* (2003), she identifies differences in some Bangladeshi students' and their British lecturers' value systems. She comes to the conclusion that this causes problems in metaphor interpretation on the part of the students. Moreover, Cameron (2008) investigates metaphor in talk within the British society and finds that metaphor reflects speakers' attitudes and values. She also contends that metaphor has a role in *'the affective dimension of human interaction'* (Cameron 2008: 203). In situations where speakers face difficulties to talk about some irritating subject, metaphor functions as a useful tool. Cameron (2008) claims that *'when the topic of talk is uncomfortable*

for speakers in some way, metaphor helps to distance and de-emphasize' (Cameron 2008: 203).

Metaphor is also used to show negative attitudes. For instance animal metaphors that appear in metaphorical expressions, such as proverbs, are used to express such attitudes. Deignan (2003), in her article *'Metaphorical Expressions and Culture: An Indirect Link'*, mentions the example of the dog people metaphor which is found to be used to connote negative entities. She argues that *'the most frequent idiomatic expression involving the noun "dog" in the Bank of English is "let sleeping dogs lie", in which dog connotes unpredictable reactions and aggression'* (Deignan 2003: 258).

According to Charteris-Black (2003), metaphor is used to evaluate individuals' social behaviour and to set up restrictions on the kinds of behaviour that are considered unacceptable in the social group. This function is also acknowledged by Gibbs (1994) who considers metaphorical expressions such as the proverb *'when the cat's away, the mice will play'* to be used by a speaker with the purpose of imposing social sanctions upon individuals' behaviour. *By invoking tradition and the community as a whole, the speaker not only diminishes as an individual agent but also imposes the weight of social sanctions* (Gibbs 1994: 137). In addition to this function, Gibbs mentions many other social functions of metaphor. As for example, speakers use metaphor to point out that they belong to a particular subgroup or to mark their social position inside a group (Cf. Gibbs 1994: 138-139).

In the above subsection, we have supplied some useful information concerning the various functions achieved by metaphor. This has been done with regard to three main levels: the cognitive, linguistic and socio-cultural levels. After having looked at metaphors' functions, we shall turn to considering their types.

1.2.5. Types of Metaphors

The classification of metaphors into types is supplied in a varied way since researchers have different objectives when studying metaphors. Some scholars are mainly concerned with the study of metaphor in language while others are interested in the investigation of metaphor within cognition. As a result, linguistic metaphors are distinguished from conceptual metaphors. This distinction is described hereafter.

1.2.5.1. Linguistic Metaphors vs. Conceptual Metaphors

As was previously noted, linguistic metaphors are clearly distinguished from conceptual metaphors by the proponents of CMT. The former belong to language whilst the latter to thought; however, the two types are interrelated in the sense that internalised concepts that exist in humans' thought are manifested in their speech or writing. For instance, 'That man was a brute' and 'Good friends don't rat on each other' are linguistic metaphors or metaphorical expressions of the conceptual metaphors PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS and HUMAN BEHAVIOUR IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR respectively (Kövecses 2002: 124-125).

As is noticed from the above-mentioned examples, conceptual metaphors are written in small capital letters while their corresponding linguistic expressions are not. This is a method that cognitive linguists use to show the difference between the two categories of metaphors. in CMT.

1.2.5.2. Types of Linguistic Metaphors

Cameron (2008) defines linguistic metaphors in the following way:

Linguistic metaphors are expressions in language that have the potential to be understood metaphorically [...]. Linguistic metaphor is identified through the use of words or phrases that potentially link to a vehicle (or source) domain which is distinct from the domain of the surrounding, on going talk (the topic or target)... (Cameron 2008: 198).

The classification of linguistic metaphors goes back to the work of Aristotle. As a matter of fact, in the 21st chapter of his book *Poetics*, he proposes a classification of metaphors into four types; namely, *genus for genus*, *genus for species*, *species for genus*, and *analogy*. (Aristotle, 1457: 4). As was already remarked, genus for genus metaphors are those in which one noun is substituted for another. As a result, they are named nominal metaphors. This type of linguistic metaphors has been subjected to considerable amounts of research (Cf. Glucksberg & McGlone 2001: 4-5). Nominal metaphors take the form '*Achilles is a lion*' which is '*a resemblance metaphor*' (Kövecses 2002:75). Nominal metaphors have a referential function. That is, they are used to refer to someone or something that is being talked about (Cf. Cameron 2008: 200; Deignan 2005: 146). Linguistic metaphors are classified according to word-class into nominal, verbal and adjectival metaphors. Deignan (2005) lists some examples of these metaphors occurring in natural English speech (Cf. Deignan 2005:153).

1) [*He*] is an old dog

2) ...the feeling of dread that had been dogging her all day

3) ... an enviable reputation for dogged determination and skill.

The above examples illustrate nominal, verbal and adjectival metaphors respectively. In the verbal metaphor, the verbal form *to dog* is used. Verbal metaphors are used to indicate relations between objects or people (Cf. Cameron 2008: 200). In the adjectival metaphor, *dogged* is an adjectival form of the noun *dog*. The function of adjectival metaphors is '*to modify a noun not usually associate with them*' (Deignan 2005:147).

Deignan (2005) contends that linguistic animal metaphors make use of nouns and that '*words for animals are used to denote certain human characteristics*. (ibid: 148). She goes on to assert that '*when a word referring to an animal is used metaphorically to describe human*

characteristics or behaviour, an adjective or verb is often formed' (Deignan 2005: 153), as shown in examples 1), 2), and 3).

It is worth reminding that in the cognitive linguistic tradition, conceptual metaphors are viewed as being more important than their linguistic expressions, and, accordingly, they constitute a more interesting subject of study. To stress the importance that conceptual metaphors have over linguistic ones, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) claim: '*Metaphors as linguistic expressions are possible precisely because there are metaphors in a person's conceptual system'* (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 7). Following this line of thought, conceptual metaphors are categorised into types. These will interestingly and briefly be reviewed in what follows.

1.2.5.3. Types of Conceptual Metaphors

There are actually many ways of categorizing conceptual metaphors within the field of cognitive linguistics. Specific criteria are applied during categorization. This leads to the setting of a clear-cut classification into some distinguishable types of conceptual metaphors. These criteria include the function of metaphors, their degree of conventionality, their nature and level of generality. The last criterion is of paramount importance as it is pertinent to our study. Nevertheless, we shall present the different classifications of metaphors in relation to all the above mentioned criteria aiming at providing to the reader an overall idea about the various types of conceptual metaphors.

1.2.5.3.1. Structural, Orientational and Ontological Metaphors

In *Metaphors We Live By* (1980), Lakoff and Johnson divide conceptual metaphors according to their function into three main types. These are structural, orientational, and ontological metaphors. Structural metaphors are described as '*cases where one concept is metaphorically structured in terms of another*'. They also maintain that *the metaphorical structuring involved here is partial, not total'* (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 14). That is to say,

target domains are furnished with affluent data structure by the source domains. In this way, individuals who hear a structural metaphor will be able to understand the target that is abstract through the structure of the source that is concrete. This is achieved by means of a set of conceptual mappings that relate items of the source domain to those of the target domain. A relevant illustration of this type of metaphor is ARGUMENT IS WAR conceptual metaphor where the abstract concept argument is understood through the structure supplied by the concrete concept WAR. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) point out that *'not only our conception of an argument but the way we carry it out is grounded in our knowledge and experience of physical combat. Even if you have never fought a fistfight in your life, much less a war, but have been arguing from the time you began to talk, you still conceive of arguments, and execute them, according to the ARGUMENT IS WAR metaphor ...'* (ibid.: 64-65).

The orientational type of metaphors *'does not structure one concept in terms of another but instead organizes a whole system of concepts with respect to one another'* (ibid: 15). The term *orientational* is used in relation to humans' bodily system of orientation that characterizes a huge number of metaphors. Thus, orientational concepts such as UP and DOWN are used in metaphors like HAPPY IS UP and SAD IS DOWN in such linguistic expressions as *I'm feeling up* and *I'm feeling down* (ibid.). In each of these examples, the concepts in the target domain and those of the source domain are opposites. Moreover, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) describe this type of metaphors as being universal but not culture-specific.

Ontological metaphors enable speakers to conceptualize target abstract concepts in terms of concrete entities having specific substantial features. In this matter, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) claim:

Understanding our experiences in terms of objects and substances allows us to side out parts of our experience and treat them as discrete entities or substances of a uniform kind. One we can identify our experiences as entities or substances, we can refer to them, categorize them, group, and quantify them – and by this means, reason about them (ibid: 26).

A case in point that is illustrative of the many ontological metaphors is the use of the linguistic expression '*It will take a lot of patience to finish this book*' (ibid) where the abstract concept PATIENCE is understood in terms of a physical entity that can be taken. It should be remarked that these three types of metaphor overlap, as Knowles and Moon (2006) suggest that '*[t]here are overlaps between these three categories. Structural metaphor and orientational metaphors may have ontological functions too, while ontological metaphors depend on having structured source domains*' (Knowles & Moon 2006: 31).

In addition to the three above mentioned classifications based on function, conceptual metaphors can be classified in many other ways within CMT. For instance, Kövecses (2002) cites various types of classifications that are based on parameters other than that of function. These parameters include '*conventionality, nature and level of generality of metaphor*' (Kövecses 2002: 29). Attention should also be drawn to another important classification that is acknowledged in CMT. This classification distinguishes between *simple* and *complex* conceptual metaphors (Lakoff 1993). It would be pertinent to provide a brief survey of all these classifications to shed light on what conceptual metaphor is and what its types are according to CMT. This survey will furthermore clarify the classification of the PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS metaphor found in many proverbs.

1.2.5.3.2. Conventional vs. Unconventional Metaphors

A distinction is made between conventional and unconventional metaphors. This distinction relies on the degree of conventionality characterizing metaphors. Some are found to be more conventional than others. Conventionality in CMT is understood in terms of speakers' ordinary use of metaphors in natural conversations with members of their linguistic community. According to Kövecses (2002), when a metaphor is said to be highly conventional or conventionalized, this implies that it is '*well established and deeply*

entrenched in the usage of a linguistic community' (Kövecses 2002: 30). Conventional metaphors are natural and recursive metaphorical usages of ordinary people who aim at referring to abstract concepts like HAPPINESS, BEAUTY, and LIFE making part of their normal daily speech. Many of the conventional metaphors used in ordinary language come in the form of proverbs and metaphorical expressions. Conventional metaphors are sometimes called dead metaphors to indicate that they are not noticed when used in ordinary discourse. In an article entitled *The Death of Dead Metaphors*, Lakoff (1987b) observes that '*the term dead metaphor is a holdover from the traditional folk theory of language that has turned out not to be workable*' (Lakoff 1987b: 143). He goes against this traditional view for it considers dead metaphors as linguistic forms whose status is changed from that of novel to that of conventional ordinary language. He, then, defends the view that such metaphors should be defined in conceptual terms. Clear distinctions should, therefore, be drawn between '*conceptual mappings and linguistic mappings, conventional mappings and novel mappings...*' (ibid: 146). Opposed to conventional metaphors are the highly unconventional metaphors that are also called novel metaphors (Cf. Lakoff 1993). These consist in metaphors that are used in a very specific circumstance in order to achieve an exceptional way of expressing one particular idea or sentiment. Novel metaphors are also known as creative metaphors and are often related to the literary area. Poets and writers make use of unconventional metaphors to render the expression of their ideas and feelings sound singular and striking. To exemplify this type of metaphor, Lakoff (1993) supplies the following extract from Robert Frost's poem *The Road Not Taken*:

Two roads diverged in a wood, and I
I took the one less travelled by,
And that has made all the difference.

In this particular case in point, although the poet uses the conventional metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY, his use of the expressions ‘*Two roads diverged*’ and ‘*I took the one less travelled by*’ is unconventional. English speakers are not accustomed to hear such metaphors in daily ordinary language. Lakoff (1993) compares the extent of occurrence of conventional and novel metaphors in discourse and states: ‘*As common as novel metaphor is, its occurrence is rare by comparison with conventional metaphor, which occurs in most of the sentences we utter*’ (Lakoff 1993: 237).

1.2.5.3.3. Generic-level and Specific-level Metaphors

As was said previously, another criterion of classification of conceptual metaphors is that of the level of generality at which we may possibly find them. Two types of metaphors are set in terms of this parameter: generic-level and specific-level metaphors. These two types of metaphors are introduced by Lakoff and Turner in their book ‘*More Than Cool Reason: A Field Guide to Poetic Metaphor*’ (1989). Kövecses (2002) argues that ‘*most conceptual metaphors are at the specific level, in that they employ concepts that are at a specific level of generality*’ (Kövecses 2002: 40). The classifications that have been provided, so far, include specific-level metaphors. He furthermore suggests that generic level metaphors ‘*include such metaphors as EVENTS ARE ACTIONS, GENERIC IS SPECIFIC and what is known as THE GREAT CHAIN metaphor*’ (ibid: 39). It is worth pointing out that Lakoff and Turner (1989) introduce the generic-level type of conceptual metaphors for the purpose of remedying the problems encountered in understanding both personification and proverbs. The EVENTS ARE ACTIONS metaphor is used in understanding personification which is a process by which inanimate objects are described as humans. As far as the GENERIC IS SPECIFIC metaphor is concerned, this is useful for the interpretation of proverbs. Lakoff and Turner (1989) describe how this metaphor works. They say, ‘*[t]here exists a single generic-level metaphor, GENERIC IS SPECIFIC, which maps a single specific-level schema onto an indefinitely large number of*

parallel specific-level schemas that all have the same generic level structure as the source-domain schema' (Lakoff and Turner 1989: 162). In other words, the *GENERIC IS SPECIFIC* metaphor is a tool used to interpret proverbs that are said to have one specific-level schema or structure. For instance, the proverb *barking dogs seldom bite* contains the specific-level concepts *barking*, *dogs*, *seldom*, *bite*. By means of the *GENERIC IS SPECIFIC* metaphor, this proverb is interpreted at a generic level. That is to say, *barking dogs* represent any persons who argue strongly and *seldom bite* refers to the harmlessness of the action of arguing. In this way, the generic meaning of the proverb can be obtained; it is: people that argue strongly won't harm you. This generic-level meaning having this generic structure will enable this proverb to be used in many situations that present a similar generic structure. For instance, it can be used when your boss argues strongly when you get late to work but who dares not penalize you for that. This example illustrates how the *GENERIC IS SPECIFIC* metaphor allows the extraction of a generic meaning out of the specific-level structure of one proverb and then makes use of this generic meaning in many other cases having a similar generic structure.

Lakoff and Turner (1989) describe the *GREAT CHAIN METAPHOR* as a whole that allows proverbs' understanding through the comprehension of humans' features and behaviour via analogy with animals and objects and vice-versa. They claim:

The GREAT CHAIN METAPHOR is a tool of great power and scope. By linking the great Chain with the GENERIC IS SPECIFIC metaphor, it allows us to comprehend general human character traits in terms of well-understood non-human attributes; and conversely it allows us to comprehend less well-understood aspects of the nature of animals and objects in terms of better-understood human characteristics (Lakoff & Turner 1989: 172).

So far, various types of conceptual metaphors acknowledged within CMT have been accounted for. In addition to these types that are categorized in terms of function, degree of conventionality, nature and level of generality, conceptual metaphors can be categorized in

relation to a fifth criterion which is that of complexity (Cf. Lakoff & Johnson 1999; Kövecses 2002). These types will be described hereafter.

1.2.5.3.4. Simple and Complex metaphors

Conceptual metaphors are classified according to the degree of their complexity into two types: simple (or primary) and complex (or compound). Lakoff and Johnson (1999) argue that *complex metaphors are formed from primary ones through conventional conceptual blending. That is, the fitting together of small metaphorical 'pieces' into larger wholes* (Lakoff & Johnson 1999: 49). In other words, complex metaphors constitute main metaphors. Each of these is composed of mappings that represent simple metaphors. Kövecses (2002) describes the link between these types of metaphors through examples of fire metaphors. He states that *'[v]arious specific kinds of actions, events, and states are understood as fire. Correspondingly, there is a simple submetaphor INTENSITY IS HEAT (OF FIRE). This simple metaphor is a mapping in such complex metaphors as ANGER IS FIRE, LOVE IS FIRE, CONFLICT IS FIRE, or ARGUMENT IS FIRE'* (Kövecses 2002: 117).

Lakoff and Johnson (1999) draw attention to the embodied nature of simple metaphors. Drawing on Joe Grady's theory of primary metaphor, they claim that primary metaphors emerge from people's physical experience of the world surrounding them. For instance, such a simple metaphor as MORE IS UP (Lakoff & Johnson 1999: 54), they say, has an embodied nature because:

First, the correlation arises out of our embodied functioning in the world, where we regularly encounter cases in which More correlates with UP. Second, the source domain of the metaphor comes from the body's sensorimotor system. Finally, the correlation is instantiated in the body via neural connections (ibid).

It is worth pointing out, as well, that simple metaphors are considered universal since people's experiences of the world are universal. Besides this, the acquisition of simple metaphors is described as an unconscious and inevitable process that takes place during early

childhood. Lakoff and Johnson rely of Feldman's neural theory of language and Bailey's models (Cf. Lakoff & Johnson 1999: 56). As a result, they define primary metaphors in the following terms:

Primary metaphors, from a neural perspective, are neural connections learned by coactivation. They extend across parts of the brain between areas dedicated to sensorimotor experience and areas dedicated to subjective experience. The greater inferential complexity of the sensory and motor domains gives the metaphors an asymmetric character, with inferences flowing in on direction only (ibid: 58).

This neural view of primary metaphor remains, according to some scholars, hypothetical as it cannot easily be tested, as Knowles and Moon (2006) argue, *'this view is radical. However, it remains a hypothesis, and it is difficult to see how it can be tested methodically at the present time'* (Knowles & Moon 2006: 56).

After having surveyed the various types of conceptual metaphors, we shall move on to consider another type of figurative language referred to as metonymy. The aim behind this is to draw the readers' attention at what metonymy is, how it differs from metaphor and in what way it is linked to it.

1.2.6. Metaphor and Metonymy

It has been argued that metonymy has been given less importance compared to metaphor as it has been considered secondary (Cf. Taylor 1992; Deignan 2005). However, interest in metonymy and its relationship with metaphor witnesses *un regain d'intérêt* among researchers (Cf. Kövecses 2002). This subsection intends to look at how metonymy is defined, how it is classified into types, how it compares with metaphor, and, finally, in what way it is related to it. To do so, we shall refer to some scholars' definitions and classifications of metonymy within CMT, and, then, account for the distinctions they draw between metonymy and metaphor, and finally provide their description of metaphoric-metonymic interactions.

According to Lakoff (1987a) metonymy is an essential conceptual aspect that is part of human cognition. He defines it in the following terms: ‘*Metonymy is one of the basic characteristics of cognition. It is extremely common for people to take one well-understood or easy-to-perceive aspect of something and use it to stand either for the thing as a whole or for some other aspect or part of it*’ (Lakoff 1987a: 77).

Metonymy is said to be characterized by a *stand for* relationship. This is linguistically realized through expressions such as *The White House isn't saying anything* (ibid). Lakoff (1987a) points out that, in this example and many other similar cases, there is a general principle that is applied, i.e., a place is used to stand for an institution. Here, the White House is a place that is used to stand for the American Government which is an institution that is situated there.

Kövecses (2002) defines metonymy as a mental process, as he states, ‘*[m]etonymy is a cognitive process in which one conceptual entity, the vehicle, provides mental access to another conceptual entity, the target, within the same domain, or idealized cognitive model (ICM)*’ (Kövecses 2002: 145). In other words, metonymy is achieved in one conceptual domain or ICM. For instance, in the following metonymic expression *I'm reading Shakespeare* (Kövecses 2002: 144), the author or producer (the vehicle) that is used to stand for the work, or product (the target) are two entities belonging to the same domain, that is, the domain of production. In this respect, metonymy is contrasted with metaphor. While the former is characterized by a relationship of contiguity or nearness between two entities in one conceptual domain, the latter involves a relationship of similarity or comparison between two entities belonging to two separate conceptual domains, one being abstract and the other concrete. This is shown in the conceptual metaphor PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS revealed in such an expression as ‘*This man is a lion*’. In this metaphor, ‘man’ and ‘lion’ belong to two separate

domains: humans and animals, and the person is described as being as courageous as a lion which is an attribute that is part of an abstract conceptual domain.

In order to find out whether any linguistic expression presents a metonymic relation of contiguity or a metaphoric relation of similarity, Gibbs (1994) proposes a test that he calls the ‘is like’ test. He claims that ‘*if a non-literal comparison between two things is meaningful when seen in an X is like Y statement, then it is metaphorical; otherwise it is metonymic*’ (Gibbs 1994: 322). As a result, this test will tell us that it is possible to say ‘*Achilles is like a lion*’ but impossible to say ‘*Shakespeare is like his work*’. Henceforth, the first expression is a metaphor whereas the second is a metonym. Besides this, metonymy is distinguished from metaphor with regard to their functions. While metaphor is used to enable understanding, metonymy is used to direct attention. Kövecses (2002) says:

[T]he main function of metaphor is to understand one thing in terms of another. [...] Metonymy, on the other hand, is used less for the purposes of understanding [...]. The main function of metonymy seems to be to provide mental, cognitive access to a target entity that is less readily or easily available; typically, a more concrete or salient vehicle entity is used to gain access to a more abstract or less salient target entity within the same domain (Kövecses 2002: 148).

As far as the classification of metonyms is concerned, there exists a wide range of conceptual metonymies; Kövecses (2002) mentions some of them. For instance, PART FOR WHOLE (e.g., ‘*We need some good heads on the project*’), WHOLE FOR PART (e.g., ‘*America is a powerful country*’), INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION (e.g., ‘*She shampooed her hair*’), EFFECT FOR CAUSE (e.g., ‘*It’s a slow road*’), PLACE FOR ACTION (e.g., ‘*America doesn’t want another Pearl Harbour*’), DESTINATION FOR MOTION (e.g., ‘*He porched the newspaper*’), PLACE FOR PRODUCT (e.g., ‘*Give me my javal mocca*’), TIME FOR ACTION (e.g., ‘*The 8:40 just arrived*’), PRODUCER FOR PRODUCT (e.g., ‘*I’m reading Shakespeare*’), PLACE FOR INSTITUTION (e.g. ‘*Washington is negotiating with Moscow*’) CONTROLLER FOR CONTROLLED (e.g., ‘*Nixon*

bombed Hanoi’), and OBJECT USED FOR USER (e.g., ‘*We need a better glove at third base*’) (ibid: 144-145).

It is worth noting that PART FOR WHOLE metonymy is referred to as synecdoche (Cf. Kövecses 2002; Deignan 2005). Many linguistic expressions realizing this metonymy are found, in some of them, parts of the human or animal body are used to stand for a person or an animal. The body parts that are generally used are the hand, face, head, and leg.

Although metonymy and metaphor are different cognitive aspects, they happen to interact with each other in a way to produce some kind of mixtures that Goossens (1990) calls *metaphonymies*. This interaction leads to confusion in classifying expressions as being metonymic or metaphoric. Goossens (1990) studies the way how metonymy interacts with metaphor in some linguistic expressions. He finds out that some expressions are the result of interaction in the form *metaphor from metonymy* while others reveal cases of *metonymy within metaphor*. Goossens describes the latter as a case where *a metonymically used entity is embedded within a (complex) metaphorical expression*. (Goossens 1990 : 336). A case in point is the metonymic expression *bite one’s tongue off* (ibid). On the one hand, the word *tongue* stands metonymically for speech and, on the other, the whole expression means metaphorically *be sorry for what one has just said*. As for *Metaphor from metonymy*, one of the pertinent examples that Goossens (1990) provides of this case is the expression *close-lipped* that he describes as follows:

When close-lipped is used to indicate that a person is literally silent, we therefore need the metonymic reading. If, on the other hand, we describe as close-lipped someone who is actually talking a lot, but does not give away what one would really want to hear from him, we have a metaphor (and given the saliency of the metonymic basis, a metaphor from metonymy) (ibid).

In the above subsection, we have tried to provide the definitions of metaphor; we also dealt with functions and types. Finally, we treated its relationship with metonymy. We have

mainly considered how metonymy is defined and classified. We have also looked at how metonymy is contrasted with metaphor and how it interacts with it in linguistic expressions. In what follows, we shall attempt to provide some pertinent information about the proverb.

1.3. The Proverb

The proverb belongs to the culture of people and to the patrimony of the country. Every country has its own proverbs. We find English proverbs, Chinese proverbs, French proverbs, Italian proverbs, Arabic proverbs, Kabyle proverbs, etc. This final subsection of our work will survey the concept proverb focusing on four major points. First, it will show how it is defined. Second, it will deal with its origins. Third, it will account for its various functions and, finally, it will present its types.

1.3.1. Definitions of the proverb

There has been a controversial debate among scholars about the definition of the proverb. Providing a precise definition to the concept is not an easy task at all. According to Hernadi and Steen (1999), *'it appears that no definition can both map all of proverbia and protect the neighbouring lands of clichés, maxims, slogans, and the like from unwanted annexation'* (Hernadi & Steen 1999: 1). In other words, one cannot define the proverb in a clear-cut way and avoid assimilating to it other expressions whose borders with proverbs are not well-settled. In his book, *The Proverb*, Taylor (1931) contends:

The definition of the proverb is too difficult to repay the undertaking; and should we fortunately combine in a single definition all the essential elements and given them each the proper emphasis, we should not even then have a touchstone. An incommunicable quality tells us that this sentence is proverbial and that one is not. (Taylor 1931: 3).

In 1985, Mieder asked 55 people in Vermont to define what a proverb is. Then, relying on the study of the frequency of the words used in 50 attempts of definitions, he formulated the following definition: ‘*A proverb is a short, generally known sentence of the folk which contains wisdom, truth, morals and traditional views in a metaphorical, fixed and memorizable form and which is handed from generation to generation*’ (Mieder 2004: 3).

In what follows, we shall look at some definitions in English, French, Arabic and Tamazight. Then, we shall attempt to draw out of these definitions some features that will be representative of all the proverbs that will be used in our research.

In English, The word *proverb* has its roots in the Latin term *proverbium*. It is also known as *adage* or *byword*. The literature about the proverb provides varied definitions to the word. In the Oxford English Dictionary, it is defined as ‘[a] *short pithy saying in common and recognized use; a concise sentence, often metaphorical or alliterative in form, which is held to express some truth ascertained by experience or observation and familiar to all; an adage, a wise saw*’ (The Oxford English Dictionary 2001: 712).

Rosalind Fergusson (1983) defines the proverb as follows: ‘*A succinct and memorable statement that contains advice (First thrive and then wive), a warning or prediction (Marry in haste and repent at leisure), or an analytical observation (A maid marries to please her parents, a widow to please herself)*’ (Fergusson 1983: v). Manser (2007) provides the following definition:

A proverb is a saying, usually short, that expresses a general truth about life. Proverbs give advice, make an observation, or present a teaching in a succinct and memorable way. (...) We use proverbs or allude to them quite often in everyday speech: Better safe than sorry; The grass is always greener on the other side of the fence; If at first you don’t succeed, try, try again; Let sleeping dogs lie; A trouble shared is a trouble halved (Manser 2007: ix).

In French, *le proverbe* is said to originate from the Latin word *proverbium* in the same way as it is in English. It has also received various definitions. The French dictionary Le Petit

Larousse Illustré defines the proverb as '*Un court énoncé exprimant un conseil populaire, une vérité de bon sens ou d'expérience et qui est devenu d'usage commun*' (Le Petit Larousse Illustré 2009 : 830).

François Suzzoni (1993) contrasts between '*le proverbe*' and '*la locution*'. He asserts:

Le proverbe, au contraire est un énoncé fini, une phrase complète, dont le contenu résiste et garde une efficacité propre et intentionnelle. Il énonce, sous forme de citation non référenciée, un jugement, une observation ou une argumentation. De plus, il véhicule de façon prescriptive et répétitive un savoir étroitement lié à la mentalité de ses créateurs et premier utilisateurs c'est-à-dire à une vision du monde délibérément fixiste. L'expérience humaine y est jugée assez stable, assez définitive pour être mise en formules susceptibles de répondre à toutes les concurrences de la communication linguistique. Le proverbe semble ainsi voué, d'entée, à l'archaïsme culturel et ne peut bénéficier de la neutralité de la locution. (Suzzoni 1993: 3)

In Arabic, '*al-maṭal* (proverb) is defined variously. In *Lisan Al-'arab* dictionary (1990), it is defined as follows: '*a-ššay'u 'al-ladi yuzrabu lišay'in maṭalan fayaj'alu miṭlahu, wa fi 'a-ššiḥa:hi ma yuzrabu bihi mina 'al-'amṭa:li*' (Lisan Al-'arab 1990: 611). That is, the thing used as an example to another thing to make it resemble it, and in dictionaries: it means the use of proverbs.

The dictionary *Al Munjid Fi 'al-luḡa wa 'al-'a'la:mi* (1975) defines '*al-maṭal* in the following way: '*'al-qawlu 'a-ssa'iru bayna 'a-nnasi 'al-mumaṭali bi maṭrabihī ay 'al-ḥa:lātī 'al-'ašliyati 'al-lati: warada fi:ha 'al-kala:mu. Wa 'al-fa:ḍa 'al-amṭali la tuḡayyaru taḍki:ran aw ta'ni:tan wa ifra:dan wa taṭniyatan wa jam'an bal yunḍaru fi:ha da:'iman ila: mawrid 'al-maṭal ay ašlihi*' (Al Munjid Fi 'al-luḡa: wa 'al-'a'la:mi 1975: 7). In other words, the proverb is a saying that circulates between people and which is analogically represented by the initial situation in which it first occurred. The proverb's words do not change in gender and number but it is always understood through its original source.

Qatamish (1988) says that *'al-maṭal qawlun mu:jaz sa:'ir, sa:'ib 'al-ma'na:, tušabbah ḥa:latun ḥadiṭatun biḥa:latin sa:lifatin* (Qatamish 1988 :11). That is to say, the proverb is a concise, circulating and pithy saying wherein there is analogy between an actual and a past and a past situation. Nacif (1994) defines *al-maṭal* as follows: *'iba:ratun mu:jaza yastaḥsinuha 'a-na:su šaklan wa mazmu:nan. Fatantaširu fi:ma baynahum, wa yatanaqaluha 'al-khalafi 'an 'a-salafi du:na taḡyi:r, mutamaṭili:na biha:, ḡa:liban, fi ḥa:latin mutaša:bihatin lima: zuriḥa laha: 'al-maṭalu aṣlan, wa juhila ha:da 'al-'aslu'* (Nacif 1994: 36). That is to say, the proverb is a short utterance that spreads among people and travels across generations without being affected by change. It is used in situations that resemble the one in which the proverb has first been used.

In the introduction of his book *Les Proverbes Berbères*, Bentolila (1995) defines the proverb in the following way:

Le proverbe est une parole qui vient de loin, avec l'autorité du grand âge, une parole qui est le bien commun de toute une société [...]. Les proverbes donnent plus de force au discours [...] ils permettent aussi de prendre position, de conseiller, de critiquer, sans heurter de front les susceptibilités, en se référant à un fond d'expériences très ancien. (Bentolila 1995: 7)

In the 'Dictionnaire de Proverbes Kabyles' (2010), At Mansur says: *'Inzan ṭuqten, sehlen i wesmekti, imi, [...] kkan d seg sefra, [...]d awalen iweznen'* (At Mansur 2010: 11). That is, Proverbs are numerous; they are easily memorable because they are drawn from poems and are meaningful words.

The sum of the above mentioned definitions in English, French, Arabic and Tamazight/Kabyle, allows us largely to have an idea of what the proverb is. If we attempt to synthesise them, this will profitably put into relief the most important features characterising the proverb. Therefore, the proverb is a saying that has the following features: it is traditional, circulating, short, memorable, popular, pithy, structurally constant, based on human

observation and experience and used to teach morals. In our work, we will accept as proverbs all utterances that have these features.

It is pertinent to point out that the proverb is generally distinguished from the idiom, which, in the *Oxford Dictionary of Idioms* (1999), is defined as:

[A] form of expression or a phrase peculiar to a language and approved by the usage of that language, and it often has a signification other than its grammatical or logical one. In practical terms this includes a wide range of expressions that have become in a sense fossilized within the language and are used in a fixed or semi-fixed way without reference to the literal meaning of their component words. (Oxford Dictionary of Idioms, 1999 preface).

This definition together with the above mentioned definitions of the proverb lead us to perceive the expression ‘*barking dogs seldom bite*’ as a proverb that gives advice about idle threats and the expression ‘*a dog’s life*’ as an idiom meaning ‘*an unhappy existence full of problems or unfair treatment*’(ibid: 102). In sum, an idiom is a fossilized fixed or semi-fixed phrase having a meaning different from that of its composing words while the proverb is a complete sentence that is often metaphorical and used to convey some wisdom or accepted truth.

A valuable remark should also be made concerning the question of proverbs performance. Through the above surveyed definitions, the proverb is conceived as a verbal rather than a written entity. This is due to the oral medium that characterizes the discourse of early societies, as Hernadi and Steen (1999) contend:

Since most of the history of the human species has been the history of oral rather than literate cultures, it is not surprising that the originally oral medium of transmission still affects the mental processing and communicative exchange of proverbs. [...] The sea change from orality to literacy in the history of particular societies does not seem to threaten the survival of proverbs as a fairly distinct kind of verbal expression and communication (Hernadi & Steen 1999: 2)

In the above subsection, we have provided some definitions of the concept proverb, then, we have attempted to put into relief the main features that characterize it. After having done this, we shall move to a description of the origins of the proverb.

1.3.2. Origins of the Proverb

Every language has a rich store of proverbs that people use in their daily speech. This store includes proverbs originating from various sources: they are drawn from human experience and observation of the tangible world around them, from ancient languages, from oral and written literary creation, from religion, and history.

1.3.2.1. Human Experience

It is a truism to say that the proverb rises out of people's observation of the concrete world around them and their experience. This view is sustained by Suzzoni (1993) who asserts:

Les proverbes tirent leur origine de l'observation du monde sensible et de l'expérience humaine. Il est possible, à partir de cette constatation de délimiter des catégories stables et cohérentes (monde vivant, bestiaire, monde du travail, relations, changes...), ordonnées dans une sorte de parcours anthropologique englobant tous les champs de l'expérience humaine. (Suzzoni 1993: 3)

The relationship that people have with the environment where they live, such as, their contact with domestic animals leads to the creation of a vast range of proverbs relating to different animals. A pertinent example that illustrates this is the use of the dog animal in proverbs to refer figuratively to humans' characteristics or their behaviour. The English proverb *barking dogs seldom bite* is used in French as *chien qui aboie ne mord pas* and in Kabyle as *aqjun isseglafen ur iteṭṭara*.

1.3.2.2. Ancient Languages

Most proverbs originate in oral languages. Before the invention of printing tools, proverbs were mainly memorized and utilized in oral communication. This is the reason why the date of origin of most of the world's proverbs is unknown and their generators as well. Hence, proverbs travel across generations through the oral medium. In this way, a great deal of proverbs of ancient languages moved into modern languages. As for example, many proverbs used in English and French today come from Latin and classical Greek. Relevant instances are worth mentioning: the Latin proverb *Tempus fugit* is translated into English as *Times flies* (Byrne 2005: 285) and the French proverb *Des goûts et des couleurs il ne faut pas discuter* is derived from the Latin proverb used in the middle ages *De gustibus et coloribus non disputandum* (Petit Larousse en Couleurs, 1972: iii). Another equally illustrative example is the English proverb *One swallow does not make a summer* that is drawn from the work of the Greek philosopher Plato entitled 'The Republic' (Byrne 2005: 285).

1.3.2.3. Literary Creation

Literary creation, both oral and written, is another major source of derivation for proverbs. An interesting example that illustrates this is the many French proverbs drawn from the fables of La Fontaine: *selon que vous serez riche ou misérable/ Les jugements du cour vous rendront blanc ou noir* (ibid.: 286). It is worth pointing out here that in some languages like Tamazight, many proverbs are but the conclusion of a tale (Cf. Bentolila 1995: 8). In this case, knowledge of the tale enlightens the meaning of the proverbs. This is characteristic of a great number of proverbs in Tamazight, in general, and in Kabyle, in particular. A pertinent example that illustrates this is the Kabyle proverb: *Yewhec lfil, arnan-as gma-s* (The elephant was afraid, so, they gave him a brother) (Nacib 2009: 331). This proverb is the concluding sentence of a tale. Knowledge of this tale is required for the understanding of the proverb. It has to be signalled that unlike the tales of La Fontaine that had a written form when the

proverbs were created, Kabyle tales had only an oral form and people memorized the concluding sentences of the tales and used them as proverbs.

In English, some proverbs originate from plays. The proverb '*A rose by any other name would smell as sweet*' is taken from Shakespeare's play *Romeo and Juliet* (Manser 2007: xi). Poetry is also an important source for proverbs. For instance, the Arabic proverb *Innama: yajzi 'al-fata: laysa 'al-jamalu* (It is the boy who rewards not the camel) is a verse in a poem written by the poet Al Bayd Ben Rabia (Al-Yusi 1979 : 132).

1.3.2.4. Religion

Another source for proverbs is religion. Many proverbs are drawn from religious texts. For instance, a large number of Arabic Proverbs are cited in 'al-Qur'an. Among these proverbs are those that refer to animals, such as, *Hatta yalija 'aljamalu fi sammi 'al-xiya:ti* (until the camel goes through the needle's hole) ('Al-'A'ra:f: 40). In addition, some Arab proverbs are created by means of a process of adaptation of these proverbs. As for example, the proverb '*azyaqu min sammi 'al-xiya:ti* (smaller than the needle's eye) is derived from the above mentioned proverb (Cf. Qatamish 1988: 153).

Many English proverbs derive from the Bible. For example, the proverb '*The leopard can't change its spots?*' has a biblical origin, that is, '*Can the Ethiopian change his skin, or the leopard his spots?*' (*Jeremiah 13:23* in Manser 2007: x). The same process is used in the creation of proverbs in French. Some French proverbs are drawn from the Gospel. For instance, the proverb *Nul n'est prophète en son pays* is derived from the Gospel: '*[Jésus leur disait :] un prophète n'est méprisé que dans sa patrie, parmi ses parents, dans sa maison*' (*Marc 6,4* in Montreynaud et al 1993 : 97). Another interesting example is the English and French proverbs also extracted from the Bible; namely, *It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God* and its French

equivalent *Il est plus aisé pour un chameau de passer par le trou d'une aiguille, que pour un riche d'entrer dans le royaume de Dieu* (Matthew 19:24/Mathieu 19:24).

1.3.2.5. History

There are some proverbs that originate from history, historical facts or historical figures. According to Owomoyela (2005), such proverbs comprise *historical markers* that he describes as follows:

[B]its of dating information that reveal approximately when they came into being. These are usually references to identifiable historical events, sometimes to historical personalities, and sometimes to items whose advent is associated with historical developments, such as the introduction of foreign religions (Christianity and Islam) or the arrival of Europeans. Proverbs that incorporate historical markers permit an approximate determination of the time when they came into use. (Owomoyela 2005: 27).

Proverbs drawn from historical facts can be illustrated, in Kabyle, through the proverb *yewtiyi urumi, cetkay-as igma-s*. (The French man hit me, I complained to his brother). Algeria has lived under the occupation of the French for a century. During that period, the French man was considered as the enemy of the Kabyle population. It is part of Kabyle ethics that one should not complain to enemies. This fact gives rise to this proverb.

Another example that is illustrative of proverbs that come from history is the Arabic proverb:

'aṣaḥḥu min 'ayri abi: sayyarata)

Healthier than ass Abi sayyarata

Healthier than Abi Sayarata's ass

This proverb is drawn from Arabian history. A well-known man called Abi: Sayyarata possessed a very healthy ass that lived so long. Therefore, when Arab speakers refer to healthy people they use this proverb.

1.3.3. Functions of the Proverb

In various cultures and societies, people use the proverb in order to achieve a variety of purposes. As a result, the proverb functions within distinct dimensions: 1. Language, 2. Cognition, 3. Society, and 4. Culture. Within the linguistic dimension, the proverb plays an important part in rhetoric wherein it serves as an ornamental device or decorating tool. Speech that is deprived of proverbs can be compared to salt-less food while speech that backed up with proverbs sounds witty and persuasive and, therefore, arises attention and interest, as Fernand Bentolila (1995) contends, *'[i]l suffit, dans un cercle d'amis, de citer un proverb avec a-propos pour susciter plus d'écoute et d'attention. C'est qu'il y a un charme du proverbe comme il y a un charme de la poésie'* (Bentolila 1995:7). It is worth noting here that some kind of *rapprochement* is made between the proverb and poetry. This is due to the fact that proverb use has recourse to similar stylistic devices as those utilised in poetry. These devices include rhyme, alliteration, assonance, etc. In addition to these, figures of speech such as metaphor, metonymy, simile, personification, and so on, are used.

The function of the proverb within the cognitive dimension can be accounted for in terms of their role in facilitating mental processing of information. That is to say, people resort to proverbs in order to make sure that the audience adequately understands the content of their transmitted message, in other words, the proverb is used as a means of clarification of ideas from the addresser to the addressee. Al-Yusi (1979) describes how the proverb fosters and reinforces cognitive perception, he says:

[...] *'al-maṭalu yuṣawwiru 'al ma'qula bi ṣurati 'al-maḥsusi, wa qad yuṣawwiru 'al-ma'du:ma bi ṣurati 'al-mawju:di, wa 'al-ḡa:'iba bi ṣurati 'al-muṣa:hadi 'al ha:ziri, fayasta'i:nu 'al-'aqlu 'ala idra:ki ḡa:lika bi 'al-ḥawa:si, fa yataqawa: 'al idra:ku wa yattazihu 'al mudraku* ('Al-Yu:si 1979: 31).

That is to say, the proverb depicts what is rational through the picture of what is palpable. It also depicts what is in-existent through the picture of what is existent, and what is absent

through the picture of what is visible and present, this helps the mind to perceive that by means of the senses, As a result, perception is reinforced and the matter is clarified.

Furthermore, proverb production and processing is based on the principle of analogy. Here, the function of the proverb within cognition can be explained in terms of the comparison of two remote situations, one that is present and another that is past. This is referred to as *analogical reasoning*. According to Temple and Honeck (1999), a process is required in proverb interpretation. In their view, understanding the meaning conveyed through a proverb used in *a relevant-context situation* depends on some factors; that is, '*the interpreter must understand the topic and the proverb, and effect a mapping or correspondence between them*' (Temple & Honeck 1999: 43). They moreover argue that, in order to understand a proverb,

The hearer must generate inferences that can tie the various elements of the discourse context together in order to decipher the speaker's intended meaning. This process can involve, for instance, analogizing process by which the hearer attempts to map referents in the context to those in the figurative utterance (ibid: 60).

In sum, the function that the proverb has in cognition is to reinforce the brain's understanding of the intended meaning of the addresser through analogy made between the components of the actual situation with those of the past context. The latter are internalised in the user's memory.

The social function of the proverb needs to be treated through a multifunctional perspective for it is used for a variety of social purposes. Among those that scholars have recorded are the didactic, humour and wit purposes (Cf. Siran 1993; Stone 2005; Hernadi & Steen 1999; Messenger 1959; Mieder 1993). In some cultures, such as the Nigerian, the proverb is used for legal argumentation while in other cultures, like the American, the proverb is used to show racist attitudes. These different functions will be detailed hereafter.

The proverb is known for being used to transmit the wisdom of past generations to those living in the modern era. Elders allude to proverbs in order to advice and guide the young. In this educational function, the proverb is viewed positively even though it is sometimes used to criticize. However, when criticism against some socially unacceptable behaviour is made by means of the introduction of a proverb in discourse, the addressee does not generally feel offended. Siran (1993) describes the process as follows:

The proverb sets the two persons, the criticized and the critic, at a distance from what is spoken between them. The sender is simply quoting an anonymous proverb, which came into existence before the matter at hand. The target is not named. He may recognize himself as one of the characters in the proverb but he will not have to admit this publicly. Criticism can thus be expressed without offending the receiver and without implicating the sender (Siran 1993: 227).

In addition to the didactic function, scholars also acknowledge that the proverb plays an important role in humour and wit. When used in ordinary conversations, many proverbs make people laugh, for instance, as Stone J.R. remarks, *they laugh at "the pot for calling the kettle black"* (Stone 2005: xiii). Such proverbs are not only used to amuse but also to favour positive attitudes among individuals in the society. Hernadi and Steen (1999) suggest,

[...] Proverbs not only supply a shared repertoire of standard sayings but manage to tap into playful modes of thinking which are enjoyably efficient and promote camaraderie between speakers and listeners. Social cohesion can thus be promoted even when a particular proverb or humorous mock proverb is not directly applied to some shared utilitarian purpose. (Hernadi and Steen 1999: 3)

In the Nigerian culture, litigants use the proverb as arguments in court. Messenger (1959) says that these cases should suffice to illustrate the vital role played by proverbs in the dispensation of justice by Anang tribunals (Cf. Messenger 1959: 306).

As was said previously, the didactic function of the proverb has positive effects in society; however, some proverbs used in the U.S.A. have a pejorative function against other ethnic groups. In his article, *The Only Good Indian Is a Dead Indian": History and Meaning*

of a *Proverbial Stereotype* (1993) Wolfgang Mieder (1993), treats racial prejudice that is expressed in the proverbs used by Americans towards Indians. He argues:

There exist numerous stereotypes and slurs against Native Americans, but the proverb "The only good Indian is a dead Indian" is a particularly hateful invective. It has been in use in the United States since the 1860s, and General Philip Sheridan has repeatedly been named as its originator. (Mieder 1993: 38)

He furthermore provides a list of other racist proverbs used against the Indians, such as, ‘*to go Indian file (to walk in a single file), to sing Indian (to act as one who defies death), as dirty as an Indian, as superstitious as a Indian, Red as an Indian, sly as an Indian, etc.*’ (ibid :39-40)

As far as the proverb’s function within culture is concerned, Stone (2005) notes that ‘*[t]he value and importance [...] of a collection of ancient and modern proverbs from people around the world, lies in what we can learn about customs and cultures different from ours. Proverbs can also teach us something about the character of our own*’ (Stone 2005: xiii). This implies that proverbs can tell us things about others’ cultures and ours because they both reflect shared human experience and vehicle the culture of people. Moreover, proverbs, according to Byrne (2005), ‘*transmit wisdom and cultural values from one generation to another*’ (Byrne 2005: 285). In this way, they mould people’s cultural identities.

In sum, proverbs mirror people’s cultural identities in the world’s societies. They show the sedimentary marks of such cultural aspects as values, beliefs, customs and traditions. It is worth providing illustrative examples that reveal how proverbs are reflective of such cultural features. To begin with, religious beliefs are reflected in proverbs drawn from religious texts. In French and English, the proverb *oeil pour oeil et dent pour dent* and *an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth* (Fergusson 2000: 230) is indicative of people’s belief that justice has to be done. Other proverbs reflect people’s values. For instance, the proverb *Time is money* used in both the British and American societies reveals the value that is given to time and money in the two cultures. Some other proverbs relate to particular modes of eating or types of

traditional food. The English proverb *'The proof of the pudding is in the eating'* refers to a traditional English food. This is also relevant to Kabyle wherein the proverb *'Am seksu ddaw n texpayt'* (like couscous under the courgette) refers to some traditional Kabyle food called *'cousous'*. Moreover, the value given to the word or promise is also a cultural characteristic that is reflected in the proverbs of various cultures. In Kabyle, the proverb *'awal am tarçast, mi geffey ur d iṭuyal'* (the word is like a gun's bullet, once it is fired it does not return). This is also relevant to the Arabic proverb *'a:fatu 'al-muru: 'a, xulfu 'al-wa'di'* (humans' weakness is breaking their promises).

In addition, proverbs related to animals constitute valuable instances that illustrate the way proverbs reflect cultural features. People belonging to different societies and cultures have specific mental representations of animals according to the species that exist in their natural and physical environment and to the role that these animals play in people's social daily activities. This role generally arises out of people's way of life, work, social needs and interests. A pertinent example of this fact is the use of the dog animal across most of the world's proverbs. These proverbs show up the relationships that tie humans to dogs. Generally, people's representations of this animal are that of a loyal and friendly creature that is useful for a variety of purposes (hunting, working and guarding). These representations are reflected in the proverbs of many cultures. As for example, the English people use the proverb *'A dog is a man's best friend'*, the Arabs use the proverb *'a:lafu min kalbin'* (more domestic than a dog) and the French use the proverb *'Bon chien chasse de race'* (good dog drives out race).

So far, a descriptive account of the functions of proverbs has been provided. It has focused on their functions within four dimensions: language, cognition, society and culture and has been backed up with relevant examples drawn from different cultures. In what follows, we shall deal with the meaning of proverbs.

1.3.4. The Meaning of Proverbs

The literature on the meaning of proverbs acknowledges the existence of two levels of meaning within most proverbs: a literal level of meaning obtained through the combination of the dictionary words' meanings in the proverb and a figurative level of meaning (Cf. Bock & Brewer 1980: 59). At this point, attention should be drawn to the fact that literal and figurative meanings are two controversial and debated concepts. The distinction made between them and the interdependence relationship that joins them is primordial in understanding proverb use. Hence, the two concepts deserve at least that we provide some background information of what they are used to refer to. The Oxford Advanced Learners' Dictionary (2001) defines literal meaning as '*the basic or usual meaning of a word or phrase*' (Oxford Advanced Learners' Dictionary 2001:783) while figurative meaning is said to be '*used in a way that is different from the usual meaning, in order to create a particular mental image*' (ibid: 494).

Knowles and Moon (2006) argue that '*[i]n the simplest cases, a word's literal meanings refer to a concrete entity –something with physical existence in the world – and its non-literal meanings refer to something abstract, or to abstract qualities*' (Knowles & Moon 2006:5). For instance, in the English proverb *Dog does not eat dog*, the word *Dog* literally refers to the animal and figuratively to people that are alike. One further remark about this fact is that literal and figurative meanings do not only apply to words but to other levels of speech as well, as Katz (1996) notes:

In the broadest sense, an utterance can be understood as figurative when the expressed meaning differs from the meaning one intends to convey. This can occur at different levels of analysis: at the level of an individual word, the sentence, the discourse context in which the sentence is presented, and the larger, historical-cultural bases for understanding the trope (Katz 1996: 18)

This implies that the proverb *Dog does not eat dog* is understood figuratively not only through the words that make it up but through the whole utterance and the situation in which it is uttered.

In his article *Literal Meaning*, Searle (1978) suggests that figurative meaning is a characteristic of speakers not sentences. He states:

The literal meaning of a sentence needs to be sharply distinguished from what a speaker means by the sentence when he utters it to perform a speech act, for the speaker's utterance meaning may depart from the literal sentence meaning in a variety of ways. For example, in uttering a sentence a speaker may mean something different from what the sentence means, as in the case of metaphor... (Searle 1978: 207-208).

Searle's position is that figurative meaning is only a matter of departure from literal meaning and indirectness relating to *speakers' utterances of sentences* rather than to *properties of sentences* (ibid). As far as literal meaning is concerned, he defends the view that it is necessarily bound to some specific contextual assumptions and truth conditions of sentences.

He claims:

[...] for a large number of cases the notion of literal meaning of a sentence only has application relative to a set of background assumptions, and furthermore these background assumptions are not all and could not all be realised in the semantic structure of the sentence in the way that presuppositions and indexically dependent elements of sentence's truth conditions are realised in the semantic structure of the sentence. (Searle 1978: 210).

For example, the sentence '*The cat is on the mat*' (ibid.) is said to be literally true or false on the basis of some background assumptions such as space, time, objects, gravity, etc.

It would be, undoubtedly pertinent to stop here for a while to consider what scholars say about the role of literal and figurative meanings in understanding figurative utterances such as proverbs. If one turns to traditional treatments of the subject matter, unbalanced consideration is given to literal and figurative levels of meaning in understanding figurative

language. In his article *The meanings of Literal*, Lakoff (1986) denounces the classical views that give primacy to literal meaning over figurative or non-literal meaning, he argues:

The sacred status of literal meaning is no secret. The literal is typically viewed as the main concern of the study of semantics; all else is taken a secondary and peripheral. It is the literal that is assumed to give us our fundamental grip on meaningfulness, on factuality, on straight talk, and on reason. The nonliteral is seen from this perspective as dispensable – a matter of indirectness, exaggeration, embellishment, interpretation, metaphor. The literal, in the classical story, is the indispensable sacred rock that forms the bulk of our knowledge and thought (Lakoff 1986: 292).

This position towards literal meaning is also shared by Davidson (1978) who contends that *'[m]etaphors mean what the words, in their most literal interpretation mean, and nothing more [...] a metaphor doesn't say anything beyond its literal meaning (nor does its maker say anything, in using the metaphor, beyond the literal'* (Davidson 1978: 32). In addition, he proposes to *'consider the key word (or words) in a metaphor as having two different kinds of meaning at once, a literal and a figurative meaning'* (ibid). The two meanings, he says, will be related by a rule that informs about what the figurative word refers to in its literal function.

According to Searle (1979), in the standard pragmatic theory, understanding figurative meaning involves three successive stages: the first being the derivation of the literal meaning. The second involves the verification of the appropriate meaningfulness of literal meaning in context. If it is found to be so, then one stops there. Or else, a third stage is undertaken wherein interpretation of figurative meaning is involved (Cf. Searle 1979: 114). On the contrary, Glucksberg (1991) objects to Searle's view that literal meaning is rejected in favour of figurative meaning which he describes as being seriously mistaken. He argues that *'[l]iteral meanings are not simply rejected. Rather, they are used, along with figurative meanings, to arrive at speaker meaning, i.e., what a speaker intends the listener to understand'* (Glucksberg 1991: 147).

Glucksberg (1991) proposes an approach that accounts for how figurative language, like metaphor and idioms, is used and understood. He suggests that figurative meaning is conveyed through literal meaning relying on a process that he labels '*the process of allusion, i.e., the use of expressions to refer to entities or situations that are prototypically exemplars of culturally shared concepts and symbols*' (ibid:146). He holds that whenever figurative language is used in speech, the allusion to the original is recognized and the word meanings are completely processed. *These two operations yield two products: the recognition and understanding of the original phrase, and the meanings of the individual words themselves. These two sets of meanings are then integrated with discourse context to arrive at an interpretation of the speaker's intended meaning* (Glucksberg 1991: 150).

Other scholars consider literal meaning as being conventional. For instance, Recanati (2004) claims that '*the literal meaning of a linguistic expression is its conventional meaning: the meaning it has in virtue of the conventions which are constitutive of the language. Thus understood literal meaning is a property of the expression-type*' (Recanati 2004: 68). He calls this meaning *t-literal meaning* to distinguish it from any other possible interpretations of the words' literal meaning. In addition, he introduces the *t-non-literal meaning* which relates both to the conventional meaning of the expression-type and to the characteristics of the situation of use. According to Recanati (2004), *t-literal meaning* departs from the meaning of the expression-type (ibid.). We can say that he holds a view that is similar to that of Searle (1978). As for the question of understanding figurative language, Recanati (2004) considers metaphor as '*the paradigm case of non-literal meaning*. He maintains that an *ordinary hearer readily understands what is said by such [a metaphoric] utterance, without going through a two-step procedure involving the prior computation of the 'literal' meaning of the utterance (whatever that may be) and a secondary inference to the actual meaning*' (ibid: 76). In his

view, the hearer interprets the metaphoric utterance by operating an adjustment of the meaning of words to the situation in which they are used.

The account on literal and figurative meaning distinction that we have provided so far has revealed that the two concepts are still debated. The question of whether literal meaning must be processed before the interpretation of the non-literal meaning or whether the non-literal meaning is processed directly is not clear-cut. Nevertheless, for conducting our present research, we shall consider them as being accepted and standard.

1.3.5. Types of Proverbs

Proverbs can be categorised into two main types: those that have only a literal or non-metaphorical meaning, such as *One apple a day, keeps the doctor away* (Fergusson, 2000: preface) and those having also figurative or metaphorical meaning like *Run after two hares and you will catch neither*. Bock and Brewer (1980) contend:

Most proverbs have both a literal and a figurative level of meaning. At the literal level, a proverb such as “Run after two hares and you will catch neither” gives advice about catching rabbits, whereas at the figurative level it suggests that if you try to do too many things you may accomplish none of them (Bock & Brewer 1980: 59).

Figurative meaning is conveyed through various forms of figurative language known as figures of speech. These figures include metonymy, personification, allusion, hyperbole, irony, synecdoche, simile, metaphor and so on. According to Bock and Brewer (1980), *‘figurative language can be produced in several forms, of which metaphor is perhaps the most common’* (ibid: 60). This explains the reason why scholars generally use the terms figurative and metaphorical interchangeably when referring to proverbs having figurative meaning.

As was stated above, two main types of proverbs are acknowledged: the non-metaphorical type including proverbs having only literal meaning and the metaphorical type

comprising proverbs that have also figurative meaning. It is possible to set, within the latter type, some constant subcategories of proverbs. These subcategories can be set according to the particular entities being part of the tangible world and which are referred to figuratively in the proverbs. It is also possible to record a number of entities such as objects, food, plants, parts of the human body (the head, the hand, etc.), animals, and so on. That is to say, these subcategories are composed of metaphorical proverbs related to objects, food, plants, parts of the human body, animals, etc. As far as the latter subcategory is concerned, Hatch and Brown (1995) suggest:

[These] proverbs are not about animals but about people and their lives, [...] If we say, 'Let sleeping dogs lie', we know we are not talking about dogs. We assign the instinctual attitudes and behavior of dogs (they bite, bark, whine, etc., when awake) to a person. If we bring up certain issues to someone, the person will notice them, a circumstance better avoided (Hatch & Brown 1995: 204).

So far, we have provided an account of the proverb. We have first looked at the various definitions that have been given to this term. Then, we have dealt with its different origins. We have also described its cognitive, linguistic and socio-cultural functions. We have moreover given some information on the meaning of proverbs and drawn attention to the distinction between literal and figurative levels of meaning. Finally, we classified proverbs into types.

Conclusion

This first chapter of our dissertation has mainly involved a clarification of concepts whose aim was providing to the reader the necessary information to clarify the scope of the present research. It has mainly focused on such concepts as cognition, language, culture, and the relationship between them. Then, it has presented the concept of metaphor, its various functions and types. Finally, it has introduced the proverb, its functions, meaning and types.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF SOME THEORETICAL ISSUES ABOUT CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR

Introduction

2.1. Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT)

- 2.1.1. Emergence of CMT
- 2.1.2. Development of CMT and its Principles
- 2.1.3. The study of metaphoric Proverbs in CMT

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- 2.3.1. Universality and Variation in Metaphor
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Conclusion

Introduction

This second chapter is devoted to a review of Conceptual Metaphor Theory, a statement of the criticisms that it has received with regard to the confusion of words and concepts, the experiential basis of metaphor and its universality, the link between metaphor, culture and the study of metaphoric proverbs. This chapter will also provide an account of the Cultural-cognitive Theory and its principles.

2.1. Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT)

In this subsection, we first attempt to report the factors that have led to the emergence of CMT. Then, we shall provide a brief survey of its development and the principles on which it is based. Finally, we shall examine the way this theory studies metaphoric proverbs.

2.1.1. Emergence of CMT

The study of metaphor in relation to cognition is regarded as a new stance whose leading theory is Conceptual Metaphor Theory or Cognitive Metaphor Theory (CMT). One of the factors that made this theory come to existence is the inability of previous approaches of metaphor to account for some observed phenomena, such as metaphoric language. This inability is felt among researchers who, later, attempted to suggest their own standpoint. Before describing the emergence of CMT, it would be convenient to look at what previous views of metaphor are and what they fail to analyse.

Earlier interest in metaphor as a figure of speech used by talented artists to decorate texts characterizes the work of many rhetoricians concerned with literary philosophy and stylistics. As was remarked in the previous chapter, such an approach to metaphor finds its origin in the work of the ancient Greek Philosopher Aristotle. It is has to be pointed out that this approach that considers metaphor as a purely aesthetic device and a deviant form of literal language occupies an important place in the history of metaphor study. However, it is criticized for being a traditional and inefficient perspective that deals with metaphor in a

peripheral objectivist manner where the human mind is separated from the real world and its constant influence. With the advent of cognitive sciences, such as cognitive linguistics and cognitive psychology, a different view of metaphor comes to existence. This new view is seen as a reaction to the poetic approach for its inability to account for some important observed phenomena that relate to the semantics of metaphor and its ubiquity in everyday ordinary language as opposed to literary texts.

CMT is acknowledged to be a new cognitive approach to the study of metaphor that is related to the American Scholar George Lakoff. This approach is introduced when, together with Mark Johnson, they publish their book *Metaphors We Live By* (1980). In the preface to this work, they assert that they share ‘*a sense that the dominant views on meaning in Western philosophy and linguistics are inadequate – that “meaning” in these traditions has very little to do with what people find meaningful in their lives*’ (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: ix). They, therefore, propose an experientialist approach that is able to account for how people’s everyday experience of the world is meaningful. This experientialist perspective to metaphor challenges the traditional view. While the former aims at treating meaning in relation to human experience, the latter deals with meaning in an objectivist way deprived of any consideration of human experience and view of reality. In sum, Lakoff’s and Johnson’s purpose is to revise the objectivist rhetoric approach to metaphor. This point can be sustained by considering the first example they supply, that is, ARGUMENT IS WAR conceptual metaphor which is reflected in many linguistic expressions as *your claims are indefensible* and *I demolished his argument* (ibid: 4). This conceptual metaphor indicates that people’s experience of war in the real world is used to understand the abstract concept ARGUMENT. They suggest that ‘*the ARGUMENT IS WAR metaphor is one that we live by in this culture; it structures the actions we perform in arguing*’ (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 5). This means that culture influences the way people conceptualize arguments.

Contrary to the rhetoric approach, the cognitive perspective holds that metaphor is ubiquitous in language and is important in both thought and language. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) contend: *we have found that [...] metaphor is pervasive in everyday life, not just in language but in thought and action* (ibid: 3). Metaphor is found to be used with high frequencies in mundane language; but, the traditional approach failed to explain such a fact because it analysed metaphor as a superficial linguistic aspect. The two cognitive linguists, then, set out to investigate the systematic use of concepts and their relationship to one another to form networks. It is worth noting in passing that they acknowledge that many of their ideas about the systematic conceptualization of metaphor come from Michael Reddy's article '*The conduit metaphor: A case of frame conflict in our language about language*' (1979/1993). Reddy finds that the language or words used to talk about communication are metaphors related to the concrete domain of transference along a conduit. He provides examples of linguistic metaphors like '*to get one's message across*' and '*to pack ideas into words*' (Reddy 1979/1993: 189-190) and shows that it is not easy to avoid using this metaphor when talking about the abstract concept of communication. He furthermore claims that this fact indicates how people perceive communication. In an article entitled *The Contemporary Theory of Metaphor*, Lakoff (1993) expresses his in-debt to Michael Reddy for having inspired their book *Metaphors we Live By* (1980) that led to the emergence of CMT. He says:

Reddy's chapter on how we conceptualize the concept of communication by metaphor gave us a tiny glimpse of an enormous system of conceptual metaphors. Since its appearance, an entire branch of linguistics and cognitive science has developed to study systems of metaphorical thought that we use to reason, that we base our actions on, and that underlie a great deal of the structure of language (Lakoff 1993: 204).

Since the publication of *Metaphors We Live By* (1980) and many other works published either in cooperation with Kövecses (1987), Turner (1989), Johnson (1999), or independently, Lakoff (1987, 1993) and Gibbs (1994), Kövecses (2002), Lakoff and his

associates have developed further the cognitive study of metaphor. They put into relief such important basics as the systematicity of metaphor, the notions of highlighting and hiding, the experiential basis of metaphor, its universality and other central principles of CMT related to the analysis of proverbs. The coming subsections will be devoted to a description of these main aspects of the theory through its development.

2.1.2. Development of CMT and its Principles

As is said above, the systematicity of metaphor, the notions of highlighting and hiding and the experiential basis of metaphor and its universality are important points that are developed within CMT. In what follows, we shall attempt to provide a short account of each of them to attain a better understanding of how conceptual metaphor is treated in CMT.

2.1.2.1. Systematicity of Metaphor

In CMT, metaphors are viewed as being systematic. This point of view emerges because Lakoff and Johnson (1980) consider that the huge number of metaphorical linguistic expressions observed in everyday language such as *attack a position*, *indefensible* and *strategy* (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 7) are systematically used to speak about the action of arguing. As a result, they maintain that it is possible to rely on linguistic expressions in order to analyse metaphors systematically:

Since metaphorical expressions are tied to metaphorical concepts in a systematic way, we can use metaphorical linguistic expressions to study the nature of metaphorical concepts in a systematic way and to gain an understanding of the metaphorical nature of our activities (ibid).

The systematic correspondences between the concepts of WAR and ARGUMENT indicate that they are tied to culture, as they remark, if in our culture we used another metaphor to conceptualize arguments, for instance a dance, then the metaphorical linguistic expressions for arguing would certainly be different (Cf. *ibid*: 5).

Lakoff (1993) stresses the fact of considering metaphor as '*a mode of thought, defined by a systematic mapping from a source to a target domain*' (Lakoff 1993: 210). He furthermore gives three features of metaphor as evidence of this fact:

- The systematicity in the linguistic correspondences.*
- *The use of metaphor to govern reasoning and behaviour based on that reasoning.*
- The possibility for understanding novel extensions in terms of the conventional correspondences.* (ibid)

In addition to the idea of metaphor systematicity, a hypothesis is put forward; namely, the *Invariance Hypothesis* or *the Invariance Principle*. It is worth describing its role in conceptual mappings.

2.1.2.2. The Invariance Principle

Lakoff (1990, 1993) proposes the *Invariance Principle* to ensure that there is consistency in any conceptual mapping involving both a source and a target domain. He argues:

All metaphorical mappings are partial. What is mapped preserves image-schematic structure, though not all image-schematic structure need be mapped. Furthermore, all forms of abstract inference, all details of image-mappings, and all generic-level structure arise via the Invariance Hypothesis (Lakoff 1990: 72).

He later asserts, '*metaphorical mappings preserve the cognitive topology (that is, the image schema structure) of the source domain, in a way consistent with the inherent structure of the target domain*' (Lakoff 1993: 215).

That is to say, the Invariance Principle makes some kind of association of both conceptual consistency and the preservation of image-schematic structure in metaphoric mappings. This

should be thought of in terms of constraints that are set on fixed correspondences between source and target domains. For instance, in the generic-level metaphor PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS reflected linguistically in such an expression as *Achilles is a lion* (Lakoff & Turner 1989 : 195), the image-schematic structure of the source domain HUMAN : *Achilles* is partially and consistently preserved and associated with that of the target domain ANIMAL : *lion*.

Besides the ideas of metaphor systematicity and the Invariance Principle, the notions of highlighting and hiding are important aspects in understanding how conceptual metaphors work. These notions will be described hereafter.

2.1.2.3. Highlighting and Hiding

In CMT, the terms *highlighting and hiding* are used in relation to the mappings that are involved in conceptual metaphors. Within these mappings which are said to be partial, characteristics of the source domain are not totally mapped onto those of the target domain. Thus, highlighting refers to the characteristics that are involved in the mapping while hiding concerns the characteristics that are not. For instance, in the metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR, only some features of WAR are mapped onto those of ARGUMENT (e.g., the feature of battling) while other features are not (e.g., the cooperative characteristic of arguing). In these terms, the mapping of WAR onto ARGUMENT, as any other mapping relating to other metaphors, is described as being partial and not-total (Cf. Lakoff & Johnson 1980:10-13).

2.1.2.4. Experiential Basis of Metaphor

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) emphasize the importance of considering the role of experientialism in the analysis of metaphor, as they maintain, '*[w]e feel that no metaphor can ever be comprehended or even adequately represented independently of its experiential basis...*' (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 19). They give the example of the MORE IS UP conceptual metaphor where the source domain of verticality is chosen to correspond systematically to the target domain of quantity and they explain that *verticality enters our experience in many*

different ways and so gives rise to many different metaphors (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 19). The MORE IS UP metaphor is reflected in such metaphorical linguistic expression as *The number of books printed each year keeps going up* and *My income rose last year* (ibid: 15-16). In this case, metaphorical thought draws from related experience existing between, verticality and quantity. In other words, this conceptual metaphor arises out of the physical experience that humans have of the outer world.

Lakoff (1987a) compares the experientialist approach to metaphor with the previous objectivist perspective, he argues:

The experientialist approach is different: to attempt to characterize meaning in terms of the nature and experience of the organisms doing the thinking. Not just the nature and experience of individuals, but the nature and experience of the species and of communities. "experience" is thus not taken in the narrow sense of the things that have "happened to happen" to a single individual. Experience is instead construed in the broad sense: the totality of human experience and everything that plays a role in it – the nature of our bodies, our genetically inherited capacities, our modes of physical functioning in the world, our social organization, etc. in short, it takes as essential much of what is seen as irrelevant in the objectivist account (Lakoff 1987a: 266).

Consequently, he advocates experientialism and rejects objectivism that deals with meaning irrespective of its cognitive nature. This perspective considers that meaning is obtained via a relation being made between mere symbols, i.e., words, to refer to elements that are part of the real or fictional world. He moreover puts forward the Embodiment hypothesis based on experientialism. In this hypothesis, conceptual structure is claimed to be meaningful because it is embodied, *that is, it arises from, and is tied to our pre-conceptual bodily experience* (ibid: 267).

2.1.2.5. Universality of Metaphor

Conceptual structure emerges out of humans' bodily experience of the external world. This leads to the creation of conceptual metaphors that are universal in nature, as Lakoff and Johnson (1980b) claim:

Metaphorical concepts of all types arise naturally from physical and cultural experience. The orientational metaphor MORE IS UP, for example, appears to be based on the observed correlation between increasing a substance or adding objects to a pile and seeing the level of the substance or pile rise. Such metaphors are good candidates for universal concepts, since they have a strong physical basis (Lakoff & Johnson 1980b: 201).

The advocates of CMT tackle the issue of the universality of conceptual metaphors as it represents an important element that allows the explanation of the existence of many shared metaphors throughout the world. Conceptual metaphors are said to be universal because they come from the universal features characterizing the human body.

This issue raises the question of whether it is possible to find conceptual metaphors that are common to all the languages and cultures of the world. Kövecses (2002) suggests that it *'is an extremely difficult question to answer, considering that there are more than 4,000 languages spoken currently around the world'* (Kövecses 2002: 163). As a result, one can initially look for shared conceptual metaphors in some genetically unrelated languages. In case they are found to exist in these languages, then, it is possible to put forward a hypothesis that they might be universal (Cf. *ibid*).

In respect to the conceptual metaphor reflected in proverbs; that is, GENERIC IS SPECIFIC metaphor, Lakoff and Turner (1989) argue that it is universal:

Of course, GENERIC IS SPECIFIC applies to proverbs worldwide [...]. We surmise that the distinction between generic-level information and specific-level information is common in conceptual systems throughout the world and that proverbs are common in the world's cultures because of this distinction (Lakoff & Turner 1989: 166).

So far, the emergence, the development of CMT and the description of some of its major aspects have been provided. In the following subsection, we shall account for another important dimension; that is, the study of metaphoric proverbs. This account will include a description of the Great Chain Metaphor Theory.

2.1.3. The Study of Metaphoric Proverbs in CMT

In CMT, a model for the cognitive analysis of proverbs and their interpretation is proposed. It bears the name the Great Chain Metaphor Theory. The present sub-section is devoted to the description of this model, its components and the way it functions.

2.1.3.1. The Great Chain Metaphor Theory and the Conceptual Study of Proverbs

As was seen in the previous chapter, conceptual metaphors are classified into specific-level metaphors and generic-level metaphors following the level of their generality. It was also said that the majority of conceptual metaphors are found at the specific-level of generality like ARGUMENT IS WAR and LIFE IS A JOURNEY in which ARGUMENT, WAR, LIFE and JOURNEY are specific-level concepts. Some other conceptual metaphors are found at the generic-level of generality like EVENTS ARE ACTIONS and GENERIC IS SPECIFIC metaphors in which EVENTS, ACTIONS, GENERIC, and SPECIFIC are generic-level concepts. Proverbs include specific-level concepts. As was already illustrated, the English proverb '*Barking dogs seldom bite*' has a specific-level structure containing the concepts BARKING, DOGS, SELDOM, and BITE. Out of this specific-level structure, the GENERIC IS SPECIFIC METAPHOR will draw a generic-level structure that applies to many situations to refer to people's concerns. This is done by means of the GREAT CHAIN METAPHOR (GCM).

The GCM is elaborated by Lakoff and Turner (1989) in *More Than Cool Reasons: A Field Guide to Poetic Metaphor* with the aim of studying poetic language. Lakoff and Turner make use of the GCM device in order to find a solution to the problem of the interpretation of metaphoric proverbs as *The blind blame the ditch* or *Big thunder, little rain*, and metaphorical expressions as *Achilles is a Lion*. This expression is the linguistic instantiation of the PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS conceptual metaphor wherein the source domain is that of ANIMALS and the target that of HUMANS. In this metaphor, that has the form A is a B, some lower-order features

belonging to a lion are understood metaphorically in terms of the higher-order features of a human being. The two cognitive linguists argue that

... understanding the character of Achilles in terms of the instinct of the lion [...] asks us to understand the steadfastness of Achilles' courage in terms of the rigidity of animal instinct. Achilles' courage, we are to understand, is as unchanging and reliable as if it were an animal instinct. The mechanism by which this works is the GREAT CHAIN METAPHOR: steadfastness of higher-order character is understood in terms of rigidity of lower-order instinct (Lakoff & Turner 1989: 195).

To understand how such an interpretation in terms of 'lower-order' and 'higher-order' properties is possible, a description of the GCM device and its constituting ingredients is needed. This description will be given in the following subsection.

2.1.3.1.1. Description of the Great Chain Metaphor (GCM)

The GCM is based on the Great Chain of Being (GCB) that Lakoff and Turner (1989) describe as a cultural model. They say:

The Great Chain of Being is a cultural model that concerns kinds of beings and their properties and places them on a vertical scale with "higher" beings and properties above "lower" beings and properties [...]. The Great Chain is a scale of forms of being – human, animal, plant, inanimate object – and consequently a scale of the properties that characterize forms of being – reason, instinctual behavior, biological function, physical attribute, and so on (Lakoff & Turner 1989: 166-167).

This model is inspired from Arthur Lovejoy's work *The Great Chain of Being* (1936), includes two versions of the GCB: the Basic Great Chain and the extended one. In the former version, beings and objects are ranked in a scale having on top of it higher order beings having many physical and mental properties and at its bottom inanimate things characterized by few physical properties. This scale is organized vertically in the form of levels in the following way:

- Level A: Humans (higher-order)

- Level B: Animals
- Level C: Plants
- Level D: Inanimate things (lower-order)

Each level possesses characteristics that lower-order levels do not possess, for instance level A and B are characterized by instinctual features and behaviours while level C and D are not. The basic Great Chain treats the relationship that links human beings to animals, plants or things. This model, as is believed, *is extremely widespread and occurs not only in Western culture but throughout a wide range of the world's cultures* (Lakoff & Turner 1989: 167). The extended version of the GCB deals with the relationship between human beings, society, God, and the universe.

It should also be noted that the above described cultural model depends on four interrelated elements; namely,

- *The Maxim of Quantity (MQ)*
- *The Great Chain (GC)*
- *The Theory of the Nature of things (TNT)*
- *The GENERIC IS SPECIFIC METAPHOR (GISM)*

These four elements that make up the so-called GCM are said to operate in concert in the interpretation of proverbs. The MQ ensures that enough information, and not more, is supplied to allow comprehension. The GC, as described above, enumerates and organizes entities on a vertical scale. The TNT aims at showing the relationship between the characteristics of the ranked entities with their behaviours in the GCB. In sum, every entity belonging to one of the above mentioned levels has specific characteristics that determine its behaviour. Then, the TNT is combined with the basic GCB and lead to a folk theory that is hierarchically elaborated and determinative of characteristics as well as behaviours. The fourth element is the GISM. The GISM is essential to proverb interpretation as it allows the

understanding of an unlimited number of situations metaphorically with regard to only one given situation described in a proverb. Therefore, its role is to draw common generic-level structure from specific schemas characterizing the knowledge we have about humans, on the one side, and the physical world, on the other. The common generic structure that is drawn *defines new conceptual categories in which the human and the non human are seen as instances of the same thing* (Lakoff & Turner 1989: 172-173).

In order to have a clearer picture of the functioning of the four elements of the GCM together, it is worth examining the proverb *Big thunder, little rain* that is provided for the purpose of illustrating proverb interpretation process (Cf. *ibid*: 172-179). First, a source domain is explicitly indicated in this proverb; namely, the concrete natural event of thundering causing rain to fall. Second, a target domain relating to humans' concerns is implicitly mentioned. What allows us to grasp this target domain as referring to people is the actual discourse situation in which the proverb occurs (Cf. *ibid*: 175). Third, a mapping is operated between the two domains. This mapping links *relevant source-domain information about storms with relevant target-domain information about people* (*ibid*: 177). This is effectuated in the following way:

- *The Great Chain links storms with human beings*
- *The common-sense theory of the Nature of Things picks out attributes and their causal relation to behavior at the levels of storms and human beings.*
- *The Maxim of Quantity picks out the highest attributes and behavior relevant at each level.*
- *The GENERIC IS SPECIFIC extracts from this specific-level knowledge about storms the corresponding generic-level structure. It maps this structure onto the target domain of human beings, picking out the highest level human attributes and behavior which preserves the generic-level structure. (Lakoff & Turner 1989: 175)*

According to Lakoff and Turner (1989), it is possible to understand people in terms of animals or other lower-order forms of being and vice-versa. They, furthermore, consider the animal domain as being the most elaborate of all domains that allow the understanding of

animals' features, metaphorically, in terms of those of human beings. They go on to suggest the following common propositions that are said to occur in schemas for animals:

- *Pigs are dirty, messy, and rude.*
- *Lions are courageous and noble.*
- *Dogs are loyal, dependable and dependent.*
- *Cats are fickle and independent.*
- *Wolves are cruel and murderous.*
- *Gorillas are aggressive and violent* (Lakoff & Turner: 193-194).

A picture of the model that is used for the study of metaphoric proverbs within CMT has been supplied. This picture has revealed that this model is based on the Great Chain Metaphor which is a complex device made up of some interrelated components. Hitherto, a short account of CMT focusing on its emergence, its development and the description of the model of proverb analysis has been supplied, we shall now move on to the coming subsection which will mainly be concerned with some of the criticisms that have been made to CMT.

2.2 Criticisms of CMT

Although CMT is a theory that has occupied an important place within the discipline of cognitive linguistics and is recognized to have so much influence upon other areas of research, it has received too much criticism from researchers belonging to various fields of research. In this subsection, we are interested in only some of the criticisms that have been addressed to the theory. That is, those made with regard to the confusion between linguistic forms and concepts, the experiential basis and universality of metaphor, the absence of the link between metaphor and culture that leads to the neglect of the wide spread phenomenon of variation in metaphors. Besides, some problems found in the study of proverbs will also be mentioned.

2.2.1. Linguistic Forms vs. Concepts

As was stated in the previous chapter, linguistic metaphors are distinguished from conceptual metaphors, as the former belong to language and the latter to thought. It is worth

pointing out that CMT is criticized for confusing linguistic forms and concepts in the study of metaphors. According to Steen (2007), the two elements should be clearly separated, *but the problem is that cognitive-linguistic studies go back and forth between language and thought so often that it is sometimes unclear whether they intend to make claims about language or thought* (Steen 2007: 10). He, accordingly, proposes that a methodological distinction be made between ‘*language*’ and ‘*thought*’ to ensure ‘*cross-linguistic descriptive adequacy*’ (ibid).

Cameron (1999) makes a quite similar objection as far as the linguistic forms vs. concepts distinction is concerned. She sustains that the study of linguistic forms in metaphor analysis should not be under-emphasised. She, then, promises to bring back interest in linguistic forms. She declares:

The fact that metaphor is more than language does not mean that language form is irrelevant to the study of metaphor. The recent trend of reducing all metaphors to the form of A IS B, in order to focus concern on conceptual content has [...] under-emphasised the potential effect of form on processing and understanding, and an applied linguistic dimension to metaphor study will hopefully restore and renew interest in language form at word, clause, sentence and discourse levels (Cameron 1991: 12).

She moreover draws the same conclusion as that of Steen (2007), as she argues:

...it is important for the researcher to be clear about whether research is focusing on metaphor in language or in thought when setting up analytic frameworks. Theoretical clarity is also needed in the relation assume between language and thought, as this will underlie inferences that are made between linguistic evidence and thinking (ibid: 13).

In addition to the criticism made about the confusion between linguistic forms and concepts, Stefanowitch (2007) objects that CMT gives priority to the study of source-target domains mappings at the conceptual level over the analysis of metaphors that manifest in language. He argues:

The conceptual theory of metaphor differs from many previous approaches in that it is primarily a theory of metaphorical cognition rather than metaphorical language. [...] Cognitive metaphor research has focused on uncovering general mappings rather than exhaustively describing the specific linguistic expressions instantiating these mappings (Stefanowitch 2007: 64).

He, furthermore, stresses the fact that *it is difficult to establish a firm empirical basis for studying conceptual metaphor from a linguistic perspective (ibid).* It is worth signalling that Semino et al (2004) address a similar objection:

Within the cognitive approach to metaphor, the focus has been on the conceptual rather than the linguistic level of metaphor analysis. [...]most claims about the existence of particular conceptual metaphors from Reddy (1979) and Lakoff and Johnson (1980) onwards have been based on lists of de-contextualized sentences, all supposedly realizing the same underlying mapping in the minds of the speakers of a language. More recently, doubts have been expressed about the legitimacy of extrapolating too readily from language to cognitive structure, and distinctions have been drawn between claims about whole linguistic communities or idealized native speakers, and claims about the minds of single individuals (Semino et al 2007: 1273).

Kövecses (2008a), in his article *Conceptual metaphor theory some criticisms and alternative proposals*, discusses some criticisms made to CMT. Among these, he cites the criticism made by the Pragglejaz group of which he is a member. He says:

Those who criticize this approach find this procedure problematic in two ways. On the one hand, they claim that CMT researchers take for granted which expressions are metaphorical, and, on the other, critics also suggest that the approach does not pay attention to which actual expressions are used for the target domain (of, for example, anger) by real speakers in natural discourse (see, for example, Pragglejaz Group, 2007) (Kövecses 2008a: 168).

The Pragglejaz Group, in their article ‘*MIP: a method for identifying metaphorically used words in discourse*’ (2007) suggest a method for the identification of metaphors in spoken and written language:

The procedure aims to establish, for each lexical unit in a stretch of discourse, whether its use in the particular context can be described as metaphorical. Our

procedure adopts a maximal, and not a minimal, approach such that a wide range of words may be considered as conveying metaphorical meaning based on their use in context (Pragglejaz Group 2007: 2).

In addition to the above mentioned criticisms related to the distinction between linguistic forms and concepts, objections are also made in relation to the experiential basis of metaphor and its universality. Some of these objections will be described hereafter.

2.2.2. Experiential Basis and Universality of Metaphor

CMT is also criticized for over-emphasizing the principle of experientialism or embodied realism and the universality of metaphors. As a matter of fact, Deignan (2005) questions Lakoff's (1993) focus on the universal metaphors that are based on people's physical experience and his disregard of metaphors that are not. She claims that there exist many metaphors that are not directly grounded in physical experience. These are culturally-specific, as for example, ELECTIONS ARE HORSE RACES (Deignan 2005: 22) being used in the English language and absent in other languages. The objection that is made, here, is that such a metaphor is given a less important role in English speakers' thought patterns because they are not physically experienced. As a result, embodied metaphors are put into relief and investigated while many other metaphors that are related to culture are overlooked in CMT, as Deignan (2005) argues: '*...it is sometimes felt that the influence of physical experience on thought is overstressed and the influence of culture is underplayed in Conceptual Metaphor Theory*' (ibid). This leads to neglecting the influence of culture on thought that gives rise to variation in metaphors use across languages.

Rakova (2002) draws attention to the problematic issue of embodied realism in the sense that CMT sets out to investigate at the same time two phenomena: universal aspects and culturally specific ones while such a simultaneously study is problematic. She holds that it is

impossible for CMT that is based on the universality of experientially based concepts to account for cultural differences at once. She says:

The thing is that reductionism and relativism are not supposed to go together. The failure to balance these two tendencies is, I believe, the second drawback of the philosophy of embodied realism. [...] Thus, my claim is that experientialism is often relativism in the strong sense, and that the supposed universality of directly meaningful concepts and kinaesthetic image schemas is not consistent with the idea of culturally defined conceptualizations (Rakova 2002: 228).

The last criticisms that are described above reveal that the study of metaphor cannot be achieved on a universal basis alone ignoring the existence of cultural factors directly influencing the use of metaphors. The criticism concerning metaphor universality and its culture specificity will be developed further in the next subsection dealing with the absence of culture in the study of metaphors in CMT.

2.2.3. Metaphor, Culture and Proverb Study

In the first chapter, we have seen that both metaphor and proverbs have a socio-cultural function. It has been shown that metaphor is linked to culture and that it is essential to account for this dimension in its treatment. We have also found that this issue is widely sustained by various scholars (Cf. Gibbs 1994; Kövecses 2003, 2005; Boers 2003; Littlemore 2003; Deignan 2003; Charteris-Black 2003; Hidasi 2008). It has been remarked in the above paragraphs that CMT has not given enough importance to the investigation of the impact of culture upon metaphor conceptualization, as it has limited its scope to the cognitive dimension of conceptual metaphor.

As far as the study of proverbs within CMT is concerned, It was pointed out that the Great Chain Metaphor Theory proposed by Lakoff and Turner (1989) constitutes a cultural model of analysis and ranking of the characteristics and behaviours of various beings, as they say, ‘one subtlety of the way the GREAT CHAIN METAPHOR works is worth noting. The cultural

model of the Great Chain primarily concerns attributes and behavior; it relates different forms of beings only via levels of attributes and behavior' (Lakoff & Turner 1989:179).

It is worth noting, here, that the way this theory is built does not allow the investigation of variation in metaphor. It is not concerned with such matters as whether conceptual metaphors involved in proverbs vary across languages and cultures or not, or to investigate the impact of cultural specificities upon human cognition and the differences in the conceptualization of metaphors in proverbs.

So far, we have mentioned some of the criticisms that CMT has received. These concerned the distinction between linguistic forms and concepts and the method of identification of metaphors, the priority given to the experiential basis and universality of metaphor over culturally-based metaphors and the tight link between metaphor, culture and proverb study. Now, we shall look at some reactions that are addressed in response to these criticisms.

2.2.4. Reactions to the Criticisms

It is worth devoting a subsection to the statement of the reactions that the various criticisms mentioned above have arisen. As was already noted, Kövecses is a cognitive linguist that deals with metaphor from cognitive, linguistic and cross-cultural perspectives. In his article *Conceptual metaphor theory some criticisms and alternative proposals* (2008a), he responds to these criticisms and suggests solutions.

As far as the objection concerning the method of identification of metaphors is concerned, he says that there exist three levels in which metaphors are found: the supraindividual, the individual, and the subindividual levels. In the first level, metaphors out of contexts are found. This is the case of dictionaries. In the second level, individuals use particular linguistic metaphors in particular contexts of speech. In the third level, metaphors

that are based on physical experience and culture are found. (Cf. Kövecses 2002: 239-245; 2008a: 169)

Responding to the objection made about the inability of CMT to deal simultaneously with the experiential basis of metaphor leading to its universal nature and its recognized culture-specificity, Kövecses (2008a) admits that the notion of embodiment as described in CMT is unable to account for how culture influences metaphorical conceptualization. He claims: *It is not clear what the more precise relationship is between the process of embodiment leading to universal metaphors and that of local culture leading to language–and culture–specific metaphors* (Kövecses 2008a: 175). He therefore introduces the idea of simultaneous pressures that are exerted upon metaphor conceptualization. He explains:

Metaphorical conceptualization in natural situations occur under two simultaneous pressures: the pressure of embodiment and the pressure of context. Context is determined by local culture. This dual pressure essentially amounts to our effort to be coherent both with the body and culture – coherent both with universal embodiment and the culture-specificity of local culture in the course of metaphorical conceptualization. We can achieve this in some cases, but in others it is either embodiment or cultural specificity that plays the more important role (ibid).

In another article bearing the title ‘*Universality and Variation in the Use of Metaphor*’, Kövecses (2008b) declares that it is possible to analyse metaphorical conceptualization from the standpoints of both universality and variation. This requires only a cognitive-cultural theory that is more adequate than the traditional CMT. This theory is able to account for how metaphorical conceptualization is universal in terms of shared embodiment and culture-specificity with regard to cultural variation. He contends:

The cultural-cognitive view is a natural and necessary complement of the experiential view. This is not to say that the experiential view has completely ignored the issue of variation in culture – it did not. Rather, the suggestion is that it has not paid enough attention to it and has not taken into account the minimally necessary components of a more complete cultural-cognitive theory of metaphor (Kövecses 2008b: 72).

In the above paragraphs, we have listed some of Kövecses' reactions to the criticisms made towards CMT. In the following subsection, an account of the Cultural-Cognitive Approach that he proposes in order to remedy the deficiencies of CMT will be presented.

2.3. The Cultural-Cognitive Theory (CCT)

Kövecses (2005, 2008b) stresses the fact of considering the CCT as a theory that remedies the drawbacks of CMT and completes its gaps. Hence, The CCT should not be considered as a completely different theory from CMT but a more up-to-date version of it. The present subsection will be devoted to the description of the CCT. It will mainly focus on the universality and variation of metaphor, cross-cultural variation in metaphor, variation in metaphor components and the analysis of the HUMAN BEHAVIOUR IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR metaphor.

2.3.1. Universality and Variation in Metaphor

At this point, one cannot deny the existence of metaphors shared by different languages and cultures that are said to be universal or nearly universal, but one should not also deny the existence of metaphors that are not shared at all, as these have the property of being culturally specific. In his seminal book *Metaphor in Culture: Universality and Variation*, Kövecses (2005) draws attention to the limitation of earlier study of metaphor, conducted within the traditional version of CMT, in accounting for the tight link between metaphor variation and culture, thus, giving priority to universal metaphors over those that are not. He accordingly remarks that '*when we look at metaphors in the world's languages, we have the distinct impression that there is a large number of nonuniversal metaphors as well, and that they may be just as numerous as the universal ones, if not more...*' (Kövecses 2005: 3).

In addition, he claims that *‘the primary metaphors are likely to be universal, whereas the complex ones that are formed from them are much less likely to be so. Cultures greatly influence what complex conceptual metaphors emerge from the primary metaphors’* (ibid: 4).

Therefore, to make the study of universality and variation in metaphor satisfactory, Kövecses (2005) introduces the notion of *Coherence* which he describes as a set that is inclusive of three interdependent systems, he says, *‘I have isolated three large systems that, I believe, play an important role in an account of the universality and variation of metaphors. The systems are bodily experience (embodiment), social-cultural experience (context), and cognitive preferences and styles’* (Kövecses 2005: 285).

He moreover distinguishes *‘three distinct types of coherence as they obtain between metaphors and the three systems: in particular, coherence across embodiment and metaphors, coherence across social-cultural experience and metaphors, and coherence across cognitive processes and metaphor’* (ibid.). The main point that he wishes to clarify is the degree of cultural coherence between conceptual metaphors, embodiment, and causes of metaphor variation.

2.3.2. Cross-cultural Variation in Metaphor

According to Kövecses (2005), metaphor is characterized by its universal nature since humans have similar bodies and brains; however, it happens to vary on two dimensions; i.e., cross-culturally and within cultures, as he claims:

If metaphor is based on the way the human body and brain function and we as human beings are alike at the level of this functioning, then most of the metaphors people use must also be fairly similar, that is, universal- at least on the conceptual level [...]. However, I will also argue on the basis of a large amount of evidence that metaphors vary considerably on all levels of their existence – both cross-culturally and within cultures (Kövecses 2005: 34).

He accordingly undertakes research to demonstrate the way in which Conceptual metaphor and its components are subjected to variation under the influence of culturally-specific features. This will be described succinctly hereafter.

2.3.3. Variation in Metaphor Components

In the CCT, all the components of metaphor are believed to be involved in variation. These include 1. Source domain, 2. Target domain, 3. Experiential basis, 4. Neural structures corresponding to (1) and (2) in the brain, 5. Relationships between the source and the target, 6. Metaphorical linguistic expressions, 7. Mappings, 8. Entailments, 9. Blends, 10. Non-linguistic realizations, and 11. Cultural models. An account of the variation of all these components would be too long and will take so much space. Therefore, it would be worth looking at the way he describes the variation of some pertinent components only: source and target domains, conceptual mappings and metaphorical linguistic expressions. Our aim behind this is to give to the reader an idea about what CCT is, and how it deals with metaphor variation.

2.3.3.1. Source and Target Domain Variation

As was already explained, conceptual metaphor is made up of some components, which according to Kövecses (2005), are subject to variation across languages and cultures. This leads to the emergence of different metaphors. As far as, source and target domain aspects are concerned, he states:

Source and target domains can be involved in metaphor variation in an interesting way. This is because source and target concepts may be conceptualized in multiple ways. The different construals of a source and / or target may then lead to multiple versions of a conceptual metaphor that look the same at first glance (Kövecses 2005: 118).

He furthermore points out that variation in source domain at the level of cognition can give rise to variation of metaphor at the level of language, as he states: *Different construals of*

the same source domain may also lead to cross-linguistic metaphor variation. Given a particular source, this source may be construed differently in two languages (ibid: 119).

Different cases of variation are presented, such as, situations in which one culture uses different source domains for one specific target domain or one specific source domain is used to conceptualise various target domains.

2.3.3.2. Variation in Source and Target Domain Mappings

Another component of conceptual metaphor whose variation is worth describing is source and target domain mapping. Kövecses (2005) describes how mappings between the two domains are subject to variation on the basis of some work carried out by another scholar; namely, Jakel. He comes to the following conclusion: *'Mappings characterizing particular conceptual metaphors can change through time and can vary from culture to culture, and from subculture to subculture'* (Kövecses 2005: 127).

2.3.3.3. Variation in Metaphorical Linguistic Expressions

As has been shown, CMT has been criticized for the primacy that was given to conceptual metaphors over metaphoric linguistic expressions, because the former cannot be investigated independently of the latter. CMT's model does not provide a cross-linguistic analysis of metaphoric linguistic expressions in order to find out about how humans from different social settings conceptualize abstract concepts, to what extent this conceptualization differs from language to language and from one socio-cultural context to another.

In the CCT, it is maintained that both conceptual metaphors and metaphorical linguistic expressions are involved in variation. In other words, when the former happens to vary under the influence of culture, the latter also does. Kövecses (2005) raises a central question: *'[i]n exactly what ways does the linguistic expression of shared conceptual metaphors differ or is it similar across languages, and, even more importantly, in exactly what ways can it differ or be similar, and why?'* (Kövecses 2005:131). He thus sets out to

investigate whether the linguistic manifestation of conceptual metaphors is similar or different across languages. To clarify this question, he tackles four issues that are as follows:

(1) how particular figurative meanings are expressed by means of one or several conceptual metaphors in different languages; (2) whether abstract meaning can be expressed literally at all; (3) what the subtle details of the differences in the linguistic expression of the same conceptual metaphor are; and (4) how particular cultural contexts in which conceptual metaphors are embedded influence the linguistic expression of these metaphors (Kövecses 2005: 131).

In the following subsection, we shall describe in a succinct way the procedure that Kövecses (2005) adopts in his investigation of the expression of the same figurative meaning in different languages.

2.3.3.3.1. Expression of the Same Figurative Meaning

According to Kövecses (2005), the comparison of the metaphorical expression of a given conceptual metaphor in different languages requires some parameters. These include:

[T]he literal meaning of the expressions used, the figurative meaning to be expressed, and the conceptual metaphor (or, in some cases, metaphors) on the basis of which figurative meanings are expressed. As a fourth parameter, there is also a linguistic form that is used, but this is necessarily (or at least almost always) different in the case of two different languages (Kövecses 2005: 132).

Relying on these four parameters, he contrasts the metaphorical linguistic expression of the TIME IS MONEY metaphor in American English and Hungarian. Before he does so, he, first, looks for the translation equivalents of the 16 English metaphorical linguistic expressions of the TIME IS MONEY metaphor provided by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) in Hungarian. Then, keeping the same figurative meaning invariable, he conducts his contrastive analysis with the intention of discovering different patterns. He formulates his expectations in the following terms:

we can expect different patterns that characterize the differences, such as different literal meanings giving rise to the same figurative meaning, the same conceptual

metaphors giving rise to the same figurative meaning, or different conceptual metaphors giving rise to the same conceptual meaning (ibid : 133).

He reaches the conclusion that the expression of the metaphor in English and Hungarian presents different patterns (Kövecses 2005: 140). Furthermore, he sets out to investigate the reasons that lead conceptual metaphor and its components to vary. In what follows, we shall look at the way he describes the various causes of metaphor variation.

2.3.4. Causes of Metaphor Variation

Various factors make metaphor vary across languages and cultures. Kövecses (2005) classifies the causes of metaphor variation into two interdependent categories that operate together. He calls the first *Differential Experience* and the second *differential cognitive Preferences and Styles*. Within the former category, he integrates *Awareness of Context, Differential Memory, Differential Concerns and Interests*. Within the second category, he classifies *experiential Focus, View Point Preference, Prototypes and framing* (Kövecses 2005: 231-232). In his view, some factors give rise to differential experience. Besides this, people make use of some cognitive processes in a different way when speaking and thinking figuratively. He explains that '*differential experience is produced by means of cognitive processes, and differential cognitive processes that produce different metaphors always operate on some experiential content*' (ibid: 231). For our purposes, we shall provide a brief survey of the causes of variation that directly relate to the present investigation. These causes include *physical environment, social history and differential prototypes*.

2.3.4. 1. Physical Environment

The physical environment factor leads to differential experience and thus causes metaphor to vary cross-linguistically and cross-culturally. Kövecses (2002) says:

The natural and physical environment shapes a language, primarily its vocabulary, in an obvious way; consequently, it will shape the metaphors as well. Given a certain kind of habitat, speakers living there will be attuned (mostly subconsciously) to things

and phenomena that are characteristic of that habitat; and they will make use of these things and phenomena for the metaphorical comprehension and creation of their conceptual universe (Kövecses 2002: 187).

The physical environment factor should be understood as *'the particular geography, landscape, fauna and flora, dwellings, other people, and so forth that speakers of a language or variety interact with on a habitual basis'* (Kövecses 2005: 232). People live in physical environments that present differences. A worthwhile example that illustrates this is the different species of animals that live in different geographical areas of the world. For instance, lions are found in Africa, pandas in Asia, camels in Asia (Arabia) and Africa, etc. This type of difference is likely to influence animal-related metaphor and lead to its variation. Therefore, it is advantageous to study the physical environment factor in order to find out why metaphor varies from one geographic area to another.

2.3.4.2. Social History

Social history represents another factor that gives rise to differential experience and metaphor variation. This factor involves *'the major or minor events that occurred in the past of a society/culture, group, or individual'*. Kövecses (2005) calls this history *memory* (ibid: 241). He conceives social history as being unconsciously memorized and shared by the members of the socio-cultural group. This collective history is also believed to be coded in language. As far the impact of history on metaphor is concerned, he claims:

It is more or less a commonplace that the history of culture plays a major role in the use of metaphorical language, and that the metaphors we use today may not reflect current understandings about our culture. It is our job as metaphor researchers in the future to find out in which cases this is true and in which ones it is not or is only partially true (ibid).

One advantage of investigating social history is that it allows understanding the reason why metaphors used by individuals show some experiences in their socio-cultural history. In

addition, a comparison of social histories may clarify the variation of conceptual metaphor and its components from one language/culture to another.

2.3.4.3. Differential Prototypes

According to Kövecses (2005), *'source concepts may have several versions, influencing the conceptual metaphors that are based on them'* (Kövecses 2005: 253). He calls these versions differential prototypes. As far as animal differential prototypes are concerned, a reason that may explain why these present differences is the fact that people live in remote geographical areas where different species of animals live. This difference has a direct impact on their representations of animals and their role in society. As a result, the prototypical animal concepts that people use in conceptual metaphors depend on their experiences in the social and cultural environment where they are brought up.

After having dealt with some of the causes of cross-cultural variation, the following subsection will provide a description of the analysis of the HUMAN BEHAVIOUR IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR Metaphor in the CCT.

2.3.4. The HUMAN BEHAVIOUR IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR Metaphor in the CCT

Kövecses (2002) develops further the ideas held by Lakoff G. and Turner Mark (1989) in the Great Chain Metaphor Theory, as he says: *'Much of human behavior seems to be metaphorically understood in terms of ANIMAL behavior'* (Kövecses 2002: 124). This concerns directly the PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS conceptual metaphor in which the source domain of animals is mapped onto the target domain of humans. He moreover raises the question of how linguistic expressions related to animals get their meaning. In answer to this question, he argues that *'humans attributed human characteristics to animals and then reapplied these characteristics to humans. That is, animals were personified first, and then the "human-based animal characteristics" were used to understand human behavior'* (ibid: 125).

It is also worth observing that Kövecses (2002) introduces the idea of conceptual metaphor's *main meaning focus* which he defines as a *major theme* and whose function is stated in the following terms:

Each source is associated with a particular meaning focus (or foci) that is (or are) mapped onto the target. This meaning focus is conventionally fixed and agreed on within a speech community; it is typical of most cases of the source; and it is the characteristic of the source only. The target inherits the main meaning focus (or foci) of the source (Kövecses 2002: 110).

He considers that the main meaning focus of THE HUMAN BEHAVIOUR IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR conceptual metaphor is *objectionability* or *undesirability* that leads to the reformulation of the conceptual metaphor into OBJECTIONABLE HUMAN BEHAVIOUR IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR. He remarks that most metaphors related to animals '*capture the negative characteristics of human beings*' (ibid: 125). However, he notes that it happens that some metaphors do not. He goes on to argue that we have in our conceptual system the highly general metaphor HUMAN IS ANIMAL that consists of at least the following conceptual metaphors:

HUMAN IS ANIMAL
OBJECTIONABLE HUMAN BEHAVIOR IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOR
OBJECTIONABLE PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS
DIFFICULT-TO-HANDLE THINGS ARE DOGS
SEXUALLY ATTRACTIVE WOMEN ARE KITTENS (Kövecses 2002: 125).

In other words, we have in our conceptual system a set of conceptual metaphors that share the feature of having human beings as their target domain and animals as their source domain.

Conclusion

This second chapter has firstly reviewed Conceptual Metaphor Theory focusing on its emergence, its principles and proverb study. Secondly, it has reported the criticisms that it has received with regard to the confusion of words and concepts, the experiential basis (embodiment) of metaphor and its universality, the link between metaphor, culture and the study of metaphoric proverbs. Finally, it has accounted for of the Cultural-cognitive Theory and its principles.

CHAPTER THREE

PRESENTATION OF THE METHODS

Introduction

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Conclusion

Introduction

The present chapter is devoted to the presentation of the research methods and parameters that we shall rely on in our investigation of the HUMAN BEHAVIOUR IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR metaphor in some animal-related proverbs. It will begin with introducing Contrastive Analysis (CA) that is central to the present study. Second, it will describe the parameters of the cross-cultural cognitive analysis of domain mappings. Third and last, it will account for the parameters of the cross-cultural cognitive analysis of animals use in proverbs.

3.1. Contrastive Analysis (CA)

In this first subsection of the third chapter, it will be convenient to provide a brief survey of CA to allow the reader to have an idea about the emergence of this approach and its development within various disciplines. Moreover, we will consider the main objectives that CA sets out to achieve. Then, it will be worthwhile to give the methodological principles on which CA is based. Finally, this subsection will provide the role that CA plays in the study of conceptual metaphor.

3.1.1. Survey of CA

CA (in 'contrastive linguistics') is an empirical approach used to contrast languages. The comparison may cover different linguistic levels; namely, phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics and lexis. The main purpose of CA is to describe and contrast languages in order to discover both their points of contrast and convergence. CA cannot be conducted independently from theoretical linguistics. Therefore, it needs to be related to such theoretical studies as genetic comparative linguistics, language universals, language typology, dialectology, foreign language teaching/learning, the study of bilingualism, translation studies, etc. These studies help identify the reason why CA is applied.

CA has been given various names, as Kreszowski (1990) acknowledges: *‘Although the word “contrastive” is used most frequently with reference to cross-language comparison [...],*

various authors have been trying to replace it with other terms, such as “cross-linguistic studies”, “confrontative studies”, and some even more esoteric terms, for example, “diaglossic grammar”...’ (Krzyszowski 1990: 11). Crystal (2008) defines CA as a ‘general approach to the investigation of language [...], particularly as carried on in certain areas of applied linguistics, such as foreign-language teaching and translation’ (Crystal 2008: 112).

He moreover says:

In a contrastive analysis of two languages, the points of structural difference are identified, and these are then studied as areas of potential difficulty (interference or ‘negative transfer’) in foreign-language learning. The claim that these differences are the source of difficulty in foreign-language learning, and thus govern the progress of the learner, is known as the contrastive analysis hypothesis (ibid).

CA’s origin can be traced back to historical comparative linguistics, a traditional area of study concerned with the diachronic investigation of the development of languages and their genetic relatedness. For instance, English and German are genetically related and are classified within the Germanic subfamily of languages, which in turn, is classified within the Indo-European language family. Dirvin and Verspoor (2004) describe such a classification as follows:

Language classification has a rich tradition of trying to identify language families. This metaphor suggests the existence of a genetic relatedness between a number of languages, reflecting the relations between the members of a human family. Languages that show a large number of common features in phonology, lexicology, morphology and syntax stem from a common ancestor (Dirven & Verspoor 2004: 238).

It should be remarked that CA is not concerned with such matters as the development of languages through time or their genetic relatedness; it is rather devoted to the synchronic description and comparison of corresponding aspects in different languages (Cf. König 2011).

CA has contributed to the investigation of language universals and the classification of languages into types within the field of language typology. The two studies are different but are in some way related. Comrie (1981) describes the difference between the two areas of research in the following way:

Language universals research is concerned with finding those properties that are common to all human languages, whereas in order to typologize languages, i.e. to assign them to different types, it is necessary that there should be differences among languages [...] the study of language universals aims to establish limits on variation within human language. Typology is concerned directly with the study of this variation (Comrie 1981: 30-31).

A well-known figure associated with Language Universals research is Joseph H. Greenberg (Cf. *ibid*: 2). Investigation of language universals depends on the comparison of as many of the world's languages as possible. If this criterion were not fulfilled, then, the results of the investigation would be unsatisfactory and impossible to generalize to all languages. The work carried out on language universals leads to the classification of universals into types: substantive, formal and implicational. Substantive universals concern the existence in all languages of the classes of nouns, verbs, adjectives, and so on, as well as the existence of phonological classes, such as vowels. Formal universals concern the rules of grammar that govern language and the way sentence structure can be analysed (Cf. Chomsky 1965: 27-29). Implicational universals are established by making such statements as, if a given feature 'x' is found to exist in one language, then another feature 'y' does as well. We can suppose that the feature 'x' represents the existence of VSO word order in a language and that the feature 'y' represents the existence of prepositions. Therefore, we would have an implicational universal that reads, '*if a language has VSO word order, then it has prepositions*' (Comrie 1981: 17).

Language typology is an approach concerned with the synchronic comparison of hundreds of world's languages irrespective of their historical origins or genetic relatedness, as Dirvin and Verspoor (2004) state, '*[l]anguage typology is the branch of linguistics that aims*

to find the common properties between various languages, whether genetically related to each other or not' (Dirven and Verspoor 2004: 243). Comrie (1981) argues that 'in order to do language typology, it is necessary to establish certain parameters along which one is going to typologize the languages of the world' (Comrie 1981: 17). These parameters are phonological, morphological and syntactic. The classification of languages based on the morphological parameter has received more attention among scholars than other classifications. *Morphological typology usually recognizes three canonical types of language: isolating, agglutinating, and fusional, to which is sometimes added a fourth: polysynthetic (or incorporating)* (ibid: 39).

According to some researchers (e.g., Dirven and Verspoor 2004), CA is mainly applied for the purpose of discovering differences and accordingly distinguishing between languages. Its relationship to the study of language universals is stated as follows:

...the search for language universals involves the comparison between and among many, often hundreds of languages. Even though this search has led to important assumptions for theoretical linguistics and interdisciplinary research, the focus on similarities in a great number of languages is a different concern from that of contrastive linguistics, which focuses on contrasts between two or more languages (Dirven & Verspoor 2004: 247).

CA is known to be mainly related to the field of applied contrastive linguistics where points of contrast are given more importance than similarities. In this field of study, CA has gone through a period of prestige, a period of decline, then, a period of revival in its history. From the 1940s until the early 1960s, CA has known so much interest among scholars in the field of foreign language teaching/learning (e.g., Fries 1945 & Lado 1957). Having gained this prominent position, CA served applied linguists in their quest for means that would guarantee efficiency to foreign language teaching. Therefore, many pairs of languages were compared to find out the differences that likely caused learners' difficulties in learning. Advocates of CA defended the view that second language teaching materials could best be

designed if the learners' first language was compared with the target one. In addition, learners' difficulties and behaviour could easily be predicted. However, it has been reported (Cf. Granger 2003; König 2011) that scholars' interest in CA declined as it was found to have limitations in second language acquisition, as Granger (2003) argues:

Advances in the understanding of Second Language Acquisition (SLA) mechanisms led to a questioning of the very basis of CA. Interlingual factors were found to be less prevalent than other factors, among which intralingual mechanisms such as the overgeneralization of target rules and external factors such as the influence of teaching methods or personal factors like motivation. This led to the decline of CA, but not to its death (Granger 2003: 17).

In other words, CA could not account for difficulties other than those caused by interference. Besides this, the psychological dimension in learning was overlooked which led to the discarding of such factors as motivation and aptitude. As a result, many linguists have abandoned CA for other approaches such as, 'Error Analysis' and 'Performance Analysis' (Cf. Selinker (1969), Richards (1971), and Corder (1973))

CA's period of decline did not last long. This permitted its extension to other areas of research, as Ganger (2003) sustains, '*the questioning of the contrastive approach to FL teaching did not impede its extension to other fields. The globalisation of society led to an increased awareness of the importance of interlingual and intercultural communication and played a major role in the revival of CL [contrastive linguistics]*' (ibid: 18).

CA is acknowledged to be of practical use in the study of bilingualism. The latter is a field of research interested in the contact between languages and its impact upon both the society (societal bilingualism) and individuals (individual bilingualism). In the latter case, CA is used for measuring the differences between the languages in contact to determine the degree of bilingualism. According to Mackey (1976), individual bilingualism varies in accordance with the degree of similarity and difference between languages. He claims:

Plus les langues se rapprochent, moins il y aura d'effort pour la mémoire, et plus il sera facile de comprendre les deux langues. Si la différence entre les deux langues en contact est variable, la connaissance et l'utilisation de ces deux langues par l'individu le sont également. Le bilinguisme est donc toujours relatif (Mackey 1976: 322).

That is to say, the closer the languages are, the less is the effort made by the memory and the easier understanding them is. In case the difference between the languages in contact is variable, then, the individual's knowledge and use of these languages are variable as well.

By means of CA, the investigation of the points of contrast and similarity within two languages in contact may allow a better understanding of some of the bilinguals' behaviours, such as 'interference', 'borrowing' and 'code-switching'. Interference occurs when one language influences the other through the transfer of linguistic items. Borrowing concerns the integration of some linguistic elements belonging to one language into another. These elements become part of the recipient language. Code switching happens when the bilingual speaker operates a change of language during a conversation with another bilingual speaker (Cf. Malmkjaer 2002: 68-69).

CA is also related to translation studies. According to Crystal (1987), '[t]he term 'translation' is the neutral term used for all tasks where the meaning of expressions in one language (the 'source' language) is turned into the meaning of another (the 'target' language), whether the medium is spoken, written, or signed' (Crystal 1987: 344). Granger (2003) maintains that the relationship between the two disciplines is getting more important as the use of corpora has become a focal concern to linguists, she explains:

Although the disciplines of Contrastive Linguistics (CL) and Translation Studies (TS) cover partly common ground, it is only recently, with the emergence of corpora, that they have started to converge. This rapprochement is apparent from recent publications and conferences that have brought together specialists from the two fields, bearing witness to the vitality of multilingual studies in general (Granger 2003:17).

3.1.2. Objectives of CA

As was already mentioned, CA is of empirical nature and is concerned with the comparison of particular aspects in different languages with the purpose of drawing their differences and similarities. As CA is related to various areas of study, various objectives aimed at through the application of CA in each area are recorded. Dirven and Verspoor (2004) contend that *'contrastive linguistics has some very practical applications: Its findings aim at contrastive grammars, lexicons, phonologies of two or more languages and are useful for foreign language learning, translation, and bilingual dictionaries'* (Dirven & Verspoor 2004 :247).

CA's objectives vary according to the theoretical framework to which it is connected. This framework determines the importance that is given to similarities and/or difference as well as to the number of languages that are needed to reach the objectives of the comparison. In historical comparative linguistics, importance is given to similarities over differences, because the study aims at relating languages and classifying them into language families. *'Language family remains a central notion, emphasizing the internal links between the members of such a family'* (ibid: 238). The comparison and classification does not only involve pairs of languages but the whole of world's languages. In the study of language universals, the central purpose is discovering shared aspects to set up universals. The study requires a wide range of languages to give credit to the results of the comparison. Language typology *focuses on clusters of languages united by some common feature or features* (Krzyszowski 1991: 9-10). This justifies the reason why importance is given to similarities over differences in the typological classifications. In language teaching/learning and the study of bilingualism focus is on pairs of languages, as an applied linguist remarks, *'(a CA is always concerned with a pair of languages) and founded on the assumption that languages can be compared'* (James 1980: 3). Since differences are considered the source of difficulty in

learning a second or foreign language, emphasis is put on differences more than on similarities. As far as translation studies is concerned, Crystal (1987) says, '*[t]he aim of translation is to provide semantic equivalence between source and target language*' (Crystal 1987: 344). This implies that the role of CA in translation studies is to help translators find equivalence between source and target language.

3.1.3. Methodological Principles of CA

Although CA is used for different purposes within various studies, there is a core of methodological principles characterizing it. One of these principles is that comparison across languages is possible. This condition is fulfilled when the investigation of similarities and differences between these languages covers an item existing in all of them. In case this condition fails to be fulfilled, then, comparison becomes impossible. Johansson (2003) suggests that '*one of the most serious problems of contrastive studies is the problem of equivalence*' (Johanson 2003: 34). It happens for some given item existing in one language to have no equivalent in another language or to be rendered through a different item. Krzeszowski (1990) holds that comparison depends on the availability of a *tertium comparationis*, as he argues: '*All comparisons involve the basic assumption that the objects to be compared share something in common, against which differences can be stated. This common platform of reference is called tertium comparationis*' (Krzeszowski 1990: 15).

Another principle concerns the steps that CA must follow. Preliminary descriptions of the aspect to be contrasted in each of the languages must precede its comparison. Ellis (1966) states: '*One needs to compare descriptions of languages before doing anything comparative with them ...*' (Ellis 1966: 11-12). This means that '*contrastive linguistics is [...] dependent on descriptive linguistics since no comparison of languages is possible without their prior description*' (Krzeszowski 1990: 10). Comparison may concern various levels. Languages are

not isomorphic and CA can be conducted on the phonological, lexical, syntactic, semantic and cognitive levels.

A fourth principle of CA is that it is corpus-based. That is, comparison must rely on representative corpora involving these aspects and representing the languages. The role of corpora is to put into relief the similarities and differences between languages, and to provide convincing illustrations and arguments to sustain the conclusive statements made throughout the investigation. These corpora have to be translated into the language in which research is being conducted. Such corpora are called *translation corpora* (Granger 2003: 19).

A last principle that has to be mentioned relates to translation. The examples that serve to illustrate the languages under study have to be translated into English and presented in a normative way. Crystal (1995) acknowledges the existence of three levels of translation. The first is word-for-word translation in which each morpheme of the linguistic form in the source language is translated into one morpheme in the target language. The linguistic form that is obtained is most of the time meaningless. The second is literal translation. In this level, the linguistic form of the source language is translated into a linguistic form in the target language with regard to its grammatical rules. The third level is free translation. In this case, translation is achieved with reference to the meaning of the linguistic form not its structure. In this way, an equivalent is searched in the target language (Cf. Crystal 1987: 344). These levels of translation are illustrated in the following example:

Linguistic form	‘ <i>Aqjun isseglafen ur iteṭṭara</i> ’ (Source language)
Word-for-word	dog that-is-barking not bite not
Literal	A barking dog does not bite
Free	‘Barking dogs seldom bite’ (Target language)

This translation method will be adopted in our work in the presentation of Kabyle, Arabic and French examples. For our purposes, the free translation will not be given, and only two levels

of translation will be supplied. This is preferable because finding equivalence is not always feasible for all our examples, as crystal (1995) asserts, '*[e]xact equivalence is of course impossible: no translator could provide a translation that was a perfect parallel to the source text, in such respects as [...] cultural allusions*' (ibid).

3.1.4. CA in Conceptual Metaphor Studies

It is argued that '*[t]he emergence of cognitive linguistics has created the necessity of revising the work in contrastive studies*' (Krzyszowski 1990:217). It is also sustained that cognitive linguistics plays an important part in the enrichment and refreshment of contrastive linguistics research. Brdar-Szabo and Brdar (2003) maintain that cognitive linguistics contributes to the opening of new horizons of research within contrastive linguistics that have never been investigated before. This is done through the treatment of issues from a cognitive linguistic perspective (Cf. Brdar-Szabo and Brdar 2003: 86). An interesting instance of such issues relates to the question of universality and variation of conceptual metaphor. In this part of the third chapter, it is convenient to look at the role that CA plays in the cognitive linguistic studies conducted on conceptual metaphor. First, we shall provide the reader with some information about how CA is valuable in clarifying the limitations of early CMT studies whose purpose is the setting up of universal metaphors. Second and last, we will try to report how this method is fruitfully applied in the investigation of conceptual metaphor variation within the scope of current CCT.

The search for universal conceptual metaphors is mainly accomplished within the framework set by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), i.e., embodiment or experientialism. That is, conceptual metaphor's structure is primarily viewed as a matter of thought and subsequently of language and is understood in connection with the experientialist approach to language. Thus, the scope of contrastive linguistics is delimited by the scope of the universal aspect characterizing experientialism. As was stated in the previous chapter, one of the major

principles of CMT is experientialism that considers that conceptual structure is meaningful via embodiment, i.e. it is the result of its close relationship with humans' experience of their own bodies (Cf. Lakoff 1987: 267). Therefore, the understanding of the metaphorical expression *'the number of publications rises every year'* deriving from the metaphor MORE IS UP is effected through an understanding of bodily experience which is considered to be similar around the world. This, as a result, makes of MORE IS UP a universal metaphor that structures the thoughts of all normal human beings. However, it is argued that the universal aspect is over-emphasized in the study of metaphor in cognitive linguistics. Hence, CA can serve cognitive linguistics in remedying this disadvantage, as is maintained by Brdar-Szabo and Brdar (2003), *'contrastive linguistic research is an ideal ground for testing cognitive linguistic theory and methodology. Large bodies of data cognitive linguistics can handle bear immense potential in validating or falsifying some claims put forward by cognitive linguistics, which has so far been predominantly biased towards stressing the more universal aspects of language'* (Brdar-Szabo & Brdar 2003: 86-87).

The solution to this problem is proposed by Kövecses (2005) who investigates universality/ near-universality and diversity in metaphors. CA in Metaphor Variation Studies, under the cover of CCT, widens the goalposts of contrastive linguistics to make of it the central instrument of conceptual metaphor analysis within and across cultures and languages to explore how metaphor is rendered in different languages and how its components are affected by cultural diversity. Such an enterprise allows an understanding of how meaning is structured in various languages and cultures. It accordingly contributes to promoting intercultural communication. According to the claim made by Brdar-Szabo and Brdar (2003), cognitive linguistics serves contrastive linguistics in *'remedying such perennial problems as establishing equivalence and tertium comparationis [...] and providing unifying statements*

that motivate contrasts' (Brdar-Szabo & Brdar 2003: 89). In short, one can say that contrastive linguistics and cognitive linguistics are mutually enriching.

3.2. Parameters of the Cross-cultural Cognitive Analysis of Domain Mappings

The aim of this subsection is to introduce, in a brief way, the parameters involved in the cross-cultural cognitive analysis of domain mappings in the proverbs of the four languages. It also describes the steps followed in the investigation of each parameter. These parameters are presented in this order: conceptual domain mappings, embodiment, convergence, and culture-specificity

3.2.1. Conceptual Domain Mappings

This parameter, as was already stated, constitutes one of the components that make up any conceptual metaphor. In Lakoff's experientialist view, conceptual mappings emerge out of humans' embodied experience as such they represent universal phenomena. He argues that *'[t]he details of the mapping are motivated by the details of structural correlation [between source and target domain]. Every detail of the metaphor is motivated by our physical functioning'* (Lakoff 1987: 277). However, Kövecses (2002, 2005) claims the cultural specificity characterizing conceptual mappings. Kövecses (2002) holds that, among the characteristics of the central mappings of metaphors with a wide scope—such as ANIMALS—is that *'[c]ulturally, [they] reflect major human concerns relative to the source in question'*, and *"[m]otivationally, they are the mappings that are most motivated experientially—either culturally or physically'* (Kövecses 2002: 112). In addition, he sustains that *'[m]appings characterizing particular conceptual metaphors can change through time and can vary from culture to culture, and from subculture to subculture'* (Kövecses 2005:127).

Relying on these two positions, domain mappings involved in four specific-level metaphors will be contrasted. These metaphors include HUMAN BEHAVIOUR IS DOG BEHAVIOUR, HUMAN BEHAVIOUR IS ASS BEHAVIOUR, HUMAN BEHAVIOUR IS OX BEHAVIOUR,

and HUMAN BEHAVIOUR IS CAMEL BEHAVIOUR. The steps followed in this contrastive analysis of the source and target domain mappings in the animal-related proverbs are as follows: we will begin with the comparison of the ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR involved in the mappings for each animal. Then, we will do the same for the HUMAN BEHAVIOUR. These steps will reveal the extent to which source and target domain mappings being used in the proverbs of the two languages involve similar or different animal and human behaviours. We will also investigate the existence of any shared domain mappings and attempt to suggest an explanation for their occurrence. After the comparison of domain mappings, comes the discussion of the points of convergence and divergence with regard to the experientialist/embodiment view, on the one side, and the cultural cognitive position on the other.

3.2.2. Embodiment Hypothesis

We have seen, in chapter two that, in CMT, the role of experientialism/embodiment in the analysis of metaphor is emphasized, as Lakoff and Johnson put it, ‘*we feel that no metaphor can ever be comprehended or even adequately represented independently of its experiential basis...*’ (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 19). One of the examples they give is the MORE IS UP conceptual metaphor where the source domain of verticality is systematically mapped onto the target domain of quantity in such metaphorical linguistic expressions as ‘*My income rose last year*’ (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 15-16). Later, Lakoff (1987a) advocates experientialism and claims that metaphors’ conceptual structure is to be meaningful because it is embodied (Cf. Lakoff 1987a: 267).

The embodiment hypothesis parameter is useful to our analysis, as it will be used in order to show that although metaphors that rise out of humans’ embodied experience exist, many other metaphors do not and animal metaphors constitute good examples of these. Therefore, reference to this parameter will aim at revealing that many metaphors are not the

result of embodiment and thus are not universal but culture specific. We will attempt to evidence this fact by finding any possible dissimilarity in the mappings that is due to differences in cultural representations and human-animal cultural relationships.

3.2.3. Convergence

Points of convergence will be analysed and explained in terms of shared features characterizing domain mappings across the selected languages and cultures as accounted for by Kövecses (2002, 2005). In addition, convergence will be dealt with in relation to cultural representations. Any possible shared similarity in cultural representations will be useful in enlightening the *raison d'être* of similarities existing between the ways the different specific animal concepts DOG, ASS, OX, and CAMEL are used in the mappings.

3.2.4. Culture Specificity

Any points of dissimilarity that may be discovered will be investigated with reference to cultural influences on the conceptual construction of domain mappings in the selected animal-related proverbs of English, French, Arabic, and Kabyle. Socio-cultural features and human-animal particular relationships and experiences, as described by Kövecses (2002) will be investigated to clarify the differences. In addition, three parameters introduced by Kövecses (2005) are selected for the discussion of the findings of the cognitive and cross-cultural analysis of domain mappings. These include physical environment, social history, and differential prototypes.

3.2.3.1. Physical Environment

As was observed in chapter two, Kövecses (2005) introduces the physical environment factor that is one of the main causes that creates differential experience and consequently leads metaphor to vary cross-linguistically and cross-culturally. Kövecses (2002) explains that *'the natural and physical environment shapes a language, primarily its vocabulary, in an obvious way; consequently, it will shape the metaphors as well'* (Kövecses 2002: 187). He

adds that it is ‘*the particular geography, landscape, fauna and flora, dwellings, other people, and so forth, that speakers of a language or variety interact with on a habitual basis*’ (Kövecses 2005: 232). The influence of this factor upon the structuring of conceptual mappings in each of the animal proverbs will be investigated. The aim behind this is to find out how differences in the existing fauna makes mappings vary through the variation in the use of the specific level concepts DOG, ASS, OX, CAMEL and their corresponding ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR.

In sum, the pertinence of this factor to our cross-cultural cognitive study of conceptual domain mappings is that English, French, Arab, and Kabyle people live in physical environments that present differences. This leads to the existence of different species of animals that live in different geographical areas of the world. Our analysis will attempt to show how this type of differences influences animal-related metaphor used in proverbs and lead to variation of metaphorical mappings.

3.2.3.2. Social History

As was previously remarked, social history constitutes another factor that leads to differential experience and metaphor variation. Kövecses (2005) calls this history *memory* (Kövecses 2005: 241) and considers it to include *the major or minor events that occurred in the past of a society/culture, group, or individual*. Social history is unconsciously memorized and shared by the members of the socio-cultural group. This collective history is also coded in language. In addition, social history influences conceptual metaphor, as he claims, ‘*the history of culture plays a major role in the use of metaphorical language*’ (ibid).

Our aim in investigating social history is to examine whether social history relating to the English, French, Arabic, and Kabyle communities influences the structuring of metaphorical mappings involved in the HUMAN BEHAVIOUR IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR conceptual metaphor. In case it does, we shall attempt to find out the ways in which it moulds

conceptual mappings. For instance, we shall try to show that this generally occurs through prominent historical events or historical characters having marked the history of the different societies.

3.2.3.3. Differential Prototypes

As was remarked in chapter two, Kövecses (2005) maintains that '*source concepts may have several versions, influencing the conceptual metaphors that are based on them* (ibid: 253). These different versions are what he calls '*differential prototypes*'. This parameter will serve our investigation of animal differential prototypes relating to the concepts of DOG, ASS, OX, and CAMEL in order to explain differences with reference to such facts as people living in remote geographical areas where different species of animals live. This constitutes a difference that may have a direct impact on their representations of animals and their role in society that leads to animal differential prototypes. The steps that will be followed in the investigation of this parameter are to look for particular cultural experiences that people have with their animals, then, see in what ways they influence the prototypical animal concepts that they use in the HUMAN BEHAVIOUR IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR conceptual metaphor.

3.3. Parameters of the Cross-cultural Cognitive Analysis of Animals Use in Proverbs

This subsection aims at presenting briefly the parameters that we rely on in our cross-cultural cognitive analysis of animals use in the proverbs. These parameters include, first, a short account of the notion of main meaning focus that shows how the meaning of the animal-related proverbs will be analysed. Second, it presents the Great Chain of Being theory. Then, it shows how convergence and culture-specificity in the characterization and use of animals in the proverbs will be investigated.

3.3.1. Main Meaning Focus

As was already observed in chapter two, the idea of conceptual metaphor's *main meaning focus* is coined by Kövecses (2002). He defines it as a '*major theme*' characterizing

the source domain and being mapped onto the target domain. It is believed to be fixed and widely accepted by the individuals of the same speech group (Cf. Kövecses 2002: 110). The main meaning focus of THE HUMAN BEHAVIOUR IS ANIMALBEHAVIOUR conceptual metaphor is *objectionability* or *undesirability*. Most animal-related metaphors, according to Kövecses (2002) ‘capture the negative characteristics of human beings’ (ibid: 125). However, some other metaphors do not.

The main meaning focus parameter will be used in such a way as to show the undesirability and desirability main meaning foci conveyed in the proverbs including the concepts DOG, ASS, OX, and CAMEL involved in the HUMAN BEHAVIOUR IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR conceptual metaphor. This analysis will be accomplished with reference to the interpretation of the proverbs as text regardless of any actual usage. This will be followed by the discussion of the characterization of the animals through the situations, events and actions being performed. In other words, attention will be paid to the kind of situations, events and actions that are described in English, French, Arabic, and Kabyle using the figures of the dog, ass, ox, and camel to metaphorically represent human actions and behaviour. This analysis will be achieved with reference to the Great Chain Metaphor theory and cultural representations of animals.

3.3.2. Great Chain of Being Theory

The Great Chain of Being theory is an important parameter in our study of the characterization of animals in the proverbs. It is important because it leads to the emergence of the Great Chain of Being metaphor and has considerable influence on the occurrence of animal metaphors in everyday language and, particularly, in proverbs. Therefore, it is convenient to provide to the reader an account of it and of the way it will serve the present study.

According to the *Blackwell Dictionary of Western Philosophy* (2004), the notion of the 'Great Chain of Being' is introduced by the American philosopher Lovejoy (1936). The latter holds that world's beings are not equal but are hierarchically ordered on a vertical scale having at its top God, at its bottom inanimate things, and in between, humans and animals (Cf. Bunnin & Yu 2004: 289). He calls this the principle of *gradation*. He also claims that this notion dates back to Plato and Aristotle's philosophies of the natural world that Neoplatonists further developed. During the eighteenth century, this idea was fully developed (Cf. Lovejoy 1936: 181). In addition to *gradation*, Lovejoy (1936) introduces two other components underlying the Great Chain of Being; namely, *Plenitude* and *continuity*. He says, '*in its internal structure the universe is a "plenum", and the law of continuity, the assumption that nature makes no leaps," can with absolute confidence be applied in all the sciences, from geometry to biology and psychology*' (Lovejoy 1936: 181).

It is claimed that the Great Chain of Being is of Jewish-Christian origin (Cf. Taylor 1984; Lakoff & Turner 1989; Kövecses 2002). For social and political purposes, this idea has not remained constant but has been subject to modifications through different periods. For instance, in medieval Europe, the Great Chain of Being was adapted in such a way as to include a hierarchy of human beings '*from the king, princes, and various ranks of nobles down through vassals, peasants, and perhaps even slaves, all occupying particular slots in vertical relation to one another*' (Marks 2008: 68). This is the way people categorized themselves and their social relationships. Marks (2008) agrees with the view held by the French anthropologists Emile Durkheim and Marcel Mauss who argue that this way of categorization influenced the way people arranged the natural world around them; this led them to organize animals into a realm like that of human beings. Marks (2008) argues that '*The Great Chain of Being [...] represented an imposition of medieval European political relations upon the natural world*' (ibid). Therefore, The Great Chain of Being is considered to

have political implications on Western civilization. Lakoff and Turner (1989) point out that *'the existence of these global and microcosmic hierarchies in the cultural model of the great Chain, and its conscious elaborations in the West, has had profound social and political consequences'* (Lakoff & Turner 1989: 210). An interesting example of these consequences during the twentieth century period is Hitler's use of the Great Chain of Being in creating metaphors in order to sustain his idea of 'exterminatory' racism (Cf. Musolff 2008: 7).

The idea of the Great Chain of Being influences Western thought greatly. This fact leads to the emergence of a negative attitude not only towards different races of human beings but also towards non-human creatures (animals and plants). Taylor (1986) asserts that *'Most people in our Western civilization are brought up within a belief-system according to which we humans possess a kind of value and dignity not present in "lower" forms of life. In virtue of our humanity we are held to be nobler beings than animals and plants'* (Taylor 1986: 129). In the same line of thought, Lakoff and Turner (1989) maintain that the Great Chain of Being has to do with *dominance*. They say, *'In this cultural model, higher forms of being dominate lower forms of being by virtue of their higher natures'* (Lakoff & Turner 1989: 208). In their view, *dominance* characterizes both human-animal and human-society relationships.

In addition, they contend that this model *'is extremely widespread and occurs not only in Western culture but throughout a wide range of the world's cultures'* (Lakoff & Turner, 1989: 167). Kövecses (2002) also sustains the possible universality of the great Chain of Being; as he says, *'This folk theory of the relationship of things in the world, in the Jewish-Christian tradition, goes back to the Bible. But the folk theory can be found in many cultures and it may well be universal'* (Kövecses 2002: 127). Interestingly, this may reveal similarities in the way people of different cultures consider the natural world and the categorization of their own social life. The fact that human beings impose their own social categorization upon that of animals manifests in language; especially in figurative language like animal-related metaphorical

expressions. In these instances, reference to human beings' features and behaviours via animals is made to denote some metaphoric meanings. Kövecses (2002) explains this phenomenon in the following terms: *'The only way these meanings can have emerged is that humans attributed human characteristics to animals and then reapplied these characteristics to humans. That is, animals were personified first, and then the "human-based animal characteristics" were used to understand human behavior'* (Kövecses 2002: 125). This explanation, referred to as *personification*, is given within the scope of the Great Chain Metaphor theory.

As was observed in chapter two, the Great Chain of Being theory inspires Lakoff and Turner (1989), who build up the GREAT CHAIN METAPHOR in order to understand the meaning of proverbs through the comprehension of human features and behaviour, and this, via analogy with animals and objects and vice-versa. They claim, *The GREAT CHAIN METAPHOR [...] allows us to comprehend general human character traits in terms of well-understood non-human attributes; and conversely it allows us to comprehend less well-understood aspects of the nature of animals and objects in terms of better-understood human characteristics* (Lakoff & Turner, 1989: 172).

The Great Chain Metaphor is a cultural model appearing in two versions the Basic and the extended Great Chain. In the former version, beings and objects are ranked in a scale having on top of it higher order beings having many physical and mental properties and at its bottom inanimate things characterized by few physical properties. The behaviour of beings and objects, in the scale, is given as follows: *'higher animals act by instinct or conditioning, lower animals and plants by biological laws, and physical objects by physical law'* (Lakoff & Turner 1989: 182). The extended version of the Great Chain has as a highest point the cosmos (God and the universe) followed by the society then human beings. Society is understood metaphorically in terms of low-level forms of beings (Cf. *ibid*: 204).

We have seen that what makes the Great Chain Metaphor appropriate for the interpretation of proverbs in Lakoff's and Turner's view is that it has four components working together. First, the Maxim of Quantity ensures that enough information, and not more, is supplied to allow comprehension. Second, the Great Chain organizes entities on a vertical scale. Third, the Nature of Things shows the relationship between the characteristics of the ranked entities with their behaviours in the Great Chain of Being. Fourth, the GENERIC IS SPECIFIC metaphor takes generic-level structure from specific-level schemas. In this way, it allows the understanding of an unlimited number of situations metaphorically with reference to only one given situation described in a proverb.

After having provided this account of the Great Chain of Being theory as discussed by Lovejoy (1936), Lakoff and Turner (1989), Kövecses (2002) and others, we shall now explain how this parameter will be used in our cross-cultural cognitive study of animals use in the proverbs. The first use that will be made of the theory is a contrastive study of the way humans and animals and their respective behaviours are ranked in the proverbs of the four languages and cultures. The second use will be to contrast the occurrence of animal rankings in the proverbs, such as lions and dogs, horses and asses, and so on and so forth. This will be done with the aim of assessing the effectiveness of the theory, and attempting to suggest solutions.

Therefore, the Great Chain of Being Theory will serve to show how the categorization of human behaviour is applied upon that of dogs, asses, oxen, and camels. Furthermore, it will serve to show how the ranking of animals and their behaviours is mapped onto human beings and their behaviours. Another important use that will be made of the theory is the investigation of the origin of animal ranking and its application upon humans in order to attempt an answer to the question of whether this is due to a universal fact as stated in the Great Chain of Being theory or rather to a cultural phenomenon. This will necessitate an account of the cultural representations of such

animals as lions and horses that will aim at revealing their possible superiority to other animals under the influence of cultural and conceptual perceptions.

3.3.3. Convergence

This parameter is used in discussing the points of similarity in the characterization and use of the dog, the ass, ox, and, camel in the proverbs. Any similarities in the characterization of animals revealed through the account of the main meaning foci conveyed in the animal proverbs will be analysed with reference to any shared animal characteristics and behaviours. Moreover, any positive or negative use of animals that may be found to be shared by English, French, Arabic, and Kabyle will be explained in terms of the HUMAN-ANIMAL and ANIMAL-ANIMAL ranking in the Great Chain of Being scale on the one hand, and on account of people's positive or negative cultural perceptions of animals, on the other.

3.3.4. Culture Specificity

The culture specificity parameter will be used with the aim of investigating the differences in the characterization of animals that are caused by socio-cultural specificities. That is to say, the investigation of any possible difference in the situations, events and actions performed by the animals that leads to a variation in the figurative use of dogs, asses, oxen, and camels in English, Arabic, and Kabyle proverbs. In addition, a discussion in terms of the difference in the roles assigned to animals in the various socio-cultural environments will be provided.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we have presented the methods that our present investigation will follow. Therefore, we have first provided a short account of contrastive analysis. Then, we have introduced the parameters of the cross-cultural cognitive study of conceptual mappings and the parameters of the cross-cultural cognitive study of animal use in the proverbs. The former were conceptual mappings, embodiment hypothesis, convergence, and culture specificity. The latter were main meaning focus, the Great Chain of Being, convergence, and culture specificity.

CHAPTER FOUR

DESCRIPTION OF THE MATERIALS AND CORPORA

Introduction

4.1. Presentation of the Languages under Study

- 4.1.1. Standard British English
- 4.1.2. Standard French
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4.2. Description of the Socio-Cultural Views about Some Animals

- 4.2.1. The Dog
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4.3. Description of Corpora

- 4.3.1. Quantitative Account of the proverbs
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Conclusion

Introduction

The present chapter of our dissertation aims at presenting the materials on which our investigation is based and the corpora that are representative of the languages under study. Therefore, we divide this chapter into three major parts. The first is devoted to the presentation of the languages involved in our research; namely, Standard British English used in England, Standard French used in France, Standard Arabic used in Saudi Arabia, and Kabyle, a non-standard variety of the Tamazight language used in the North of Algeria. The second part is concerned with the description of the socio-cultural views about some animals including the dog, ass, ox and camel. The third and last part provides a description of the corpora including a quantitative account of the animal-related proverbs, and a report of the criteria on which their selection is based.

4.1. Presentation of the Languages under Study

The main purpose of this section is to provide, to the reader, information about the language varieties selected for the study of animal-related proverbs in each of the four languages. It furthermore aims at supplying some pertinent data about the geographical location of the languages, the status of the languages (official, prestigious, low variety, international, etc.), their Genetic classification, some of their linguistic peculiarities and, finally, their contact with other languages.

4.1.1. Standard British English

The first language that we have selected for our study is Standard British English which is genetically classified as an Indo-European language, and, within the Germanic subfamily. It constitutes one of the high-status Standard varieties of English existing in the world. British English is the national official language spoken in Britain, in the Northern part of Europe. It is considered a prestigious language that has the privilege of being the most important of the international languages widely spoken and taught to foreigners all over the

world. This Standard consists in the variety used in London that has been chosen among many other varieties used in Britain and promoted to the rank of Standard official language. According to Crystal (1995), one of the outstanding reasons, why the London variety has been chosen to be the standard language of Britain is *'the emergence of London as the political and commercial centre of the country'* (Crystal 1995: 55).

Britain is a region that has proximity with France which fact favours exchange between the members of the British and French communities. From a linguistic point of view, the impact of French upon English is considerable. Many French loan words passed into English and were integrated into dictionaries. Crystal (1995) acknowledges this fact by stating that a wide number of French words in various domains enter English, for instance, the words 'authority, prince' in administration, 'accuse, blame' in law, 'abbey, charity' in religion, 'captain, battle' in the military domain, and so on. (Crystal 1995: 46-47). In addition, many French proverbs exist in English. Some proverbs are shared by the two languages, as for example, *'chien qui aboie ne mord pas'* (*barking dogs seldom bite*), *'chien en vie vaut mieux que lion mort'* (*a live dog is better than a dead lion*), *'deux chiens et un os ne s'accordent'* (*two dogs and a bone never agree*), etc. Another language that influences English is the Arabic language. Many lexical borrowings passed into English, such as, 'cat, camel, zero, algebra, algorithm, almanac, alcohol, lemon, guitar, sugar', and so on (Cf. Shaath 2008).

4.1.2. Standard French

The second language that we have chosen to deal with in our research is Standard French. Similarly to English, this language is classified within the Indo-European family, but in the Romance subfamily. In France, there actually exist many language varieties such as *'le picard, le champenois, le lorain, le languedocien, le normand'* and so on. However, the variety spoken in the Ile-de-France is the one that is selected and promoted to the position of national and official language of France, as stated by Grevisse (1980), *'Du XIIe auXVIe*

siècle, le français ou francien, dialecte de l'Ile-de-France, en suivant la fortune de la puissance royale, prit le pas sur tout les autres dialectes » (Grevisse 1980: 86). In other words, French, the variety of l'Ile-de-France overrides all the other varieties thanks to the wealth of the royal power.

Many languages have influenced the French language. The language that gives to French most of its loan words is Latin, as Grevisse (1980) asserts '*Le lexique français est constitué en majeure partie par des mots issues du Latin*' (ibid: 83). The influence of English upon French is also recognized. During the XVth century and later, many English words entered French. The number of these loan words increased in the XIXth century and in the present days (Cf. ibid: 88). Arabic has also influenced French. The words that were borrowed from Arabic were mainly scientific terms which were first translated into Latin such as '*algèbre*', '*algorithme*', '*alcool*', '*almanac*', '*zero*', and so on. In addition, many other words, approximately 269 words, were borrowed directly from Arabic during the period of the crusades (Cf. Ibid: 89). During the French colonization of Algeria, some kabyle words passed into French; for instance, the words '*burnous*', '*zouave*', '*couscous*', and so on.

4.1.3. Standard Arabic

Arabic is the oldest language that originated in the Arabian area and which is still used nowadays. Kurian (2007) states that '*Arabic is the native tongue of the entire indigenous population [of Saudi Arabia]. It exists in two forms: the classical and the colloquial. The former is the language of the Koran and the standard means of communication among all parts of the Arab world*' (Kurian 2007: 2046).

The Arabic language is classified within the Afro-Asiatic language family and in the Semitic subfamily. It is viewed as the most important of all the language varieties used in the Arabian area, as it is the vehicle of the holy book '*Al-Qur'an*' (Koran). Because of the expansion of Islam, Arabic first spreads in Asia and North Africa and, now, becomes one of

the international languages spoken in the world. For a long period, Arabic has been the vehicle of the Muslim civilization and has influenced many other languages among which are Latin, English, French, and Tamazight. As has been shown above English and French have a number of loanwords originating from Arabic such as ‘*coffee, café, algebra, algèbre, alcohol, alcool, sugar, sucre, lemonade, lemonade, safran, safran*’ (Hunke 1987: 13-14).

4.1.4. Kabyle

‘Tamazight’, known under the name ‘Berber’ in the Western tradition, is a Northern African language, genetically classified as an Afro-Asiatic language. This language is used throughout North Africa and the Sahara. In Algeria, Kabylia is the region that counts the highest number of speakers; i.e. two thirds of all the Algerians speaking Tamazight, as Chaker (2003) says, ‘*En Algérie, la principale région berbérophone est la Kabylie. D'une superficie relativement limitée mais très densément peuplée, la Kabylie compte à elle seule les deux tiers des berbérophones algériens*’ (Chaker 2003: 300). That is, in Algeria, the main Berber region is Kabylia. In a relatively small area but very densely populated, Kabylia alone has two-thirds of Algerian Berbers.

Tamazight has not undergone any language planning process and, thus, has never been standardized. Chaker (1991) claims : ‘*elle [Tamazight] n'a pratiquement jamais été soumise à un processus de codification/uniformisation, notamment à l'écrit*’ (Chaker 1991 :27). That is, Tamazight has never undergone a process of standardization particularly in writing. Therefore, it merely comprises a number of non-standard varieties; among which is Kabyle. This variety is spoken in the North of Algeria within various regions; namely, Tizi -Ouzou, Béjaïa, Bouira, Sétif, and so on. It is worth mentioning that Kabyle is characterized by a set of regional sub-varieties specific to every region of Kabylia. Each of these is characterized by its own phonetic, lexical and sometimes grammatical peculiarities. The slight divergences that result from the geographical distance between Kabyle sub-varieties and from their evolution

in somewhat different circumstances do not impede inter-comprehension between native speakers inside the Kabyle-speaking area. However, it allows a geographic linguistic identification of the various Kabyle speakers (Cf. Chaker 1996: 8). An interesting example to mention is that of the Kabyle phoneme /l/ which is articulated differently in different Kabyle regions, as shown hereafter:

/l/ in Tizi - Ouzou Town

/j/ in Ath -Douala and Ouadhias villages

/lʒ/ in Ath-Zmenzer village

/dz/ in Boudjima and Tiqobain villages.

Differences in lexis are also noticeable. For instance, the word 'aqjun' (dog) is used in Tizi-Ouzou, 'aqzuh' is used in Béjaia, and 'aydi' is an old word form that is rarely used nowadays. It is borrowed from Arabic 'kalbu aššaydi' (hunting dog).

Other languages like Punic, Latin, Arabic and French have influenced Tamazight. The contact with the Arabic language is particular as its influence is remarkably enhanced by the Muslim religion, as Chaker (1991) observes : '*Le cas des contacts linguistiques arabo-berbère est évidemment très particulier: l'arabe est la seule langue non-autochtone qui se soit solidement et définitivement implanté au Maghreb. En outre; l'influence de l'arabe, grandement facilitée par l'action unificatrice de la religion, dure depuis plus d'un millénaire*' (Chaker 1991: 216). In other words, the case of Arab-Berber language contacts is obviously very special: Arabic is the only non-native language that is firmly and permanently established in North Africa. Furthermore, the influence of Arabic greatly facilitated by the unifying action of religion has lasted more than a millennium.

As far as the influence of Arabic and French on Kabyle is concerned, Chaker (1991) argues : '*En kabyle, les contacts avec la langue arabe sont si profond que dans certains domaines (vie religieuse, vie politique), il est possible de parler d'une véritable invasion*

lexical de l'arabe. Ceci vaut d'ailleurs aussi pour le français dans le domaine technique et administratif' (Chaker 1991: 227). That is, in Kabyle, contacts with the Arabic language are so deep that in some areas (religious life, political life), it is possible to speak of a true invasion of Arabic vocabulary. This applies also for French as in technical and administrative field. He furthermore mentions that Kabyle has the highest degree of lexical borrowings from Arabic compared to other varieties like Shleuh and Tuareg. For instance, most numerals used in Kabyle have an Arabic origin and many words like 'lewḥuc' (animals) 'leḥcic' (herb) 'lebḥer' (sea) 'aywbbar' (dust), and so on (Cf. ibid: 222-225). Lexical borrowings from Arabic are also noticeable in Kabyle proverbs. Nacib (2009) argues, ' *Le proverbe kabyle recourt à l'arabe pour exprimer le champ philosophico-religieux. Des concepts comme 'daewessu' (malédiction), 'fatiḥa' (ouverture), 'sidi' (saint), 'reḥma' (clémence divine), 'ccix' (maître), 'ḥalal' (licite), 'ddnub' (péché), 'rruḥ' (âme), etc. sont directement rendus en arabe*' (Nacib 2009 : 38). That is to say, The Kabyle proverb uses Arabic to express the philosophical and religious field. Concepts like 'daewessu' (curse), 'Fatiḥa' (opening), 'sidi' (saint), 'reḥma' (divine mercy), 'ccix' (teacher), 'ḥalal' (lawful), 'ddnub' (sin), 'rruḥ' (soul), and so on, are directly rendered in Arabic. However, the words used to name animals are exclusively Kabyle, as the borrowing of words referring to animals is inexistent. He furthermore reports on the influence of Islam on the lexis of Kabyle proverbs: ' *L'Islam est donc omniprésent dans le proverbe kabyle, par le truchement d'un vocabulaire religieux d'origine arabe ou adapté*' (ibid: 39). This means, Islam is so ubiquitous in the Kabyle proverb through a religious vocabulary of Arabic origin or adapted. For instance, the use of the Arabic word 'Rebbi' in the proverb ' *igzra rebbi deg wyyul yeksas icciwen*' (Allah knows the nature of the ass; so, He deprived him of horns).

So far, we have provided some pertinent information about Standard British English, Standard French, Standard Arabic and Kabyle focusing on their geographic location, genetic

classification and linguistic features pertaining to contact with other languages. In the following subsections, we shall look at the socio-cultural representations of the dog, ass, ox, and camel in four different social settings: England, France, Arabia, and Kabylia.

4.2. Description of the Socio-Cultural Views about Some Animals

A description of the characteristics of the dog, ass, ox and camel and their role in the English, French, Arabic, and Kabyle societies, and cultures need to be accounted for. This may profitably allow an understanding of the cultural representations associated with these domestic animals across cultures. The purpose of this account is to shed light on the reasons lying behind any possible variation in the components of the ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR IS HUMAN BEHAVIOUR conceptual metaphor due to cultural specificities. It is subsequently pertinent to examine what scholars contend about the characteristics and role of these domestic animals in the above mentioned societies, the relationship relating them to humans and how people perceive these animals in these cultures.

4.2.1. The Dog

The dog lives in all regions of the world and is the closest of all domestic animals to humans, as denoted by the English saying: *'a dog is man's best friend'*. It is true that no one can deny this animal's great amiability and permanent eagerness to please its master to get his admiration. The tight link relating the animal to humans has existed since a long period of time that it is impossible to trace it back to some precise date. In the same line of thought, Dalziel (1883) says: *'Whoever would write the history of dogs must write the history of man, for in periods as remote as history reaches we find this animal associated with him as his useful servant. When or how the close intimacy sprung up which mutual advantage has kept and improved century after century, it may be impossible, with accuracy, to determine ...'* (Dalziel 1883: 4).

The dog is a domestic mammal that belongs to the canine race. Although the dog is acknowledged to have kinship with the wolf, that is a wild animal, it has successfully been domesticated by humans. According to Albert Piette (2002), *'le chien domestique, figure prototypique, proche parent du loup, aurait intégré les groupes humains il y a un peu plus de 10.000 ans, devenant un interactant privilégié des hommes. Sous l'effet progressif du processus de domestication, le chien a modifié sa physiologie et son comportement, réussissant ainsi à inclure son propre espace dans celui des humains'* (Piette 2002: 87-88). This means, the domestic dog, is a prototypical figure, a close relative of the wolf that has integrated human groups over 10,000 years ago, becoming a privileged interactant of men. Under the progressive effect of the domestication process, the dog changed its physiology and behaviour, and successfully included its own space in that of humans.

First, we start with considering how the dog is defined and used in the English culture. The Longman Dictionary of English Language and Culture (2005) defines the word *'dog'* and describes the role of the domestic animal in the following way: *'1.a common four-legged animal , especially of the many varieties kept by humans as companions or for hunting, working, guarding, etc.'* (Longman Dictionary of English Language and Culture 2005: 403). In its metaphoric use the word *'dog'* has a negative connotation as it refers to *'a despicable man or youth'* (The Random House Dictionary of the English Language, 1987: 578). The word is also used in slang to denote *'an ugly, boring, or crude person'* (ibid.).

Dalziel (1883), in his book *British Dogs: their Varieties, History, characteristics, Breeding, Management, and Exhibition*, describes the dog as an animal endowed with *'wonderful scenting powers, [...] great speed, [...] strength and endurance, [...] indomitable courage, [...] power of arranging, and facility in carrying out a preconcerted attack on his prey'* (Dalziel 1883: 4). In his view, these features lead man to have the desire to own this useful and lovable animal.

He furthermore mentions the existence of many varieties of dogs in Britain and provides classifications of British dogs according to their role. As for example, greyhounds are used in field sports and are described as good hunters of the hare. Competitions are organised for greyhounds where the foremost dog who kills the hare is the winner. Shepherds' and drovers' dogs are varieties useful to man and Dalmatians are good watchers and defenders of life, etc. (Cf. Ibid: 9-10). In addition to being defenders of herd and flocks, dogs are good hunters. Dalziel (1883) says that dogs were also taken up to *'the rude instruments of war and chase'* (ibid: 5). Cartmill (1995), in his article *'Hunting and humanity in Western thought'*, describes hunting as an activity that *'was reserved for the aristocracy, who spent thousands of man-hours every year riding through the countryside on horseback in search of game'* (Cartmill 1995: 773).

Nowadays, The British consider dogs as popular pets. They *'often give them a lot of attention and consider them to be part of the family'* (Longman Dictionary of English Language and Culture 2005: 403). Moreover, a British competition known as *'Cruft's dog show'* is organised for dogs in Birmingham every year. The aim of the competition is to find out the best dog in the country, i.e., the *'Cruft's Supreme Champion'* (ibid: 332).

As far as the French culture is concerned, the Petit Larousse en Couleurs Dictionary (1972) defines the word 'dog' and describes the role of the domestic animal in the following way: *'Mammifère domestique de l'ordre des carnassiers, famille des canidés, dont il existe un grand nombre de races, élevées comme chien de garde, de berger, de trait, de chasse et de luxe'* (Petit Larousse en Couleurs 1972: 176). This definition mentions the role of dogs in society, namely, guarding belongings and flocks, hunting, and so on. In France, around the XIXth century, dogs were called *'chiens de charette'* (cart-pulling dogs) as they were used to pull a little cart of milk for the deliverers. However, such a practice is forbidden nowadays.

In its metaphoric use, the word '*chien*' (dog) has a negative connotation; it refers to a person that is hated or ill-treated, as illustrated by this expression: '*être traité comme un chien*' (to be treated like a dog). Vigerie (1992) points out, '*[l]es comparaisons ou métaphores avec chien illustrent le plus souvent des valeurs dépréciatives; la fidélité du chien est rarement évoquée.*' (Vigerie 1992: 43). That is, metaphors or comparisons with the word '*dog*' usually show derogatory values; the dog's faithfulness is rarely mentioned. This indicates that although the dog is '*le meilleurs ami de l'homme*' (man's best friend), his bad characteristics are used more than his good ones in metaphoric expressions.

In the *Dictionnaire des Proverbes et Dictons* (1993), '*le chien*' (dog) is described as the most popular animal used in French proverbs. This is due to the tight relationship that links French people to this domestic animal. This leads them to use the animal's various characteristics and role to convey multiple meanings when referring to humans. For instance, the animal is dependent on humans, this denotes faithfulness, it barks and bites, this symbolizes threats, and it quarrels, this represents rivals' behaviour. (Cf. *Dictionnaire des Proverbes et Dictons* 1993: 33). In addition, French speakers use some fixed metaphoric expressions that refer to the role of the dog. For instance, '*chien couchant*' metaphorically means '*personage servile*' (servant person) and literally '*un chien couchant est un chien d'arrêt qui se couche sur le ventre lorsqu'il arrête le gibier*'; i.e., a lying dog is a dog that lies down when it catches the prey. In the French culture, hunting is a very much-performed activity. Dogs are good hunters and are extensively used in hunting.

In the Arabian culture, '*'al-kalbu*' (the dog) is perceived as a very domestic animal, as indicated by the saying '*'a:lafu min kalbin*' (more domestic than a dog). According to the dictionary '*'al-Munjid Fi 'alluga wa 'al a'la:mi*' (1975), this expression emerges from the Arabs' perception of the dog as being so close and protective to humans since no other animal except the dog follows its master when leaving home (Cf. '*'al-Munjid Fi alluga wa 'al a'la:mi*

1975: 971). However, the dog is also considered as being a very dirty animal, as denoted by the following expression: ‘*’anjas ma: yaku:n ’al-kalbu ida iġtasala*’ (more unclean than a dog that washes). ’Al-Jahid (1965), in his book *’al-Ḥayawa:n II*, reports that Arabs refer to the dog in both a positive and a negative way. He also contends that this is so in the Koran as well (*’al-Ḥayawa:n II* 1965: 76).

Arabs use the dog for purposes such as guarding and hunting. It is worth remarking that these activities are cited in the Koran. The holy book mentions the dog as an animal used for guarding and protecting its masters in the following verse: *’Taḥsabuhum ’ayqa:dan wa hum ruqu:d wa nuqallibuhum da:ta ’al-yami:ni wa da:ta ’ashima:li wa kalbuhum ba:siṭun dira: ’ayhi bilwaṣi:di law ’iṭala’ta ’alayhim lawalayta minhum fira:ran wa lamuli’ta ru’ban’* (*’al-Kahf*: 18). In other words, and you would have thought them awake, while they were asleep. And We turned them on their right and on their left sides, and their dog stretching forth his two forelegs at the entrance [of the Cave or in the space near to the entrance of the Cave (as a guard at the gate)]. Had you looked at them, you would certainly have turned back from them in flight, and would certainly have been filled with awe of them. (Trans. in: <http://www.dar-us-salam.com/TheNobleQuran/index.html>). In this verse, the dog is described lying in the entrance of the cave, i.e., the appropriate place for guarding and protecting inhabitants.

The dog is also mentioned with regard to its role as a well-trained hunting animal that is useful to humans. This is cited in the following verse of the Koran: *’yas ’alu:naka ma:da ’uḥilla lahum qul’uḥilla lakum ’aṭayyiba:tu wa ma: ’allamtum mina ’al-jawa:riḥi mukallibi:na tu’allimu:nahunna mimma: ’allamakumu Allahu fakulu: mimma ’amsakna ’alaykum wa uḍkuru: isma Allahi ’alayhi wa ittaqu: Allaha inna Allaha sari:’u ’al-ḥisa:bi’* (*’al-ma:’ida*: 4). That is to say, ‘They ask you (O Muhammad) what is lawful for them (as food). Say: "Lawful unto you are *At-Tayyibat* [all kind of *Ḥalal* (lawful-good) foods which

Allah has made lawful (meat of slaughtered eatable animals, milk products, fats, vegetables and fruits, etc.)). And those beasts and birds of prey which you have trained as hounds, training and teaching them (to catch) in the manner as directed to you by Allah; so eat of what they catch for you, but pronounce the Name of Allah over it, and fear Allah. Verily, Allah is Swift in reckoning.’ (Trans. in: <http://www.dar-us-salam.com/TheNobleQuran/index.html>). In this verse, the usefulness of trained dogs in catching preys and serving humans is illustrated. In *Lisa:n ’Al-’Arab* (1990), Ibn Manzur reports that Arabs use the term *’al-mukallibu* to refer to the person who trains dogs for hunting and the term *’al-mukallabatu* to refer to the dogs that are well-trained for hunting and are used to it (*Lisa:n ’Al-’Arab I* 1990: 722). It should be noted that for the purpose of hunting, Arabs prefer to use white-coloured dogs (Cf. *’Al-Ḥayawa:n II* 1965:78).

The Koran also exploits one of the dog’s characteristics and behaviour; that is, lolling its tongue out, in order to refer figuratively to negative human behaviour. This is achieved in the following verse: *’Wa law ši’na: larafa’na:hu biha: wa lakinnahu ’axlada ila: ’al-’arzi wa ’ittaba’a hawa:hu famaṭaluhu kamaṭali ’al-kalbi ’in taḥmil ’alayhi yalhat ’aw tatruxhu yalhat ḍalika maṭalu ’al-qawmi ’alladdi:na kadḍabu: bi’aya:tina fa iqṣuṣi ’al-qaṣaṣa la’allahum yatafakkaru:na’* (*’Al-’A’ra :fi*: 176). That is to say, ‘and had We willed, We would surely have elevated him therewith but he clung to the earth and followed his own vain desire. So his description is the description of a dog: if you drive him away, he lolls his tongue out, or if you leave him alone, he (still) lolls his tongue out. Such is the description of the people who reject Our *Ayat* (proofs, evidences, verses, lessons, signs, revelations, etc.). So relate the stories, perhaps they may reflect’. (Trans. In <http://www.dar-us-salam.com/TheNobleQuran/index.html>).

In the Kabyle culture, a dog bearing the name *Kabyle dog* or *the Atlas sheepdog* is mainly used for guarding flock and people’s homes and belongings because of its ferocity and protection (Cf. *Encyclopédie Berbère XIII* 1994: 1920-1924). This dog is also useful for

hunters, as it ‘*exhibits strong scenting ability, making him a reliable hunting companion*’ (Cf. <http://dogbreeds.bulldoginformation.com/aidi-chien-atlas.html>). It has to be remarked that the Kabyle dog is kept outside home, as it is used for guarding but also because it is considered to be a dirty animal. However, it should be pointed out that Kabyle people perceive the dog as an enduring and patient animal as maintained in the following saying: ‘*aqjun yefka-yas Rebbi sber, yeskad kan s wallen*’ (Allah has given patience to the dog, he is content with asking for something with his eyes) (Dallet 1982: 657).

From a socio-cultural point of view, the use of the word ‘*aqjun*’ (dog), in Kabyle, is felt as being rude and, thus, perceived as an insult (Cf. Dallet 1982: 657; Genevois 1963: 58). As a result, when Kabyle speakers use the word ‘*aqjun*’ (dog) in speech, they immediately apologize for doing so by using the word ‘*ħaca*’ (apologies).

4.2.2. The Ass

The ass or donkey is a domesticated member of the horse family that has been used as a working animal for many years. The ass is characterized by large long ears. It brays and sometimes bites or kicks with the hind legs for the purpose of defence. The ass is known for its stubbornness; therefore, it is sometimes useless to try to force it to do a task it does not want to do. Similar to the dog, the donkey is an animal that is found in many regions of the world, but with different physical characteristics. The ass is believed to come from The African continent, as Fernando and Starkey (2000) say: ‘*Donkeys are said to have originated in north-east Africa and then spread to other parts of the world. The world donkey population is about 44 million; half is found in Asia, just over one quarter in Africa and the rest mainly in Latin America*’ (Fernando & Starkey 2000: 31). As far as the ass’s utility is concerned, Blench (2000) claims:

Donkeys are not conventional sources of meat, and their uses for packing and traction do not fit within the stereotyped perspectives of livestock development agencies. Nonetheless, they are essential to the subsistence strategies of many

communities in semi-arid regions, relieving families of repetitive and energy-consuming tasks (Blench 2000: 22).

He furthermore states:

Donkeys are used mainly as pack animals, either for carrying loads or for riding. In arid regions they are used together with camels to pull water from deep wells. Less commonly they are used in traction, for example, pulling carts or plows, although both of these technologies are post-European introductions in sub-Saharan Africa (ibid:24).

In the following paragraphs, we shall account for the role of the ass and some of its cultural representations. The *Longman Dictionary of English Language and Culture* (2005) defines the donkey as ‘*a grey or brown animal like a horse, but smaller and with longer ears*’. When the word ‘*donkey*’ is used figuratively, it means ‘*a foolish slow-thinking person*’ (Longman Dictionary of English Language and Culture 2005: 387). In the English Culture, donkeys are usually considered to be stubborn. In addition, English people ‘*think that donkeys are strong and hardworking, because they can carry heavy loads for long distances over rough ground*’ (ibid). Therefore, they happen to use such idiomatic expressions as ‘*donkey work*’ referring to ‘*the hard uninteresting part of a piece of work*’ (ibid). Another English expression that is worth mentioning as well is ‘*donkey ride*’. This expression refers to a habitual practice, in Britain, where people, especially children, go for donkey rides at the seaside. It also happens that the British organize races on donkeys for amusement on the shore or when a feast is organized in a village. This leads to the emergence of the idiomatic expression ‘*donkey derby*’. (Longman Dictionary of English Language and Culture 2005: 388)

It should be remarked that two opposing representations of the donkey in the English culture are acknowledged, as Fuller (2000) argues, ‘*[t]he donkey has divergent symbolical associations. On the one hand, it represents all that is humble and gentle: we think of the ox*

and the donkey present at the birth of Christ, or of Christ riding into Jerusalem on a donkey on Palm Sunday. On the other hand in an opposing tradition it is seen as stupid, lazy and stubborn...' (Fuller 2000: 55). This view is also shared by Bough (2010) who deals with the representation of the donkey in Western literature; she explains the origin of these divergent representations in the following way:

Representations of donkeys in western literature are contradictory and confusing because donkeys are invariably used as allegories for human behaviour. These representations derive from two main, conflicting sources, Ancient Greek literature and the Bible. The Greeks represented the donkey in a negative light while a more benign meaning became popular during the Middle Ages, when the donkey came to be associated with Christianity. (Bough 2010: 57)

Accordingly, the Greeks represented donkeys as servile, stubborn and stupid while the Bible presented 'donkeys as symbols of humility and peace, suffering and service' (ibid: 57-58). According to Fernando and Starkey (2000), 'there are 82 Biblical references to donkeys'. (Fernando and Starkey 2000: 31). This shows the position that is given to this animal in the Bible.

In the French culture, the Petit Larousse en Couleurs (1972) defines 'l'âne' (the ass) as follows: 'Mammifère de l'ordre des ongulés, famille des équidés, plus petit que le cheval et à longues Oreilles, fig. homme ignorant, entêté' (Petit Larousse en Couleurs 1972 : 40). With regard to the figurative meaning of the word âne (ass), Vigerie (1992) contends that the expression 'Bête comme un âne' is used to treat someone of being 'ignorant ou sot', i.e., someone ignorant and stupid. She also states: 'Depuis l'antiquité, l'âne symbolise la stupidité, l'entêtement, la médiocrité, la vulgarité, parfois' (Vigerie, 1992 : 4). That is to say, ever since antiquity, the ass symbolizes stupidity, stubbornness, mediocrity, and sometimes, vulgarity. To sustain her claim, she refers to one of Molière's expressions in his work *Les fâcheux*; that is, 'Ma foi, de tels savants sont des ânes bien faits!' (Well, such scientists are well done asses)

(ibid). This view is also mentioned by Rey and Chantreau (1993) in the *Dictionnaire des Expressions et Locutions*, they say: '*Âne, en dépit de la sympathie qu'inspire en général un quadrupède avisé, désigne, d'après le latin asinus, un ignorant ou un imbécile*' (Rey & Chantreau 1993: x).

In *Lisan 'Al-'Arab* (1990), it is reported that two words are used to refer to the ass in Arabic; namely, '*al-ḥima:ru* and '*al-'ayru*. Both words are used to refer to either the domestic or wild type of animal (Lisa:n 'Al- 'Arab IV 1990: 62-212). In the Arabian culture, Arabs perceive the ass as a low-estimated animal that is usually referred to figuratively to denote humiliated people, as illustrated in the saying: '*aḍallu min ḥima:rin muqayyadin* (More humiliated than a tied ass) (Cf. Qatamish 1988: 321). In 'Al-Ḥayawa:n II, 'Al-Jaḥid (1965) states that, in Arabian culture, the ass is described as being ignorant (Cf. 'Al- Ḥayawa:n II 1965: 75).

It is worth looking at how the ass is presented in the Koran. First, the animal is used to denote some metaphoric meanings with regard to its role, behaviour and characteristics. To illustrate how the animal is perceived, we mention the following verse: '*maṭalu 'allāḍi:na ḥummilu: 'atawra:ta tumma lam yaḥmilu:ha kamāṭali 'al-ḥima:ri yaḥmilu 'asfa:ran bi'sa maṭalu 'al-qawmi 'allāḍi:na kaḍḍabu: bi'a:ya:ti 'Allahi wa 'Allahu la: yahdi: 'al-qawma 'aḍa:limi:na*' ('al-jumu'a: 5). This means that, 'The likeness of those who were entrusted with the (obligation of the) Taurat (Torah) (i.e. to obey its commandments and to practice its legal laws), but who subsequently failed in those (obligations), is as the likeness of a donkey who carries huge burdens of books (but understands nothing from them). How bad is the example (or the likeness) of people who deny the Ayat (proofs, evidences, verses, signs, revelations, etc.) of Allah. And Allah guides not the people who are Zalimun (polytheists, wrong-doers, disbelievers, etc.)' (Trans. In: <http://www.dar-us-salam.com/TheNobleQuran/index.html>). As shown in this verse, the donkey carrying books on its back but not reading them refers

metaphorically to undesirable human behaviour. This is indicative of how the donkey is viewed.

Furthermore, the ass's braying is presented as unpleasant behaviour and refers figuratively to unwanted human behaviour. This is illustrated in the following verse: ‘*Wa iqşud fi: maşyika wa iğduđ min şawtika ’inna ’ankara ’al-’aşwa:ti laşawtu ’al-ħami:ri*’ (Luqma:n: 19). That is to say, ‘And be moderate (or show no insolence) in your walking, and lower your voice. Verily, the harshest of all voices is the voice (braying) of the ass.’ (Trans. in: <http://www.dar-us-salam.com/TheNobleQuran/index.html>)

In the Kabyle culture, ‘*ayyul*’ is the Kabyle word used to refer to the ass. Its characteristics and presence in the North of Africa is described in the Encyclopédie Berbère (1991) in the following terms:

L’âne est inséparable du paysage rural nord-africain. Cet équidé de petite taille, 0.90 à 1.20 mètre, est présent partout, des collines et plaines du Tell aux plus hauts cols de l’atlas, dans les oasis comme dans les campements touaregs. S’adaptant facilement à des conditions aussi diverses, l’âne africain, le bourricot, semble [...] représentatif de la faune domestique du Maghreb et du Sahara (Encyclopédie Berbère V 1991 : 647).

That is to say, it is not easy to separate the donkey from the North African countryside. The small equine (0.90 to 1.20 meters) is present everywhere, from hills and plains of the Tell to the highest passes of the Atlas, in the oases and in the Tuaregs’ camps. Easily attuned to diverse conditions, the African donkey seems [...] representative of the domestic fauna of the Maghreb and the Sahara.

In the Kabyle culture, the ass is extremely used, as claimed in the Encyclopédie Berbère (1991): ‘*En Kabylie comme dans tout le Maghreb, l’âne est certainement l’animal le plus employé aussi bien comme bête de somme que comme bête de selle, et souvent même les deux à la fois et en même temps*’ (ibid.: 654). This means that in Kabylia and across the Maghreb, the donkey is certainly the animal that is most frequently used both as a pack

animal and as a ridden beast, and often both at once and simultaneously. Women who possess a donkey use the animal to carry water home from the fountain while those who do not own an ass carry water on their back. In addition to this, the ass is recognised to have some economic importance especially for the less wealthy population and small farmers, as is sustained in the Encyclopédie Berbère: *‘Tenant encore une place considérable dans l’économie rural, l’âne est l’animal de bât du petit cultivateur aussi bien que du nomade’* (ibid: 652). In other words, the donkey, that is still holding a considerable place in rural economy, is the pack animal of the small farmer as well as the nomad.

It is worth mentioning that the word *‘ayyul’* (ass) generally provokes laughter when uttered in public as it recalls its figurative denotation of stupidity. Moreover, the animal is generally used in telling jokes and tales. For instance, the tale of the ass who thought he had horns. This tale gives rise to the proverbial expression: *‘Igzra Rebbi deg wyyul yeksas acciwen’* (Allah knows the nature of the ass; so, He deprived him of horns). In this case, the characteristics and behaviour of the animal bear figurative meaning referring to humans. Kabyle speakers consider the verbal use of the word *‘ayyul’* impolite. Therefore, they usually apologize after having uttered it by saying *‘ħaca’* (apologies) (Cf. Dallet 1982: 633).

4.2.3. The Ox

The ox is a domestic animal belonging to the bovine type. He is an adult male castrated and opposed to the bull that is not. The ox is used for ploughing, for transport and pulling carts, for supplying irrigation and for several other purposes. Oxen are usually yoked in pairs. When work is heavy, several pairs of oxen are used.

In the English Culture, the Longman Dictionary of English Language and Culture (2002) describes the ox, or bullock, as *‘a fully-grown male of the cattle family with its sexual organs removed, often used for heavy work on farm’* (Longman Dictionary of English Language and Culture 2002: 966). Watts (1999) describes the animal, its characteristics, and

role in Britain as follows: *‘An ox is a castrated male bovine at least four years old and trained to work. Oxen were used all over Britain for thousands of years and have helped to shape the land. They are an important but often neglected part of the nation's history’* (Watts 1999: 3). He furthermore claims that for many years oxen have been considered as very important animals in the British countryside, but history has neglected this fact. He argues:

Oxen were one of the most important sources of motive power in the British countryside. For thousands of years they cultivated the land and transported people and goods. The working ox has left a lasting mark on the language, landscape and culture but has now almost totally disappeared from the United Kingdom. Historians rarely mention or study them. It is as if a history of the twentieth century were to ignore the impact of the tractor and the lorry (Watts 1999: Summary).

In addition to being a working animal used for various purposes as ploughing, carrying burdens in farms and roads, the ox is an animal that provides meat and skin. However, the role and importance of oxen is reduced due to changes in the way of life and industrial development that lead the ox to be replaced by machines. Williams (2004) explains that *‘for two thousand years and more, oxen (or bullocks) were the main beasts of burden on British farms and roads. Then, in the 40 years from 1800 to 1840, they all but disappeared - hustled into history by social reforms, industrialisation and a growing need for speed’* (Williams 2004 in <http://www.foxearth.org.uk/oxen.html>.) He furthermore states that *‘[w]orking cattle had to be shod and, since they had cloven hooves, that involved fitting two half-moon shaped iron shoes or "cues" to each foot’* (Ibid.).

In the French culture, *‘le bœuf’* (the ox) is defined as follows: *‘Mammifère ruminant de la famille des bovidés, qui n'existe plus qu'à l'état domestique. On donne plus spécialement le nom de bœuf au mâle castré, le mâle entier étant appelé taureau’* (Petit Larousse en Couleurs 1972: 110). In the *Dictionnaire des Proverbes et Dictons* (1993), *‘[l]e bœuf, la vache et le veau ont des emplois délimités : les proverbes exploitent surtout l'aspect*

physique du bœuf [masse, lenteur, etc.] et, bien sûr, le compagnon humble et résigné du laboureur... et sont associés dans quelques proverbes pour manifester l'opposition jeunesse/vieillesse et signifier la menace aveugle et égalitaire du destin...et du boucher ; ainsi : Autant meurt veau que vache.' (Dictionnaire de Proverbes et Dictons 1993: 28). In other words, the ox, cow and calf have defined uses. Proverbs mainly exploit the physical aspect of the ox [mass, slow, etc.], and, of course, the humble and resigned companion of the ploughman... They are associated in some proverbs to express opposition youth / old age and to denote the threat of indiscriminate and egalitarian destiny ... and the butcher; so, both calf and cow die. Vigerie (1992) states, '*[l]es comparaisons avec bœuf connotent d'une part la puissance, la force paisible, la résistance au labour et, d'autre part, à cause de l'attitude contemplative du bœuf, la balourdise, la stupidité*' (Vigerie 1992 : 20). That is, the comparisons including the word '*boeuf*' connote power, on the one hand, and quiet strength, resistance to ploughing and, on the other, stupidity because of the contemplative attitude of beef. To back up her statement, she provides some expressions such as '*travailler comme un bœuf*' (work like an ox) meaning to work with persistence without showing any tire, "*Fort comme un bœuf*" (strong like an ox) referring to sturdy and vigorous persons, '*Lourd comme un bœuf*' (heavy like an ox) meaning to have a thick body and mind (Cf. *ibid*). These comparisons of oxen with humans indicate how the ox is perceived in the French culture.

In the Arabian culture, '*attawru*' is the name given to the ox. No distinction is made linguistically between the castrated and non-castrated male. In its figurative meaning '*attawru*' is used to refer to a noble man protecting his honour, as illustrated in the proverb '*attawru yahmi 'anfahu birawqihi*' (the ox protects his nose with his horn). In Lisa:n 'Al-'Arab (1990), the first definition supplied by Ibn Manzur to '*attawru*' is that of '*asayyid*' (noble man) this figurative meaning is conveyed in the proverb '*innama: 'ukiltu yawma 'ukila 'attawru 'al-abyaz*' (I was eaten the day when the white ox was eaten). In the proverb, the white ox refers

metaphorically to a noble and famous man having white hair called ‘*uṭma:n* (Cf. *Lisa:n* ‘al-‘Arab IV 1990: 109).

In the Kabyle culture, ‘*azger*’ is the name given to the ox. It is considered an animal of great cultural and economic significance. In the *Encyclopédie Berbère*, ‘*[t]raditionnellement le bœuf est élevé par des populations qui habitent les montagnes [...]. En Grande Kabylie son élevage est encore considéré comme spécifique des traditions berbères*’ (*Encyclopédie Berbère* X 1991 : 1554). This means that the ox is traditionally reared in mountainous regions. In Great Kabylia, ox rearing is specific to Berber traditions. As far as the use of the animal is concerned, it is reckoned that ‘*Avant d’être un animal de boucherie, le bœuf, en pays berbérophone est surtout une force motrice, c’est par excellence l’animal destiné au labour, celui qui est attaché au joug...*’ (Ibid). In other words, the ox is not only an animal providing meat, but above all, it is an animal that is useful for ploughing and that is tied to the yoke. Oxen are yoked in pairs. Nacib (2009) shares a similar point of view on the use of oxen in Kabylia, he says:

Le bœuf pendant des siècles a été en Kabylie la force motrice principale des fellahs. En agriculture, il fut l’indispensable auxiliaire de l’homme dans les deux grandes opérations culturelles saisonnières : le labour et le battage. Était considérée une maison prospère celle qui comportait une paire de bœufs (tayuga). Animal aussi puissant qu’utile, il se soumet avec douceur (Nacib 2009: 93).

That is, for centuries, the ox, in Kabylia, was the main driving force of the fellahin. In agriculture, he was the indispensable auxiliary of man in the two large seasonal farming activities: ploughing and threshing. A house having a pair of oxen (‘*tayuga*’) was considered prosperous. The ox is an animal that is as powerful as useful, he gently submits.

In Kabylia, oxen are not used for transportation, as is the case in other cultures. In the *Encyclopédie Berbère* (1991), it is argued that ‘*... dans le Sahara méridional, le bœuf fut aussi un animal porteur, transportant aussi bien les bagages que les femmes et les enfants.*

On ne trouve guère de traces de cet usage dans les régions septentrionales 'kabyles'...' (Encyclopédie Berbère X 1991:1555). This means, in the southern Sahara, the ox was also a pack animal, carrying the luggage as well as women and children. There is little trace of this use in Kabyle regions.

It is part of Kabyle tradition that every year celebrations take place in villages, money is collected and oxen are bought and slaughtered. Then, meat is distributed to people. Lacoste-Dujardin (2002) says:

Un très fort souci d'égalité est manifesté en toute occasion, comme lors des sacrifices de partage de viande (timechret ou ouziaâ) organisés par l'assemblée villageoise, où les participants veillent scrupuleusement au nombre et à la taille identiques de morceaux de viande de mouton ou de bœuf, de chaque catégorie (parties les plus grasses, les plus maigres, osseuses, de différents abats), disposés en tas et dont on procède ensuite à la répartition, en une cérémonie accomplie en un lieu public, et où la présence de chaque homme du village est obligatoire (Lacoste-Dujardin 2002: 129)

This quotation means that a strong concern for equality is manifested among people on all occasions. For instance, a party for sharing meat (timechret or uezia) is organized by the village assembly, where participants pay attention to the number and size of identical pieces of mutton or beef meat, of each type (the fattest parts, the leanest ones, bony, of giblets). These are arranged in heaps that are distributed, in a ceremony that takes place in a public place, and where the presence of each man of the village is obligatory. After having dealt with the cultural views of the ox, we shall move on to considering the views relating to the camel.

4.2.4. The Camel

A camel is an animal whose representation is associated with the desert. Its body is resistant to high degrees of temperature and dryness as it is equipped with typical fatty deposits on its back called humps in English. There are actually two species of the camel. The first is the dromedary that has one hump and which is known as the Arabian camel and the Bactrian that has two humps. The latter characterizes the fauna of Asia.

The *Longman Dictionary of English Language and culture* (2005) defines the word ‘camel’ in the following terms: ‘[e]ither of two large long-necked animals used for riding or carrying goods in desert countries: a. also dromedary – the Arabian camel with one large HUMP on its back b. The Bactrian camel from Asia with two large HUMPS on its back’ (Longman Dictionary of English Language and Culture 2005: 387). Though the camel is not a native animal of England, English people are aware of the existence of this animal and happen to use it in some of their expressions. In the English Culture, the camel is viewed as an animal that has strong resistance to heat and thirst in the desert areas, as Fuller (2000) argues, ‘[t]he camel is particularly associated with its ability to go for long periods without water and to carry heavy loads. It is sometimes referred to as the “ship of the desert”’ (Fuller 2000: 29). The camel is mentioned in the Bible (in the New Testament) in the following way: ‘It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God’ (Matthew 19:24). English speakers use this quotation as a proverb to teach morals.

In the French culture, the *Petit Larousse en couleurs Dictionary* (1972) defines the word ‘chameau’ (camel) in the following terms: ‘Mammifère ruminant d’asie, à deux bosses graisseuses sur le dos. (Il sert de monture et fournit sa viande, sa laine, sa peau et son lait). Pop. Personne désagréable, acariâtre’ (Petit Larousse en Couleurs 1972: 162). That is, a camel is a ruminant mammal of Asia, with two fat humps on its back. It serves for riding and provides its meat, wool, skin and milk. In its popular use, it means a disagreeable, cantankerous person. Vigerie (1992) also mentions some figurative meanings of the word ‘chameau’ ; she says: ‘Homme rusé et cupide, qui s’arrange toujours pour avoir la bonne place ou la bonne part; aujourd’hui, personne méchante, désagréable, surtout en parlant d’une femme: quelle chameau!’ (Vigerie 1992: 32). That is, a cunning and greedy man who always manages to get the right place, or too much of something. Nowadays, it denotes an

evil and unpleasant person, especially when speaking of a woman: what a camel! The French version of the Bible mentions an expression with the word ‘*chameau*’ that is used as a proverb: ‘*Il est plus aisé pour un chameau de passer par le trou d’une aiguille, que pour un riche d’entrer dans le royaume de Dieu*’ (Matthieu 19:24).

In the Arabian culture, camels are the most useful of all domestic animals; they are used for a wide range of purposes; Qatamish (1988) states:

Ka:nat 'al-'ibil tamla'u 'ala: 'al-'arabiy ḥaya:tahu, fakka:nat 'awnuhu fi: ḥallihi wa tirḥa:lihi, wa silmihi wa ḥarbihi, yaqṭa' 'ala: ḍuhu:riha: 'al-faya:fi wa 'al-qifa:r, wa yataqqawat biluḥu:miha: wa 'alba:niha:, wa yanḥaruha: lizi:fa:n, wa yattaxiḍu min awba:riha: buyu:tahu wa ḡiṭa:'ahu, wa min julu:diha: ni'a:lahu wa 'adawa:tahu, wa ka:nat tajma'uhu biman yuḥibu ta:rattan, wa tufariqu baynahuma: ta:rattan uxra:, kama: ka:na yuqaddimuha: mahran lilfata:ti, wa diyatan tufadḍu biha: 'al-xila:fa:t wa 'al-munaza'a:t (Qatamish 1988: 406).

The author explains that camels filled the Arab's life. They were helpful when he settles and when he travels, during peace and war. On their back man crosses deserts and wastelands. He consumes their meat and milk. He slaughters them and offers them to the guests, and uses their hair to make homes and covers, and uses their skins to make sandals and tools. Some times, they bring him close to his beloved, and at other times, they separate them, He also offers them as a dowry to the girl, and as a gift to solve conflicts and disputes.

In the Arabic language, there exist several words referring to the camel; the first is ‘*al-jamal*’; which refers the male camel. Grammatically, this word constitutes the masculine gender of the neutral English word ‘*camel*’ (Cf. Lisa:n 'Al- 'Arab XI 1990:123). The second is ‘*al-ba'i:r*’; this word refers to an eighth or ninth years old adult camel (Cf. Lisa:n 'Al- 'Arab IV 1990: 71). The third is ‘*al-'ibil*’; this word is plural and feminine and does not have a singular form and refers to a number of male or female camels (Cf. Lisa:n 'Al- 'Arab XI 1990: 3). In addition, Arabs distinguish different categories of camels according to their colour, age, and function; for instance, ‘*al-ba'i:r*’ is an adult camel, ‘*assaniya*’ is a camel used

for drawing water and *'al-'ayr* is a camel used for carrying merchandise (Cf. Qatamish 1988: 412-419). The camel is characterised by a special body that allows it to resist the high desert temperatures (Cf. Assaf 2000: 120).

Arabs call the camels they own '*al-ma:l*'; this word means possessions (ibid: 635). Arabs mainly use this word to refer to camels because these animals constitute most of their possessions (ibid: 636). Qatamish (1988) also shares the view that camels are very precious possessions for Arabs (Cf. Qatamish 1988: 407). Therefore, Arabs excessively use the camel to denote various figurative meanings especially in proverbs. Qatamish (1988) says:

Wa min xila:l dira:satina: lil'amta:l 'al-'arabiyya itazaḥa lana: 'anna 'al-'ibil qad ista'tarat, du:na sa:'ir 'anwa' 'al-ḥayawa:n, bilkaṭi:r minha: , wa haḍa: yu'akid lana: maratan 'uxra: annaha: ka:nat 'a'az 'amwa:lihim, wa ka:nat šuḡluhum 'aša:ḡil, fa'al-'arabiy lam yatrūk šay'an min 'al-'ibil 'aw mimma yattašil biha: illa: tamaṭala bihi... (Qatamish 1988: 411).

The above quotation means that through his study of Arabic proverbs, he realized that camels were accounted for more than any other animal species, and this confirms once again that they were their best possessions, and were their most important concern; so, the Arab made use of all the camels' features or all that relates to them to produce proverbs.

It should be observed that *'al-jamal* (the camel) is mentioned in the Koran to convey some metaphoric meaning. This is done in the following verse: '*Inna 'alladi:na kaddabu bi'aya:tina: wa 'istakbaru: 'anha: la: tufattaḥu lahum 'abwa:bu 'assama:'i wa la: yadxulu:na 'al-jannata ḥatta: yalija 'al-jamalu fi: sammi 'al-xiya:ṭi wa kaḍa:lika najzi: 'al-mujrimi:na*' ('Al-'A'ra:f: 40). This means, 'verily, those who belie Our Ayat (proofs, evidences, verses, lessons, signs, revelations, etc.) and treat them with arrogance, for them the gates of heaven will not be opened, and they will not enter Paradise until the camel goes through the eye of the needle (which is impossible). Thus do We recompense the Mujrimun (criminals, polytheists, sinners, etc.)' (Trans. <http://www.dar-us-salam.com/TheNobleQuran/index.html>). This

verse has been adapted into a proverb that Arabs use in everyday discourse when they want to signify impossibility: ‘*La: af'al kaḍa: ḥatta yalija 'al-jamalu fi: sammi 'al-xiya:ṭi*’ (I won't do this until the camel goes through the eye of the needle).

In the Kabyle culture, the word that stands for the camel is ‘*alyum*’. The animal is not part of the fauna of Great Kabylia and is not used by Kabyle people. It has rather been brought to the Southern part of the country during the Arabs’ advent to the North of Africa. It is worth noting that the origin of the camel in the North of Africa is still a debated issue (Cf. *Encyclopédie Berbère XVII* 1996: 2545; Epstein 1954: 247). Camels are mainly found in the Saharan regions of Algeria and are mainly used by the Tuareg, a Berber community living in the Sahara. In the *Encyclopédie Berbère XVII* (1996), the camel’s characteristics and role are mentioned in the following way:

Autant que l’âne, auquel il est souvent associé, le dromadaire est l’animal caractéristique du Nord de l’Afrique, donc du monde berbère. Bête de somme, de trait, de course, l’imagerie populaire et touristique n’a surtout retenu de ce chameau à bosse unique, que la dernière qualité : le méhari touareg animal de selle, élancé, à robe claire qui set particulièrement photogénique surtout lorsqu’il participe à une parade... (Encyclopédie Berbère XVII 1996: 2541)

That is, similarly to the donkey, to which it is often associated, the camel is the animal characterizing the North of Africa, and so the Berber world. As a beast of burden, draft, travel, tourist and popular imagery, it has mainly retained of the single humped camel, the last quality: the Tuareg camel (méhari), a saddle animal, slender, light-coloured that is particularly photogenic especially when it participates in a parade.

As far as the representations of the camel are concerned, it is claimed that the animal is much used in animal tales to symbolize a naïve person, as stated in the *Encyclopédie Berbère* (1996), ‘*Il [dromadaire] incarne un type de personnage naïf, d’une sensibilité frisant le sentimental, doublé d’un orgueil exacerbé. Comique un peu stupide, on pourrait le qualifier de paladin de l’absurde...*’ (Encyclopédie Berbère XVII 1996: 2548). In other

words, the camel embodies a kind of naive character, having great sensitivity, coupled with exacerbated pride. Comic and a bit stupid, it can be called a paladin of the absurd.

So far, an account of the characteristics and role of four animals has been provided; it has shown the cultural representations that characterize them. The conclusions that we draw from this account is that the four animals are not always used for the same purposes and are not always part of the fauna in the different contexts and thus are not viewed in a similar way. In the following subsection, we provide a descriptive account of the corpora on which our research is based.

4.3. Description of Corpora

This subsection is devoted to a quantitative description of the animal-related proverbs and the criteria that we relied on in our selection of the proverbs. The latter are extracted from some compilations. In English, we have drawn proverbs from Rosalind Ferguson's *Penguin Dictionary of Proverbs* (1983/2000), Martin H. Manser's *Facts on Files Dictionary of Proverbs* and Wilson's *Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs* (1970). In French, proverbs have been extracted from Alain Ray's and Sophie Chantereau's *Le Dictionnaire des Expressions et Locutions* (1985), *Le Robert Dictionnaire des Proverbes et Dictons* (1989), and Vigerie's *La Symphonie Animale. Les Animaux dans les Expressions de la Langue Française* (1992). In Arabic, proverbs have been taken from Hassan Al Youssi's *Zahr 'al 'akam fi 'al-amthal wa 'al-ḥikam* (1981), Abi-Hilal Al-Askari's *Kita:b Jamhartu 'al-'amṭa:l* (1988), Ḥamza Al-Asbahani's *'aḍarra 'al-fa:xira fi: 'al-'amṭa:l 'assa:'ira* (1988), and Abu Al-Fazl Al-Maydani's *Majma'u 'Al-'Amṭa:l* (1996). In Kabyle, we have taken proverbs from Youcef Nacib's *Proverbes et Dictons Kabyles* (2009) and Remdan At Mensur's *Dictionnaire des Proverbes Kabyles* (2010).

4.3.1. Quantitative Account of Proverbs

In this subsection, we provide the number of proverbs that are involved in the studies conducted in both chapter five and chapter six of the present dissertation. This is done per animal type, as follows: the dog, the ass, the ox, and the camel. The number of proverbs

analysed in chapter six is inferior to the number of those analysed in chapter five. This is because some proverbs convey similar meanings and thus have been withdrawn and some others do not fit the analysis of the characterization of animals in the proverbs.

In chapter five, a number of 268 proverbs are analysed from a cognitive and cross-cultural perspective in relation to the conceptual mappings they display. Their number per animal and per language is given hereafter:

Dog-related Proverbs: English 35, French 21, Arabic 51, Kabyle 16

Ass-related Proverbs: English 14, French 15, Arabic 26, Kabyle 23

Ox-related Proverbs: English 5, French 5, Arabic 5, Kabyle 18

Camel-related Proverbs: English 3, French 1, Arabic 23, Kabyle 5

In chapter six, 246 proverbs are analysed with regard to the characterization of animals in proverbs from a cognitive and cross-cultural viewpoint. Their number per animal and per language is provided hereafter:

Dog-related Proverbs: English 32, French 21, Arabic 40, Kabyle 16

Ass-related Proverbs: English 14, French 15, Arabic 23, Kabyle 23

Ox-related Proverbs: English 4, French 5, Arabic 5, Kabyle 18

Camel-related Proverbs: English 3, French 1, Arabic 22, Kabyle 4

4.3.2. Selection Criteria of the Corpora

Proverbs that are used to allude to both positive and negative human conduct in society generally involve animal metaphors. This Ubiquity of Animal Metaphors in Proverbs can be explained in terms of the likeness characterising both animal and human features and behaviour. Goatly (2006), in his article *Animal metaphor*, claims that '[...] there are at least three interpretations of "humans are animals". Humans are one kind of animal; Humans are more or less animals; Humans are not animals but are in some/few respects like animals' (Goatly 2006: 17).

In English, animal metaphor characterizes a large number of proverbs. English Dog proverbs include the highest number of proverbs because the dog is the animal that is most frequently used. This is revealed in our English corpus of dog proverbs mentioned above. Fuller (2000) says, *'[a]s the first domesticated animal and considered as man's closest friend in the animal world, the dog has inevitably given rise to a very large number of expressions [...] the number of expressions relating to dog is so astronomical...'* (Fuller 2000: 47).

In French, many proverbs involve animal metaphors. The dog is the most frequently used animal in French proverbs, as stated by Suzzoni (1993) in the *Dictionnaire des Proverbes et Dictons*. *'Le chien, [a]nimal le plus populaire des proverbes, il possède des traits nombreux susceptibles de significations multiples et variées'* (Dictionnaire des proverbes et Dictons 1993: 33). In other words, the dog is the most popular animal used in proverbs. It possesses numerous features involving various multiple and varied meanings.

In Arabic, animals are found to constitute a rich source for the production of metaphors and proverbs. Qatamish (1988) claims that Arabs greatly use animals in their proverbs because their life is filled with the presence of various animals (Cf. Qatamish 1988: 402). He also argues that the camel is the most popular animal of Arabic proverbs, as this animal is considered of great value (Cf. Qatamish 1988: 411).

In Kabyle, proverbial animal metaphors fill up the language. Nacib (2009) asserts that *'[p]ratiqument, toutes les bêtes que compte la faune du Djurdjura sont mises en scène par le proverbe kabyle. Qu'il s'agisse des animaux domestiques ou des bestioles, fauves ou autres bêtes sauvages pouvant être recensés dans la Kabylie d'antan...'* (Nacib 2009: 92). In other words, all the beasts that the Djurdjura's fauna includes are used by the Kabyle proverb whether pets or critters, deer or other wild animals that can be identified in ancient Kabylia. Moreover, Nacib (2009) examines the frequency of domestic animals' use in proverbs and draws the conclusion that *'les animaux les plus cités sont à la fois les plus nombreux et les*

plus proches du paysan montagnard' (Nacib 2009: 92). That is, the most cited animals are those that are more numerous and closer to the mountain peasant. As a result, the bovine type of animals is the most frequently used one; followed by the ass and the dog.

The above account justifies the ubiquity of animal metaphor in proverbs. The latter constitutes one of the criteria on which the selection of animal-related proverbs is based. Animal metaphor is pervasive in proverbs. Second, we have selected four domestic animals: the dog, the ass, the ox, and the camel. We have chosen dog proverbs because the dog is an animal that lives everywhere and is so close to humans which fact leads speakers of the selected languages (English, French, Arabic, and Kabyle) to use the dog in their proverbs extensively. We have chosen ass proverbs because the ass is also extensively used in the proverbs of the four languages. Our choice of ox proverbs is prompted by the fact that the ox is the most frequently used animal in Kabyle proverbs. Similarly, our selection of camel proverbs is motivated by the fact that the camel is the most frequently used animal in Arabic proverbs. Finally, only proverbs involving the HUMAN BEHAVIOUR IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR are selected for our present investigation.

Conclusion

This chapter has mainly aimed at providing a description of the materials on which our cognitive and cross-cultural study is based and the corpora involving animal-related proverbs belonging to the languages under study: Standard British English, Standard French, Standard Arabic, and Kabyle. In addition, it has provided a description of the socio-cultural views about the dog, ass, ox and camel. This descriptive account has revealed valuable data on the cultural representations of animals that will be used in the analysis of mappings and the characterization of animals in the proverbs. Furthermore, a quantitative account of the animal-related proverbs and a report of the criteria on which their selection is based have also been mentioned.

CHAPTER FIVE

CULTURAL INFLUENCE ON DOMAIN MAPPINGS IN THE PROVERBS

Introduction

5.1. Descriptive Account of Domain Mappings in the Animal-related Proverbs

- 5.1.1. Account of Domain Mappings in Dog Proverbs
- 5.1.2. Account of Domain Mappings in Ass Proverbs
- 5.1.3. Account of Domain Mappings in Ox Proverbs
- 5.1.4. Account of Domain Mappings in Camel Proverbs

5.2. Comparison of Domain Mappings in the Animal-related Proverbs

- 5.2.1. Comparison of Domain Mappings in Dog Proverbs
- 5.2.2. Comparison of Domain Mappings in Ass Proverbs
- 5.2.3. Comparison of Domain Mappings in Ox Proverbs
- 5.2.4. Comparison of Domain Mappings in Camel Proverbs

5.3. Discussion of Similarity and Divergence in Domain Mappings in the Animal-related Proverbs

- 5.3.1. Discussion of Similarity and Divergence in Domain Mappings in Dog Proverbs
- 5.3.2. Discussion of Similarity and Divergence in Domain Mappings in Ass Proverbs
- 5.3.3. Discussion of Similarity and Divergence in Domain Mappings in Ox Proverbs
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- 5.3.5. General Discussion
 - 5.3.5.1. Universality Principle
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Conclusion

Introduction

This Chapter is devoted to a contrastive study of the metaphorical mappings characterizing the HUMAN BEHAVIOUR IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR generic-level conceptual metaphor that includes the specific-level metaphors HUMAN BEHAVIOUR IS DOG BEHAVIOUR, HUMAN BEHAVIOUR IS ASS BEHAVIOUR, HUMAN BEHAVIOUR IS OX BEHAVIOUR and HUMAN BEHAVIOUR IS CAMEL BEHAVIOUR in the selected animal-related proverbs. It includes three sections. The first is a descriptive account of domain mappings in the animal-related proverbs in English, French, Arabic, and Kabyle. The second section involves a comparison of the domain mappings per animal type: the dog, the ass, the ox and the camel. The third and last section discusses the findings relating to the variation in domain mappings in the proverbs across the four languages. This discussion will be conducted with reference to the universality of conceptual metaphor as put forward in the embodiment hypothesis (Lakoff 1987) on the one hand, and, on the other, culture-specificity and cross-cultural variation of metaphor as claimed within the CCT (Kövecses 2005).

5.1. Descriptive Account of Domain Mappings in the Animal-related Proverbs

Before undertaking any contrastive study of domain mappings, it is essential to provide a preliminary description of these aspects in order to enable an understanding of the type of ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR that is mapped onto the type of HUMAN BEHAVIOUR in the proverbs of each language and in relation to each animal separately. To meet this purpose, the mappings will be presented in the form of tables having three columns including the source domain and the target domain separated by the proverbs involving the mappings. The source and target domains in each table correspond respectively to the ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR and HUMAN BEHAVIOUR. We begin with mappings characterizing dog proverbs, second, ass proverbs, third, ox proverbs and finally camel proverbs.

5.1.1. Account of Domain Mappings in Dog Proverbs

In this subsection, a description of the mappings involved in the dog proverbs of the four languages will be provided in the form of four separate tables followed by comments. The source and target domains in the tables correspond respectively to the DOG BEHAVIOUR and HUMAN BEHAVIOUR.

- **Mappings in English Dog Proverbs**

The description and classification of the mappings involved in the English dog proverbs under study is presented in Table (1).

DOG BEHAVIOUR	Proverbs	HUMAN BEHAVIOUR
BARKING	Barking dogs seldom bite. Dogs bark and the caravan goes on. Dogs that bark at a distance bite not at hand. The dog barks in vain at the moon. The dog that is idle barks at his fleas, but he that is hunting feels them not. Dogs bark as they are bred. An old dog barks not in vain. If the old dog barks, he gives counsel.	IDLE THREATENING IDLE THREATENING IDLE THREATENING IDLE THREATENING COMPLAINING ABOUT PETTY MATTERS BEHAVING BADLY GIVING ADVICE GIVING ADVICE
NOT EATING	Dog does not eat dog.	BEING LOYAL WITH COMPANIONS
BITING	The dog bites the stone, not him that throws it. In every country dogs bite	SHIFTING THE BLAME BAD PEOPLE ARE SIMILAR
NOT BITING	Dead dogs bite not.	BEING HARMLESS

QUARRELLING	Two dogs strive for a bone, and a third runs away with it. Quarrelsome dogs get dirty coats. Quarrelling dogs come halting home.	QUARRELLING QUARRELING QUARRELLING
HUNTING FOULEST WORRYING A HARE BEING FOREMOST	The dog that hunts foulest, hits at most faults. Many dogs may easily worry one hare. The foremost dog catches the hare.	BEHAVING BADLY FIGHTING OVER/ WORRYING A PERSON BEING THE FIRST
TAIL WAGGING	Dogs wag their tails not so much in love to you as to your bread.	INSINCERE FLATTERY
FAWNING	Better to have a dog fawn on you than bite you.	GIVING APPARENT RESPECT
FETCHING CARRYING	The dog that fetches will carry.	BRINGING CARRYING GOSSIP
SLEEPING/LYING	Let sleeping dogs lie.	STOP MAKING TROUBLE
UNABLE TO LEARN	You can't teach an old dog new tricks.	UNABLE TO COPE WITH NEW IDEAS
DISAGREEING	Two dogs and a bone never agree.	NOT BEING AT PEACE WITH OTHERS
FOLLOWING MASTER	If you would wish the dog to follow you, feed him.	BEING OBEDIENT
LEAVING A FOREIGN MASTER	He that keeps another man's dog, shall have nothing left him but the line.	BEING UNGRATEFUL
GNAWING A BONE	While the dog gnaws bone, companions would be none.	GUARDING WINNINGS AND PROFITS

DROWNING	When a dog is drowning, everyone offers him drink.	BEING UNABLE TO FIGHT BACK
RETURNING TO HIS VOMIT	The dog returns to his vomit.	RETURNING TO THE SCENE OF THE CRIME
LICKING ASHES	The dog that licks ashes trust not with meal.	BEING SATISFIED WITH INFERIOR THINGS
HAVING FLEAS	If you lie down with dogs, you will get up with fleas.	BEING WICKED/STUPID
BEING GOOD	A good dog deserves a good bone.	BEING GOOD
BEING DUMB AND DANGEROUS	Dumb dogs are dangerous.	SILENT PEOPLE MAY BE DANGEROUS
BEING A LION	Every dog is a lion at home	HAVING FALSE COURAGE
BEING MAN'S BEST FRIEND	A dog is man's best friend	MAN IS NOT A GOOD FRIEND

Table (1): Domain Mappings in English Dog Proverbs

Table (1) reveals that the English dog proverbs under study comprise 28 distinct mappings reveals and that BARKING is the dog behaviour that is most frequently used in English dog proverbs. This behaviour is used in eight proverbs. BITING, HUNTING and QUARRELLING are also used more than other dog behaviours. Sixteen proverbs include dog behaviours that are used just once, such as, TAIL WAGGING, FAWNING, FETCHING CARRYING, SLEEPING/LYING, UNABLE TO LEARN, DISAGREEING, FOLLOWING MASTER, LEAVING A FOREIGN MASTER, GNAWING A BONE, RETURNING TO HIS VOMIT, LICKING ASHES, HAVING FLEAS, BEING GOOD, BEING DUMB AND DANGEROUS, BEING A LION, and BEING MAN'S BEST FRIEND.

Table (1) also shows that the human behaviour that is most frequently used in English dog proverbs is IDLE THREATENING. This human behaviour is conveyed in four proverbs.

QUARRELLING is used in three, GIVING ADVICE and BEHAVING BADLY in two proverbs. All the other human behaviours are used just once. These are: COMPLAINING ABOUT PETTY MATTERS, BEING LOYAL WITH COMPANIONS, SHIFTING THE BLAME, BAD PEOPLE ARE SIMILAR, BEING HARMLESS, FIGHTING OVER/WORRYING A PERSON, BEING THE FIRST, INSINCERE FLATTERY, GIVING APPARENT RESPECT, BRINGING CARRYING GOSSIP, STOP MAKING TROUBLE, UNABLE TO COPE WITH NEW IDEAS, NOT BEING AT PEACE WITH OTHERS BEING OBEDIENT, BEING UNGRATEFUL, GUARDING WINNINGS AND PROFITS, BEING UNABLE TO FIGHT BACK, RETURNING TO THE SCENE OF THE CRIME, BEING SATISFIED WITH INFERIOR THINGS, BEING WICKED/STUPID, BEING GOOD, SILENT PEOPLE MAY BE DANGEROUS, HAVING FALSE COURAGE, MAN IS NOT A GOOD FRIEND.

- **Mappings in French Dog Proverbs**

The description and classification of the mappings involved in the French dog proverbs are illustrated in Table (2).

DOG BEHAVIOUR	Proverbs	HUMAN BEHAVIOUR
BARKING	Chien qui aboie ne mord pas A barking dog does not bite	IDLE THREATENING
	Les chiens aboient, la caravane passe Dogs bark, the caravan goes on	IDLE THREATENING
	Jamais bon chien n'aboie à faux A good dog barks not in vain.	TRUE
	On ne peut empêcher le chien d'aboyer ni le menteur de mentir we can neither prevent the dog from barking nor the liar from lying	THREATS/ANGER
		LYING
BITING	A chien qui mord il faut jeter des pierres you must throw stones on a barking dog	BEING HARMFUL

NOT BITING	Un chien mort ne mord plus A dead dog no longer bites	BEING HARMLESS
HUNTING	Bon chien chasse de race A good dog hunts by nature Il n'est chasse que de vieux chiens Only old dogs hunt well	INHERITING PARENTS' QUALITIES BEING EXPERIENCED
NOT HUNTING TOGETHER	Les chiens ne chassent pas ensembles dogs do not hunt together	DISAGREEING
PISSING	Pendant que le chien pisse, le lièvre s'en va A toute heure chien pisse et femme pleure	HESITATING INEVITABLE BEHAVIOUR
HAVING FLEAS	Qui se couche avec les chiens, se lève avec des puces He who lies down with dogs, gets up with fleas.	BEING WICKED/STUPID
DISAGREEING	Deux chiens à l'os ne s'accordent Two dogs and a bone never agree.	NOT BEING AT PEACE WITH OTHERS
DROWNING	Quand un chien se noie, tout le monde lui offre à boire When a dog is drowning, everyone offers him drink.	BEING UNABLE TO FIGHT BACK
BEING FEROCIOUS	Chien hargneux a toujours l'oreille déchirée A ferocious dog has always the ear torn	QUARRELLING/ FIGHTING
LOOKING AT A BISHOP	Un chien regarde bien un évêque A dog may look at a bishop.	LOOKING AT A NOBLE MAN
NOT GETTING A	Jamais à bon chien, il ne vient un bon os	NOT GETTING THE

GOOD BONE	A good dog never gets a good bone	DESERVED REWARD
NOT BREEDING CATS	Les chiens ne font pas des chats Dogs do not breed cats	INHERITING PARENTS' QUALITIES
FLEEING	C'est le chien de Jean de Nivelles, il s'enfuit quand on l'appelle	EVADING
BEING DUMB AND DANGEROUS	Gardez-vous de l'homme secret et du chien muet Beware of the silent man and the dumb dog	SILENT PEOPLE MAY BE DANGEROUS
NOT ALLOWING THE RABBIT TO EAT SPROUTS	Le chien du jardinier ne veut ni manger les choux ni permettre au lapin de les manger The gardener's dog neither wants to eat sprouts nor allows the hare to eat them.	BEING JEALOUS

Table (2):Domain Mappings in French Dog Proverbs

Table (2) indicates that the French dog proverbs involve 20 distinct mappings and that the most frequently used dog behaviour in French proverbs is BARKING. Four proverbs involve this behaviour. HUNTING is used in three proverbs, BITING in two proverbs and PISSING in two proverbs as well. So, these are used more than other dog behaviours that are used just one time, such as HAVINGFLEAS, DISAGREEING, DROWNING, BEING FEROCIOUS, LOOKING AT A BISHOP, NOT GETTING A GOOD BONE , NOT BREEDING CATS, FLEEING, BEING DUMB AND DANGEROUS, NOT ALLOWING THE RABBIT TO EAT SPROUTS.

In addition, Table (2) shows that IDLE THREATENING and INHERITING PARENTS' QUALITIES are the most frequently used human behaviours in French dog proverbs while all the other human behaviours are used just once. These behaviours include: TRUE THREATS/ANGER, LYING, BEING HARMFUL, BEING HARMLESS, BEING EXPERIENCED, DISAGREEING, HESITATING, INEVITABLE BEHAVIOUR, BEING WICKED/STUPID, NOT BEING AT

PEACE WITH OTHERS, BEING UNABLE TO FIGHT BACK, QUARRELLING/FIGHTING, LOOKING AT A NOBLE MAN, NOT GETTING THE DESERVED REWARD, EVADING, SILENT PEOPLE MAY BE DANGEROUS, BEING JEALOUS.

- **Mappings in Arabic Dog Proverbs**

The description and classification of the mappings involved in the Arabic dog proverbs are given in Table (3).

DOG BEHAVIOUR	Proverbs	HUMAN BEHAVIOUR
BEING MISERLY	<p>Huwa'abxalu min kalbin</p> <p>He is more miserly than a dog</p> <p>Huwa 'abxalu min kalbin 'ala ji:fatin</p> <p>He is more miserly than a dog on a corpse</p> <p>Huwa 'abxalu min kalbin 'ala 'irqin</p> <p>He is more miserly than a dog on a meaty bone</p>	BEING MEAN AND MISERLY
BEING EAGER	<p>Huwa'aħrařu min kalbin</p> <p>He is more eager than a dog</p> <p>Huwa 'aħrařu min kalbin 'ala ji:fatin</p> <p>He is more eager than a dog on a corpse</p>	BEING MEAN AND MISERLY
BEING BASE	<p>Huwa'al'amu min kalbin 'ala 'irqin</p> <p>He is baser than a dog on a meaty bone</p> <p>Huwa 'al'amu min kalbin 'ala ji:fatin</p> <p>He is baser than a dog on a corpse</p>	BEING MEAN AND MISERLY
BEING DOMESTIC	<p>Huwa'a:lafu min kalbin</p> <p>He is more domestic than a dog</p>	BEING FRIENDLY

BEING GRATEFUL	Huwa'aşkaru min kalbin He is more grateful than a dog	BEING GRATEFUL
PROTECTING	Huwa'aşsanu hifa:dan min kalbin He is a better protector than a dog	DEFENDING OTHERS
CHERISHING	Huwa'aşahū ri'a:yatan min kalbin He cherishes better than a dog does.	ACTING WELL WITH OTHERS
BEING OBEDIENT	Huwa'aṭwa'u min kalbin He is more obedient than a dog.	BEING OBEDIENT
BEING INSATIABLE	Huwa'anhamu min kalbin He is more insatiable than a dog. Huwa'ajša'u min kalbin He is more insatiable than a dog. Huwa 'a'ramu min kalbin 'ala 'ura:min He takes meat off a bone better than a dog does.	BEING CUPID
LOVING A STRANGER	'aḥabba 'ahli 'al-kalbi 'ilayhi 'aḍa':inu The dog loves most a stranger.	NOT LOOKING AFTER FAMILY MEMBERS
SLEEPING	'anwamu min kalbin He sleeps more than a dog does	BEING VIGILANT
BEING SLEEPY	'an'asu min kalbin He is sleepier than a dog	BEING VIGILANT
DELAY IN SLEEPING	iḍa: na:ma da:li'u al-kila:bi When the weak dog goes to sleep	DELAY IN SATISFYING A NEED
HAVING GOOD SIGHT	Huwa'abşaru min kalbin He sees better than a dog	LOOKING AT THINGS WITH PRECISION

GUARDING	Huwa'ahrasu min kalbin He guards better than a dog	DEFENDING OTHERS
INSISTING	Huwa'alajju min kalbin He insists more than a dog Huwa'alahhu min kalbin He insists more than a dog	INSISTING
HAVING GOOD HEARING POWER	Huwa'asma'u min kalbin He hears better than a dog	SPYING
HAVING GOOD SCENTING POWER	Huwa'ašammu min kalbin He scents better than a dog	SPYING
BEING COURAGEOUS	Huwa'ašja'u min kalbin He is more courageous than a dog	BEING COURAGEOUS
BEING OBSCENE/IMPUDENT	Huwa'afhašu min kalbin He is more obscene than a dog	BEING OBSCENE/IMPUDENT
HAVING PATIENCE IN HUMILIATION	Huwa'asbaru 'ala 'al-hawni min kalbin He is more patient in humiliation than a dog	HAVING PATIENCE IN HUMILIATION
BEING STINKY	Huwa 'antanu min ri:hi 'al-kalbi He is more stinky than the scent of a dog	HAVING BAD REPUTATION
PISSING	Huwa'abwalu min kalbin He pisses more than a dog	EXCESSIVE BREEDING
FAST WATER DRINKING	Huwa'asra'u min kalbin 'ila wulu:gihi He drinks water faster than a dog Huwa 'a'jalu min kalbin 'ila wulu:gihi He drinks water faster than a dog	HAVING LIMITED ENDURANCE

FAST NOSE LICKING	Huwa 'asra'u min laḥsati 'al-kalba 'anfahu He is faster than a dog that licks his nose.	GIVING IMPORTANCE TO ONE'S APPEARANCE
HAVING LITTLE OR NO HAIR	Huwa 'aqallu min sawfi 'al-kalbi He has less hair than a dog Huwa 'a'saru min ṣawfi 'al-kalbi He has less hair than a dog Huwa'ankadu min kalbin 'aḥaṣṣa He is moodier than a hairless dog	DOING NO GOOD TO OTHERS
BEING IN THE DOG'S NICHE	huwa fi: mazjari 'al-kalbi He is in the dog's niche	ACCEPTING HUMILIATION
BEING THE DOG OF THE GROUP	Fula:nu kalbu 'al-jama:'ati He is the group's dog	BEING SERVILE
PROTECTING PUPPIES	'alayhi wa:qiyatan ka wa:qiyata 'al-kilabi He has the protection that dogs have	PROTECTING A BASE PERSON
FOLLOWING MASTER	Jawwi' kalbaka yatba'ka Don't feed your dog, he will follow you	BEING BASE AND SUBMITTED
BEING FAT AND EATING MASTER	sammin kalbaka ya'kulka Feed your dog excessively, he will eat you	BEING UNGRATFUL
PROVOKING MASTER	kalkalbi yuharrišu mu'alifahu He is like a dog who provokes his master	BEING UNGRATFUL

LOVING A STRANGLER	'aḥabba 'ahli 'al-kalbi 'ilayhi xa:niquhu The dog loves a strangler better than his masters	ACCEPTING HUMILIATION
FINDING GRACE	na'ima kalbun fi: bu'si ahlihi a dog found grace in the misery of his masters	TAKING ADVANTAGE OF SOMEONE'S TROUBLES
BEING DIRTY	'anjasu ma: yaku:nu 'al-kalbu 'ida iḡtasala Dirtier than a dog that washes	HAVING CORRUPTED MORALS AND INTENTIONS
STRIKING THE WOLF	Waqā'a 'al-kalbu 'ala 'addi'bi The dog strikes the wolf	VICTORY OVER A TYRANT
BARKING	kullu kalbin biba:bihi nabba:ḥun Every dog is barking at his own door	HAVING FALSE COURAGE
NOT BARKING	la: yazurru assaḥa:ba nuba:ḥu 'al-kila:bi Dogs' barking don't harm the clouds. 'al-kalbu la: yanbaḥu man fi: da:rihi The dog doesn't bark at the home's inhabitants. Ma:laka la: tanbaḥu ya: kalba 'addawmi qad kunta nabbaḥan fama: laka 'al-yawm Why don't you bark you eternal dog, you used to bark; so, what's the matter with you today.	IDLE THREATENING FEELING SOMEONE FAMILIAR BECOMING WEAK

PROVOKING COWS	'al-kila:ba 'ala 'al-baqari The dogs provoke the cows	IDLE THREATENING
REQUESTING	kalbun 'assin xayrun min asadin rabzin a dog that requests is better than a lion lying down	BEING WEAK BUT SUCCESSFUL
SCENTING A WOMAN'S VEIL	šamma xima:raha 'al-kalbu The dog scented her veil	COMMITTING ADULTERY

Table (3):Domain Mappings in Arabic Dog Proverbs

Table (3) shows there are 44 mappings in the Arabic dog proverbs and that the most frequently used dog behaviours in Arabic proverbs are BARKING/NOTBARKING; these are involved in four proverbs. BEING MISERLY, BEING INSATIABLE, SLEEPING/BEING SLEEPY and HAVING LITTLE OR NO HAIR are also used more than others. Three proverbs are found to involve each of these behaviours. There are 20 proverbs in which dog behaviours are used only once. These are BEING DOMESTIC, BEING GRATEFUL, PROTECTING, CHERISHING, BEING OBEDIENT, HAVING GOOD SIGHT, LOVING A STRANGER, GUARDING, HAVING GOOD HEARING POWER, HAVING GOOD SCENTING POWER, BEING COURAGEOUS, BEING OBSCENE, HAVING PATIENCE AND ENDURANCE, BEING STINKY, PISSING, FAST NOSE LICKING, BEING IN THE DOG'S NICHE, BEING THE DOG OF THE GROUP, PROTECTING PUPPIES, FOLLOWING MASTER, BEING FAT AND EATING MASTER, FATTENING, PROVOKING MASTER, LOVING A STRANGLER, FINDING GRACE, BEING DIRTY, STRIKING THE WOLF, PROVOKING COWS, REQUESTING, SCENTING A WOMAN'S VEIL.

The most frequently used human behaviour in Arabic dog proverbs is BEING MEAN AND MISERLY. It is used seven times. This is followed by BEING CUPID that is used three times, and DOING NO GOOD TO OTHERS also used three times. Some human behaviours are found to be used twice. These are IDLE THREATENING, BEING UNGRATEFUL, ACCEPTING HUMILIATION, HAVING LIMITED ENDURANCE, SPYING, INSISTING, BEING VIGILANT. Other human behaviours

are used only once. These are BEING FRIENDLY, BEING GRATEFUL, DEFENDING OTHERS, ACTING WELL WITH OTHERS, BEING OBEDIENT, DELAY IN SATISFYING A NEED, LOOKING AT THINGS WITH PRECISION, DEFENDING OTHERS, INSISTING, BEING COURAGEOUS, BEING OBSCENE/IMPUDENT, HAVING PATIENCE IN HUMILIATION, HAVING BAD REPUTATION, EXCESSIVE BREEDING, GIVING IMPORTANCE TO ONE’S APPEARANCE, BEING SERVILE, PROTECTING A BASE PERSON, BEING BASE AND SUBMITTED, BEING BASE, NOT LOOKING AFTER FAMILY MEMBERS, TAKING ADVANTAGE OF SOMEONE’S TROUBLES, HAVING CORRUPTED MORALS AND INTENTIONS, VICTORY OVER A TYRANT, HAVING FALSE COURAGE, FEELING SOMEONE FAMILIAR, BECOMING WEAK, BEING WEAK BUT SUCCESSFUL, COMMITTING ADULTERY.

- **Mappings in Kabyle Dog Proverbs**

The description and classification of the mappings involved in the Kabyle dog proverbs are given in Table (4).

DOG BEHAVIOUR	Proverbs	HUMAN BEHAVIOUR.
BARKING	Aqjun isseglafen ur iteṭṭara A barking dog does not bite Isseglaf wqjun 99 tikwal yef qarrus, tis miyya ibab-is. The dog barks 99 times to protect himself, the hundredth’s time to protect his master	IDLE THREATENING BEING SELFISH
NOT BARKING	Iqwjan-ney ur seglafen-ara fellas Our dogs do not bark at him	FEELING SOMEONE FAMILIAR
BITING	Tekksey iselfan i wegdi, ihebber dgi. I remove fleas from the dog, he bites me	BEING UNGRATEFUL

	<p>Laeb n weqjun d tikarac, wwin n wemcic d tixebbac</p> <p>The dog's playing is biting that of the cat is scratching</p>	
BEING GRAND	<p>Muqquer wugdi urtiwi taerict.</p> <p>The dog is so grand that the garret does not contain him</p>	BEING ARROGANT
EATING OR NOT EATING	<p>Fkas iwegdi aclim, ad yečč ney ad yeqqim</p> <p>Give bran to the dog, he eats it or leaves it</p>	BEING EXACTING/ DEMANDING
QUARRELLING	<p>Amennuy gizem yibbwas, amennuy bwgdi kullas.</p> <p>The lion quarrels once, the dog quarrels every day</p> <p>Ṭnayen am yidan di tesraft</p> <p>They quarrel like dogs in a pit.</p>	PERMANENT QUARRELLING BEING AGGRESSIVE
SUCCEEDING	<p>Yerbaḥ weqjun əalqen-as taqlaṭ.</p> <p>The dog succeeded, we put a collar to him</p>	SUCCEEDING
BEING FEROCIOUS	<p>Addred aqjun, dmedd aekwaz</p> <p>When you mention the dog, take a stick</p>	BEING AGGRESSIVE
BEING MAD	<p>Aqjun ikelben d imawlan at iḥkmen</p> <p>A mad dog must be controlled by his masters.</p>	BEING INSOLENT
HAVING BIG CHEEKS	<p>Balak a keeḡben leḥnak, llan ula s aqjun ḥaca-k</p> <p>Don't be seduced by the cheeks, even the dog, apologies, has the same.</p>	HAVING DECEPTIVE APPEARANCE
HOWLING	<p>Mi yaḅen yezmawen, ad sraereen yidan</p> <p>when lions disappear, dogs howl.</p>	BEING INDISCIPLINED

SPOILING JOY	Sxeşren ay zzhu yidan. The dogs spoilt our joy	BEING IMPUDENT
LIVING LONG LIFE	D laemer bwqjun It is a dog's life	HAVING ENDURANCE AND PATIENCE

Table (4) :Domain Mappings in Kabyle Dog Proverbs

Table (4) reveals that Kabyle dog proverbs include 13 mappings. It also shows that BARKING/NOT BARKING is the dog behaviour that is most frequently used in the Kabyle proverbs. There are three proverbs involving this behaviour. BITING and QUARRELLING are also used more than other behaviours that are used only once. These are BEING GRAND, EATING OR NOT EATING, QUARRELLING, SUCCEEDING, BEING FEROCIOUS, BEING MAD, HAVING BIG CHEEKS, HOWLING and LIVING LONG LIFE.

The most frequently used human behaviour concepts in Kabyle dog proverbs are BEING UNGRATEFUL and BEING AGGRESSIVE. They are used twice. The other human behaviour concepts are involved only one time in each proverb. These behaviours include IDLE THREATENING, BEING SELFISH, FEELING SOMEONE FAMILIAR, BEING ARROGANT, BEING EXACTING/DEMANDING, PERMANENT QUARRELLING, SUCCEEDING, BEING INSOLENT, HAVING DECEPTIVE APPEARANCE, BEING INDISCIPLINED, BEING IMPUDENT, HAVING ENDURANCE AND PATIENCE.

So far, we have looked at the metaphorical mappings involved in the dog proverbs and have considered the frequency of dog and human behaviour use in the proverbs of each language. In the following subsection, we shall provide a description and classification of the domain mappings relating to ass proverbs.

5.1.2. Account of Domain Mappings in Ass Proverbs

In this subsection, the mappings that relate to the ass proverbs of the four languages will be given in the form of four separate tables followed by comments. The source and target domains in the tables correspond respectively to the ASS BEHAVIOUR and HUMAN BEHAVIOUR.

- **Mappings in English Ass Proverbs**

The description and classification of the mappings involved in the English ass proverbs are given in Table (5).

ASS BEHAVIOUR	Proverbs	HUMAN BEHAVIOUR
ENDURING NOT MORE THAN HIS BURDEN	An ass endures his burden, but not more than his burden	HAVING LIMITED ENDURANCE
BEING LADEN WITH GOLD AND CLIMBING TO THE TOP OF THE CASTLE	An ass laden with gold climbs to the top of the castle	BEING RICH AND ABLE TO GET ALL THAT IS DESIRED
BEING LOADED WITH GOLD BUT STILL EATING THISTLES	The ass loaded with gold still eats thistles	BEING WEALTHY BUT STILL HAVING THE MISER'S BEHAVIOUR
BEING TIED NEAR THE MASTER	An ass must be tied where the master will have him	BEING SERVILE
BEING PRICKED	An ass pricked must needs trot	BEING SERVILE
BEING WORTHY TO STAND WITH THE KING'S HORSES	Every ass thinks himself worthy to stand with the king's horses	BEING EQUAL WITH THE GREAT

BRAYING MOST EATING LEAST	The ass that brays most eats least	TALKING MOST AND CAUSING DANGER TO ONESELF
BRAYING AGAINST ANOTHER ASS	He is an ass that brays against another ass	DOING A FOOLISH ACT
LIKING TO HEAR HIMSELF BRAY	Every ass likes to hear himself bray	BEING A TALKATIVE FOOL
NOT COMING HOME A HORSE	If an ass goes on a-travelling, he will not come home a horse	NOT BECOMING BETTER
CLIMBING A LADDER	When an ass climbs a ladder, we may find wisdom in women	INABILITY OF WOMEN TO BE WISE
NEVER FALLING AGAIN	Wherever an ass falls, there will he never fall again	BEING EXPERIENCED
KICKING SOMEONE	When an ass kicks you, never tell it	CAUSING SHAME
BEING SCABBY AND SCENTING EACH OTHER	Scabby donkeys scent each other over nine hills	BEING ROGUE AND SEEKING EACH OTHER'S COMPANY

Table (5): Domain Mappings in English Ass Proverbs

Table (5) comprises 14 distinct mappings wherein a variety of ass behaviours is used. Each kind of behaviour is found in one proverb only. It is pertinent to remark that three behaviours; i.e., ENDURING NOT MORE THAN HIS BURDEN, BEING LADEN WITH GOLD AND CLIMBING TO THE TOP OF THE CASTLE and BEING LOADED WITH GOLD BUT STILL EATING THISTLES all relate to the source domain of BEING LADEN/CARRYING A BURDEN. There are also three behaviour

concepts relating to the source domain of BRAYING; namely, BRAYING AGAINST ANOTHER ASS, BRAYING MOST EATING LEAST and LIKING TO HEAR HIMSELF BRAY.

Table (5) also shows that BEING SERVILE is a human behaviour that is used twice in the English ass proverbs while the other behaviours are used just once. The latter include HAVING LIMITED ENDURANCE, BEING RICH AND ABLE TO GET ALL THAT IS DESIRED, BEING WEALTHY BUT STILL HAVING THE MISER'S BEHAVIOUR, BEING EQUAL WITH THE GREAT, TALKING MOST AND CAUSING DANGER TO ONESELF, DOING A FOOLISH ACT, BEING A TALKATIVE FOOL, NOT BECOMING BETTER, INABILITY OF WOMEN TO BE WISE, BEING EXPERIENCED, CAUSING SHAME, BEING ROGUE AND SEEKING EACH OTHER'S COMPANY

- **Mappings in French Ass Proverbs**

The description and classification of the mappings involved in the French ass proverbs are shown in Table (6).

ASS BEHAVIOUR	Proverbs	HUMAN BEHAVIOUR
RUBBING ANOTHER ASS	L'âne frotte l'âne. The ass rubs the ass	COMPLEMENTING ONE ANOTHER
SPEAKING LATIN	Les ânes parlent Latin. The asses speak Latin	SPEAKING OF SOMETHING IGNORED
BEING BADLY SADDLED	L'âne du commun est toujours le plus mal bâti. The community ass is always the worst saddled.	DEALING WITH THE CONCERN OF THE COMMUNITY BADLY
BEING THE BIGGEST ASS	Le plus âne des trois n'est pas celui qu'on pense. The biggest ass of the three is not the one you might think of.	BEING THE MOST STUPID

NOT WILLING TO DRINK WATER	On ne fait pas boire un âne qui n'a pas soif. Don't make an ass drink if he is not thirsty.	BEING OBSTINATE
PRODUCING FARTS	Parlez, chantez à un âne, il vous fera des pets. Talk to, sing to an ass, it will make farts to you.	BEING MISERLY
GETTING A FART FROM A DEAD ASS	On tirerait plutôt un pet d'un âne mort qu'un sou de sa bourse You'd rather take a fart from a dead ass than a penny from its purse.	BEING MISERLY
BEING LOADED AND NOT BRAYING	Un âne chargé ne laisse pas de braire A loaded ass still brays.	BEING RICH AND STUPID
KNOWING ABOUT HIS INJURY	Nul ne sait mieux que l'âne où le bât blesse. Nobody knows better than an ass where the saddle hurts.	KNOWING ABOUT ONE'S SUFFERING
WEARING THE LION'S SKIN	L'âne vêtu de la peau de lion An ass wearing the lion's skin	HAVING FALSE COURAGE
NOT CARRYING A BAG	Tous les ânes ne portent pas sac. Not all asses carry a bag.	NOT BEING OF SIMILAR SOCIAL CONDITION
NOT BEING EQUAL TO THE HORSE	L'âne avec le cheval n'atèle. The ass must not be harnessed with the horse.	NOT BEING OF SIMILAR SOCIAL CONDITION
FIGHTING	Quand il n'y a plus de foin au râtelier, les ânes se battent. When there is no hay left in the hayrack, the asses fight.	FIGHTING

GETTING THE HORSE'S BENEFIT	<p>Les chevaux courent les bénéfices et les ânes les attrapent.</p> <p>The horses chase after benefits and asses catch them.</p>	GETTING AN UNDESRVED BENEFIT
NOT STUMBLING TWICE	<p>Un âne ne trébuche pas deux fois sur la même pierre.</p> <p>An ass does not stumble twice on the same stone.</p>	BEING EXPERIENCED

Table (6): Domain Mappings in French Ass Proverbs

Table (6) indicates that French ass proverbs involve 10 mappings and that each type of ass behaviour is manifested in only one proverb except the behaviours relating to FARTING; i.e., PRODUCING FARTS and GETTING A FART FROM A DEAD ASS that are involved in two proverbs. As regard the behaviour of BEING LADEN/CARRYING A BURDEN, these is one ass behaviour, i.e., BEING LOADED AND NOT BRAYING used in one proverb.

In addition table (6) reveals that BEING MISERLY and NOT BEING OF SIMILAR SOCIAL CONDITION are human behaviour concepts used twice in French proverbs and the other behaviour concepts are used once. These are COMPLEMENTING ONE ANOTHER, SPEAKING OF SOMETHING IGNORED, DEALING WITH THE CONCERN OF THE COMMUNITY BADLY, BEING THE MOST STUPID, BEING OBSTINATE, BEING RICH AND STUPID, KNOWING ABOUT ONE'S SUFFERING, HAVING FALSE COURAGE, FIGHTING, GETTING AN UNDESRVED BENEFIT, BEING EXPERIENCED.

- **Mappings in Arabic Ass Proverbs**

The description and classification of the mappings involved in the Arabic ass proverbs are shown in Table (7).

ASS BEHAVIOUR	Proverbs	HUMAN BEHAVIOUR
BEING HEALTHY	Huwa' aṣaḥḥu min 'ayrin he is healthier than an ass Huwa 'aṣaḥḥu min 'ayri 'abi : sayyarata Healthier than abi: sayyara's ass	BEING HEALTHY AND LIVING LONG
BEING IGNORANT	Huwa' ajhalu min ḥima:rin He is more ignorant than an ass	BEING IGNORANT
BEING JEALOUS	Huwa' aḡiaru min ḥima:rin he is more jealous than an ass	BEING JEALOUS
BEING HUMILIATED	Huwa' aḡallu min ḥima:rin he is more humiliated than an ass Huwa 'aḡallu min ḥima:rin muqayyadin He is more humiliated than a tied ass.	ACCEPTING HUMILIATION
HAVING PATIENCE	Huwa' aṣbaru min ḥima:rin He is more patient than an ass	HAVING PATIENCE AND ENDURANCE
HAVING LITTLE HAIR	'a'saru min sawfi 'al-ḥima:ri It is less than the ass's hair.	DOING NO GOOD TO OTHERS
HAVING NO PATIENCE WHEN THIRSTY	'aqṣaru min ḡabbi 'al-ḥima:ri It is less than the ass's thirst 'aqṣaru min ḡama'i 'al-ḥima:ri It is less than the ass's thirst	HAVING NO PATIENCE

HAVING TEETH OF SIMILAR SIZE	Sawa:siya ka-’asnani ’al-hima:ri They are equal like the ass's teeth	BEING EQUAL
HAVING AN EMPTY STOMACH	Huwa ’axla: min jawfi ’al-ḥima:ri He is emptier than the ass's stomach	DOING NO GOOD TO OTHERS
PROTECTING HIMSELF	’al-’ayru awqa: lidamihi The ass protects himself	BEING CAUTIOUS
BEING STEPPED ON	’ayrun rakazathu ummuhu An ass whose mother stepped on.	SUFFERING FROM INJUSTICE
NOT FLEEING	Fiṣṣatun ḥima:ruha: la: yaqmusu Fisfisa’s ass doesn’t flee.	HAVING FALSE COURAGE
BEING FAT AND SAFE	Najja: ’ayran simnuhu An ass whose obesity has saved	BEING READY TO FACE DIFFICULTIES
BECOMING A JENNET	Ka:na ḥima:ran fasta’tana He was an ass, then, became a jennet	BECOMING WEAK
SAYING WORDS	Du:na da: wa yanfuqu ’al-ḥima:ru The ass says less than this	EXAGERATING IN COMPLEMENTING
BEING A SERVANT	’ittaxadu:hu ḥima:ra ’al-haja:ti They made of him an ass to serve them	BEING SERVILE/HUMILIATED
PISSING	Ba:la ḥima:run fa ’istaba:la ’aḥmiratun An ass pissed and made other asses piss	IMITATING BAD BEHAVIOUR
BEING ENTANGLED	’asbaḥa fi:ma daha:hu ka ’al-ḥima:ri ’al-mawḥu:li His problems made him become like the entangled ass	BEING IN A HARD SITUATION

REFUSING HOSPITALITY	La: ya'ba: 'al-kara:mata illa hima:run Only an ass refuses hospitality	REFUSING HOSPITALITY
LYING DOWN	Falima rabaza 'al-'ayru idan ? So why did the ass lie down	INDICATING CONTRADICTION
FARTING	Qad yaḍraṭu 'al-'ayru wa 'al-mikwa:tu fi: 'annari The ass may fart while the iron is on fire 'awda: 'al- 'ayru illa: zariṭan The ass farts excessively	BEING SCARED OF A SITUATION BEFORE IT OCCURS DOING NO GOOD TO OTHERS
APPROACHING AND BOWING ON WATER	Wadaqa 'al- 'ayru ila: 'al-ma:'i The ass approached water	BEING SUBMITTED

Table (7): Domain Mappings in Arabic Ass Proverbs

Table (7) shows that there are 23 mappings in Arabic ass proverbs. It also shows that there are four ass behaviours that are more used than others. These are BEING HEALTHY, BEING HUMILIATED, HAVING NO PATIENCE WHEN THIRSTY and FARTING. Each of these behaviours is found in two proverbs.

As far as human behaviour concepts are concerned, BEING HEALTHY AND LIVING LONG, ACCEPTING HUMILIATION, HAVING NO PATIENCE and DOING NO GOOD TO OTHERS are behaviour concepts that are used twice while the other behaviour concepts are used only one time. These are BEING IGNORANT, BEING JEALOUS, HAVING PATIENCE AND ENDURANCE, BEING EQUAL, DOING NO GOOD TO OTHERS, BEING CAUTIOUS, SUFFERING FROM INJUSTICE, HAVING FALSE COURAGE, BEING READY TO FACE DIFFICULTIES, BECOMING WEAK, EXAGGERATING IN COMPLEMENTING, BEING SERVILE/HUMILIATED, IMITATING BAD BEHAVIOUR, BEING IN A HARD SITUATION, REFUSING HOSPITALITY, INDICATING CONTRADICTION, BEING SCARED OF A SITUATION BEFORE IT OCCURS, BEING SUBMITTED.

- **Mappings in Kabyle Ass Proverbs**

The description and classification of the mappings involved in the Kabyle ass proverbs are provided in Table (8).

ASS BEHAVIOUR	Proverbs	HUMAN BEHAVIOUR
BEING LOST	Ayyul iw iruḥ, taberdas teqqim tetfuḥ. My ass is lost, what is left to me is his stinky saddle	LOOSING SOMETHING ESSENTIAL
BEING ENTANGLED IN THE MUD	Yewqæ wyyul di txemreṭ. The ass entangled in the mud	BEING IN A HARD SITUATION
THUMBLING DOWN THE HILL	Daacu bwyyul yegrarben. Some ass must have tumbled down the hill	SOMETHING INCREDIBLE OCCURRING
WEARING THE HORSE'S SADDLE	Anegr-ik a yul, tarigt tuyal iwyyul. Poor you heart, the horse's saddle is on the ass's back.	BECOMING AN IMPORTANT PERSON
BEING FRIEND WITH THE LAMB	Arwu lemḥiba bwyyul a yizimer ur nesei bwul. Be satisfied with the ass's love, you senseless lamb.	BEING OF BAD COMPANY
BEING LADEN AND RIDDEN	Ayyul n leḥbas eebbi w rkeb fellas. The religious community's ass, you can load and ride it.	USING COLLECTIVE STUFF EXCESSIVELY
BEING LOADED	Ayyul menwala iebbi fellas. Anyone can use the ass for loading	BEING SERVILE

NOT WILLING TO ENTER PARADISE	Akken is yenna wyyul, ma llan iqwrar di lğnnet ur tedduyara. As the ass said, I will not accompany you to heaven if there are children in it.	NOT GETTING SOMETHING DESIRED
HIDING IN THE HAYSTACK	Tufra bwyyul deg temmu. The hiding of the ass in the haystack.	DOING A FOOLISH ACT
PLAYING AND BITING	Laeb bwyyul d tikarac. The ass's game is biting.	BEING CLUMSY IN MAKING JOKES
BEING DEPRIVED OF HORNS	Igzra Rebbi deg wyyul yeksas acciwen. Allah knows the nature of the ass; so, He deprived him of horns.	BEING DEPRIVED OF POWER
BEING OFFERED CHICORY	Fkan tifat i wyyul. They gave chicory to the ass.	BEING SQUANDERED
BEING AWAKE TO CUNNING	Tiherci yessakwayen iywyal. Cunning that awakes the asses	BEING AWAKE TO MISCHIEVOUS COMMENTS
CREATING LAUGHTER	D ayyul id yeğgan tađsa. It is the ass that once created laughter.	HAVING AN AWFUL WAY OF LAUGHING
STAYING ALIVE	Yemmut yizem, yeggwrad wyyul. The lion died, the ass is still alive.	STAYING ALIVE
ALWAYS GOING TO THE WHEAT FIELD	Ayyul, mi yemyi yiger, yal ass yesnagar. when wheat grows in the field, the ass always goes there.	HAVING A BAD HABBIT
WALKING TOWARDS A ROARING LION	Izem iraed, ayyul iteddu yures. The lion roars but the ass walks towards him	PREVENTING DANGER

NOT DISTINGUISHING LETTUCE FROM OTHER FOOD	Am min iṭakken claḍa i wyyul Like giving lettuce to the ass.	NOT DISTINGUISHING GOOD FROM EVIL
IMITATING THE OX RUNNING AWAY	Yeṭṭuki wzger yecna, i weyyul ayyer yerna? The ox ran-away, we understand, but why did the ass follow him?	DOING A FOOLISH ACT
EATING THE SADDLE	Yeffey wzrem tagwlimt-is yef weyyul yeččan tabarda. The snake came out of his skin because the ass ate his saddle.	DOING A FOOLISH ACT
BITING ONE ANOTHER	Iywyal ṭtemkarraen garasen Asses bite one another.	DOING A FOOLISH ACT
SWALLOWING A SHEAF	Iruḥ am tadla yečča weyyul It disappeared like a sheaf swallowed by an ass.	NOT LEAVING MARKS
WEARING A HAT	Yeqqen ctacta tacacit The ass is wearing a hat.	DISGUIISING/EXAGGERATING

Table (8): Domain Mappings in Kabyle Ass Proverbs

Table (8) shows that Kabyle ass proverbs contain 23 mappings reveals that all the ass behaviour concepts are used only once in each of the proverbs except the behaviour concepts of BEING LADEN AND RIDDEN and BEING LOADED relating to the source domain of BEING LADEN/CARRYING A BURDEN. These appear in two proverbs.

Table (8) also shows that DOING A FOOLISH ACT is the most frequently used human behaviour concept in Kabyle ass proverbs. It is used in four proverbs. All the other behaviour concepts are used just once. The latter comprise LOOSING SOMETHING ESSENTIAL, BEING IN A

HARD SITUATION, SOMETHING INCREDIBLE OCCURING, BECOMING AN IMPORTANT PERSON, BEING OF BAD COMPANY, USING COLLECTIVE SERVICES EXCESSIVELY, BEING SERVILE, NOT GETTING SOMETHING DESIRED, BEING CLUMSY IN MAKING JOKES, BEING DEPRIVED OF POWER, BEING SQUANDERED, BEING AWAKE TO MISCHIEVOUS COMMENTS, HAVING AN AWFUL WAY OF LAUGHING, STAYING ALIVE HAVING A BAD HABBIT, PREVENTING DANGER, NOT DISTINGUISHING GOOD FROM EVIL, NOT LEAVING MARKS, DISGUIISING/EXAGGERATING.

5.1.3. Account of Domain Mappings in Ox Proverbs

The mappings involved in the ox proverbs of the four languages will be provided in this subsection. This will be done in the form of four separate tables followed by comments . The source and target domains in the tables correspond respectively to the OX BEHAVIOUR and HUMAN BEHAVIOUR.

- **Mappings in English Ox Proverbs**

The description and classification of the mappings involved in the English ox proverbs are provided in Table (9).

OX BEHAVIOUR	Proverbs	HUMAN BEHAVIOUR
BEING TAKEN BY THE HORNS	An ox is taken by the horns, and a man by his word	BEING OBLIGED TO FULFIL PROMISSES
BEING LOOSE AND LICKING HIMSELF	An ox, when he is loose licks himself at pleasure	BEING UNMARRIED AND HAVING FREEDOM
BEING WEARY AND TREADING SUREST	The ox when weariest treads surest	BEING OLD AND WISE
MAKING STRAIGHT FURROW	An old ox makes straight furrow	BEING EXPERIENCED
BEING OLD AND FINDING A SHELTER	An old ox will find a shelter for himself	BEING OLD AND FINDING A HOME

Table (9): Domain Mappings in English Ox Proverbs

Table (9) above includes only 5 mappings and few instances of ox behaviours each of which appear in only one proverb. These instances are BEING TAKEN BY THE HORNS, BEING LOOSE AND LICKING HIMSELF, BEING WEARY AND TREADING SUREST, MAKING STRAIGHT FURROW, BEING OLD AND FINDING A SHELTER. This means that there is no ox behaviour concept that stands out among others in English ox proverbs. In addition, the table reveals that all the human behaviours conveyed in English ox proverbs are used only once. These are BEING OBLIGED TO FULFIL PROMISSES, BEING UNMARRIED AND HAVING FREEDOM, BEING OLD AND WISE, BEING EXPERIENCED, BEING OLD AND FINDING A HOME. Therefore, there is no human behaviour concept that stands out among others.

- **Mappings in French Ox Proverbs**

The description and classification of the mappings involved in the French ox proverbs are provided in Table (10).

OX BEHAVIOUR	Proverbs	HUMAN BEHAVIOUR
MAKING STRAIGHT FURROWS	Vieux bœuf fait sillons droit An old ox makes straight furrows	BEING EXPERIENCED
SHITTING	Autant chie un bœuf que mille moucherons One bull's shit is better than that of a thousand midges	DOING SERVICES
NOT WILLING TO DRINK WATER	On a beau mener le bœuf à l'eau, s'il n'a pas soif However much we take the ox to water, if he is not thirsty	BEING OBSTINATE
BEING GRAND BUT NOT DOING GREAT PLOUGHS	Les grands bœufs ne font pas les grands labours. Big oxen do not make big ploughs	HAVING DECEPTIVE APPEARANCES

WORKING IN PAIRS	Quand les bœufs vont à deux, le labourage va mieux. When oxen work in pairs, ploughing is better.	HAVING GOOD COMPANY
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Table (10): Domain Mappings in French Ox Proverbs

Table (10) includes only 5 mappings and 5 ox behaviour concepts being used in one proverb only; namely, MAKING STRAIGHT FURROWS, SHITTING, NOT WILLING TO DRINK WATER, BEING GRAND BUT NOT DOING GREAT PLOUGHS, WORKING IN PAIRS . Hence, there is no ox behaviour concept that stands out among others in French ox proverbs. Similarly, there is no human behaviour concept that is most frequently used in French ox proverbs. All of them are used just once. These include BEING EXPERIENCED, DOING SERVICES, BEING OBSTINATE, HAVING DECEPTIVE APPEARANCES, and HAVING GOOD COMPANY.

- **Mappings in Arabic Ox Proverbs**

The description and classification of the mappings involved in the Arabic ox proverbs are provided in Table (11).

OX BEHAVIOUR	Proverbs	HUMAN BEHAVIOUR
BEING BEATEN	Kattawri yuḍrabu lamma: ‘a:fat ’al-baqaru Like the ox, he is beaten when the cows despise water	SUFFERING FROM INJUSTICE
BEING SLOW	ṭawru kila:bin fi: ’ariha:ni ’aq’adu Kila:b's ox is slow in the race.	BEING UNABLE TO ACT WHEN NECESSARY
PROTECTING HIS NOSE	’attawru yaḥmi: ’anfahu birawqihi The ox uses his horn to protect his nose	PROTECTING HIS WIVES’ HONOUR
BEING ARROGANT	Huwa ’azha : min ṭawrin He is more arrogant than an ox	BEING ARROGANT

BEING STUPID	Huwa 'abladu min tawrin He is more stupid than an ox	NOT BEING DYNAMIC
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Table (11): Domain Mappings in Arabic Ox Proverbs

Table (11) shows there are only 5 mappings in Arabic ox proverbs and that every ox behaviour concept appears in one proverb. The ox behaviour concepts include BEING BEATEN, BEING SLOW, PROTECTING HIS NOSE, BEING ARROGANT, and BEING STUPID. This means that no ox behaviour concept is predominant in Arabic ox proverbs. The table also reveals the existence of only five instances of ox behaviour concepts each of which appears in one proverb only. These instances are SUFFERING FROM INJUSTICE, BEING UNABLE TO ACT WHEN NECESSARY, PROTECTING HIS WIVES' HONOUR, BEING ARROGANT, NOT BEING DYNAMIC. This means that there is no ox behaviour concept that stands out among others in Arabic ox proverbs.

- **Mappings in Kabyle Ox Proverbs**

The description and classification of the mappings involved in the Kabyle ox proverbs are shown in Table (12).

OX BEHAVIOUR	Proverbs	HUMAN BEHAVIOUR
BEING WHITE BUT FATTY	Azger amellal d tassemt akw. A white ox is fatty.	HAVING DECEPTIVE APPEARANCES
DESPISING WATER	Tajlibt teswa, azger iyunfa. The flock drank water, the ox has disdained it.	BEING ARROGANT
FALLING IN THE FURROW	Yedles uzger deg wɔref. The ox fell in the furrow. Azger matyusbet, ad iffey iwɔref.	DYING IN A BATTLE

GOING OUT OF THE FURROW	if you hurry the ox, he will go out of the furrow.	DOING CLUMSY WORK
BEING BROTHERS YOKED TOGETHER	Tagmaṭ haṭyer yezgaren, yer yiwen uzaglu ay qqnen. We find brotherhood in oxen, they are yoked in one yoke.	SOLIDARITY AND ALLIANCE
BEING BROTHERS PLOUGHING TOGETHER	A yazger anwi id gmak? Inna yas d win wid kerzay. you ox, who is your brother? He said: the one whom I plough with.	BEING FRIENDS WORKING TOGETHER
RECOGNISING HIS BROTHER	Azger yaεqel gmas. The ox recognizes his brother	KEEPING COMPANY WITH SOMEONE FOR SIMILAR INTERESTS
BEING HELD BY THE EAR	Argaz yeṭwaṭṭaf seg iles, azger yeṭwaṭṭaf segw mezzuy. The man is taken by the tongue and the ox by the ear.	BEING OBLIGED TO FULFIL PROMISSES
EATING AND SLEEPING	Wid yumnen ddunit tezhaten , ččan am yezgaren ṭṭsen. Those who believed in life are distracted, like oxen, they ate and slept.	ENJOYING DECEPTIVE LIFE
HAVING LARGER EYES	Nan as i wzger uyal s yen, inna allen-iw kter bwallen n wen. They said to the ox: make a u-turn, he said: my eyes are larger than yours.	HAVING MORE KNOWLEDGE
FIGHTING FOR THE MANGERS	Izgaren ṭemyewwatan f lemdawed. Oxen fight for the mangers.	NOT FIGHTING FOR BREAD

BEING KNOCKED DOWN	Azger mi tyedlen, fellas ketren ijenwiyen. Once they knock down the ox, they go around him with many knives	BEING UNABLE TO FIGHT BACK
KICKING WITH HORNS	Azger is yekkat wi yhuza yerzat. His ox kicks, anyone who is hit has bones fractured	BEING AGGRESSIVE
DISLIKING THE CART	Azger ikerhen lmaeun irenud lehmum. The ox that dislikes the cart causes troubles.	BEING LAZY AND UNPRODUCTIVE
BEING STRONG FOR PLOUGHING	Tayuga alamma tejhed ar ad tawed sahdid ad tbedd. Only if oxen are strong in ploughing, will they reach the slope.	HAVING THE NECESSARY REQUIREMENTS FOR WORKING
NOT PLOUGHING THE SKY	S wawal ur yetali lebni, tayuga ur tkarrez igenni. With words we cannot build a building and a pair of oxen cannot plough the sky	DISCUSSING ENDLESSLY AND ACHIEVING NOTHING
PLOUGHING AND FEEDING THE ASS	Ikerziŕ wzger, yečcat wyŕul. The ox ploughed it (the field), the ass ate it (the harvest)	WORKING AND FEEDING THE LAZY
UNDERSTANDING	Nŕgae ayyul yefhem wzger Prick the ass, the ox apprehends.	BEING SUBTLE

Table (12): Domain Mappings in Kabyle Ox Proverbs

Table (12) contains 18 distinct mappings. It indicates that the source domain of PLOUGHING and BEING BROTHERS involve the most frequently used ox behaviour concepts in Kabyle proverbs. The domain of PLOUGHING includes BEING STRONG FOR PLOUGHING, NOT PLOUGHING THE SKY and PLOUGHING AND FEEDING THE ASS. The domain of BEING

BROTHERS comprises BEING BROTHERS YOKED TOGETHER, BEING BROTHERS PLOUGHING TOGETHER and RECOGNIZING HIS BROTHER. In addition, there are two behaviour concepts including the concept of FURROW; namely, FALLING IN THE FURROW and GOING OUT OF THE FURROW. All the other ox behaviour concepts are used only once.

As far as the human behaviour concepts used in Kabyle ox proverbs are concerned, we notice the existence of six human behaviour concepts in which the concepts of WORK, PRODUCTION and ACHIEVEMENT are conveyed. These behaviour concepts are DOING CLUMSY WORK, BEING FRIENDS WORKING TOGETHER, BEING LAZY AND UNPRODUCTIVE, HAVING THE NECESSARY REQUIREMENTS FOR WORKING, DISCUSSING ENDLESSLY AND ACHIEVING NOTHING, and WORKING AND FEEDING THE LAZY. Nevertheless, it should be observed that all the human behaviour concepts are used only once in Kabyle ox proverbs.

5.1.4. Account of Domain Mappings in Camel Proverbs

This subsection is devoted to the description of the mappings involved in the camel proverbs of the four languages. This will be presented in the form of four separate tables followed by comments. The source and target domains in the tables correspond respectively to the CAMEL BEHAVIOUR and HUMAN BEHAVIOUR.

- **Mappings in English Camel Proverbs**

The description and classification of the mappings involved in the English camel proverbs are shown in Table (13).

CAMEL BEHAVIOUR	Proverb	HUMAN BEHAVIOUR
GOING THROUGH THE EYE OF A NEEDLE	It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God	THE IMPOSSIBILITY OF DOING SOMETHING

HAVING ITS BACK BROKEN	The last straw breaks the camel's back	HAVING LIMITED ENDURANCE
NOT SEEING ITS OWN HUMP	The camel never sees its own hump, but that of its brother is always before its eyes	NOT KNOWING ONE'S OWN WEAKNESSES

Table (13): Domain Mappings in English Camel Proverbs

Table (13) shows that there are just three distinct mappings and very few camel behaviour concepts used in English proverbs. In addition, all the behaviour concepts; i.e., GOING THROUGH THE EYE OF A NEEDLE, HAVING ITS BACK BROKEN NOT SEEING ITS OWN HUMP are used only once. Similarly, all the human behaviour concepts are used only once in English camel proverbs. Hence, neither camel behaviour concepts nor human behaviour concepts are predominant in the proverbs.

- **Mappings in French Camel Proverbs**

The description and classification of the mappings involved in the French camel proverbs are shown in Table (14).

CAMEL BEHAVIOUR	Proverbs	HUMAN BEHAVIOUR
GOING THROUGH THE EYE OF A NEEDLE	Il est plus aisé pour un chameau de passer par le trou d'une aiguille, que pour un riche d'entrer dans le royaume de Dieu It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God	THE IMPOSSIBILITY OF DOING SOMETHING

Table (14): Domain Mappings in French Camel Proverbs

Table (14) reveals that there is only one mapping, one camel behaviour concept and one human behaviour concept used in one French proverb. The latter are GOING THROUGH THE EYE OF THE NEEDLE and THE IMPOSSIBILITY OF DOING SOMETHING respectively.

- **Mappings in Arabic Camel Proverbs**

The description and classification of the mappings involved in the Arabic camel proverbs are shown in Table (15).

CAMEL BEHAVIOUR	Proverbs	HUMAN BEHAVIOUR
HAVING HATRED	Huwa 'aḥqadu min jamalin He has more hatred than a camel	HAVING TOO MUCH HATRED
BEING EASY TO GUIDE	Huwa 'ahda: min jamalin He is more guided than a camel	BEING OBEDIENT
BEING SIMPLE AND EASY	Huwa 'ahwanu min jamalin He is easier than a camel	BEING SIMPLE AND EASY
BEING JEALOUS	Huwa 'aḡiaru min jamalin He is more jealous than a camel	BEING VERY JEALOUS
BITING	Huwa 'aṣwalu min jamalin He bites more than a camel does	BEING AGGRESSIVE
HAVING FOUL MOUTH	Huwa 'abxaru min jamalin He has foul breath more than a camel	BEING IMPUDENT
HAVING A DIFFERENT WAY OF URINATING	Huwa 'axlafu min bawli 'al-jamali More different than the way the camel urinates	ACTING DIFFERENTLY
FARTING	Huwa 'ahwanu min zartati 'al-jamali It has less value than the camel's fart	HAVING LITTLE VALUE

BEING USED FOR WATER DRAWING	fulan jamalu 'a-ssiqa:ya He is a camel used for water drawing	ACCEPTING HUMILIATION
HAVING LITTLE CLEVERNESS	Huwa 'axaffu ħilman min ba'i:rin His patience is lighter than that of a camel	HAVING LITTLE CLEVERNESS
BEING HUMILIATED	Huwa 'ađallu min ba'i:ri Saniya He is more humiliated than a water- drawing camel)	ACCEPTING HUMILIATION
UNABLE OF REWARDING	'inna: yajzi: 'al-fata: laysa 'al-jamalu It is the boy who rewards not the camel	OFFERING AN UNDESERVED REWARD
BEING TIRED	'iđa: zaĥafa 'al-ba'i:ru a'yathu uđuna:hu If the camel creeps, his ears will exhaust him.	HAVING LIMITED ENDURANCE
RUMINATING	'al-jamalu min jawfihi yajtaru The camel ruminates	CONSUMING ONE'S OWN EARNINGS
TAKING WEAPONS	'axađati 'al'ibilu 'asliĥataha The camels took their weapons.	GETTING READY FOR A SITUATION
GIVING NEWS	likulli 'una:sin fi: ba':rihum xabarun. Every people get news from their camel.	GIVING NEWS TO COMPANIONS
GOING THROUGH THE EYE OF THE NEEDLE	La: af'al kađa : ĥatta yaliĥa 'al-jamalu fi: sammi 'al-xiya:ti I won't do this until the camel goes through the eye of the needle	THE IMPOSIBLILITY OF DOING SOMETHING

NOT LYING DOWN	Ha:da 'amrun la: tabruku 'alayhi 'al-'ibilu. Such a matter doesn't make camels lie down.	HAVING LIMITED ENDURANCE
BEING LOST	'amhi laka 'al-waylu faqad dalla 'al-jamalu Hurry up the camel is lost.	BEING IN A HARD SITUATION
WALKING WITHOUT INTERRUPTION	sayru assawa:ni safarun la: yanqati'u The camels' walk is a journey that doesn't end.	DOING AN ENDLESS TASK
BECOMING A SHE- CAMEL	qad istanwaqa 'al-jamalu The he-camel became a she-camel	MIXING TOPICS WHEN SPEAKING
DISLIKING TRAVELLING	kurhan tarkabu 'al-'ibila 'assafara The camels travel unwillingly	DOING SOMETHING THAT ONE DISLIKES
BEING IRONED FOR DISEASE	Yukwa: 'al-ba'i:ru min yasi:ri 'adda:'i The camel is ironed for easy disease	PREVENTING A HARD SITUATION FROM WORSENING

Table (15): Domain Mappings in Arabic Camel Proverbs

Table (15) shows that there are 23 mappings and a great number of varied camel behaviour concepts conveyed in Arabic proverbs. Twenty four camel behaviour concepts are recorded. They are found to be involved in each of these proverbs. However, it should be remarked that there is no camel behaviour concept that is prominent among others. We also notice the use of a wide range of human behaviour concepts in Arabic camel proverbs. There are two outstanding human behaviour concepts used twice: ACCEPTING HUMILIATION and HAVING LIMITED ENDURANCE. The others are used only once and include HAVING TOO MUCH

HATRED, BEING OBEDIENT, BEING SIMPLE AND EASY, BEING VERY JEALOUS, BEING AGGRESSIVE, BEING IMPUDENT, ACTING DIFFERENTLY, HAVING LITTLE VALUE, HAVING LITTLE CLEVERNESS, OFFERING AN UNDESERVED REWARD, HAVING LIMITED ENDURANCE, CONSUMING ONE’S OWN EARNINGS, GETTING READY FOR A SITUATION, GIVING NEWS TO COMPANIONS, THE IMPOSIBILITY OF DOING SOMETHING, BEING IN A HARD SITUATION, DOING AN ENDLESS TASK, MIXING TOPICS WHEN SPEAKING, DOING SOMETHING THAT ONE DISLIKES, and PREVENTING A HARD SITUATION FROM WORSENING.

- **Mappings in Kabyle Camel Proverbs**

The description and classification of the mappings involved in the Kabyle camel proverbs are given in Table (16).

CAMEL BEHAVIOUR	Proverbs	HUMAN BEHAVIOUR
CLUMSY PLOUGHING	Am tyerza bwlyum: ayen yekrez at yaefes. Like the camel's ploughing, he tramples on all that he plows. Am tyerza bwlyum: ayen yeddez ktar bwayen yekrez. Like the camel's ploughing, he tramples on the furrows more than he ploughs.	DOING CLUMSY WORK
BEING DEPRIVED OF WINGS	Igzra Rebbi deg wlyum, yeksas afriwen. Knowing the nature of the camel, Allah deprived him of wings.	BEING DEPRIVED OF POWER
HAVING A LONG NECK	Awi sean aeenqiq am lyum, ur diteffey ara sges awal d ilem. Happy is someone having a neck like that of the camel, no empty words will go out of it.	LIMITING MALICIOUS GOSSIP

<p>NOT SEEING ITS OWN HUMP</p>	<p>Alyum ur iwal ara taerurt is. the-camel not see not hump his the camel does not see its own hump.</p>	<p>NOT KNOWING ONE'S OWN WEAKNESSES</p>
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Table (16): Domain Mappings in Kabyle Camel Proverbs

Table (16) reveals that there are only 4 mappings and camel behaviour concepts used in Kabyle proverbs. There is one camel behaviour concept that is used more than the others; it is CLUMSY PLOUGHING. All the other behaviour concepts appear in one proverb only. These are BEING DEPRIVED OF WINGS, HAVING A LONG NECK, and NOT SEEING ITS OWN HUMP.

Table (16) also shows that DOING CLUMSY WORK is an outstanding human behaviour concept used in Kabyle camel proverbs as it is conveyed in two proverbs. The other human behaviour concepts are used once. These include BEING DEPRIVED OF POWER, LIMITING MALICIOUS GOSSIP and NOT KNOWING ONE'S OWN WEAKNESSES.

In the above section, a description of the animal behaviour concepts and human behaviour concepts used in the mappings of the HUMAN BEHAVIOUR IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR has been provided in English, French, Arabic and Kabyle dog, ass, ox and camel proverbs. This description will serve as a basis for the comparison of domain mappings per animal type in the four languages at the same time.

5.2. Comparison of Domain Mappings in the Proverbs

It is convenient to begin with the animal that is widely shared in the proverbs of the four languages, then, move on to the animal that is less used in three or two languages. Since the dog is the animal used in many proverbs of the languages, then, we begin with the comparison of domain mappings involved in dog proverbs.

5.2.1. Comparison of Domain Mappings in Dog Proverbs

Relying on the data that have been supplied in tables (1), (2), (3) and (4), we begin with providing the mappings that are common to the proverbs, then, contrasting the dog behaviours involved in the mappings, and finally, move on to the comparison of the human behaviours. These steps will reveal the extent to which the mappings used in the proverbs of the four languages involve similar or different dog and human behaviours.

First, the findings show that one proverb is common to English, French and Kabyle; namely, '*barking dogs seldom bite*', '*Chien qui aboie ne mord pas*' and '*Aqjun isseglafen ur iteṭṭara*'. In these proverbs, the source domain is BARKING and the target domain is IDLE THREATENING; so, the mapping is the same in the three languages. There are also five similar mappings used in the proverbs that are common to English and French. These mappings are as follows: [NOT BITING - BEING HARMLESS], [DISAGREEING - NOT BEING AT PEACE WITH OTHERS], [HAVING FLEAS - BEING WICKED/STUPID], [DROWNING - BEING UNABLE TO FIGHT BACK] and [BEING DUMB AND DANGEROUS - SILENT PEOPLE MAY BE DANGEROUS]. There is one mapping shared by Arabic and Kabyle proverbs: [NOT BARKING - FEELING SOMEONE FAMILIAR]. There is also one mapping that is common to English and Arabic: [BARKING - HAVING FALSE COURAGE].

As far as the other proverbs are concerned, we have found some similar dog behaviour concepts used in the proverbs of the four languages. For example, BARKING is the most frequently used dog behaviour concept that is common to English, French, Arabic and Kabyle proverbs. However, these proverbs involve different mappings. Another dog behaviour concept that is shared is BITING. A number of dog behaviour concepts are exclusively used in the proverbs of each language and thus are not shared by the other languages. It is interesting to look at the dog behaviour concepts that are exclusive to every language. The dog behaviour concepts that are found to be used only in the proverbs of English are HUNTING FOULEST, WORRYING A HARE, BEING FOREMOST, TAIL WAGGING,

FAWNING, FETCHING, CARRYING, UNABLE TO LEARN, FOLLOWING HIS MASTER, LEAVING A FOREIGN MASTER, GNAWING BONE, RETURNING TO HIS VOMIT, LICKING ASHES, BEING DUMB AND DANGEROUS, BEING A LION, and BEING MAN'S BEST FRIEND. These dog behaviour concepts are not used in the proverbs of the other languages. The dog behaviour concepts that are only used in French include NOT HUNTING TOGETHER, LOOKING AT A BISHOP, NOT GETTING A GOOD BONE, NOT BREEDING CATS, FLEEING, and NOT ALLOWING THE RABBIT TO EAT SPROUT. There are also some dog behaviour concepts used in the Arabic proverbs only. These comprise BEING MISERLY, BEING EAGER, BEING BASE, BEING DOMESTIC, BEING GRATEFUL, PROTECTING, CHERISHING, BEING OBEDIENT, BEING INSATIABLE, LOVING A STRANGER, BEING SLEEPY, DELAY IN SLEEPING, HAVING GOOD SIGHT, GUARDING, INSISTING, HAVING GOOD HEARING POWER, HAVING GOOD SCENTING POWER, BEING COURAGEOUS, BEING OBSCENE, BEING STINKY, PISSING, FAST WATER DRINKING, FAST NOSE LICKING, HAVING LITTLE OR NO HAIR, BEING IN THE DOG'S NICHE, BEING THE DOG OF THE GROUP, PROTECTING PUPPIES, BEING FAT AND EATING MASTER, FATTENING, PROVOKING MASTER, LOVING A STRANGLER, FINDING GRACE, BEING DIRTY, STRIKING THE WOLF, PROVOKING COWS, REQUESTING, and SCENTING A WOMAN'S VEIL. Similarly, Kabyle proverbs include some exclusive dog behaviour concepts, such as, BEING GRAND, EATING OR NOT EATING, SUCCEEDING, BEING FEROCIOUS, BEING MAD, HAVING BIG CHEEKS, HOWLING, and LIVING LONG LIFE. These dog behaviour concepts are not found in the proverbs of the other languages.

As far as human behaviour concepts are concerned, there is a human behaviour concept found to be common to the proverbs of the four languages: IDLE THREATENING. This characterizes four proverbs in English, two in French, two in Arabic, and one proverb in Kabyle. Another human behaviour concept; namely, BEING UNGRATEFUL, is found to be used in English, Arabic and Kabyle. A number of human behaviour concepts are shared by some English and French proverbs. These are BEING HARMLESS, DISAGREEING, BEING WICKED/STUPID, NOT BEING AT PEACE WITH OTHERS, BEING UNABLE TO FIGHT BACK,

QUARRELLING and SILENT PEOPLE MAY BE DANGEROUS. There is one human behaviour; i.e., HAVING FALSE COURAGE that is shared in one proverb in each of English and Arabic. There are also two human behaviour concepts that are common to Arabic and Kabyle proverbs. These are FEELING SOMEONE FAMILIAR and BEING IMPUDENT. It should be pointed out that although some human behaviour concepts are common to some of the languages, the mappings involved in the proverbs are different, as revealed in the above-mentioned tables.

It is worth drawing attention to the human behaviour concepts that are specific to the proverbs of each language. Those that are restricted to English are COMPLAINING ABOUT PETTY MATTERS, BEHAVING BADLY, GIVING ADVICE, BEING LOYAL WITH COMPANIONS SHIFTING THE BLAME, BAD PEOPLE ARE SIMILAR, FIGHTING OVER/WORRYING A PERSON, BEING THE FIRST, INSINCERE FLATTERY, GIVING APPARENT RESPECT, BRINGING CARRYING GOSSIP, STOP MAKING TROUBLE, UNABLE TO COPE WITH NEW IDEAS, GUARDING WINNINGS AND PROFITS, RETURNING TO THE SCENE OF THE CRIME, BEING SATISFIED WITH INFERIOR THINGS, and BEING GOOD, and MAN IS NOT A GOOD FRIEND. These human behaviour concepts are absent in the mappings of the proverbs of the other languages. The human behaviour concepts that are solely used in French are TRUE THREATS/ANGER, LYING, BEING HARMFUL, INHERITING PARENTS' QUALITIES, BEING EXPERIENCED, DISAGREEING, HESITATING, INEVITABLE BEHAVIOUR, LOOKING AT A NOBLE MAN, NOT GETTING THE DESERVED REWARD, EVADING, and BEING JEALOUS. A number of human behaviour concepts are found to characterize only Arabic proverbs. These include BEING MEAN AND MISERLY, BEING FRIENDLY, BEING GRATEFUL, DEFENDING OTHERS, ACTING WELL WITH OTHERS, BEING OBEDIENT, BEING CUPID, BEING VIGILANT, LOOKING AT THINGS WITH PRECISION, DELAY IN SATISFYING A NEED, INSISTING, SPYING, BEING COURAGEOUS, BEING OBSCENE, HAVING ENDURANCE IN HUMILIATION, HAVING BAD REPUTATION, HAVING CORRUPTED MORALS AND INTENTIONS, EXCESSIVE BREEDING, HAVING LIMITED ENDURANCE, GIVING IMPORTANCE TO ONE'S APPEARANCE, DOING NO GOOD TO OTHERS, ACCEPTING HUMILIATED, BEING SERVILE, PROTECTING A BASE PERSON, BEING BASE AND SUBMITTED, BEING BASE, TAKING ADVANTAGE OF SOMEONE'S TROUBLES, VICTORY OVER A TYRANT, BEING WEAK BUT

SUCCESSFUL, and COMMITTING ADULTERY. Some human behaviour concepts are only used in Kabyle and thus are not shared by the proverbs of the other languages. These include BEING SELFISH, BEING ARROGANT, BEING EXACTING/DEMANDING, SUCCEEDING, BEING AGGRESSIVE, BEING INSOLENT, HAVING DECEPTIVE APPEARANCE, BEING IMPUDENT and BEING UNDISCIPLINED.

Thus far, a comparison of domain mappings involved in dog proverbs has been carried out. Similarities and differences have been found. In the following subsection, a comparison of domain mappings in ass proverbs will be provided.

5.2.2. Comparison of Domain Mappings in Ass Proverbs

In this subsection, we begin with the search for any shared mappings in the ass proverbs of the four languages, then, carry on with contrasting the ass behaviour concepts and the human behaviour concepts involved in the mappings. This will reveal whether the mappings used in the ass proverbs of the four languages involve similar or different ass and human behaviour concepts.

The examination of the data supplied in tables (5), (6), (7) and (8) allows us to assert that no domain mapping is common to the ass proverbs of the four languages and no similar proverb is shared. However, some convergent ass behaviour concepts are found to be used in three or two languages. For instance, the source domain of BEING LADEN/CARRYING A BURDEN involves behaviour concepts that are found in English, French and Kabyle proverbs. In English, ENDURING NOT MORE THAN HIS BURDEN, BEING LADEN WITH GOLD AND CLIMBING TO THE TOP OF THE CASTLE and BEING LOADED WITH GOLD BUT STILL EATING THISTLES are the ass behaviour concepts relating to this domain. In French, there is only one ass behaviour concept; i.e., BEING LOADED AND NOT BRAYING used in one proverb. In Kabyle, the behaviour concepts of BEING LADEN AND RIDDEN and BEING LOADED relating to this source domain appear in two proverbs. It is interesting to note that the source domain of

BEING LADEN/CARRYING A BURDEN is absent in Arabic proverbs. The source domain of BRAYING involves ass behaviour concepts that are used in English and French only. English uses BRAYING AGAINST ANOTHER ASS, BRAYING MOST EATING LEAST and LIKING TO HEAR HIMSELF BRAY while French uses BEING LOADED AND NOT BRAYING. The source domain of BRAYING is used in neither Kabyle nor Arabic. The source domain of FARTING is found to be used in some French and Arabic proverbs only. In French, two ass behaviour concepts relate to this domain; namely, PRODUCING FARTS and GETTING A FART FROM A DEAD ASS that are found in two proverbs. In Arabic, FARTING is an ass behaviour concept found in two proverbs. This source domain is inexistent in English and Kabyle. The source domain of BEING ENTANGLED is used in Arabic and Kabyle only. In Arabic, the BEING ENTANGLED ass behaviour is found in one proverb. In Kabyle, BEING ENTANGLED IN THE MUD is the ass behaviour concept that relates to this domain. It also appears in one proverb.

It is worth accounting for the ass behaviour concepts that are specific to the proverbs of each language. The English proverbs do not share the following ass behaviour concepts with the proverbs of the other languages: BEING TIED NEAR THE MASTER, BEING PRICKED, BEING WORTHY TO STAND WITH THE KING'S HORSES, NOT COMING HOME A HORSE, CLIMBING A LADDER, NEVER FALLING AGAIN, KICKING SOMEONE and BEING SCABBY AND SCENTING EACH OTHER. The ass behaviours that are used in French only include RUBBING ANOTHER ASS, SPEAKING LATIN, BEING BADLY SADDLED, BEING THE BIGGEST ASS, NOT WILLING TO DRINK WATER, KNOWING ABOUT HIS INJURY, WEARING THE LION'S SKIN, NOT CARRYING A BAG, NOT BEING EQUAL TO THE HORSE, FIGHTING, GETTING THE HORSE'S BENEFIT. Arabic proverbs include the following exclusive ass behaviours: BEING HEALTHY, BEING IGNORANT, BEING JEALOUS, BEING HUMILIATED, HAVING PATIENCE, HAVING LITTLE HAIR, HAVING NO PATIENCE WHEN THIRSTY, HAVING TEETH OF SIMILAR SIZE, HAVING AN EMPTY STOMACH, PROTECTING HIMSELF, BEING STEPPED ON, NOT FLEEING, BEING FAT AND SAFE, BECOMING A JENNET, SAYING WORDS, BEING A SERVANT, PISSING, REFUSING HOSPITALITY, LYING DOWN, and APPROACHING AND BOWING ON WATER. Some ass

behaviour concepts are also exclusively used in Kabyle. These are BEING LOST, TUMBLING DOWN THE HILL, WEARING THE HORSE'S SADDLE, BEING FRIEND WITH THE LAMB, NOT WILLING TO ENTER PARADISE, HIDING IN THE HAYSTACK, PLAYING AND BITING, BEING DEPRIVED OF HORNS, BEING OFFERED CHICORY, BEING AWAKE TO CUNNING, CREATING LAUGHTER, STAYING ALIVE, ALWAYS GOING TO THE WHEAT FIELD, WALKING TOWARDS A ROARING LION, NOT DISTINGUISHING LETTUCE FROM OTHER FOOD, IMITATING THE OX RUNNING AWAY, EATING THE SADDLE, BITING ONE ANOTHER, SWALLOWING A SHEAF and WEARING A HAT.

As for the human behaviour concepts conveyed in the ass proverbs, some behaviour concepts are found to be common to the proverbs of some of the languages. For instance, BEING SERVILE is a behaviour concept shared by some ass proverbs of English, Kabyle and Arabic. DOING A FOOLISH ACT is shared by some English and Kabyle proverbs. BEING IN A HARD SITUATION is found in some Arabic and Kabyle proverbs. BEING EQUAL is common to some English and Arabic proverbs. HAVING FALSE COURAGE and BEING OBSTINATE are shared by some Arabic and French proverbs.

Some human behaviour concepts are found to be solely relevant to the ass proverbs of each language. English ass proverbs involve some exclusive human behaviour concepts including HAVING LIMITED ENDURANCE, BEING RICH AND ABLE TO GET ALL THAT IS DESIRED, BEING WEALTHY BUT STILL HAVING THE MISER'S BEHAVIOUR, NOT BECOMING BETTER, TALKING MOST AND CAUSING DANGER TO ONESELF, BEING A TALKATIVE FOOL, INABILITY OF WOMEN TO BE WISE, BEING EXPERIENCED, CAUSING SHAME, BEING ROGUE AND SEEKING EACH OTHER'S COMPANY. Some human behaviour concepts relate to French ass proverbs only. These are COMPLEMENTING ONE ANOTHER, SPEAKING OF SOMETHING IGNORED, DEALING WITH THE CONCERN OF THE COMMUNITY BADLY, BEING THE MOST STUPID, BEING MISERLY, BEING RICH AND STUPID, KNOWING ABOUT ONE'S SUFFERING, FIGHTING, NOT BEING OF SIMILAR SOCIAL CONDITION, and GETTING AN UNDESERVED BENEFIT. Arabic ass proverbs involve some human behaviour concepts that are inexistent in

the ass proverbs of the other languages. These include BEING HEALTHY AND LIVING LONG, BEING IGNORANT, BEING JEALOUS, ACCEPTING HUMILIATION, HAVING PATIENCE AND ENDURANCE, DOING NO GOOD TO OTHERS, HAVING NO PATIENCE, BEING CAUTIOUS, SUFFERING FROM INJUSTICE, BEING READY TO FACE DIFFICULTIES, BECOMING WEAK, EXAGGERATING IN COMPLEMENTING, IMITATING BAD BEHAVIOUR, REFUSING HOSPITALITY, INDICATING CONTRADICTION, BEING SCARED OF A SITUATION BEFORE IT OCCURS, and BEING SUBMITTED. There are also some human behaviour concepts that are only used in Kabyle ass proverbs; namely, LOOSING SOMETHING ESSENTIAL, SOMETHING INCREDIBLE OCCURRING, BECOMING AN IMPORTANT PERSON, BEING OF BAD COMPANY, USING COLLECTIVE SERVICES EXCESSIVELY, BEING CLUMSY IN MAKING JOKES, BEING DEPRIVED OF POWER, BEING SQUANDERED, NOT GETTING SOMETHING DESIRED, BEING AWAKE TO MISCHIEVOUS COMMENTS, HAVING AN AWFUL WAY OF LAUGHING, STAYING ALIVE, HAVING A BAD HABIT, PREVENTING DANGER, NOT DISTINGUISHING GOOD FROM EVIL, NOT LEAVING MARKS, and DISGUIISING/EXAGGERATING.

After having achieved the comparison of domain mappings involved in ass proverbs and having discovered the existence of similarities and differences in the use of ass and human behaviours concept, we shall move on to the following subsection. This concerns the comparison of domain mappings in ox proverbs.

5.2.3. Comparison of Domain Mappings in Ox Proverbs

Drawing on the data given in tables (9), (10), (11) and (12), we will compare domain mappings in ox proverbs. First, the existence of any shared mappings in the ox proverbs will be investigated. This will be followed by the comparison of ox behaviour concepts, then, human behaviour concepts in order to find out any points of convergence and divergence in the use of each in the four languages.

The findings show the existence of one domain mapping being shared by the English and French ox proverbs '*Vieux bœuf fait sillons droit*' and '*An old ox makes straight furrow*'. This mapping involves the source domain of MAKING STRAIGHT FURROW and the target

domain of BEING EXPERIENCED. It should be pointed out that the other languages share no mapping.

The findings also reveal the existence of some shared ox behaviour concepts relating to the source domain of PLOUGHING. In French, BEING GRAND BUT NOT DOING GREAT PLOUGHS are the ox behaviour concepts relating to this domain. In Kabyle, more behaviour concepts relevant to this domain are recorded. These include BEING STRONG FOR PLOUGHING, NOT PLOUGHING THE SKY, PLOUGHING AND FEEDING THE ASS, and BEING BROTHERS PLOUGHING TOGETHER. However, no ox behaviour concept including the concept of PLOUGHING is used in English or Arabic ox proverbs. What is found to be common to English, French and Kabyle proverbs is the ox behaviour concepts relating to the domain of PLOUGHING and comprising the concept of FURROW, i.e., MAKING STRAIGHT FURROW, in English, MAKING STRAIGHT FURROWS, in French, FALLING IN THE FURROW and GOING OUT OF THE FURROW in Kabyle.

There are ox behaviour concepts that characterize the proverbs of each language alone. English ox proverbs include the following behaviour concepts: BEING TAKEN BY THE HORNS, BEING LOOSE AND LICKING HIMSELF, BEING WEARY AND TREADING SUREST, and BEING OLD AND FINDING A SHELTER. The exclusive ox behaviour concepts characterizing French proverbs are SHITTING, NOT WILLING TO DRINK WATER and WORKING IN PAIRS. The ox behaviour concepts that are only used in Arabic proverbs are BEING BEATEN, BEING SLOW, PROTECTING HIS NOSE, BEING ARROGANT, and BEING STUPID. The ox behaviour concepts that are found in Kabyle proverbs only comprise BEING WHITE BUT FATTY, DESPISING WATER, BEING BROTHERS YOKED TOGETHER, RECOGNISING HIS BROTHER, BEING HELD BY THE EAR, EATING AND SLEEPING, HAVING LARGER EYES, FIGHTING FOR THE MANGERS, BEING KNOCKED DOWN, KICKING WITH HORNS, DISLIKING THE CART and UNDERSTANDING.

Some human behaviour concepts are found to be common to the ox proverbs of some of the languages. For instance, BEING EXPERIENCED is a human behaviour concept found in

English and French mappings; HAVING DECEPTIVE APPEARANCES is a human behaviour concept used in French and Kabyle mappings; BEING OBLIGED TO FULFIL PROMISES is shared by English and Kabyle mappings and BEING ARROGANT is used in Arabic and Kabyle mappings. Other human behaviour concepts are restricted to the proverbs of each language.

Those being exclusively used in English are BEING UNMARRIED AND HAVING FREEDOM, BEING OLD AND WISE, and BEING OLD AND FINDING A HOME. Human behaviour concepts used only in French ox proverbs are DOING SERVICES, BEING OBSTINATE and HAVING GOOD COMPANY. Arabic ox proverbs also comprise some exclusive human behaviour concepts. These are SUFFERING FROM INJUSTICE, BEING UNABLE TO ACT WHEN NECESSARY, PROTECTING HIS WIVES' HONOUR and NOT BEING DYNAMIC. The human behaviour concepts used in Kabyle ox proverbs only include DYING IN A BATTLE, DOING CLUMSY WORK, SOLIDARITY AND ALLIANCE, BEING FRIENDS WORKING TOGETHER, KEEPING COMPANY WITH SOMEONE FOR SIMILAR INTERESTS, ENJOYING DECEPTIVE LIFE, HAVING MORE KNOWLEDGE, NOT FIGHTING FOR BREAD, BEING UNABLE TO FIGHT BACK, BEING AGGRESSIVE, BEING LAZY AND UNPRODUCTIVE, HAVING THE NECESSARY REQUIREMENTS FOR WORKING, DISCUSSING ENDLESSLY AND ACHIEVING NOTHING, WORKING AND FEEDING THE LAZY and BEING SUBTLE.

The above subsection, devoted to the comparison of domain mappings in ox proverbs, has shown that both differences and similarities are recorded in domain mappings, ox behaviour concepts and human behaviour concepts. The next subsection is devoted to a similar comparison in camel proverbs.

5.2.4. Comparison of Domain Mappings in Camel Proverbs

Drawing on the data given in tables (13), (14), (15) and (16), we first provide the mappings that are common to the camel proverbs, then, contrast the camel behaviour concepts involved in the mappings, and compare the human behaviour concepts. This will show

whether the mappings being used in the camel proverbs of the four languages involve similar or different camel and human behaviour concepts.

Our findings show that one domain mapping is shared by the English, French and Arabic camel proverbs *'It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God'*, *'Il est plus aisé pour un chameau de passer par le trou d'une aiguille, que pour un riche d'entrer dans le royaume de Dieu'*, and *'La: af'alu kaḍa : ḥatta yaliġa 'al-jamalu fi : sammi 'al-xiyati'* (I won't do this until the camel goes through the eye of the needle). In this mapping, the source domain is GOING THROUGH THE EYE OF THE NEEDLE and the target domain is THE IMPOSSIBILITY OF DOING SOMETHING. It is worth remarking that no such mapping is shared by Kabyle camel proverbs. English and Kabyle camel proverbs share one mapping. In this mapping, the source domain is NOT SEEING ITS OWN HUMP and the target domain is NOT KNOWING ONE'S OWN WEAKNESSES

The findings also reveal the absence of shared camel behaviour concepts being involved in different mappings. The camel behaviour concepts that are common are those involved in the shared mappings described above; namely, GOING THROUGH THE EYE OF THE NEEDLE in English, French and Arabic, and NOT SEEING ITS OWN HUMP in English and Kabyle. There are camel behaviour concepts that are exclusively used in the proverbs of English, Arabic and Kabyle. In English, HAVING ITS BACK BROKEN is the only camel behaviour concept that is not shared by the other languages. Arabic camel proverbs involve a wide range of camel behaviour concepts that are not found to be used in the camel proverbs of the other languages. These include HAVING HATRED, BEING EASY TO GUIDE, BEING SIMPLE AND EASY, BEING JEALOUS, BITING, HAVING FOUL MOUTH, HAVING A DIFFERENT WAY OF URINATING, FARTING, BEING USED FOR WATER DRAWING, HAVING LITTLE CLEVERNESS, BEING HUMILIATED, UNABLE OF REWARDING, CREEPING, RUMINATING, TAKING WEAPONS, GIVING NEWS, NOT LYING DOWN, BEING LOST, WALKING WITHOUT INTERRUPTION, BECOMING A SHE-CAMEL, DISLIKING TRAVELLING and BEING IRONED FOR DISEASE. Some

camel behaviours are found to be used in Kabyle camel proverbs only; namely, CLUMSY PLOUGHING, BEING DEPRIVED OF WINGS and HAVING A LONG NECK.

There is a human behaviour concept that is found to be common to the camel proverbs of English and Arabic; namely, HAVING LIMITED ENDURANCE, irrespective of those that are used in the common domain mappings described above. Other human behaviour concepts are restricted to the proverbs of Arabic and Kabyle separately. Those being exclusively used in Arabic are HAVING TOO MUCH HATRED, BEING OBEDIENT, BEING SIMPLE AND EASY, BEING VERY JEALOUS, BEING AGGRESSIVE, BEING IMPUDENT, ACTING DIFFERENTLY, HAVING LITTLE VALUE, HAVING LITTLE CLEVERNESS, ACCEPTING HUMILIATION, OFFERING AN UNDESERVED REWARD, HAVING LIMITED ENDURANCE, CONSUMING ONE'S OWN EARNINGS, GETTING READY FOR A SITUATION, GIVING NEWS TO COMPANIONS, HAVING LIMITED ENDURANCE, BEING IN A HARD SITUATION, DOING AN ENDLESS TASK, MIXING TOPICS WHEN SPEAKING, DOING SOMETHING THAT ONE DISLIKES and PREVENTING A HARD SITUATION FROM WORSENING. Some human behaviour concepts are restricted to Kabyle camel proverbs. These are DOING CLUMSY WORK, BEING DEPRIVED OF POWER and LIMITING MALICIOUS GOSSIP.

In this section, we have compared domain mappings in the proverbs. We have also compared the use of animal and human behaviour concepts. Our results show that some similarities are found in the mappings, animal behaviour concepts and human behaviour concepts; however, we have also found far more differences than similarities. This confirms that there is variation in domain mappings in English, French, Arabic and Kabyle dog, ass, ox and camel proverbs. This finding will be discussed in the next section.

5.3. Discussion of Similarity and Divergence in Domain Mappings in the Animal-related Proverbs

This section is devoted to the discussion of the findings obtained from the comparison of domain mappings in the animal-related proverbs of English, French, Arabic and Kabyle.

We will attempt to discuss these findings with regard to the influence of cultural features and beliefs upon culturally different people's conceptualization of HUMAN BEHAVIOUR in terms of ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR. This discussion will be divided into four parts. The first discusses the findings related to the domain mappings in dog proverbs, the second, third and fourth discuss the domain mappings relevant to ass, ox and camel proverbs respectively.

5.3.1. Discussion of Similarity and Divergence in Domain Mappings in Dog Proverbs

The present subsection is structured in the following way. We begin with the discussion of similarities; i.e., shared mappings, dog behaviours and human behaviours. This is followed by a discussion of differences; i.e., different mappings, different dog behaviour concepts and human behaviour concepts being used in the languages.

The comparison of domain mappings in dog proverbs has allowed us to discover a common mapping in English, French, Kabyle and Arabic. This mapping is involved in the proverbs '*Barking dogs seldom bite*', '*Chien qui aboie ne mord pas*' and '*Aqjun isseglafen ur iteṭṭara*' that are shared in the first three languages respectively and in the different Arabic proverb '*la: yazurru assaḥa:ba nuba:ḥu 'al-kila:bi*' (Dogs' barking doesn't harm the clouds). In these proverbs, the source domain is BARKING and the target domain is IDLE THREATENING. Interestingly, this means that the speakers of the four languages conceptually structure humans' idle threats in terms of the similar specific-level structure of dogs' barking. This similarity can be interpreted in terms of contact between peoples, cultures and languages with regard to English, French and Kabyle. As was already reported, in chapter four, a mutual influence between English, French, and Kabyle has been demonstrated. Therefore, one can draw the conclusion that the proverb '*barking dogs seldom bite*' has originated in some culture and has been transmitted to other cultures through linguistic exchange. Although Arabic shares a similar mapping, the proverb used is different. Nevertheless, it is possible to

assume that the conceptualization of IDLE THREATENING in terms of BARKING in the four cultures represents a universal conceptual mapping that further investigations might prove its existence in other world's languages.

Furthermore, we have found that English and French dog proverbs share the highest number of mappings compared to Arabic and Kabyle, on the one side, and English and Arabic on the other. While English and French share five mappings, the other languages share only one. The explanation that can be given to this is that English and French are linguistically, genetically, geographically and historically close as has been observed in chapter four.

The dog behaviour concepts that are found to be common to English, French, Arabic and Kabyle proverbs are BARKING and BITING. BARKING is the most frequently used dog behaviour concept that is common to the dog proverbs of the four languages. This similarity can be explained by the fact that dogs are domestic animals that live with people all around the world and that barking and biting are kinds of behaviours that all dogs in general have. That is to say, regardless of breed and geographical area, all dogs share these behaviours. This leads people to conceptualize human behaviour in terms of dogs' barking and biting irrespective of their culture and the region they live in.

IDLE THREATENING is the human behaviour that is found to be shared in English, French, Arabic and Kabyle dog proverbs. This can be explained with reference to dogs' general characteristics and behaviour of usually barking strongly but not daring to attack. Speakers of the four languages perceive these characteristics and behaviour negatively and this influences their conceptualization of humans' idle threatening in terms of dogs' behaviour. We have also found that English and French dog proverbs share more human behaviour concepts than the other languages. As was previously said, English and French are linguistically, genetically, geographically and culturally close. This is what explains these common human behaviour concepts.

Our findings also show that a great number of mappings are specific to each language independently. The number of these different mappings is higher than the number of similar ones. This variation shows that there are cultural differences in the conceptualization of HUMAN BEHAVIOUR in terms of DOG BEHAVIOUR. In addition, we have found that the same DOG BEHAVIOUR is mapped onto different HUMAN BEHAVIOUR in the four languages. For instance, the source domain of BARKING is used in the four languages; but the mappings are different because this source is mapped onto different targets, as shown in figure (1):



Figure (1): the Mapping of BARKING onto different HUMAN BEHAVIOURS

Figure (1) reveals that the speakers of the four languages conceptualize the different human behaviours GIVING ADVICE, LYING, HAVING FALSE COURAGE, AND BEING SELFISH in terms of the same dog behaviour BARKING.

An important finding that we furthermore reach is that the dog behaviour concepts that are found not to be common to the proverbs of the four languages constitute the greatest portion of dog behaviour concepts in all the languages. This implies that there are more differences than similarities in the use of dog behaviour concepts in the domain mappings. We suggest that this fact has a relationship with cultural specificities. A worthwhile example can be provided to support this claim. It is the source domain of HUNTING characterising some

English and French proverbs but not Arabic and Kabyle ones. In the English proverbs ‘*The dog that hunts foulest, hits at most faults*’, ‘*Many dogs may easily worry one hare*’, and ‘*The foremost dog catches the hare*’ involve the source domain of HUNTING. As was remarked earlier in chapter four, it is part of the British culture for dogs, like greyhounds, to be used to hunt hares and participate in competitions in which the dog that is foremost and catches the hare is the winner. Such a cultural tradition belongs to the British but not to Arabs or Kabyle people. As a result, the source domain of DOG BEHAVIOUR involves HUNTING FOULEST, WORRYING A HARE and BEING FOREMOST on which are mapped various human behaviours in English dog proverbs including BEHAVING BADLY, FIGHTING OVER/WORRYING A PERSON and BEING THE FIRST while this does not occur in Arabic and Kabyle dog proverbs. Similarly, the source domain of HUNTING characterizes three French proverbs; namely, ‘*Bon chien chasse de race*’ (A good dog hunts by nature), ‘*Il n’est chasse que de vieux chiens*’ (Only old dogs hunt well) and ‘*Les chiens ne chassent pas ensemble*’ (dogs do not hunt together) involving the following dog behaviour concepts respectively HUNTING, HUNTING and NOT HUNTING TOGETHER mapped onto the following human behaviour concepts: INHERITING PARENTS’ QUALITIES, BEING EXPERIENCED and DISAGREEING. As was previously observed, hunting occupies an important place in the French culture. Dog behaviour concepts relating to the source domain of HUNTING are absent in Arabic and Kabyle. This may imply that the domain of HUNTING in the Arab and Kabyle cultures does not have the same important conceptual influence upon speakers than the one it has in both the English and French cultures.

As far as the difference in the use of human behaviour concepts in the mappings is concerned, the results that we obtained show that the number of human behaviour concepts that are specific to the dog proverbs of each language is higher than the number of those that are common. This indicates the culture-specificity of speakers’ use of human behaviour concepts in the mappings of dog proverbs. A worthwhile instance of the culture-specificity in

the use of human behaviour concepts in domain mappings related to dog proverbs is the exclusive use of the target domain of HUMILIATION in Arabic dog proverbs and its absence in the dog proverbs of the other languages. HUMILIATION is involved in some human behaviour concepts characterizing the HUMAN BEHAVIOUR IS DOG BEHAVIOUR metaphor in some Arabic dog proverbs. These are HAVING PATIENCE IN HUMILIATION and ACCEPTING HUMILIATION in the proverbs *huwa fi: mazjari 'al-kalbi* (He is in the dog's niche) and *'aşbaru 'ala 'al-hawni min kalbin* (He is more patient in humiliation than a dog). It is interesting to remark that Arabs' use of the target domain of HUMILIATION has a culturally based origin, because some Arab tribes, as history acknowledges, were known to suffer from inequality and injustice that is practised by the powerful tribes (Cf. Qatamish 1988: 318). This leads to the emergence of a feeling of humiliation on the part of the powerless groups. Consequently, Arab speakers conceptualize HUMILIATION in terms of dog behaviour while English, French and Kabyle speakers do not. We have also noticed the occurrence of CUPIDITY and MISERLINESS in the human behaviour concepts relating to Arabic dog proverbs which fact is absent in the other languages. This phenomenon can also be interpreted with reference to cultural specificity. Qatamish (1988) draws attention to the fact that Arabs condemn such behaviours as cupidity and miserliness, because of their considerable spread in the Arabian society (Cf. Qatamish 1988: 322). This is the reason why these behaviour concepts are highly used in the dog proverbs of Arabic.

In addition, the description of the frequency in the use of human behaviour concepts in dog proverbs presents differences. We have found that the human behaviour concept that is most frequently used in English dog proverbs is IDLE THREATENING. This human behaviour concept is conveyed in four proverbs. IDLE THREATENING and INHERITING PARENTS' QUALITIES are the most frequently used human behaviour concepts in French dog proverbs, they appear in two proverbs. The most frequently used human behaviour concept in Arabic

dog proverbs is BEING MEAN AND MISERLY. It is used seven times. This is followed by BEING CUPID that is used four times. The most frequently used human behaviour concept in Kabyle dog proverbs is BEING UNGRATEFUL. It is used twice. This difference shows that English, French, Arabic and Kabyle speakers give priority to different human behaviour concepts in their conceptualizations of human behaviour in terms of dog behaviour.

In sum, the mappings involved in the HUMAN BEHAVIOUR IS DOG BEHAVIOUR conceptual metaphor are subject to cross-cultural variation as shown by the higher degree of divergence compared to convergence in the domain mappings, dog behaviour concepts and human behaviour concepts.

5.3.2. Discussion of Similarity and Divergence in Domain Mappings in Ass Proverbs

In this subsection, similarities in the mappings, ass behaviour concepts and human behaviour concepts relating to the ass proverbs of the four languages will be discussed first. This will be followed by the discussion of differences in domain mappings, ass behaviour concepts and human behaviour concepts.

The comparison of domain mappings relating to ass proverbs reveals that no domain mapping is common to the ass proverbs of the four languages and no similar proverb is shared. This implies that English, French, Arabic and Kabyle speakers do not conceptualize human behaviour in terms of similar ass behaviour. However, some similar ass behaviour concepts are found to be shared by the proverbs of some of the languages. We have found that the behaviour concept of BEING LADEN/CARRYING A BURDEN comprises ass behaviour concepts that are used in English, French and Kabyle proverbs. In English, we have found ENDURING NOT MORE THAN HIS BURDEN, BEING LADEN WITH GOLD AND CLIMBING TO THE TOP OF THE CASTLE and BEING LOADED WITH GOLD BUT STILL EATING THISTLES. In French, we have found only one ass behaviour concept; that is, BEING LOADED AND NOT BRAYING. In Kabyle, the behaviour concepts that we have found are BEING LADEN AND RIDDEN and BEING

LOADED. We have also found that the source domain of BEING LADEN/CARRYING A BURDEN is absent in Arabic proverbs. What these findings mean is that while English, French and Kabyle speakers make use of the source domain of BEING LADEN/CARRYING A BURDEN because of the role that asses have in their socio-cultural setting; i.e., being used as pack animals, Arabs do not because camels are used to achieve this task more than asses are. As was observed in the subsection relating to the description of the socio-cultural views about camels, these animals are very precious for Arabs. As Qatamish (1988) states, they use them for various purposes among which are carrying burdens and being ridden in long travels (Cf. Qatamish 1988: 406). This is what explains the absence of the BEING LADEN/CARRYING A BURDEN behaviour concept in Arabic ass proverbs.

As regard similar human behaviour concepts, BEING SERVILE is a behaviour concept that is found to be shared by some ass proverbs of English, Kabyle and Arabic. This can be explained by the animal's general characteristics and behaviour of accomplishing tasks for the benefits of its master that leads speakers of the three languages to conceptualize human's servitude in terms of the ass's behaviour. It is worth remarking that this human behaviour concept is absent in the French ass proverbs.

As was mentioned above, English, French, Arabic and Kabyle ass proverbs share no similar mappings. This means that speakers of these languages make use of divergent mappings in their conceptualization of human behaviours in terms of various ass behaviours. As far as the difference in the use of ass behaviour concepts is concerned, our findings show that there are more ass behaviour concepts that are not shared than those being shared by the ass proverbs of the four languages. This is due to specific cultural features characterizing each society and language. For instance, English speakers prefer to use BEING WORTHY TO STAND WITH THE KING'S HORSES whose use is due to the English monarchy system, Kabyle speakers do not but, instead, use other specific ass behaviour concepts as BEING DEPRIVED OF HORNS

that originates from a tale about an ass who thought he had horns and thus believed he was powerful. Arab speakers do not use these concepts but prefer to use other ass behaviour concepts as REFUSING HOSPITALITY because of the importance that Arabs give to hospitality (Qatamish 1988). In French, none of these ass behaviour concepts is used, but French speakers use such a behaviour concept as SPEAKING LATIN; this language being the language of French nobles, intellectuals and educated people.

As regard the differences in the use of human behaviour concepts, we have discovered that the frequency in the use of human behaviour concepts in ass proverbs differs from one language to another. For instance, Arabic proverbs involve BEING HEALTHY AND LIVING LONG, ACCEPTING HUMILIATION, HAVING NO PATIENCE and DOING NO GOOD TO OTHERS that are used more than the other behaviour concepts that are used only one time. In English, BEING SERVILE is used more than the other behaviour concepts. In French, BEING MISERLY is a human behaviour concept that is used more than the other behaviour concepts. In Kabyle, DOING A FOOLISH ACT is the most frequently used human behaviour concept in the ass proverbs. This difference in the frequency the use of human behaviour concepts in ass proverbs constitutes another evidence of the variation in the HUMAN BEHAVIOUR IS ASS BEHAVIOUR conceptual metaphor. This implies that in every socio-cultural environment, importance is given to different human behaviour concepts as revealed by the different frequencies of use and this influences speakers' degree of conceptualization of human behaviours in terms of ass behaviours.

We can say that our investigation of the domain mappings in ass proverbs has revealed the existence of more differences than similarities in English, French, Arabic and Kabyle due to socio-cultural specificities. This sustains the claim that conceptual metaphors' domain mappings are subject to variation.

5.3.3. Discussion of Similarity and Divergence in Domain Mappings in Ox Proverbs

This subsection discusses the similarities and differences in the mappings, ox behaviour concepts and human behaviour concepts relating to the ox proverbs of the four languages. As was done in the preceding subsections similarities will be discussed first. This will be followed by the discussion of differences.

Our findings have revealed the existence of only one common domain mapping in the English and French ox proverbs where the target domain of BEING EXPERIENCED is mapped onto the source domain of MAKING STRAIGHT FURROW. This similarity is due to the close relationship existing between English and French cultures and languages. In addition, geographical proximity of England and France may have favoured mutual exchange between members of the two communities.

The ox behaviour concepts that are found to be common to English, French and Kabyle are those relating to the specific concept of PLOUGHING or enclosing the concept of FURROW. An obvious explanation for this similarity is the role that oxen achieve; i.e., being used for ploughing because they are strong animals.

Some human behaviour concepts are found to be common to pairs of languages but not to the four languages together. For instance, English and French mappings share BEING EXPERIENCED as English and French share a similar proverb '*Vieux bœuf fait sillons droit*' and '*An old ox makes straight furrows*'. HAVING DECEPTIVE APPEARANCES is used in French and Kabyle mappings. BEING OBLIGED TO FULFIL PROMISES is shared by English and Kabyle mappings and BEING ARROGANT is used in Arabic and Kabyle mappings.

We have found that all the domain mappings characterizing ox proverbs are different except the single mapping shared by English and French, that is, [MAKING STRAIGHT FURROW - BEING EXPERIENCED]. This shows that the speakers of the four languages do not share the same way of conceptualizing human behaviour in terms of ox behaviour.

Our results also show that the number of ox behaviour concepts that are specific to every language is high when compared to the number of ox behaviour concepts that are similar. This finding confirms the variation in domain mappings involved in the HUMAN BEHAVIOUR IS OX BEHAVIOUR.

Similarly, the number of human behaviour concepts not being common to the ox proverbs of all the languages is more important than that of the shared human behaviour concepts. In addition, the human behaviour concepts that are most frequently used in one language are different from those being most frequently used in the other languages. For instance, in Kabyle ox proverbs, the human behaviour relating to the concepts of WORK, PRODUCTION and ACHIEVEMENT are most frequently used: DOING CLUMSY WORK, BEING FRIENDS WORKING TOGETHER, BEING LAZY AND UNPRODUCTIVE, HAVING THE NECESSARY REQUIREMENTS FOR WORKING, DISCUSSING ENDLESSLY AND ACHIEVING NOTHING, WORKING AND FEEDING THE LAZY. This observable fact is irrelevant to the ox proverbs of the other languages. The explanation that can be offered to this is that, in the Kabyle culture, oxen constitute an important economic resource and a means of achieving prosperity (Cf. Nacib 2009: 93). Kabyle people's economic life depended mainly on agriculture, as industrialization had not been introduced. This socio-cultural and economic fact has a straight influence upon Kabyle speakers' production of proverbs and their conceptualization of the abstract concepts of WORK, PRODUCTION and ACHIEVEMENT in terms of ox behaviour.

In addition, the frequency in the use of human behaviour concepts in ox proverbs does not present any differences, because we have found that in English, French, Arabic and Kabyle, ox proverbs have no ox behaviour concept that stands out among others. However, we have discovered the existence, in Kabyle, of six human behaviour concepts in which the concepts of WORK, PRODUCTION and ACHIEVEMENT are conveyed. These behaviour concepts are DOING CLUMSY WORK, BEING FRIENDS WORKING TOGETHER, BEING LAZY AND UNPRODUCTIVE, HAVING THE NECESSARY REQUIREMENTS FOR WORKING, DISCUSSING

ENDLESSLY AND ACHIEVING NOTHING, and WORKING AND FEEDING THE LAZY. This represents a difference because this observable fact is irrelevant to the ox proverbs of the other languages. The explanation that can be offered to this difference is that Kabyle people, as observed above, perceive oxen as very important animals from an economic point of view. This is what makes them use these concepts excessively in human behaviour relating to ox proverbs while in the other languages this case is not found.

In sum, the discussion conducted above has led us to conclude that there are far more differences than similarities in domain mappings of English, French, Arabic and Kabyle ox proverbs due to socio-cultural specificities. This conclusion sustains Kövecses' claim that metaphorical mappings constitute a component of conceptual metaphor that is subject to variation (Cf. Kövecses 2005: 123). In addition, it backs up his argument that among the characteristics of the central mappings of metaphors is that '*[c]ulturally, [they] reflect major human concerns relative to the source in question*' and '*[m]otivationally, they are the mappings that are most motivated experientially—either culturally or physically*' (Kövecses 2002: 112). Our results have shown the influence of people's cultural relationship and experiences with the different animals on their construction of conceptual mappings.

5.3.4. Discussion of Similarity and Divergence in Domain Mappings in Camel Proverbs

This subsection is devoted to the discussion of similarities and differences in domain mappings, camel behaviour concepts and human behaviour concepts. The discussion begins with similarities, then, differences and relies on cultural features and their impact on the use of domain mappings in the proverbs of the four languages. It has to be signalled that Arabic has the highest number of camel proverbs while French the lowest number.

The comparison of domain mappings in English, French, Arabic and Kabyle camel proverbs has revealed the existence of a shared domain mapping in the first three languages. This domain mapping has as source domain GOING THROUGH THE EYE OF THE NEEDLE and as

target domain THE IMPOSSIBILITY OF DOING SOMETHING. This mapping characterizes the following proverbs: *'It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God'*, *'Il est plus aisé pour un chameau de passer par le trou d'une aiguille, que pour un riche d'entrer dans le royaume de Dieu'*, and *'La: af'alu kaḍa : ḥatta yalija 'al-jamalu fi : sammi 'al-xiyati'* (I won't do this until the camel goes through the eye of the needle). This similarity emerges from some resemblance existing in the English, French and Arabic religions; i.e., Christianity and Islam respectively. As was observed in the first chapter of the dissertation, there are proverbs having a religious origin. The English and French proverbs are extracted from the Bible, and the Arabic proverb is inspired from the Koran (Cf. Mathew 19:24; Mathieu 19:24; Al-'A'ra:f: 40), this shows that this similarity has a religious cultural basis.

We have also found one mapping that is common to the English and Kabyle camel proverbs *'The camel never sees its own hump, but that of its brother is always before its eyes'* and *'Alyum ur iwal ara taerurt is'* (the camel does not see his own hump). In this mapping, the source domain is NOT SEEING ITS OWN HUMP and the target domain is NOT KNOWING ONE'S OWN WEAKNESSES. This means that both English and Kabyle speakers conceptualize the human behaviour of NOT KNOWING ONE'S OWN WEAKNESSES in terms of the same camel behaviour NOT SEEING ITS OWN HUMP. This similarity is likely to be the result of contact between languages.

We have also discovered that, except for the shared mappings, no similar camel behaviour concept is common to the camel proverbs of the four languages. What can be deduced from this is that speakers of the four languages do not conceptualize human behaviour in terms of camel behaviour with equal proportions. This can be interpreted with reference to cultural aspects having a direct link with the specific fauna and flora characterizing distinct and remote geographical areas. Camels are animals that are known to

live in areas characterized by high degrees of temperature, such as Arabia and the south of Algeria, but are absent in cold areas as England and France. This is what explains the high number of camel proverbs used in Arabic compared to the one found in English and French. This, of course, has repercussions on Arab speakers' degree of elaboration in conceptualizing human behaviour in terms of camel behaviour compared to the other speakers as shown by our findings. This supports Kövecses' claim that the physical environment factor including such elements as the fauna and flora leads to differential experience that causes metaphor to vary cross-linguistically and cross-culturally (Cf. Kövecses 2005: 232).

The comparison of the human behaviour concepts involved in camel proverbs has shown the existence of only one common human behaviour concept found in the English and Arabic camel proverbs regardless of the same human behaviour concepts used in the shared mappings. This behaviour concept is *HAVING LIMITED ENDURANCE*. This similarity may have resulted from the contact between the English and Arabians, as camels are not animal part of the English fauna.

The comparison of mappings has led us to notice significant differences. We have found that Arabic has the highest number of mappings relating to camel proverbs compared to the other languages as it has a greater number of camel proverbs. In addition, Most of the mappings are distinct and exclusively used in Arabic camel proverbs. French has only one mapping and a single camel proverb; this being shared with English and Arabic. Hence, French includes no exclusively used mapping. Kabyle has four mappings that are particular to the language. English has only one mapping not being common to the other languages. Therefore, Arabic and Kabyle are the languages that have the highest number of unshared mappings. This is due to the fact that compared to Kabyle speakers, Arabians are used to the permanent presence of this animal in their environment. This fact influences their

conceptualization of the HUMAN BEHAVIOUR IS CAMEL BEHAVIOUR and the structuring of domain mappings.

As for differences in the occurrence of camel behaviour concepts, the comparison of Arabic and Kabyle shows that the former uses a large range of camel behaviour concepts while the latter uses only a few. Arab speakers find many camel behaviour concepts available for their conceptualization of human behaviour because this animal is of great use to them; it draws water, it provides milk and meat, it is ridden, and so on. In addition, they perfectly know all of the animal's behaviour such as being easy to guide, urinating differently, ruminating, biting, and so on, which behaviours are ignored by Kabyle speakers because they are not in permanent contact with the animal and do not need it as they need oxen.

Furthermore, CLUMSY PLOUGHING is a camel behaviour concept that is found to be limited to Kabyle proverbs. That is to say, this camel behaviour concept is not used in the other languages. This can be explained by the fact that in the Kabyle culture, camels are not used for ploughing, but oxen are. In addition, Kabyle people view camels as stupid animals that are unable of doing the ox's work in a correct way. Consequently, they use this camel behaviour concept and map it onto people's inappropriate or unsatisfactory way of doing their work. Another interesting example is the camel behaviour concepts of HAVING A DIFFERENT WAY OF URINATING and BITING used in Arabic proverbs. As was previously stated, the camel is an animal that is so close to Arabs that it constantly fills their everyday life. Hence, Arabs are aware of all the characteristics and behaviour of the animal, such as, the examples mentioned here. Camels have a way of urinating that differs from that of all the other animals, because they urinate to the back not to the front (Cf. Al-Asbahani 1976:179). This leads Arab speakers to use this different feature to refer to people who behave in a different way; i.e., contrary to the conventional norm. In addition, these animals are known to happen to get very angry and bite their master. In this case, the camel behaviour is used to refer to people who

are aggressive. Such camel behaviour concepts can neither be used by English, nor French, and nor Kabyle speakers, because this animal is not part of their life and thus have limited knowledge about its characteristics and behaviour.

We have also found some different human behaviour concepts. For instance, DOING CLUMSY WORK is an outstanding human behaviour concept that is restricted to the Kabyle camel proverbs ‘*Am tyerza bwlyum: ayen yekrez at yaefes*’ (Like the camel's ploughing, he tramples on all that he plows) and ‘*Am tyerza bwlyum: ayen yeddez ktar bwayen yekrez*’ (Like the camel's ploughing, he tramples on (the furrows) more than he ploughs). In these proverbs, DOING CLUMSY WORK is mapped onto CLUMSY PLOUGHING. This constitutes an interesting difference to discuss as it is caused by cultural specificities. In the Kabyle culture, working with oxen has a great economic significance. As such, it must not be done in a clumsy but appropriate way. In addition, they perceive the ox as a strong hard-working animal that performs work in a good way. On the contrary, they perceive the camel as a stupid animal that cannot achieve the ox's task. These perceptions influence their conceptualization of DOING CLUMSY WORK in terms of camel's CLUMSY PLOUGHING. In the other languages, the ox's ploughing is not compared to that of the camel; this constitutes a significant cognitive and cultural difference.

In addition, ACCEPTING HUMILIATION is a prominent human behaviour concept exclusively used in Arabic camel proverbs. This observable fact originates from a socio-cultural experience that Arabs lived in the past and that led to the creation of a custom that influenced the production of proverbs. Qatamish (1988) contends that the early Arab community comprised many tribes characterized by the existence of inequality between them due to a question of power and dominance. Some tribes were more powerful than others were, as they were wealthy and included a large number of male members. Other tribes were powerless and dominated by the powerful groups. Because of this social phenomenon, a

custom is born. That is, when members of the powerful and the powerless tribes meet at the water place/fountain, members of the powerful groups were the first to draw water and make their animals drink. Members of the powerless group were allowed to draw water and make their animals drink at the end. Consequently, the members of the powerless tribes were described as being humiliated (Cf. Qatamish 1988: 318). This cultural custom leads Arab speakers to use the target domain of HUMILIATION in such animal proverbs as *'fulan jamalu 'a-ssiqa:ya'* (He is a camel used for water drawing) and *''aḍallu min ba 'i:ri Saniya'* (He is more humiliated than a water-drawing camel).

As far as the frequency in the use of human behaviour concepts in camel proverbs is concerned, we have also found differences. No human behaviour concept is prominent in camel proverbs in either English or French. In Arabic, There is an outstanding human behaviour concept that is used twice, it is ACCEPTING HUMILIATION. DOING CLUMSY WORK is the major human behaviour concept used in camel proverbs. This difference has a direct relationship with cultural specificities. As was already pointed out humiliation is a social phenomenon that characterizes the Arabian society and culture (Cf. Qatamish 1988: 318) and working with oxen is considered of important economic value (Cf. Nacib 2009: 93).

5.3.5. General discussion

The discussions provided so far have provided arresting evidence of socio-cultural influences upon the conceptual construction of domain mappings. In this general discussion, it is significant, first, to analyse this piece of evidence and discuss the principle of universality based on the embodiment hypothesis proposed within CMT to explain the universality of conceptual metaphors. Then, this evidence will be discussed in relation to the culture-specificity and cross-cultural variation of conceptual mappings under the influence of

different cultural aspects. In addition, the influence of three factors: physical environment, social history and differential prototypes will be discussed.

5.3.5.1. Universality Principle

Lakoff (1987) accounts for the correlation between bodily experience and thought leading to metaphors in the brain and language. He explains, ‘[t]hought is embodied, that is, the structures used to put together our conceptual systems grow out of bodily experience and make sense in terms of it; moreover, the core of our conceptual systems is directly grounded in perception, body movement, and experience of a physical and social character’ (Lakoff 1987: preface xiv). Kövecses (2005) provides a variety of examples sustaining this hypothesis, such as, INTENSITY IS HEAT and MORE IS UP conceptual metaphor (Kövecses 2005: 18). However, our findings reveal the existence of a great number of conceptual metaphors that are not embodied or based on bodily experience but on socio-cultural experiences. The specific-level metaphors HUMAN BEHAVIOUR IS DOG BEHAVIOUR, HUMAN BEHAVIOUR IS ASS BEHAVIOUR, HUMAN BEHAVIOUR IS OX BEHAVIOUR, and HUMAN BEHAVIOUR IS CAMEL BEHAVIOUR are not born out of people’s experience of their bodies but come out of different cultural experiences and the conceptual mappings they involve are highly influenced by specific cultural features. This fact sustains Alice Deignan (2005) who criticizes Lakoff (1993, 1987) for dealing with conceptual metaphor and focusing on metaphors emerging out of people’s experience of their body such as the ones mentioned above, and, thus overlooking all the metaphors that are not. She claims, ‘it is sometimes felt that the influence of physical experience on thought is overstressed and the influence of culture is underplayed in Conceptual Metaphor Theory’ (Deignan 2005: 22). Our findings show that all of the English, French, Arabic and Kabyle speakers use animal-related metaphors involved in proverbs which fact sustains Deignan’s claim that there is a great

number of metaphors that are not directly grounded in bodily experience, because such metaphors have a culture-specific basis. A pertinent example of this is the HUMAN BEHAVIOUR IS DOG BEHAVIOUR metaphor that is proved to include a wide range of distinct metaphorical mappings across English, French, Arabic and Kabyle dog proverbs under the influence of different cultural features. Therefore, though it is not only influenced by physical experience but by cultural experience as well, and CMT neglects the important fact that gives rise to variation in the mappings of the conceptual metaphor. This finding is indicative of the insufficiency characterizing the treatment of conceptual metaphor within CMT.

5.3.5.2. Culture-specificity Principle

Furthermore, the cross-cultural variation in conceptual mappings characterizing animal-related proverbs that our investigation has revealed constitutes additional evidence that supports Zoltán Kövecses' (2005) assertion. That is, metaphorical mappings are subject to cross-cultural variation under the influence of particular cultural aspects, as he states, *'mappings characterizing particular conceptual metaphors [...] can vary from culture to culture, and from subculture to subculture'* (Kövecses 2005: 127). In addition, it supports his argument that among the characteristics of the central mappings of metaphors is that *'[c]ulturally, [they] reflect major human concerns relative to the source in question'* and *'[m]otivationally, they are the mappings that are most motivated experientially—either culturally or physically'* (Kövecses 2002: 112). A particularly interesting test case for this theory is the use of the source domain concept DOG being influenced by distinct cultural concerns and experiences, because, as has already been explained in the subsection on cultural representations of dogs in chapter four, the experience of dogs in English, French, Arabic, and Kabyle cultures is somewhat different. Dogs have played multiple roles in human societies and currently in England and France they are thought of as a pet and *'man's best friend'*, but

for the Arab and Kabyle people, dogs are not pets, but rather working animals, used to guard flocks, homes and belongings.

5.3.5.3. Differential Experience Factors

The variation in conceptual mappings can also be explained in terms of some relevant factors causing cross-cultural differences; namely, physical environment, social history, and differential prototypes introduced in the CCT. These three factors will be discussed with reference to our findings.

5.3.5.3.1 Physical environment

The physical environment factor, in Kövecses' terms is '*the particular geography, landscape, fauna and flora, dwellings, other people, and so forth, that speakers of a language or variety interact with on a habitual basis*' (Kövecses 2005: 232). According to him, this factor leads to differential experience that causes conceptual metaphor and its domain mappings to vary cross-culturally. Noticeable examples can be mentioned to demonstrate this. It has previously been observed that the dog is a domestic animal living in all parts of the world; this leads all of the English, French, Arabic and Kabyle cultures and languages to involve a great amount of dog proverbs as shown in our study. Contrary to the dog, the camel is a domestic animal that is mainly found in Arabia, but not in European countries as England and France, and less in Kabylia. As has been shown through our analysis of the mappings involved in the proverbs, English and French and Kabyle include a very limited number of camel proverbs compared to Arabic; the former includes four, the second one, the third, five and the last twenty-three. This phenomenon influences the HUMAN BEHAVIOUR IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR metaphor in the sense that many metaphorical meanings are conveyed through a high number on metaphorical mappings of HUMAN BEHAVIOUR onto CAMEL BEHAVIOUR in

Arabic, but a lesser number of mappings in the other languages. In addition, we have shown that Arabic camel proverbs involve a wide range of camel behaviour concepts that are not found to be used in the camel proverbs of the other languages and most of the mappings are exclusively used in Arabic camel proverbs. Hence, it is important to take into account the physical environment factor when analysing metaphor and its conceptual mappings cross-culturally in order to understand how they vary from one geographic-cultural area to another.

5.3.5.3.2. Social History

The social history factor also gives rise to differential experience that causes metaphor variation and, subsequently, variation in domain mappings. Kövecses (2005) sees this factor as involving *'the major or minor events that occurred in the past of a society/culture, group, or individual'* that he simply calls *memory*' (Kövecses 2005: 241). Furthermore, he considers social history as collective and unconsciously memorized by the members of the same socio-cultural group, and has an impact upon metaphor conceptualization. Consequently, social history is useful in showing why metaphors used by individuals reveal some experiences in their socio-cultural history. Several interesting examples can be given to support this claim.

For instance, the socio-cultural practice of hunting using dogs that is part of the history of England and France influences the conceptual structuring of mappings in some English and French dog proverbs. For instance, [HUNTING FOULEST-BEHAVING BADLY], [WORRYING A HARE-FIGHTING OVER/WORRYING A PERSON], [BEING FOREMOST-BEING THE FIRST], [HUNTING-INHERITING PARENTS' QUALITIES], [HUNTING-BEING EXPERIENCED], and [NOT HUNTING TOGETHER-BEING EXPERIENCED], as shown in Tables 1 and 2. The experience of hunting using dogs seems to be of less importance in the Arab and Kabyle cultures as it does not influence the conceptualization of the dog metaphor. This leads to a difference in the

conceptualization of HUMAN BEHAVIOUR in terms of DOG BEHAVIOUR in the conceptual mappings of the four languages and cultures.

Furthermore, we notice that the existence of some influential personalities that mark the history of societies has some impact upon metaphor conceptualization. An interesting example concerns an important personality in the French history *Jean de Nivelle*. This personality is present in the collective memory of French people as someone who refuses to obey the commands of his father Jean II de Montmorency. This influences the conceptual structuring of a mapping; that is, [FLEEING- EVADING] in the French dog proverb '*c'est le chien de Jean de Nivelle qui s'enfuit quand on l'appelle*' (it is Jean de Nivelles' dog that runs away when it is called) (Cf. Petit Larousse en Couleurs 1972: 1438). It is also interesting to remark that the importance that Latin has in the French history constitutes another historical aspect that influences the conceptual structuring of the mapping [SPEAKING LATIN-SPEAKING OF SOMETHING IGNORED] in the French ass proverb '*Les ânes parlent Latin*' ('Asses speak Latin'), as revealed in Table 6.

Moreover, the concept of HUMILIATION is found to be used in the human behaviour concepts relating to DOG, ASS and CAMEL mappings in Arabic proverbs but absent in the proverbs of the other languages. What can be drawn from this is that Arab speakers frequently use the target domain of HUMILIATION, and they do this in various animal proverbs. This fact emerges out of an experience lived by Arabs at some historical period, as argued by Qatamish 1988: 318). This reveals the impact that this feeling generated by social relationships characterized by injustice and inequality has upon Arab speakers' conceptualization. This in turn has influence upon the structuring of the mappings [BEING IN THE DOG'S NICHE-ACCEPTING HUMILIATION], [BEING HUMILIATED-ACCEPTING HUMILIATION], and [BEING HUMILIATED- ACCEPTING HUMILIATION]. These mappings are involved in the proverbs '*huwa*

fi: mazjari 'al-kalbi ('he is in the dog's niche'), '*huwa aḍallu min ḥima:rin muqayyadin*' ('he is more humiliated than a tied ass'), '*huwa aḍallu min ba 'i:ri sa:niya*' ('he is more humiliated than the camel used for water drawing'), as shown in tables 3, 7, and 15. Humiliation does not seem to be as prominent in the other languages and cultures as it is in the Arabian ones, because it does not appear in the metaphorical mappings of the English, French and Kabyle proverbs. Some other historical experiences present in the Arabians' collective memory are worth mentioning because of their influence upon the structuring of mappings in some Arabic ass and ox proverbs. First, Abi Sayyarata is a historical Arab character belonging to the Beni Odwan tribe. This man owns a black ass that is very healthy (Cf. Al-Asbahani 1976:271). This fact influences the conceptual structuring of the mapping [BEING HEALTHY- BEING HEALTHY AND LIVING LONG] in the Arabic ass proverb '*Aṣaḥḥu min 'ayri abi: sayya:rata*' ('healthier than abi Sayyara's ass'), as illustrated in Table 7. *Kilab* is another Arab historical character that influences the structuring of the [BEING SLOW- BEING UNABLE TO ACT WHEN NECESSARY] mapping in the Arabic ox proverb '*Tawru kila:bin fi: 'ariha:ni aq'adu*' (ibid.) (Kilab's ox is slow in the race'), as shown in Table 11.

Other pertinent examples can be mentioned in relation to some kabyle proverbs and mappings characterizing ox proverbs that are influenced by particular historical facts. Brotherhood and solidarity constitute important social norms and values that have marked the social history of Kabylia. As such, they are still encouraged and are part of the collective social memory of Kabyle people (Cf. Nacib Y., 2009: 60-64). This social fact influences the conceptual structuring of mappings in Kabyle ox proverbs; namely, [BEING BROTHERS YOKED TOGETHER- SOLIDARITY AND ALLIANCE], [BEING BROTHERS PLOUGHING TOGETHER- BEING FRIENDS WORKING TOGETHER], and [RECOGNISING HIS BROTHER- KEEPING COMPANY WITH SOMEONE FOR SIMILAR INTERESTS], as illustrated in table 12. Furthermore, Oxen are historically recognized as a prominent economic power. This historical fact influences

mappings in such a way that Kabyle possesses the highest number of mappings involved in ox proverbs compared to English, French, and Arabic.

5.3.5.3.3 Differential Prototypes

Kövecses (2005) asserts that *'source concepts may have several versions, influencing the conceptual metaphors that are based on them'* (Kövecses 2005: 253). He calls these versions differential prototypes. He furthermore argues that *'... the prototypical concepts that we use in conceptual metaphors are based on our experiences in the culture in which we live'* (ibid: 254). The above conducted cognitive and cross-cultural study of domain mappings has revealed differences in the way the animal specific concepts DOG, ASS, OX, and CAMEL are influenced by the cultural environment in which they are metaphorically used leading to animal differential prototypes. If Kövecses' (2005) theory of differential prototypes is adopted to explain the reason why these noticeable differences exist, then, we can say that people live in remote geographical areas where different species of animals live and have particular experiences with them. In addition, their cultural representations of these animals differ to some extent. This difference has a direct impact on their representations of animals and their role in society. As a result, the prototypical animal concepts that people use in conceptual metaphors depend on their experiences in the social and cultural environment in which they are brought up.

The investigation of domain mappings provides useful examples of animal differential prototypes that illustrate this and sustain Kövecses' above-made claim. For example, dogs, as we have seen, are not viewed in the same way in the four languages and cultures, in addition, the experiences that people have with this animal differ. Thus, the prototypical concepts of DOG, CHIEN, KALB, and AQJUN that English, French, Arabic, and Kabyle speakers use in conceptual metaphors are influenced by their experiences with this domestic animal in the

cultures they live in. The specific concept DOG has various versions. In England, dog is viewed as the paradigm pet although it is also used as a working animal. A similar view also prevails in France. In Arabia, the dog is considered the most domestic of all animals obeying, cherishing and protecting its owner. In Kabyle, dog is considered as a patient and enduring working animal used for guarding possessions and livestock. The occurrence of these versions of the prototypical DOG, CHIEN, KALB, and AQJUN, influenced by the different cultural experiences lead the specific-level metaphor HUMAN BEHAVIOUR IS DOG BEHAVIOUR to involve conceptual mappings particular to the dog proverbs of each of the four languages and cultures. It is convenient to mention some relevant examples used in each language in order to show how dog differential prototypes affect the structure of domain mappings.

In English, The prototype dog is a loyal pet and man's best friend this influences the structuring of the following mappings that are particular to English dog proverbs: [BEING MAN'S BEST FRIEND-MAN IS NOT A GOOD FRIEND], [LEAVING A FOREIGN MASTER-BEING UNGRATEFUL], [FOLLOWING MASTER-BEING OBEDIENT]. In these mappings the specific concept DOG is influenced by English speakers experience with dogs; in the first mapping, dog is a friend, in the second, he is loyal to its owner, and in the third it follows its master.

In French, the dog is considered the most popular of animals used in proverbs due to the close relationship between the French and their dog (Dictionnaire des Proverbes et Dictons 1993: 33). Similar to English, the dog is viewed as the paradigm pet; '*le meilleurs ami de l'homme*' (man's best friend). However, as Vigerie (1992) claims, its faithfulness and friendship are rarely mentioned in proverbs, leading to the absence of conceptual mappings involving the specific concept CHIEN (DOG) relating to the prototype dog. This case is specific to French.

In Arabic, the prototype dog is the most domestic of all animals, protecting, cherishing, and obeying its owner. This influences the construction of these mappings that are specific to the Arabic dog proverbs: [BEING DOMESTIC-BEING FRIENDLY], [PROTECTING-DEFENDING OTHERS], [CHERISHING-ACTING WELL WITH OTHERS], and [BEING OBEDIENT-BEING OBEDIENT]. In these mappings, the specific concept KALB (DOG) is influenced by the experience that Arabians have with their dogs leading them to consider it the most domestic of all animals; in the first mapping, dog is very domestic, in the second, it is protecting, in the third, it is cherishing, and in the fourth, it is obeying its owner.

In Kabyle, the paradigm dog is a patient and enduring working animal. This influences Kabyle speakers' conceptual building of mappings that are specific to their language and culture: [BARKING-BEING SELFISH], [NOT BARKING-FEELING SOMEONE FAMILIAR], and [LIVING LONG LIFE-HAVING ENDURANCE AND PATIENCE]. In these mappings the concept AQJUN (DOG) is influenced by the Kabyle's experience with the dog that make them consider it as working, enduring, and patient. In the first mapping, it is a protecting animal, in the second, it is a guarding animal, and in the third, it has long life, a sign of endurance and patience.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we have explored the metaphorical mappings characterizing the HUMAN BEHAVIOUR IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR generic-level conceptual metaphor in the selected animal-related proverbs. The main conclusions we have drawn from our contrastive study of domain mappings confirm the cross-cultural and cognitive variation in the four specific-level conceptual metaphors HUMAN BEHAVIOUR IS DOG BEHAVIOUR, HUMAN BEHAVIOUR IS ASS BEHAVIOUR, HUMAN BEHAVIOUR IS OX BEHAVIOUR and HUMAN BEHAVIOUR IS CAMEL BEHAVIOUR. What confirms this is the great amount of differences that

we have discovered in the domain mappings and in the use of animal behaviours and human behaviours which differences are mainly caused by socio-cultural features that shape individuals' knowledge, beliefs and values. Such aspects in turn have a direct influence on their conceptualization of human behaviour. For instance, we have shown that, for each type of animal, the number of mappings that are different is higher than the number of those shared by the four languages and cultures. In addition, the animal behaviours and human behaviours that are most frequently used are those that are exclusive to each language and culture. Furthermore, we have found that the number of mappings used per animal relates to the existence of the animal in the environment of speakers. This confirms Kövecses' theory of the impact that physical environment, and particularly the fauna and flora, has upon conceptual metaphor variation. Moreover, we have found that social history, or what Kövecses (2005) calls memory, also influences the structuring of mappings and leads to variation. In addition, we came to the conclusion that prototypical animal concepts that people use in conceptual metaphors depend on their experiences in the social and cultural environment in which they are brought up.

All in all, these findings prove the inadequacy of the embodiment hypothesis in the treatment of all metaphors, as it gives primacy to embodied universal metaphors and overlooks non-embodied culture specific ones. Animal-related metaphors are highly culture specific and thus cannot be explained via the embodiment/experiential hypothesis. Consequently, a theory that takes into account such metaphors and their cross-cultural variations is required.

CHAPTER SIX

CULTURAL INFLUENCE ON THE USE OF ANIMALS IN THE PROVERBS

Introduction

6.1. Descriptive Account of the Proverbs' Main Meaning Foci

6.1.1. Descriptive Account of Dog Proverbs' Main Meaning Foci

6.1.2. Descriptive Account of Ass Proverbs' Main Meaning Foci

6.1.3. Descriptive Account of Ox Proverbs' Main Meaning Foci

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6.2. Discussion of the Findings

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Conclusion

Introduction

It has been claimed that the use of animal metaphors in language is overwhelmingly negative and goes against speakers' positive views of animals (Cf. MacArthur 2001; Kövecses 2002; Deignan 2003). This chapter proposes to investigate the socio-cultural influences on conceptualization and thus on the use of animals in English, French, Arabic, and Kabyle proverbs. For this objective, the Great Chain of Being theory (Lovejoy 1936; Lakoff & Turner 1989; Kövecses 2002) together with the description of cultural views of animals will serve in investigating the characterization of animals with the intention of finding out points of convergence and culture-specific features moulding the use of animals in the proverbs. This chapter is structured in the following way: first, a descriptive account of the main meaning foci conveyed in the proverbs is provided. This is followed by the discussion of the findings with reference to the Great Chain Metaphor theory and cultural representations of animals.

6.1. Descriptive Account of Proverbs' Main Meaning Foci

In this section, the proverbs are arranged according to the undesirability and desirability main meaning foci that underlie them. The metaphorical meaning of each proverb is given first. To make the list of proverbs a bit shorter, some of the proverbs that share the same meaning have been withdrawn. In addition, proverbs whose meaning is ambivalent or neutral are not involved in the analysis. This is followed by a description of the characterization of animal behaviour and human behaviour. This analysis is conducted with regard to the proverbs' text regardless of their actual usage. We begin with the classification and interpretation of the dog proverbs, then, move on to the ass, ox and camel ones.

6.1.1. Descriptive Account of Dog Proverbs' Main Meaning Foci

This subsection provides accounts of the dog proverbs' main meaning foci. These descriptive accounts will serve the comparison of the characterization of the dog in the four

languages and cultures in order to find out points of convergence and dissimilarity in the way dogs are used. We begin with the analysis of English proverbs, then, French, Arabic and Kabyle dog proverbs.

- **English Dog proverbs' Main Meaning Foci**

After having looked at the meaning of the 32 English dog proverbs, we have found that 24 proverbs convey the undesirability main meaning focus and 8 the desirability one. These are shown hereafter:

- **Undesirability**

(1) *Barking dogs seldom bite.*

It is useless to make idle threats. Barking is considered an undesirable behaviour since it is pointless to bark and not attack the enemy. So a person's excessive threats are useless if he/she does not attack.

(2) *The dog that is idle barks at his fleas, but he that is hunting feels them not.*

Idleness encourages complaint about or focus on petty matters. Being inactive and barking at fleas is objectionable because it is worthless. Therefore, a person who is inactive should not complain about things that are insignificant.

(3) *Dogs bark as they are bred.*

Ill-breeding leads to immoral conduct. Barking is an objectionable behaviour when it is the result of ill-breeding. Hence, a person who does not behave honourably is ill-bred.

(4) *Dogs bark and the caravan goes on.*

Life goes on even if there are threats, upsets, etc. Barking is useless as it cannot stop the

caravan from going on. This behaviour is as undesirable as that of a person who makes pointless threats and dare not to attack.

(5) The dog bites the stone, not him that throws it.

It is preferable to complain about/attack the cause rather than the instrument. Biting the stone is undesirable in the sense that it represents an inappropriate action. Therefore, Someone who complains about/attacks the instrument instead of the cause performs a wrong action.

(6) In every country, dogs bite.

It is usual for argumentative/bad people to be similar everywhere. Biting is an objectionable behaviour being shared by all dogs. In the same way, the behaviour of argumentative/bad people is the same everywhere.

(7) Two dogs strive for a bone, and a third runs away with it.

Dispute may lead to inattention of what is going on around. Striving for a bone is an objectionable behaviour as it leads both dogs to lose the bone. Therefore, when two people are in dispute they miss what is going on around them; and this is undesirable.

(8) Quarrelsome dogs get dirty coats.

It is better not to quarrel so much because this finally leads to defeat. Quarrelling is unpleasant as it does not lead dogs to a good end. Similarly, quarrelsome people end up as losers.

(9) Quarrelling dogs come halting home.

It is not convenient to be involved in difficult situations and then seek refuge in defeat. Quarrelling represents an undesirable behaviour especially when dogs that are beaten retreat in their home. This is similar to people who go out and involve themselves in difficult

situations seeking refuge in their old haunts when they are defeated.

(10) The dog that hunts foulest, hits at most faults.

It is improper to have bad conduct and complaint about others. Hunting foulest is not a desirable behaviour as it is unfair. In the same way, people who do not conduct themselves honourably and then complain most about others show wrong behaviour.

(11) Dogs wag their tails not so much in love to you as to your bread.

Insincere flattery should be distrusted. Tail wagging is unpleasant especially when dogs do it not for the purpose of being pleasant but for getting something they want. This is similar to people's insincere flattery whose aim is just obtaining something desired.

(12) Better to have a dog fawn on you than bite you.

It is important to know the value of respect. It is better to get apparent respect, however disingenuous, than outright opposition. Fawning is objectionable because it is insincere. However, it is preferable to biting. Hence, disingenuous apparent respect is undesirable but is preferable to outright opposition.

(13) The dog that fetches will carry.

It is better not to talk or listen to gossips. Fetching and carrying are viewed as objectionable because dogs fetch and carry good as well as bad things to their master. This behaviour is mapped onto the objectionable behaviour of a person who brings and carries gossip to others.

(14) You can't teach an old dog new tricks.

It is difficult for old people to cope with new ideas. The inability of old dogs to learn new tricks is undesirable because this may prevent them from having the capacity to perform some necessary actions. This also goes for old people who, because they are set in their ways,

cannot cope with new ideas.

(15) Two dogs and a bone never agree.

Contention between people leads them to become opponents. Dogs are known for striving for bones which behaviour is disagreeable because it lasts long. This goes for humans as well. If there's a cause of contention between two people they will never be at peace with one another.

(16) Many dogs may easily worry one hare.

It is useless for many people to fight over/worry one person. Many dogs worrying one hare is objectionable because it is pointless. Similarly, if there are too many people fighting over/worrying a person, this is undesirable because they will be less likely to win.

(17) He that keeps another man's dog shall have nothing left him but the line.

It is incorrect to be ungrateful. A dog leaving a foreign master who has treated it well is undesirable because, in this case, the dog is thankless even though it shows loyalty for its master. This is similar to a person that is treated well, but who shows no gratitude.

(18) While the dog gnaws bone, companions would be none.

It is improper to guard winnings/profits and not share them with others. A dog gnawing a bone does not accept to share this with any other dog. This is negative because it is an act of selfishness. This feature also characterizes any person who guards winnings/profits and does not let anyone share them.

(19) When a dog is drowning, everyone offers him drink.

It is unfair to rush to beat an enemy who cannot fight back. Drowning is undesirable as it provokes danger to the dog. Hence, when someone is on his/her last legs and cannot easily

fight back, he/she is in danger because people will rush to beat him.

(20) *The dog returns to his vomit.*

It is customary for criminals/wrong-doers to return to the scene of their crime. Returning to his vomit is wrong, as it is susceptible of unmasking him. This also goes for the criminal/wrong-doer who returns to the scene of his crime and who is unmasked.

(21) *The dog that licks ashes trust not with meal.*

It is better not to trust anyone who is satisfied with inferior stuff with quality things. Licking ashes is objectionable as it shows the inferiority state of such a dog. In the same way, a person accepting inferior stuff has objectionable behaviour and thus should not be trusted.

(22) *Dumb dogs are dangerous.*

Beware those who do not complain and shout – they can be the most dangerous. Being dumb and dangerous is negative because of the silence that a dog shows but which hides a dangerous animal; this can have harmful effects. This is similar to a person who is silent but who can be very dangerous.

(23) *Every dog is a lion at home.*

It is unfavourable to have false courage. Being a lion means being courageous. It is undesirable for a dog to have this quality inside but not outside home. Similarly, People who feel themselves courageous in their own territory, but they are not in others' territory reveal their false courage.

(24) *If you lie down with dogs, you will get up with fleas.*

It is better not to get involved with wicked people or illicit affairs. Having fleas is something unpleasant because it can be transmitted to others. Similarly, the fact of being involved with

the wicked leads people to become corrupted.

- **Desirability**

(25) *An old dog barks not in vain.*

Wise advice is given by old and experienced people. Barking is desirable because it is mapped onto giving advice that is a favourable human behaviour.

(26) *Dog does not eat dog.*

Loyalty should characterize companions belonging to the same group. Not eating another dog is a positive behaviour that is mapped onto being loyal with companions. Loyalty is a desirable human behaviour.

(27) *Dead dogs bite not.*

Harm cannot be caused by a dead person. Dog's not biting is agreeable because it prevents others from harm. In this case, this is favourable because of the dog's death. Similarly, a dead person can do no harm. Therefore, this represents a desirable human behaviour.

(28) *Let sleeping dogs lie.*

It is better not to interfere in a difficult situation that may cause trouble. Sleeping/lying is an advantageous behaviour as it stops dogs from unwanted behaviour as barking/biting. In the same way, not interfering in a difficult situation prevents trouble-making.

(29) *If you would wish the dog to follow you, feed him.*

Good treatment of a servant makes him obedient. Following master is a positive behaviour that satisfies dog owners. Therefore, being obedient is servants' positive behaviour that meets the expectations of masters.

(30) *The foremost dog catches the hare.*

It is better to be the first in order not to miss good opportunities. Being foremost is desirable because it allows the dog to catch the hare first. Similarly, a person who is first will not risk missing good opportunities.

(31) *A good dog deserves a good bone.*

Being good is worth a reward. Being good is a dog behaviour that is as desirable as is a similar human behaviour because both are worth a reward.

(32) *A dog is man's best friend.*

Dogs are better companions than humans are. Being man's best friend is a favourable behaviour.

The above analysis of dog proverbs' main meaning foci shows the superiority of negatively used proverbs over the positively used ones. These findings will be discussed in the coming section.

- **French Dog Proverbs' Main Meaning Foci**

The examination of the 21 French dog proverbs shows that 16 proverbs convey the undesirable main meaning focus and 5 the desirable one. The characterization of the dog is described hereafter:

- **Undesirability**

(33) *Chien qui aboie ne mord pas*

Dog that barks not bite not

A barking dog does not bite

This proverb has the same meaning as English proverb (1)

(34) *Les chiens aboient, la caravane passe.*

The dogs bark the caravan goes-on

Dogs bark, the caravan goes on.

This proverb has the same meaning as English proverb (4)

(35) *On ne peut empêcher le chien d'aboyer ni le menteur de mentir*

We not can prevent the dog of bark nor the liar from lie

We can prevent neither the dog from barking nor the liar from lying.

We cannot make someone behave contrary to his/her nature. Barking is objectionable because it is natural and cannot easily be changed. In the same way, lying is undesirable, as it constantly characterizes some people.

(36) *A chien qui mord il faut jeter des pierres*

To dog that bite it-must throw ART stones

You must throw stones on a barking dog.

We should not have mercy on the evil people. Biting is unfavourable because it causes harm and so does the behaviour of evil people.

(37) *Les chiens ne chassent pas ensemble*

The dogs not hunt not together

Dogs do not hunt together.

This proverb has the same meaning as English proverb (15)

(38) *Pendant que le chien pisse, le lièvre s'en va.*

While that the dog pisses the hare away runs

While the dog is pissing, the hare runs away.

Hesitation makes someone miss good opportunities. Dog's pissing is undesirable because it allows the hare to run away. Similarly, hesitating is unfavourable, as it leads someone to miss a good opportunity.

(39) *A toute heure chien pisse et femme pleure.*

At every hour dog pisses and woman weeps

At any time, the dog pisses and the woman weeps.

Some behaviour cannot be avoided. Dog's pissing is undesirable because it cannot be avoided. Similarly, woman's weeping is negative, but it is unavoidable.

(40) *Qui se couche avec les chiens, se lève avec des puces*

Who lies with the dogs gets-up with ART fleas

Who lies down with dogs, gets up with fleas.

This proverb has the same meaning as English proverb (24)

(41) *Deux chiens à l'os ne s'accordent*

Two dogs to the bone not agree

Two dogs and a bone never agree.

This proverb has the same meaning as English proverb (15)

(42) *Quand un chien se noie, tout le monde lui offre à boire*

When a dog drowns everyone him offer to drink

When a dog is drowning, everyone offers him drink.

This proverb has the same meaning as English proverb (19)

(43) Chien hargneux a toujours l'oreille déchirée.

Dog ferocious has always the ear torn

A ferocious dog has always the ear torn.

Accidents always occur to quarrelsome people. Being ferocious is objectionable because it leads the dog to have a torn ear. In the same way, quarrelling is objectionable, as it leads quarrelsome people to be subject to accidents.

(44) Jamais à bon chien, il ne vient un bon os

Never to good dog it not come a good bone

A good dog never gets a good bone

Good does not go to those who deserve it. Good affairs never come to those who would be worthy. A good dog not getting a deserved good bone is as undesirable as someone who does not get the good affair he/she deserves.

(45) Les chiens ne font pas de chats.

The dogs not breed not ART cats

Dogs do not breed cats.

Parents' defects are found in their children. Dogs are unable of breeding cats; they can only breed dogs. Similarly, Parents who have defects breed children having the same defects.

(46) *C'est le chien de Jean de Nivelles, il s'enfuit quand on l'appelle.*

This is the dog of Jean de Nivelles he flees when we call him

This is Jean de Nivelles's dog, he flees when called.

One should not evade when he /she is needed. A dog fleeing when being called by the master is objectionable. This is similar to someone who evades when needed.

(47) *Gardez-vous de l'homme secret et du chien muet*

Beware-you of the man silent and the dog dumb.

Beware of the silent man and the dumb dog.

This proverb has the same meaning as English proverb (22)

(48) *Le chien du jardinier ne veut ni manger les choux ni permettre au lapin de les manger*

The dog of gardener not want neither eat the sprouts nor allow to rabbit of them eat

The gardener's dog neither wants to eat sprouts nor allows the rabbit to eat them.

We should not prevent others from benefiting from some good that we do not want to benefit from. Not allowing the rabbit to eat sprout is negative. In the same way, someone who does not let others benefit from some good has undesirable behaviour because it is an act of jealousy.

- **Desirability**

(49) *Jamais bon chien n'aboie à faux.*

Never good dog not bark in-vain

A good dog barks not in vain.

A wise man does not threaten without attacking. Not barking in vain is as desirable as the behaviour of someone who threatens and then attacks.

(50) *Un chien mort ne mord plus.*

A dog dead not bite no-longer

A dead dog no longer bites

This proverb has the same meaning as English proverb (27)

(51) *Bon chien chasse de race*

Good dog hunts by nature

A good dog hunts by nature.

Children inherit their Parents' qualities. A dog hunting by nature is as desirable as children inheriting the qualities of their parents.

(52) *Il n'est chasse que de vieux chiens*

It not is hunting only of old dogs

Only old dogs hunt well.

There is nothing worth old people's experience. Old dogs' hunting is desirable because it is well-done. Similarly, the work achieved by old and experienced people is pleasing.

(53) *Un chien regarde bien un évêque.*

A dog looks-at well a bishop

A dog may look at a bishop.

The difference in rank does not prohibit relationships between people. Looking at a bishop is

favourable, and the dog is allowed to do it. In the same way, People from different social ranks can talk to one another and work together.

The analysis of French dog proverbs' main meaning foci also shows the superiority of negatively used proverbs on the positively used ones. These findings will also be discussed in the coming section.

- **Arabic Dog Proverbs' Main Meaning Foci**

After having looked at the meaning of the 40 Arabic dog proverbs, we have found that 26 proverbs convey the undesirability main meaning focus and 14 the desirability one. These are shown hereafter:

- **Undesirability**

(54) *Huwa 'abxalu min kalbin.*

He more-miserly than dog

He is more miserly than a dog.

It is improper to be excessively miserly. A dog's being miserly is objectionable and a person's being more miserly than a dog is excessively undesirable.

(55) *Huwa 'aḥraṣu min kalbin.*

He more eager than dog

He is more eager than a dog.

It is inappropriate to be mean and miserly. Being so eager is undesirable because it leads the dog to be mean and miserly. This also goes for a person who is more eager than a dog.

(56) *Huwa 'anhamu min kalbin.*

He more insatiable than dog

He is more insatiable than a dog.

It is improper to be cupid. A dog that eats too much and asks for more has disagreeable behaviour because he does not have satiety. This is similar to a person' cupidity.

(57) *'aḥabba 'ahli 'al-kalbi 'ilayhi 'aḏa: 'inu.*

More-loved masters the-dog to-him the-stranger

Among his masters, the dog loves most a stranger.

It is wrong not to look after family members. A dog that loves a stranger more than its master is undesirable. Similarly, it is improper for someone to love a stranger more than a member of the family.

(58) *'iḏa: na:ma ḏa:li' u 'al-kila:bi.*

If sleeps weak the-dogs

When the weak dog goes to sleep.

It is better not to delay the satisfaction of a necessary need. It is undesirable for a dog to go sleeping late because of his weakness. Therefore, it is unfavourable for someone to delay a work that must be achieved in due time.

(59) *Huwa 'asma' u min kalbin*

He hearing-better than dog

He hears better than a dog

It is improper to spy others. The dog has strong hearing power that makes him able to hear

loud and less loud sounds. In the case of humans, this is undesirable because this ability makes people spy others which thing is wrong.

(60) *Huwa 'ašammu min kalbin*

He scenting-better than dog

He scents better than a dog

This proverb has the same meaning as proverb (59)

(61) *Huwa 'afhašu min kalbin*

He more obscene than dog

He is more obscene than a dog

It is unacceptable to be obscene. A dog is obscene because he barks so much at people. This behaviour is as objectionable as that of someone who shows impudence.

(62) *Huwa 'antanu min ri:hi 'al-kalbi*

He stinker than scent the-dog

He is stinker than the scent of a dog

It is reprehensible to have bad reputation. A dog that stinks is objectionable, and so is a person who has bad reputation.

(63) *Huwa 'abwalu min kalbin.*

He pissing more than dog

He pisses more than a dog does.

Excessive breeding is unwanted. A dog that pisses too much is undesirable. This also goes for

a person who breeds an excessive number of children.

(64) *Huwa 'asra'u min kalbin 'ila wulu:gihi.*

He more-rapid than dog at drinking-his

He drinks water more rapidly than a dog.

Patience and endurance are good qualities. A dog's having water rapidly is unfavourable, and indicates his limited patience. Similarly, someone having weak patience and limited endurance is undesirable.

(65) *Huwa 'asra'u min lahsati 'al-kalba 'anfahu.*

He more rapid than licking the-dog nose-his

He is faster than a dog that licks his nose.

Giving too much importance to one's physical appearance shows exaggeration. A dog is used to lick its nose rapidly. This is assimilated to a person who gives so much importance to his/her physical appearance.

(66) *Huwa 'ankadu min kalbin 'ahassa.*

He moodier than dog hairless

He is moodier than a hairless dog.

Doing no good to others is reprehensible. It is undesirable for a dog to be hairless, as this makes him moody. Similarly, it is undesirable for someone to be unable of doing something good to others.

(67) *Huwa fi: mazjari 'al-kalbi.*

He in niche the-dog

He is in the dog's niche.

Humiliation should not be accepted. A dog being in its niche is assimilated to a person being in very low position and accepting humiliation.

(68) *Fula:nu kalbu 'al-jama: 'ati.*

He dog the group

He is the group's dog.

Servitude and humiliation should not be accepted. A dog that belongs to a group does all that this group wants whether good or bad. Similarly, a person who follows others and does all they ask him/her to do is servile and humiliated.

(69) *'alayhi wa:qiyatan ka wa:qiyata 'al-kilabi.*

On-him protection like protection the dogs

He has the protection that dogs have.

Protecting a base person is vile. A dog is very protective to its puppies. It is inappropriate for a base person to get a similar protection.

(70) *Jawwi ' kalbaka yatba 'ka.*

Do-not-feed dog-your he-follows-you

Do not feed your dog, he will follow you.

Being base and submitted is blameworthy. A dog that is not given food by its master is obliged to follow and obey him to get food. Someone who is humiliated and submitted to tyrants is to blame.

(71) *sammin kalbaka ya 'kulka.*

Make-fat dog-your he-eats-you

If you feed your dog excessively, he will eat you.

Ingratitude is unacceptable. A dog that is over fed by its master will eat him if he stops feeding it once. Someone that is treated so well will be ungrateful some day, and this is incorrect.

(72) *kalkalbi yuharrišu mu 'alifah.*

Like-dog he-provokes master-his

He is like a dog that provokes his master.

This proverb has the same meaning as English proverb (17). It is undesirable for a dog to provoke its master who treats it well. Similarly, it is wrong that someone shows no gratitude to a person who has been helpful.

(73) *'aḥabba 'ahli 'al-kalbi 'ilayhi xa:niquhu.*

More-loved masters the-dog to-him strangler-him

The dog loves a strangler better than his masters.

It is reprehensible to be base and accept humiliation. It is objectionable for a dog to love someone who strangles it. Similarly, it is vile for someone to accept humiliation and baseness to get what he/she wants.

(74) *na 'ima kalbun fi: bu 'si ahlihi.*

Found-grace dog in misery masters-his

A dog found grace in the misery of his masters.

Taking advantage of someone's troubles is blameworthy. A dog that finds grace in the misery of its masters is wrong. Similarly, someone who takes profit from the hard situation that others go through is to blame.

(75) *'anjasu ma: yaku:nu 'al-kalbu 'ida iğtasala.*

Dirtier that was the-dog if he-washes

He is dirtier than a dog that washes.

Having corrupted morals and intentions is intolerable. A dog's dirt when washing is objectionable. Similarly, a person's evil morals and intentions are unacceptable.

(76) *kullu kalbin biba:bihi nabba:hun.*

Every dog in-door-his barking

Every dog is barking at his own door.

This proverb has the same meaning as the English proverb (23)

(77) *la: yazurru assaḥa:ba nuba:hū 'al-kila:bi.*

Not harm clouds barking the-dogs

Dogs' barking does not harm the clouds.

This proverb has the same meaning as the English proverb (1). It is useless for a dog to bark at the clouds because it cannot stop rain from falling. Similarly, it is useless for someone to make idle threats.

(78) *Ma:laka la: tanbaḥu ya: kalba 'addawmi qad kunta nabbaḥan fama: laka 'al-yawm.*

What's-the-matter-with-you not you-bark ô dog the-eternity it-is you-were barking so-what the-matter-with-you

Why don't you bark, you, eternal dog, you used to bark; so, what's the matter with you today.

It is unfavourable for a person to grow old and become weak. It is undesirable for a dog to stop barking while it is used to so. In the same way, it is inconvenient for a person to become weak after growing old.

(79) *šamma xima:raha 'al-kalbu.*

Sniffed veil-her the-dog

The dog sniffed her veil.

Committing adultery is unacceptable. A dog that sniffs a woman's veil is as undesirable as a woman who commits adultery.

- **Desirability**

(80) *Huwa 'a:lafu min kalbin.*

He more-domestic than dog

He is more domestic than a dog.

Being friendly is good. A dog that is domestic and friendly is favourable. Similarly, a person who is friendly and loves everyone is rapidly loved by all.

(81) *Huwa 'aškaru min kalbin.*

He more-grateful than dog

He is more grateful than a dog.

Gratitude is good. A dog being grateful is desirable, and so is someone showing gratitude for a person who has been helpful.

(82) Huwa 'ahsanu hifa:dan min kalbin

He better-protecting than dog

He is a better protector than a dog.

It is good to look after one's dearest persons. It is favourable that a dog looks after its master and protects him/her. Similarly, it is good for someone to be caring and protective to his/her dearest ones.

(83) Huwa 'aşşahu ri'a:yatan min kalbin.

He better-cherishing than dog

He cherishes better than a dog does.

It is good to be cherishing one's dear persons. A dog that cherishes its master is as good as someone who cherishes his/her dear persons.

(84) Huwa 'atwa'u min kalbin.

He more-obedient than dog

He is more obedient than a dog.

Obedience is favourable. A dog that obeys its master is advantageous. Similarly, it is desirable that a person shows obedience.

(85) Huwa 'anwamu min kalbin.

He more-sleeping than dog

He sleeps more than a dog does.

Vigilance is important. Although the dog sleeps too much, it is permanently awake and guards its master's house and belongings. Being awake and vigilant is useful.

(86) Huwa 'abşaru min kalbin.

He better-seeing than dog

He sees in a better way than a dog does.

Looking at things with precision is worthy. A dog has very good sight; this makes him see everything very well. This is as favourable as the ability of someone to look at things with precision.

(87) Huwa 'aḥrasu min kalbin.

He better-guarding than dog

He guards better than a dog does.

It is important to defend friends. A dog is efficient in guarding its master's home and belongings. This is as advantageous as a person who defends his/her friends.

(88) Huwa 'alahḥu min kalbin.

He more-insisting than dog

He insists more than a dog does.

It is better to insist to get something wanted. A dog that requests something and insists to get it may succeed in getting what it desires. This goes for humans as well.

(89) *kalbun 'assin xayrun min asadin rabzin.*

Dog requesting is-better than lion lying-down

A dog that requests is better than a lion that lies down.

Even weak people may be successful. Although the dog is weak compared to the lion, it may succeed in getting what it wants by insisting and requesting. This makes him better than a lion that does not. This goes for humans as well.

(90) *Huwa 'ašja 'u min kalbin.*

He more-courageous than dog

He is more courageous than a dog.

Courage has great value. It is good for a dog to be courageous; this makes it a better protector. Similarly, courageous people triumph over the wicked.

(91) *Huwa 'asbaru 'ala 'al-hawni min kalbin.*

He more-patient in humiliation than dog

He is more patient in humiliation than a dog.

Having patience in humiliation is sometimes advantageous. A dog that is patient in a situation of humiliation is favourable as it permits it to survive. This also goes for humans.

(92) *Waqqa 'a 'al-kalbu 'ala 'addi'bi.*

Strikes the-dog on the-wolf

The dog strikes the wolf.

Victory over a tyrant is valuable. The dog striking the wolf is as favourable as someone who fights against a tyrant and who succeeds.

(93) *'al-kalbu la: yanbaḥu man fi: da:rihi.*

The-dog not bark those in home-his

The dog does not bark at the home's inhabitants.

Attitude towards familiar persons is obviously favourable. Not barking at a person is a desirable behaviour. It is similar to the favourable attitude that a person has towards someone familiar.

The investigation of Arabic dog proverbs' main meaning foci also reveals the superiority of negatively used proverbs over the positively used ones. These findings will also be discussed in the coming section.

- **Kabyle Dog Proverbs' Main Meaning Foci**

The Examination of the meaning of the 16 Kabyle proverbs has allowed me to find 13 proverbs involving the undesirability main meaning focus and 3 the desirability one. This is shown below:

- **Undesirability**

(94) *Aqjun isseglafen ur iteṭṭara*

the-dog barking not bite not

A barking dog does not bite.

It is useless to make idle threats. This proverb conveys the same meaning as proverb (1).

(95) *Isseglaf wqjun 99 tikwal yef qarrus, tis miyya ibab-is.*

he-barks the-dog 99 times on head-his the hundredth to master-his

The dog barks 99 times for himself and the hundredth time for his master.

It is not exemplary to be selfish. Barking is an objectionable behaviour because the dog does this to protect itself more than it does to protect its master. This behaviour is mapped onto someone who serves his own interests before those of others.

(96) *Tekksey iselfan i wegdi, ihebbber dgi.*

I-remove fleas from the dog he-bites in-me

While I remove the dog's fleas, he bites me.

It is not correct to be ungrateful. Biting is a disagreeable behaviour as the dog bites someone who removes its fleas. Similarly, someone who is treated well and who shows no gratitude has undesirable behaviour.

(97) *Laeb n weqjun d tikarac, wwin n wemcic d tixebbac.*

Playing of the-dog it-is biting-PL that of the-cat it-is scratches

The dog's playing is biting that of the cat is scratching

It is preferable not to play at dangerous games. Biting is one of dog's ways of playing that is objectionable because it causes harm and thus should be avoided. In the same way, Someone who plays at dangerous games is wrong, as it is unsafe.

(98) *Muqqr wugdi urtiwi taerict.*

is-grand the dog not contain the-garret

The dog is so grand that the garret does not contain him.

Arrogance is an unpleasant behaviour. Being grand represents an undesirable behaviour because the garret does not contain the dog. This behaviour is mapped onto the arrogance of people belonging to high society. Arrogance is viewed as objectionable behaviour.

(99) *Fkas iwegdi aclim, ad yečč ney ad yeqqim.*

give-him to dog bran will he-eat or will he-let

Give to the dog bran, he eats it or let it.

It is disrespectful to be so exacting when there is shortage in food and/or means. A dog that refuses to eat the bran that is available and wants to eat something else has an unpleasant behaviour because it is impolite to be exacting when there is a lack of food. This goes for human beings as well.

(100) *Amennuy gizem yibbwaw, amennuy bwgdi kullas.*

the-quarrel of-the-lion one-day the-quarrel of-the-dog everyday

The lion quarrels once, the dog quarrels every day.

It is better not to quarrel so much with people. Quarrelling everyday is an undesirable behaviour that characterizes dogs but not lions. Similarly, this behaviour characterizes bad people and not good ones.

(101) *Addred aqjun, dmedd askwaz.*

Mention dog take a-stick

When you mention the dog, take a stick.

Aggressive behaviour yields unconditioned reaction. Being ferocious represents objectionable dog's behaviour that yields the unconditioned reaction of riposting and so does the undesirable aggressive human behaviour.

(102) *Aqjun ikelben d imawlan at ihekmen.*

Dog being-mad it-is masters will control-him

A mad dog must be controlled by his masters

Parents should control their insolent children. Being mad is disagreeable because it can cause

harm to people. This behaviour is mapped onto children's insolence that is unpleasant and, so, must be controlled by parents.

(103) Balak a kēēḡben leḥnak, llan ula s aqjun ḥaca-k.

Don't-be you-seduced cheeks there-are even in dog apologies-you

Don't be seduced by the cheeks, even the dog, apologies, has the same.

Someone's deceptive appearance should be distrusted. Having big cheeks is undesirable because it is deceptive and misleading. This should be distrusted in the same way as should be People's deceptive appearance.

(104) Mi ḡaben yezmawen, ad sraεreen yidan.

When disappear-they the-lions will howl-they dogs

When lions disappear, dogs howl.

Indiscipline spreads when authority is absent. Dog's howling is objectionable, as they do this during the absence of lions. This is similar to the behaviour of undisciplined people who behave badly in the absence of authority.

(105) Sxeşren aḡ zzhu yidan.

Spoilt-they us joy the-dogs

Dogs spoilt our joy.

Impudence is a bad behaviour. Spoiling someone's joy is disagreeable dog behaviour. In the same way, a person's impudence is undesirable because it spoils the joy that one can feel.

(106) *Ṭnayen am yiḍan di tesraft*

Quarrel-they like the-dogs in a-pit

They quarrel like dogs in a pit.

It is better not to be so aggressive. Quarrelling in a pit is objectionable because it may cause harm to each dog. This goes for people's excessive aggressive behaviour that can be harmful.

- **Desirability**

(107) *Iqwjan-ney ur seglafen-ara fellas.*

dogs our not bark-they not on-him.

Our dogs do not bark at him.

This proverb has a meaning similar to the Arabic proverb (93).

(108) *Yerbaḥ weqjun ealqen-as taqlaṭ.*

he-succeeded the-dog they-put-him a collar

The dog succeeded, they put a collar to him

Even an underestimated person can succeed. Succeeding is desirable, and it is rewarded. Here the dog's succeeding is as favourable as that of an underestimated person.

(109) *D laemer bwqjun*

It-is life of-dog

It is a dog's life

Unbreakable endurance and resistance are good qualities. Living long life as a sign of good health is desirable. Similarly, someone who has unbreakable endurance and resistance is favourable.

Similar to the three preceding analyses, the analysis of Kabyle dog proverbs' main meaning foci also shows the superiority of negatively used proverbs over the positively used ones. These findings will be discussed in the coming section.

6.1.2. Descriptive Account of Ass Proverbs' Main Meaning Foci

This subsection describes the ass proverbs' main meaning foci in the English, French, Arabic and Kabyle languages. The results of these descriptions will be used in the comparison of the characterization of the ass in the proverbs of the four cultures in order to find out points of convergence and dissimilarity.

- **English Ass Proverbs' Main Meaning Foci**

The examination of the 14 English ass proverbs shows that the proverbs carrying the undesirable main meaning focus are more numerous than those conveying the desirability one. The former include 11 proverbs while the latter only 3. The characterization of ass and human behaviour is provided hereafter:

- **Undesirability**

(110) An ass endures his burden, but not more than his burden.

Endurance has limitations. An ass that is over-burdened is undesirable because he cannot endure it. Similarly, someone who is pushed to the limit is undesirable because he /she might break down.

(111) The ass loaded with gold still eats thistles.

It is inappropriate to be wealthy and still have the miser's behaviour. Being loaded with gold and still eating thistle is objectionable, and shows miserliness. This is similar to the miser who, although they are wealthy, they refuse to spend money on personal luxuries.

(112) The ass that brays most eats least.

Talking too much has dangerous effects. Braying most is objectionable because it leads the ass to eat least. In the same way, talking too much may lead someone to err and cause offence to others.

(113) He is an ass that brays against another ass.

Doing foolish acts is reprehensible. Braying against another ass is disagreeable because it is a stupid act. Similarly, it is undesirable for someone to do a foolish act.

(114) Every ass likes to hear himself bray.

Fools' talkativeness is blameworthy. An ass that likes to hear himself bray is objectionable because it is stupid. Similarly, being a talkative fool is undesirable because it is not wise conduct.

(115) If an ass goes on a-travelling, he will not come home a horse.

Travel does not have effects on people's conditions and mind. An ass not becoming a horse after travelling is undesirable because it does not become better. Therefore, Travelling does not make people's conditions or mind change.

(116) When an ass climbs a ladder, we may find wisdom in women.

Women lack wisdom. The inability of the ass to climb a ladder because of its physiognomy is unfavourable. Similarly, women's inability to be wise because of their temperament is undesirable.

(117) When an ass kicks you, never tell it.

It is better to hide one's shame. An ass kicking someone is objectionable. Similarly, causing shame to someone is objectionable too.

(118) Scabby donkeys scent each other over nine hills.

Similarity leads people to go together. The act of scabby donkeys that scent each other over a long distance is as undesirable as that of rogue people who seek each other's company.

(119) An ass must be tied where the master will have him.

The need for subservience deprives others of freedom. The situation of an ass that is tied makes him unable to move and, thus, obliged to serve his master. Similarly, being servile makes a servant not free and dependent on his master.

(120) An ass pricked must needs trot.

The need for subservience deprives others of freedom. Being pricked is undesirable because it makes the ass trot. In the same way, being servile is unfavourable because it makes a servant dependant and deprived of freedom.

- **Desirability**

(121) An ass laden with gold climbs to the top of the castle.

Money has power. An ass carrying gold is positive because it permits him to reach the summit of the castle. In the same way, being wealthy enables anybody to do and get all that is desired.

(122) Every ass thinks himself worthy to stand with the king's horses.

The equality of the great and the lowly is preferable. An ass thinking himself equal with the king's horses is desirable. This goes for someone lowly who wishes to be equal to the great because equality between people is favourable.

(123) Wherever an ass falls, there will he never fall again.

It is good to learn by experience. An ass falling but never falling again is desirable, as this

indicates that it has learned by experience. In the same way, failing but learning not to fail again is favourable and leads people to having experience and success.

The examination of the 14 English ass proverbs shows that the proverbs carrying the undesirable main meaning focus are excessively higher than those conveying the desirability one.

The analysis of the main meaning foci underlying English ass proverbs reveals the overwhelming use of negatively slanted proverbs over the positively slanted ones. This finding will be discussed in the discussion section.

- **French Ass Proverbs' Main Meaning Foci**

After having looked at the meaning of the 15 French Ass proverbs, we have found that 13 proverbs convey the undesirability main meaning focus and 2 the desirability one. These are shown hereafter:

- **Undesirability**

(124) *L'âne frotte l'âne.*

The ass rubs the ass

The ass rubs the ass

Stupid people's mutual complementing is pointless. Asses are used to rub one other when they feel their body itching. This behaviour is caused by a skin problem. Similarly, stupid people are used to complement one another because of their stupidity.

(125) *Les ânes parlent Latin.*

The asses speak Latin

The asses speak Latin

It is better not to speak with certitude of something ignored. The asses speaking Latin is impossible, as they are unable of doing so. In the same way, someone who speaks with certitude of something that he/she ignores is objectionable and wrong.

(126) L'âne du commun est toujours le plus mal bâti.

The ass of-the common is always the most badly saddled

The community ass is always the worst saddled.

The community concerns are more badly managed than private ones. An ass being badly saddled is as undesirable as are badly-managed community concerns.

(127) Le plus âne des trois n'est pas celui qu'on pense.

The most ass of-the three not is not the-one that one thinks

The biggest ass of the three is not the one you might think of.

The stupidest person of all is not the one we may think of. Being the biggest ass is as objectionable as is the fact of being the stupidest person.

(128) On ne fait pas boire un âne qui n'a pas soif.

One not makes not drink an ass that not has not thirst

Don't make an ass drink if he is not thirsty.

Things must be wanted in their time. An ass being obstinate is undesirable because it is difficult to make him obey. Similarly, someone who is obstinate is unpleasant because he/she cannot be forced to be convinced or obey.

(129) *On tirerait plutôt un pet d'un âne mort qu'un sou de sa bourse*

We would-get rather a fart of an ass dead than a penny of his purse

You'd rather get a fart from a dead ass than a penny from its purse.

Excessive miserliness is to blame. A dead ass giving a fart but no penny is as objectionable as is someone being excessively miserly.

(130) *Parlez, chantez à un âne, il vous fera des pets.*

Talk, sing to an ass he you will-make ART farts

Talk and sing to an ass, it will make farts to you.

This proverb has the same meaning as English dog proverb (17). An ass that makes farts in exchange of someone's words and songs is undesirable and so is the conduct of someone who gives nothing to others and shows no gratitude.

(131) *Un âne chargé ne laisse pas de braire.*

An ass loaded not give-up not of bray

A loaded ass still brays.

Wealth cannot hide stupidity. An ass that brays even when loaded is as objectionable as someone who is rich but stupid.

(132) *L'âne vêtu de la peau de lion*

The ass wearing of the skin of lion

The ass wearing the lion's skin

This proverb has the same meaning as English dog proverb (23). The ass wearing the lion's

skin is doing an act of cheating; this is objectionable. Similarly, it is undesirable for someone to have false courage.

(133) Tous les ânes ne portent pas sac.

All the asses not carry not bag

Not all asses carry a bag.

People do not have similar social condition. The fact that some asses carry a bag while others do not is objectionable, because it is unfair. In the same way, people who do not have similar conditions is undesirable, as this indicates inequality.

(134) *Âne avec le cheval n'attèle.*

ass with the horse not harness

The ass must not be harnessed with the horse.

People of different social condition must not be matched. The ass that must not be harnessed with the horse is objectionable and shows that the ass is not equal to the horse. Similarly, people who have different social condition are not equal.

(135) *Quand il n'y a plus de foin au râtelier, les ânes se battent.*

When it not has any of hay in hayrack the asses fight

When there is no hay left in the hayrack, the asses fight.

Rivalry between people is to blame. The conduct of asses that fight when there is no hay left in the hayrack is as undesirable as that of people fighting for things they are eager to get.

(136) *Les chevaux courent les bénéfices et les ânes les attrapent.*

The horses run the benefits and the asses them catch

The horses chase after benefits and asses catch them.

Favours or positions are not always granted to the worthy. Asses that catch the benefits that horses deserve show objectionable behaviour because it is unfair. Similarly, someone who gets undeserved favours or positions is unfair and wrong.

- **Desirability**

(137) *Un âne ne trébuche pas deux fois sur la même pierre.*

An ass not stumble not two times on the same stone

An ass does not stumble twice on the same stone.

This proverb has the same meaning as English ass proverb (123)

(138) *Nul ne sait mieux que l'âne où le bât blesse.*

Nobody not know better that the ass where the saddle hurts

Nobody knows better than an ass where the saddle hurts.

Everyone knows well about one's own suffering. An ass knowing where the saddle hurts shows it is conscious. In the same way, someone knowing about his/her pain more than others is advantageous.

The analysis of the main meaning foci underlying French ass proverbs also shows the overwhelming use of negatively slanted proverbs over the positively slanted ones. This finding will also be discussed in the discussion section.

- **Arabic Ass Proverbs' Main Meaning Foci**

After the examination of the meaning of the 23 Arabic ass proverbs, we have found that 18 proverbs convey the undesirability main meaning focus and 5 the desirability one. These are shown hereafter:

- **Undesirability**

(139) *Huwa 'ajhalu min ħima:rin.*

He more-ignorant than ass

He is more ignorant than an ass.

Ignorance is detrimental. An ass characterized by ignorance is as undesirable as a person who is so.

(140) *Huwa 'agiaru min ħima:rin.*

He more jealous than ass

He is more jealous than an ass.

Jealousy is blameworthy. Jealousy characterizing an ass is objectionable because it affects its behaviour in a negative way. This is similar to human jealousy that leads to undesirable conduct.

(141) *Huwa 'aḍallu min ħima:rin muqayyadin.*

he more-humiliated than ass tied

He is more humiliated than a tied ass.

It is unfavourable to accept humiliation. A tied ass is humiliated as it cannot flee and protect

itself from the wolf. Similarly, a person who accepts to live in humiliation cannot defend himself/herself from others.

(142) *'a'saru min sawfi 'al-hima:ri.*

Less than hair the-ass

It is less than the ass's hair.

Doing no good to others is wrong. The ass has little hair so it is not as useful as the sheep for example. Therefore, a person who does nothing to help others is reproachable.

(143) *'aqşaru min dama'i 'al-hima:ri.*

Less than thirst the-ass

It is less than the ass's thirst.

It is better not to be impatient. Because of heat, the ass cannot wait long to have water, this shows its impatience. Impatience is unfavourable and may lead people to ruin their plans and enterprises.

(144) *Huwa axla: min jawfi 'al-ħima:ri.*

He emptier than stomach the-ass

He is emptier than the ass's stomach.

Doing no good to others is blameworthy. An ass having an empty stomach is as undesirable as someone doing no good to others.

(145) *'ayrun rakazathu ummuhu.*

Ass stepped-on-she mother-his

An ass stepped on by his mother.

Suffering from injustice is deplorable. An ass that is stepped on by its mother is subject to injustice. This goes for a person who suffers from the injustice of someone who has defended him/her.

(146) *Fişfişatun ħima:ruha: la: yaqmusu.*

Fisfisa ass-her not flee

Fisfisa's ass does not flee.

This proverb has the same meaning as the English dog proverb (23). Fisfisa's ass does not flee but if Fisfisa is away it does. This is similar to someone who has false courage.

(147) *Ka:na ħima:ran fasta'tana.*

He-was jack-ass then-became-a-jennet

He was an ass, then, became a jennet.

Becoming weak is disadvantageous. A jack-ass that becomes a jennet is seen as disadvantageous. This is similar to a powerful man who becomes weak.

(148) *Du:na da: wa yanfuqu 'al-ħima:ru*

Less this and he-spends the-ass

The ass says less than this.

It is better not to exaggerate in complementing others. An ass that is not excellent should not be described as so in order to be sold. Similarly, people should not be complemented with exaggeration.

(149) *'ittaxadu:hu ħima:ra 'al-haja:ti.*

They-took-him ass the-services

They made of him an ass to serve them.

It is inappropriate to accept debasement and humiliation. The ass is servile and obeys its master's orders. It is undesirable for someone to do what others ask him/her to do and accept humiliation.

(150) *Ba:la ħima:run fa'istaba:la 'aħmiratun.*

Pissed ass then made-piss asses

An ass pissed and made other asses piss.

Imitating bad behaviour is reproachable. An ass that urinates and makes others do the same is as undesirable as someone who has bad conduct and others imitate him/her.

(151) *asbaħa fi:ma: daha:hu ka 'al-ħima:ri 'al-mawħu:li.*

He-became in what preoccupies him like the-ass the-entangled

His problems made him become like the entangled ass.

Being in a hard situation is difficult. It is inconvenient for an ass to be entangled. Similarly, someone who has problems that are difficult to resolve is in a hard situation.

(152) *La: ya'ba: 'al-kara:mata illa hima:run.*

Not refuse the-hospitality only ass

Only an ass refuses hospitality.

It is senseless to refuse hospitality. The ass that refuses hospitality is irrational. Anyone who

refuses hospitality is as irrational as the ass.

(153) *Falima rabāza 'al-'ayru idān ?*

so-why lie-down the-ass then

So why did the ass lie down.

It is better not to make an assertion that is opposite to reality. After being poisoned, Imru'u Al-Qais falls down and thinks he sees an ass lying down while this is not right. Therefore, a lying ass does not correspond to reality.

(154) *Qad yazraṭu 'al-'ayru wa 'al-mikwa:tu fi: 'annari.*

It-is he-farts the ass and the-iron in the-fire

The ass may fart while the iron is on fire.

It is better not to be scared of a situation before it occurs. The ass farts before being ironed because it is frightened. Similarly, a person may be afraid of a difficult situation before it occurs.

(155) *'awda: 'al-'ayru illa: zariṭan.*

wanted the-ass only farts

The ass farts excessively.

Doing no good to others is reproachable. An ass that farts excessively does not do something useful. Similarly, someone who does nothing to help others is reprehensible.

(156) *Wadaqa 'al-'ayru ila: 'al-ma:'i.*

Approached the-ass the-water

The ass approached water.

It is inappropriate to submit after refusing humiliation. An ass that approaches water and bows on it shows submission to its desire to have water. A person who refuses humiliation and then accepts it shows his/her submission.

- **Desirability**

(157) *Huwa 'asahhu min 'ayri 'abi : sayyarata.*

He healthier than ass father Sayyara

He is healthier than the ass of Sayyara's father.

Being healthy and living long is favourable. The ass of Sayyara's father is so healthy that it lives long. Therefore, it is advantageous when people are healthy, as they live a long life.

(158) *Huwa 'asbaru min hima:rin.*

He more-patient than ass

He is more patient than an ass.

Patience is important. The ass is known to be a patient animal. This characteristic pleases its master. Similarly, it is good for people to be patient, as this can help them fulfil their plans and succeed in their enterprises.

(159) *Huma: sawa:siya ka- 'asnani 'al-hima:ri.*

They equal like teeth the-ass

They are equal like the ass's teeth.

Equality between people is favourable. The ass has teeth of equal size. Equality should characterize human beings' relationships.

(160) *'al- 'ayru awqa: lidamihi.*

The-ass more-protective to-blood-his

The ass protects himself so much.

Being cautious is important. An ass that protects itself is as favourable as someone who is cautious.

(161) *Najja: 'ayran simnuhu.*

Saved ass obesity-his

Obesity saved and ass.

It is better to get ready to save one self before difficulties come. An ass that is fat is safe while those that are thin die. Therefore, getting ready to save oneself before difficulties come is advisable.

The analysis of the main meaning foci underlying Arabic ass proverbs also indicates the overwhelming use of negatively slanted proverbs over the positively slanted ones. This finding will also be discussed in the discussion section.

- **Kabyle Ass Proverbs' Main Meaning Foci**

After having investigated the meaning of the 23 Kabyle ass proverbs, we have found that 18 proverbs convey the undesirability main meaning focus and 5 the desirability one. These are shown hereafter:

- **Undesirability**

(162) *Ayyul iw iruh, taberda s teqqim tetfuh.*

Ass my is-lost saddle his is-left stinking

My ass is lost, what is left to me is his stinky saddle.

When the capital is lost, disadvantages remain. The ass being lost is disadvantageous because he is useful. In the same way, when something essential is lost, this is undesirable.

(163) *Yewqæ wyyul di txemreṭ.*

He-is-entangled the ass in the-mud

The ass is entangled in the mud.

Going through a bad path is hard. The ass that is entangled in the mud is unfavourable because he is in a difficult situation. Similarly, a person going through a bad path is disadvantageous.

(164) *Daacu bwyyl yegrarben.*

Some of-ass he-tumbled-down

Some ass must have tumbled down (the hill).

An extraordinary and incredible event has occurred. An ass that tumbles down the hill is not something ordinary and thus amazing. This is similar to the occurrence of an incredible event or when someone does something he seldom does.

(165) *Arwu lemḥiba bwyyl a yizimer ur nesēi bwul.*

Be-satisfied the-love of-the-ass ô lamb not having of-heart

Be satisfied with the ass's love, you senseless lamb.

One should choose friends carefully. The ass is of bad company to the lamb because he is wicked. Similarly, some people are wicked and should not be chosen as friends.

(166) *Ayyul n leḥbas ɛebbi w rkeb fell as.*

Ass of the-community load and ride on it

The community's ass, you can load and ride it.

It is inappropriate to use collective stuff excessively. It is undesirable for an ass to belong to the community because he is not used moderately. Similarly, it is undesirable for collective stuff to be used excessively.

(167) *Ayyul menwala iɛebbi fell as.*

Ass anyone load on it

Anyone can use the ass for loading.

Dependence and servitude has shortcomings. An ass is characterized by dependence and servitude which leads him to be used by anyone. This goes for someone so dependent and servile that he is exploited by everybody.

(168) *Akken is yenna wyyul, ma llan iqwrar di lğnnet ur tedduyara.*

As him he-say the-ass if are children in the-heaven not go

As the ass says, I will not accompany you to heaven if children are there.

It is better not to take one's desires for granted. The ass's desire is to go to heaven, but if there are children, he does not want to go, because the ass cannot stand children. This is similar to someone who wants to get something he/she cannot get for sure.

(169) *Tufra bwyul deg temmu.*

The-hiding of-the-ass in the-haystack

The hiding of the ass in the haystack.

One should not believe that he/she is concealed from view. An ass puts his head inside the haystack and believes his body is hidden and not seen by others; this is a silly act. Similarly, someone who acts wickedly and believes not to be viewed does a foolish act.

(170) *Laeb bwyul d tikarac.*

Play of-the-ass it-is biting-PL

The ass's play is biting.

It is inappropriate to be clumsy in making jokes. It is undesirable that the ass' play is biting because it is harmful. Similarly, someone who makes jokes in a clumsy way is objectionable, as it hurts others.

(171) *Fkan tifat i wyyul.*

Gave-they chicory to the-ass

They gave chicory to the ass.

Precious stuff should not be clumsily squandered. It is undesirable to give chicory to the ass because it is useless. This is similar to something valuable that is squandered or wasted.

(172) *D ayyul id yeğğan taḍša.*

It is the ass that once created laughter.

One should mind one's way of laughing at others. The ass creating laughter is unpleasant, as laughter is perceived negatively when directed towards people. Therefore, laughing at others is objectionable and should be controlled.

(173) *Yemmut yizem, yeggwrad wyyul.*

He-died the-lion he-stayed the-ass

The lion died, the ass is still alive.

Respectable people have left, stupid people have stayed. The ass's staying alive compared to the lion's death is undesirable because the lion is perceived as being better than the ass. In the same way, when well-regarded people leave and disreputable ones stay, this is disagreeable.

(174) *Ayyul, mi yemyi yiger, yal ass yesnagar.*

Ass when it-grows the-field every day he-goes-there

When wheat grows in the field, the ass always goes there.

One should keep a sense of proportion in all things. The ass repeatedly going to the wheat field has undesirable conduct and bad habit. Similarly, it is undesirable for someone not to have a sense of proportion.

(175) *Am min iṭakken claḍa i wyyul.*

Like the-one who-gives lettuce to the ass

It is like the one who gives lettuce to the ass.

It is useless to be helpful to stupid people. An ass being given lettuce is pointless because he is unable of knowing that lettuce is better than other types of food he is used to eat. In the same way, being helpful to a stupid person is useless because this person is unable of knowing the value of the help that is given to him/her.

(176) *Yeṭṭuki wzger yecna, i weyyul ayyer yerna?*

He-ran-away the-ox it-is-clear and the-ass why he-followed

The ox ran-away, we understand, but why did the ass follow him?

One should not imitate others' behaviour and act in a foolish way. The ass imitating the ox running away because he is stung by a gadfly is senseless and objectionable. Similarly, someone imitating others without any good reason has inappropriate conduct.

(177) *Yeffey wzrem tagwlimt is yef weyyul yeččan tabarda.*

He-came-out the snake the-skin-his because-of the ass that-ate the saddle

The snake came out of his skin because the ass ate his saddle.

Doing a foolish act is reprehensible. It is undesirable for the ass to eat the saddle because it is a foolish act. Similarly, It is undesirable for someone to act in a foolish way.

(178) *Iywyal ttemkarræen gar asen.*

Asses bite-each-other between them

Asses bite one another.

This proverb has a similar meaning to proverb (177). Asses that bite one another have an undesirable behaviour. Similarly, people who do foolish acts, as the asses, have wrong conduct.

(179) *Yeqqen ctacta tacacit.*

He-is-wearing ass a-hat

The ass is wearing a hat.

Human's true nature cannot be hidden.

Disguise and exaggeration are undesirable. The ass that wears a hat shows exaggeration by disguising its stupid nature. Similarly, people's exaggeration is one way of hiding their nature.

- **Desirability**

(180) *Iruh am tadla yečča weyyul.*

it-disappeared like the-sheaf he-ate the ass

It disappeared like a sheaf eaten by the ass.

Not leaving marks is preferable. An ass eating a sheaf leaves no marks of it. Similarly, a person who does something without leaving marks of his/her acts is advisable for it does not provoke suspicion.

(181) Anegr-ik a yul, tarigt tuyal i wyyul.

Death-your ô heart the-saddle it-becomes to the ass

Poor you, my heart, the horse's saddle is on the ass's back.

People's situation happens to change from good to bad and vice-versa. The ass wearing the horse's saddle is positive because the horse has a better position. This goes for someone who is in a low position, then, changes to become important.

(182) Igzra Rebbi deg wyyul yeksas acciwen.

He-knows Allah-my in the-ass he-deprives him horns.

Allah knows the nature of the ass; so, He deprives him of horns.

Malice without richness or power is harmless. The ass not possessing a pair of horns is favourable because he is incapable of doing harm. In the same way, someone malicious, but neither rich nor powerful can do no harm to others.

(183) Tiherci yessakwayen iywyal.

Cunning that-awakens asses

Cunning that awakens the asses.

One should be awake to malicious words that make even silly people react. It is favourable that the silly ass be awake to cunning. Therefore, it is desirable that someone be awake to malicious words that are said to him/her.

(184) *Izem iraæd, ayyul iteddu yur s.*

Lion he-roars ass he-walks towards him

The lion roars but the ass walks towards him.

Danger must be predicted and fought in advance. The ass walking towards the roaring lion is favourable because he is ready to face danger. Similarly, it is desirable that someone predicts danger and fight is in advance.

Similar to the three previous analyses of the main meaning foci underlying ass proverbs, the above analysis of kabyle ass proverbs main meaning foci also reveals the overwhelming use of negatively slanted proverbs over the positively slanted ones. This finding will also be discussed in the discussion section.

6.1.3. Descriptive Account of Ox Proverbs' Main Meaning Foci

This subsection accounts for the ox proverbs' main meaning foci in the four languages. The results of these descriptions will be used in the comparison of the characterization of the ox in the proverbs of the four cultures in order to find out points of convergence and dissimilarity.

- **English Ox Proverbs' Main Meaning Foci**

The analysis of the meaning of the 4 English ox proverbs, shows that all of them convey the desirability main meaning focus. These are shown hereafter:

- **Desirability**

(185) *An ox is taken by the horns and a man by his word.*

Promises have to be fulfilled. Being taken by the horns is desirable because the ox is made to

obey. Similarly, a man that is taken by his word is favourable because he has to fulfil his promise.

(186) An ox, when he is loose licks himself at pleasure

Freedom has value. An ox that is not tied feels himself free to move as he wishes. This is as desirable as is the situation of an unmarried and free person who wants to enjoy his/her freedom.

(187) The ox when weariest treads surest

Old people are wise. An ox that is weariest and treads surest is as desirable as a person who is old and wise.

(188) An old ox makes straight furrow.

An old person's experience has value. When an ox is, he old makes straight furrow, because of his valuable experience. Similarly, an old person has experience of great value.

The above analysis of the few English ox proverbs' main meaning foci reveals the overwhelming use of positively slanted proverbs and the absence of negatively slanted ones. This finding will be discussed in the discussion section.

- **French Ox Proverbs' Main Meaning Foci**

After having looked at the meaning of the 5 French ox proverbs, we have found that 2 proverbs convey the undesirability main meaning focus and 3 the desirability one. These are shown hereafter:

- **Undesirability**

(189) On a beau mener le bœuf à l'eau, s'il n'a pas soif.

One has much lead the ox to water if he not has thirst

However much we take the ox to water, if he is not thirsty.

Stubborn people are not easily convinced. The ox's refusal to have water is objectionable. In the same way, it is undesirable for people to be stubborn, because they are not easily made to obey.

(190) Les grands bœufs ne font pas les grands labours.

The big oxen do not make the big ploughs

Big oxen do not make big ploughs.

Appearances are deceptive. Although oxen are big, they do not make important ploughs. Therefore, their appearance is deceptive. This also goes for people's appearance that is misleading.

- **Desirability**

(191) Vieux bœuf fait sillons droit

Old ox makes furrows straight

An old ox makes straight furrows.

This proverb has the same meaning as the English ox proverb (188)

(192) Quand les bœufs vont à deux, le labourage va mieux.

When the oxen go by two the ploughing goes better

When oxen work in pairs, ploughing is better.

Working together is helpful. It is positive that oxen work in pairs because the work they perform is better. Similarly, it is preferable for people to have good company at work or elsewhere.

(193) *Autant chie un bœuf que mille mouchérons.*

As-much shits an ox as thousand midges

One bull shits as much as a thousand midges.

A powerful man can be as much helpful as a thousand less powerful people. An ox who shits too much is desirable because it is useful to farmers. Similarly, a powerful man who is so helpful is positive.

The analysis of the French ox proverbs' main meaning foci reveals that the number of positively slanted proverbs is higher than the negatively slanted ones. This finding will also be discussed in the discussion section.

- **Arabic Ox Proverbs' Main Meaning Foci**

The examination of the meaning of the 5 Arabic ox proverbs reveals that 4 proverbs convey the undesirability main meaning focus and 1 the desirability one. These are shown hereafter:

- **Undesirability**

(194) *Kattawri yuzrabu lamma: 'a:fat 'al-baqaru.*

Like-ox he-is-beaten when despise the-cows

Like the ox, he is beaten when the cows despise water.

Being subject to injustice is unacceptable. The ox is beaten to encourage cows to go and have water. This is as unjust as committing injustice on someone who is innocent.

(195) *tawru kila:bin fi: 'ariha:ni 'aq'adu.*

Ox Kilab in the-race slow

Kila:b's ox is slow in the race.

It is inappropriate to assert something untrue. Kilab's ox is slow and not suitable for a race but Kilab says the opposite. This is similar to someone who has pretention.

(196) *Huwa 'azha: min tawrin.*

He more-arrogant than ox

He is more arrogant than an ox.

Arrogance is disagreeable. The ox is described as being arrogant. This conduct is mapped onto the disagreeable arrogance of people.

(197) *Huwa 'abladu min tawrin.*

He more-stupid than ox

He is more stupid than an ox.

Stupidity is to blame. The ox is described as a stupid animal. This is unpleasant. This also goes for people having the same characteristics and conduct in a stupid way.

- **Desirability**

(198) *'attawru yahmi: 'anfahu birawqihi.*

The-ox protects nose-his with-horn-his

The ox uses his horn to protect his nose.

Defending one's wife's honour is imperative. The ox protects its nose using its horn.

Similarly, a man is required to protect his wife's honour.

The analysis of Arabic ox proverbs' main meaning foci reveals the overwhelming use of negatively slanted proverbs over the positively slanted ones. This finding will also be discussed in the discussion section.

- **Kabyle Ox Proverbs' Main Meaning Foci**

After having analysed the meaning of the 18 Kabyle ox proverbs, we have found that 10 proverbs convey the undesirability main meaning focus and 8 the desirability one.

These are shown hereafter:

- **Undesirability**

(199) *Azger amellal țassemt akw.*

Ox white it-is-fat all

A white ox is fatty.

This proverb has the same meaning as the French ox proverb (190). An ox that is fatty does not indicate for sure that he is healthy. In the same way, people's clothing appearances may give the illusion of being opulent

(200) *Tajlibt teswa, azger iyunfa.*

The-flock drank ox disdained

The flock drank water, the ox has disdained it.

Arrogance is reprehensible. An ox despising water has negative behaviour in the same way as someone who shows arrogance to distinguish himself/herself from others.

(201) *Yedles uzger deg wdref.*

He fell the-ox in the-furrow

The ox fell in the furrow.

An ox that falls in the furrow is mapped onto someone who dies in a battle or at work.

(202) *Azger ma tyusbet, ad iffey iwedref.*

Ox if you-hurry-him will go-out the-furrow

if you hurry the ox, he will go out of the furrow.

Haste is not advisable. It is undesirable for the ox to go out of the furrow because he is hurried. In the same way, it is undesirable that someone does things hurriedly because this leads him/her to do unsatisfactory clumsy work.

(203) *Wid yumnen ddunit tezhaten , ččan am yezgaren tšsen.*

Those trusted-they life it-distracted-them ate-they like the-oxen slept-they

Those who trust life are entertained like oxen; they eat and sleep.

Enjoying deceptive life is disappointing. The behaviour of oxen that just eat and sleep is as undesirable as the conduct of people who enjoy deceptive life.

(204) *Izgaren temyewwatan f lemdawed.*

Oxen fight-each-other over mangers

Oxen fight over mangers.

It is improper to fight over bread. It is undesirable for oxen to fight over mangers. This goes for brothers and friends who should never fight over bread and food.

(205) *azger mi tyedlen, fellas ketren ijenwiyen.*

Ox when him-nock-down-they on-him are-numerous knives

Once they knock down the ox, they surround him with many knives.

Others estimate us only in our glory time. An ox is knocked down and slaughtered because he

is weak and no longer useful. Similarly, when a person becomes weak because of sickness or misfortune, he/she is left alone because he/she is no longer helpful.

(206) *azger is yekkat wi yhuza yerzat.*

Ox his he-kicks anyone-who he-hits he-breaks-him

His ox kicks, anyone who is hit has bones fractured.

Aggressiveness is blameworthy. An ox that kicks someone and causes fractures in his/her bones has undesirable conduct. This goes for a person who is aggressive and causes harm to others.

(207) *azger ikerhen lmaεun irenud lehmum.*

Ox that-dislikes the-cart he-adds troubles

The ox that dislikes the cart causes troubles.

It is inappropriate to be lazy and unproductive. An ox that dislikes the cart is lazy, unproductive and disagreeable. Similarly, a person who is inactive and does not contribute to the family income is reprehensible.

(208) *S wawal ur yeṭali lebni, tayuga ur tkarrez igenni.*

With words not build the-building a-pair not it-ploughs the-sky

Words cannot build a building and a pair of oxen cannot plough the sky.

It is blameworthy to be so talkative while others are hard working and productive. It is impossible for oxen to plough the sky. Therefore, talkative people who achieve nothing of what they say they will have reproachable behaviour.

- **Desirability**

(209) *Tagmaṭ haṭ yer yezgaren, yer yiwen uzaglu ay qqnen.*

Brotherhood there-is to oxen to one yoke yoked they

We find brotherhood among oxen; they are yoked in one yoke.

Solidarity and alliance has importance. It is desirable that Oxen be brothers yoked together because they help each other in achieving good work. Similarly, it is desirable that people show solidarity and alliance at work.

(210) *A yazger anwi id gmak? Inna yas d win wid kerzay.*

Hey ox who is brother-your he-said him it-is the-one with-whom plough-I

Hey, ox! Who is your brother? He says, the one whom I plough with.

Unfailing friendship is good. An ox that is brother with another ox is positive and helpful for work. In the same way, unfailing friendship and good company is desirable at work.

(211) *Azger yaεqel gmas.*

Ox he-recognizes brother-his

The ox recognizes his brother

People keep company with others for similar interests. An ox recognizes his brother because they belong to the same animal species. This goes for people who are similar and go together because they share similar interests.

(212) *Argaz yeṭwaṭṭaf seg iles, azger yeṭwaṭṭaf seg wmezzuy.*

Man he-is-taken by tongue ox he-is-taken by the-ear

The man is taken by the tongue and the ox is taken by the ear.

This proverb has the same meaning as the English ox proverb (185).

(213) *Nan as i wzger uyal s yen, inna allen-iw kter bwallen n wen.*

Said-they him to the ox return from there he-said eyes-my larger of-eyes of your

They said to the ox: make a u-turn, he said: my eyes are larger than yours.

It is pointless to give advice to someone having much knowledge. An ox having larger eyes is mapped onto someone having so much knowledge that it is pointless to advise him/her.

(214) *Tayuga alamma tejhed ar ad tawed s aħdid ad tbedd.*

a-pair until it-is-strong will it-reach to embankment will it-stop

Only if oxen are strong in ploughing, will they reach the embankment.

Adequate means are necessary to achieve a task well. It is desirable for oxen to be strong because they are able to reach the embankment. Similarly, people must necessarily have adequate means to do their work in a satisfactory way.

(215) *Ikerziṭ wzger, yeččat wyyul.*

He-ploughed-it the ox he-ate-it the-ass

The ox ploughed it (the field) and the ass ate it (the harvest).

It is unfair that lazy people consume what hard-workers produce. The ass eating what the ox has produced is wrong conduct because it is unfair. Therefore, the characterization of the ox is positive. In the same way someone lazy who consumes what a hard-working person has earned is blameworthy.

(216) *Nḡaε ayyul yefhem wzger.*

Prick ass he-apprehends the ox

Prick the ass, the ox apprehends.

Subtlety is favourable. Compared to the ass, the ox is subtle. Subtlety is positive and anyone having this quality is advantaged.

The investigation of kabyle ox proverbs' main meaning foci shows that the number of negatively slanted proverbs is a bit higher than the number of positively slanted ones. This finding will also be discussed in the discussion section.

6.1.4. Descriptive Account of Camel Proverbs' Main Meaning Foci

This subsection describes the camel proverbs' main meaning foci in the four languages. The results of these descriptions will be used in the comparison of the characterization of the ass in the proverbs of the four cultures in order to find out points of convergence and dissimilarity. It has to be remarked that the number of camel proverbs in English and French is very low.

- **English Camel Proverbs' Main Meaning Foci**

The analysis of the meaning of the 3 English camel proverbs shows that all of them convey the undesirability main meaning focus. These are shown hereafter:

- **Undesirability**

(217) *It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God.*

Wealth may be dangerous. It is impossible for a camel to go through the eye of a needle and this is as undesirable as is the impossibility of a rich man to enter the kingdom of God, because being rich can lead people to become evil.

(218) *The last straw breaks the camel's back.*

This proverb has the same meaning as English ass proverb (110).

(219) *The camel never sees its own hump, but that of its brother is always before its eyes.*

Criticising others is blameworthy. A camel that does not see its own hump but sees that of its brother is as undesirable as someone who does not know his weaknesses but criticizes others.

The analysis of the few English camel proverbs' main meaning foci reveals the overwhelming use of negatively slanted proverbs and the absence of positively slanted ones. This finding will also be discussed in the discussion section.

- **French Camel Proverb's Main Meaning Foci**

The meaning of the single French camel proverb conveys the undesirability main meaning focus. This is shown hereafter:

- **Undesirability**

(220) *Il est plus aisé pour un chameau de passer par le trou d'une aiguille, que pour un riche d'entrer dans le royaume de Dieu.*

It is more easy for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich to enter in the kingdom of God

It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God.

This proverb has the same meaning as English camel proverb (218)

The only camel proverb that is found to be used in French involves the undesirability main meaning focus. Therefore, it is negatively slanted. No camel proverb conveying the desirability main meaning focus is found in French.

- **Arabic Camel Proverbs' Main Meaning Foci**

After having looked at the meaning of the 22 Arabic camel proverbs, we have found that 18 proverbs convey the undesirability main meaning focus and 4 the desirability one. These are shown below:

- **Undesirability**

(221) *Huwa 'ahqadu min jamalin.*

He more-hating than camel

He has more hatred than a camel.

Having too much hatred is detrimental. A camel having hatred may be harmful. Similarly, a person who has so much hatred may cause so much harm to others.

(222) *Huwa 'agieru min jamalin.*

He more-jealous than camel

He is more jealous than a camel.

Being very jealous is undesirable. The camel is known to be a jealous animal. This characteristic is disagreeable. This also goes for someone who shows too much jealousy for his/her partner.

(223) *Huwa 'aşwalu min jamalin.*

He more-biting than camel

He bites more than a camel does.

Aggressiveness is blameworthy. The camel is described as a very aggressive animal; when angry, it happens that it bites its master. This is unacceptable and goes for people's aggressiveness towards other people.

(224) *Huwa 'abxaru min jamalin.*

He more-foul-breathing than camel

He has foul breath more than a camel.

Obscenity is immoral. The camel is known to have foul breath that is disagreeable; this is mapped onto a person that has immoral conduct because of being obscene or impudent.

(225) *Huwa 'axlafu min bawli 'al-jamali.*

He more-different than urine the-camel

He is more different than the way the camel urinates.

Acting in a different way may be unpleasant. The camel is an animal that has a peculiar way of urinating. While all animals urinate towards the front, the camel does this towards the back. Similarly, some people have their own way of acting which differentiates them from others that act in a common way. Socio-culturally, this is sometimes considered unpleasant.

(226) *Huwa 'ahwanu min zartati 'al-jamali.*

He more-worthless than

He has less value than the camel's fart.

Having little value is undesirable. The camel's farting is considered valueless. This is assimilated to a person /thing that has no value and not advantageous to people.

(227) *Huwa 'axaffu hılman min ba 'i:rin.*

He lighter cleverness than camel

He has less cleverness than a camel.

It is better to be clever than stupid. The camel is described as having little cleverness. This is assimilated to a very silly and unintelligent person.

(228) *Huwa 'adallu min ba 'i:ri Saniya.*

He more-humiliated than camel water drawing

He is more humiliated than a water-drawing camel.

This proverb has the same meaning as Arabic ass proverb (149). The camel used for water drawing is abased and humiliated because it has to wait for its turn after the powerful tribe's camels have drawn water. This situation is mapped onto that of a person who accepts to live in humiliation.

(229) *fulan jamalu 'a-ssiqa:ya.*

He camel the-water-drawing

He is a camel used for water drawing.

This proverb has the same meaning as Arabic ass proverb (149).

(230) *'innama: yajzi: 'al-fata: laysa 'al-jamalu.*

It-is rewards the-boy not the camel

It is the boy who rewards not the camel.

A reward should not be given to someone not deserving it. The camel is not clever and so unable to give a reward to someone that really deserves it. That is to say, a clever person is able of rewarding another person correctly but not a person who is not clever.

(231) *'ida: zahafa 'al-ba 'i:ru a 'yathu uḍuna:hu.*

If walks the-camel will-exhaust ears-his

If the camel walks, his ears will exhaust him.

This proverb has a similar meaning to the English ass proverb (110). When the camel is very tired it cannot walk. This means, people have limited endurance and thus should not be pushed to their own limits.

(232) *La: 'af'al kaḍa: ḥatta: yalija 'al-jamalu fi: sammi 'al-xiya:ti.*

Not I-do this until he-goes-through the-camel in eye the-needle

I will not do this until the camel goes through the eye of the needle.

Some actions are impossible to achieve. It is impossible for a camel to go through the eye of a needle. Similarly, some actions are impossible to complete, and this may be frustrating.

(233) *Ha:ḍa 'amrun la: tabruku 'alayhi 'al-'ibilu.*

This matter not lie-down the-camels

Such a matter does not make camels lie down.

This proverb has similar meaning as English ass proverb (110). People should not be pushed to the limit because they might break down.

(234) *'amhi laka 'al-waylu faqad ḥalla 'al-jamalu.*

Hurry-up to-you the-death it is lost the camel

Hurry up the camel is lost.

Endurance/resistance is necessary in hard situations. It is undesirable for the camel to be lost, because this creates problems to its master. However, difficulties must be faced.

(235) *sayru assawa:ni safarun la: yanqaṭi 'u*

Walk the-camels travel not ends

The walk of water drawing camels is a travel that does not end.

Work without interruption requires means. Camels used for drawing water are always given water; so, they do not interrupt their travels. Similarly, people achieve tasks without interruption when they are equipped with necessary means.

(236) *qad istanwaqa 'al-jamalu.*

It is became-she-camel the-camel

The he-camel became a she-camel.

It is inconvenient to mix topics when speaking. A he-camel that becomes a she-camel is something impossible; this is said for someone who changes the subject of his/her conversation abruptly.

(237) *kurhan tarkabu 'al-'ibila 'assafara.*

Unwillingly they-ride the camels the-travel

The camels travel unwillingly.

It is unpleasant to do some work that one dislikes. Camels travel unwillingly because travels are so tiresome. Similarly, doing a work that one does not like is disagreeable.

(238) *Yukwa: 'al-ba'i:ru min yasi:ri 'adda:'i.*

Is-ironed the-camel from easy disease

The camel is ironed for easy disease.

Preventing a difficult situation from worsening is advisable. A camel that has some easy disease is undesirable; therefore, it is ironed in order to be cured. It is preferable for people to resolve problems and prevent a difficult situation from becoming more difficult.

- **Desirability**

(239) *Huwa 'ahda: min jamalin.*

He more-guided than camel

He is easier to guide than a camel.

Being obedient is favourable. The camel is known to be an animal that is easy to guide. This is favourable for its master. Similarly, an easy and obedient person is better than a disobedient one.

(240) *'al-jamalu min jawfihi yajtaru.*

The-camel from stomach-his ruminates

The camel ruminates.

Consuming one's own earnings is favourable. A camel is an animal that ruminates. This is assimilated to a person who uses his/her own earnings to resolve problems.

(241) *'axadati 'al'ibilu 'asliḥataha*

Took the-camel weapons-their

The camels took their weapons.

Getting ready to face a difficult situation is advantageous. A camel that takes weapons means that a camel that gets fat and beautiful makes its master unwilling to slaughter it. Therefore, people have to be ready to face hard situations in the same way as the camel that escapes slaughtering because of its fattening and beautiful appearance.

(242) *likulli 'una:sin fi: ba':rihum xabarun.*

To-every people in camel-their news

Everyone gets news from one's camel.

Getting news from a companion is favourable. A camel is a good companion to man. The camel's good company is assimilated to a good companion that gives the tribe news that are unknown by strangers.

The analysis of Arabic camel proverbs' main meaning foci shows that the number of negatively used proverbs is highly superior than the number of positively used ones. This finding will also be discussed in the discussion section.

- **Kabyle Camel Proverbs' Main Meaning Foci**

After having investigated the meaning of the 4 Kabyle camel proverbs, we have found that 3 proverbs convey the undesirability main meaning focus and 1 the desirability one. These are shown hereafter:

- **Undesirability**

(243) *Am tyerza bwlyum: ayen yekrez at yaefes.*

Like the-ploughing of-the-camel what he-ploughs will he-trample

Like the camel's ploughing, he tramples on all that he ploughs.

Doing clumsy work is inappropriate. Camel's ploughing is done in a clumsy way because the camel is not as experienced and clever as the ox is in ploughing. Similarly, some people are cleverer and more competent than others in achieving good work.

(244) *Igzra Rebbi deg wlyum, yeks as afriwen.*

He-knows Allah-my in the-camel he-deprives him wings

Knowing the nature of the camel, Allah deprived him of wings.

Harmful people should not have power. The camel happens to be aggressive and harmful

when very angry. A wingless camel is harmless. Similarly, a mischievous person deprived of power is harmless.

(245) *Alyum ur iwal ara taerurt is.*

Camel not see not hump his

The camel does not see his own hump.

This proverb has the same meaning as the English camel proverb (220)

- **Desirability**

(246) *Awi sean aeenqiq am lyum, ur diteffey ara seg s awal d ilem.*

Happy-is has neck like camel not go-out not from it word empty

Happy is someone having a neck like that of the camel, no empty words will go out of it.

Malicious gossip should be banned. The Kabyle praise the camel having a long neck. The camel's neck is assimilated to the neck of a person whose words have great value and different from valueless gossip.

The analysis of Kabyle camel proverbs' main meaning foci reveals the overwhelming use of negatively slanted proverbs over the positively slanted ones. This finding will also be discussed in the discussion section.

In this section, we have provided an analysis of the main meaning foci underlying the animal-related proverbs. The findings show that negatively slanted dog proverbs are overwhelmingly used in the four languages compared to the positively used ones. This also goes for ass proverbs. English ox proverbs are all positively slanted and French ones involve more positively used proverbs than negatively used ones. In Kabyle and Arabic, there are

more negatively slanted ox proverbs than positively slanted ones. English and French camel proverbs are all negatively used. Arabic and Kabyle camel proverbs are excessively negatively slanted.

6.2. Discussion of the Findings

In this section, the findings will be discussed on the basis of the parameters that have been set in the methods chapter. As was previously mentioned, the present chapter is devoted to the investigation of the characterization of the four animals in the proverbs. This analytical discussion is achieved with reference to the Great Chain of Being Metaphor Theory and to cultural representations of animals. It begins with the discussion of the points of similarity in the characterization of animals then the discussion of socio-cultural influences upon animals use and the kind of events and situations in which they are involved.

6.2.1. Convergence in the Characterization of Animals

This section is devoted to the analysis and discussion of the points of convergence in the characterization of the animals in the proverbs. It begins with the convergence in the characterization of the dog, then, the ass, ox, and, finally, the camel.

6.2.1.1. Convergence in the Characterization of the Dog

The account of the main meaning foci conveyed in dog proverbs reveals similarities in the characterization of dogs. Some dog characteristics and behaviours are found to be common to the proverbs of the four languages; e.g., BARKING, QUARRELLING and BITING in the English proverbs (1), (2), (3), (4), (5), (6), (7), (8), (9), French proverbs (33), (34), (35), (36), (41), Arabic proverbs (76), (77), (78), (71), (72), and Kabyle proverbs (94), (95), (96), (97), (100), (106), (107). An explanation that can be given to this fact is that barking, quarrelling and biting are kinds of behaviours shared by all dogs irrespective of breed and geographical area

(Cf. Belkhir 2012: 223). Therefore, English, French, Arab, and Kabyle people use these dog characterizations to refer to human behaviour regardless of their socio-cultural environment.

Another common aspect relates to the predominance of negatively-slanted dog proverbs over positively-slanted ones in all the languages. The Great Chain Metaphor theory offers an explanation to this phenomenon through a device describing the application of human behaviour categorization upon that of dogs and vice-versa. This is achieved through a cross-domain mapping of dog behaviour onto human behaviour, as shown in figure 2:

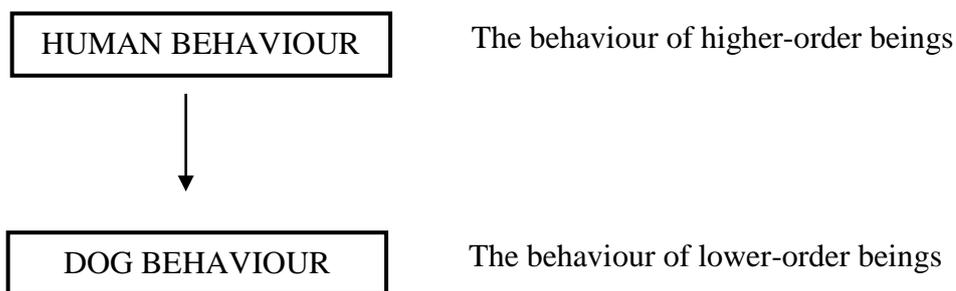


Figure 2: Application of human behaviour categorization upon dogs

Figure 2 shows how the categorization of the behaviour of higher-order beings; i.e., human beings, is applied upon that of dogs that are lower-order beings, just as sustained by Marks (2008), Lakoff and Turner (1989) and (Kövecses (2002). The latter contends that, in the system of the Great Chain metaphor, animal metaphoric meaning is formed by applying human features and behaviour upon animals, and then, applying them again upon humans in order to refer to them and their behaviour (Cf. Kövecses 2002: 125). Dogs are known to have behaviours that bother people such as barking all the time, biting, quarrelling, etc. these undesirable behaviours are used figuratively to represent human behaviour.

Following this reasoning, the overwhelming amount of negatively slanted dog proverbs does not relate to dogs' actual behaviour but to humans' conduct in society and their social relationships characterized by inequality and injustice (the rich vs. the poor, the politically

dominant group vs. the oppressed one, etc.). This creates conflict and contention between people and leads to the rise of negative feelings as anger and hatred. People's categorization of their social relationships is applied upon dogs and manifests through the overwhelming negative use of dogs in proverbs. For instance, the English dog proverb (15) and the Kabyle dog proverb (100) reflect contention between people. Other proverbs reflect dispute, such as, the English dog proverbs (7) and (8). Aggressiveness that is caused by disagreement between people is reflected in the Kabyle proverbs (101) and (106).

The Great Chain Metaphor theory applies the hierarchy principle in order to clarify the question of what makes people apply their excessive negative attitudes towards other people upon dogs in proverbs, and explain this fact in terms of dominance. That is, humans consider themselves superior beings and give themselves the right to have power and dominance over other creatures, just as maintained by Lakoff and Turner (1989) and Taylor (1986). Dogs are classified at a lower level on the Great Chain of Being scale, and this makes them less important than humans. This leads humans to have a low-value view of dogs and refer to them metaphorically to conceptualize undesirable human behaviour in terms of dog behaviour (Cf. Belkhir 2014: 140).

6.2.1.2. Convergence in the Characterization of the Ass

The account of the main meaning foci conveyed in the ass proverbs of the four languages reveals points of similarity in the characterization of asses. There are shared ass characterizations used in some of the ass proverbs to represent humans and their behaviour; e.g., BEING LADEN/CARRYING A BURDEN is found to be used in the English proverbs (110), (111), (121), French proverbs (131), and Kabyle proverbs (166), (167). IGNORANCE is used in the French proverb (125), Arabic proverb (139), and Kabyle proverb (176). STUPIDITY is found in the English proverbs (113), (115), French proverb (127), Arabic proverb (152), and

Kabyle proverbs (169), (175), (176), (177). This similarity can be explained by the fact that asses in general possess these common characteristics. This leads English, French, Arab and Kabyle people to use them to refer to human behaviour regardless of their socio-cultural environment.

Another convergence relates to the overwhelming negative use of the ass to refer to humans in the proverbs of the four languages. We have found that the number of negatively used ass proverbs is superior to the number of positively used ones. This convergence is interpreted by means of the Great Chain Metaphor theory's device where human categorization is applied on ass categorization and vice-versa through cross-domain mapping of human behaviour onto ass behaviour, as shown in figure 3:

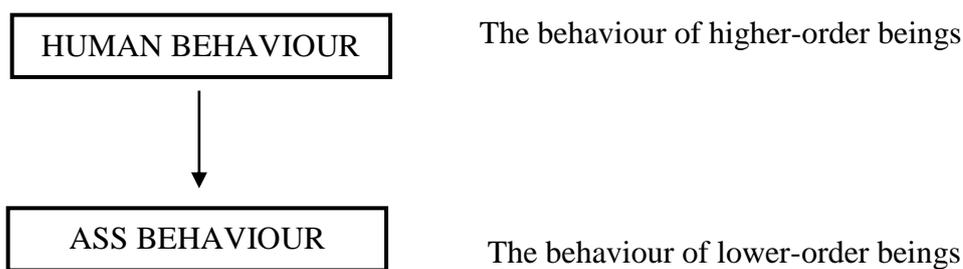


Figure 3: Application of human behaviour categorization upon asses

Figure 3 shows how the categorization of the behaviour of higher-order beings; i.e., human beings, is applied upon that of asses that are lower-order beings, as argued by Marks (2008), Lakoff and Turner (1989) and (Kövecses (2002). Asses have some behaviours that people find disagreeable such as stupidity, stubbornness and so on. These undesirable behaviours are used figuratively to represent human behaviour.

To clarify the overwhelming negative use of asses, the Great Chain Metaphor theory provides a justification similar to that supplied for the explanation of the excessive negative use of dogs in the proverbs of the four languages. That is, people apply their excessive

negative attitudes towards other people upon asses in proverbs because they feel dominance over these non-human animals as claimed by Lakoff and turner (1989) and Taylor (1986). People have a low-value view of asses. Thus, they refer to them metaphorically in a negative way to conceptualize undesirable human behaviour in terms of ass behaviour.

6.2.1.3. Convergence in the Characterization of the Ox

The account of the main meaning foci conveyed in the ox proverbs of the four languages reveals points of similarity in the characterization of oxen. For instance, PLOUGHING is found to be used in the English proverb (188), French proverbs (190), (191), (192) kabyle proverbs (201), (202), (208), (210), (214), (215). This similarity can be explained by the fact that oxen are generally used for ploughing because they are strong animals. This leads English, French, and Kabyle people to use this characterization to refer to human behaviour with reference to work.

Another convergence concerns the overwhelming negative use of the ox to refer to humans in the proverbs of the Arabic and Kabyle languages. The number of negatively used ox proverbs is found to be superior to the number of positively used ones. This convergence is interpreted by means of the Great Chain Metaphor theory's device where human categorization is applied on ox categorization and vice-versa through cross-domain mapping of human behaviour onto ox behaviour, as shown in figure 4:

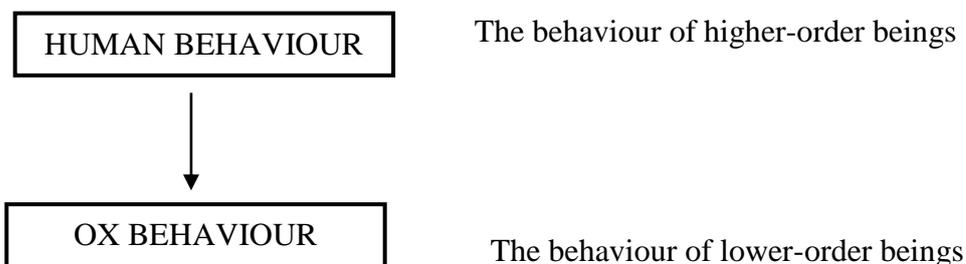


Figure 4: Application of human behaviour categorization upon oxen

Figure 4 shows how the categorization of the behaviour of higher-order beings; i.e., human beings, is applied upon that of oxen that are lower-order beings, as claimed by Marks (2008), Lakoff and Turner (1989) and (Kövecses (2002). In both the Arabic and Kabyle cultures, ox behaviours are used figuratively to represent human behaviour.

6.2.1.4. Convergence in the Characterization of the Camel

The account of the main meaning foci conveyed in the camel proverbs of the four languages reveals some points of similarity in the characterization of camels. A common characterization is the impossibility of the camel to go through the eye of the needle in the English camel proverb (217), French camel proverb (220), and Arabic camel proverb (232). This characterization is shared by English, French and Arabic camel proverbs because these proverbs are derived from religion (the Bible for English and French and the Koran for Arabic). In addition, the inability of camels to see their own humps is a characterization common to some English and Kabyle camel proverbs.

Another convergence concerns the overwhelming negative use of the camel to refer to humans in the proverbs of the four languages. In French, only one camel proverb is found. The number of negatively used camel proverbs is superior to the number of positively used ones in all the languages. This convergence is interpreted by means of the Great Chain Metaphor theory's device where human categorization is applied on camel categorization through cross-domain mapping of human behaviour onto camel behaviour, as shown in figure 5:

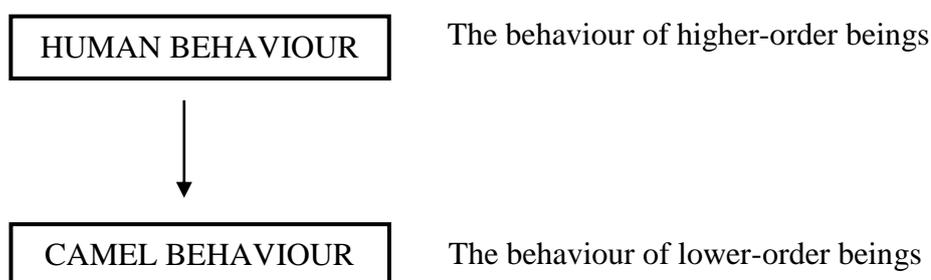


Figure 5: Application of human behaviour categorization upon camels

Figure 5 shows how the categorization of the behaviour of higher-order beings; i.e., human beings, is applied upon that of camels that are lower-order beings, as claimed by Marks (2008), Lakoff and Turner (1989) and (Kövecses (2002). In the Arabic, French, Arabic, and Kabyle cultures, camel behaviours are used figuratively to represent human behaviour.

6.2.1.5. Discussion

As shown above, the Great Chain Metaphor theory’s justification of the overwhelming negative use of animals in proverbs is primarily based on the hierarchy principle that gives priority to humans over animals. However, it is interesting to observe that in addition to the ranking of humans above animals in the proverbs, as illustrated in figures 1,2,3,4 we also notice the ranking of animals; e.g. lions above dogs, lions above asses, horses above asses, oxen above asses, and oxen above camels as well as the ranking of their respective behaviours. This ranking is mapped onto human beings and their behaviours.

The ranking of lions above dogs is noticeable in the English dog proverb (23), and Kabyle dog proverbs (100), (104) where LION is presented as superior to DOG and lion behaviour as being better than dog behaviour. This is shown in figure 6:

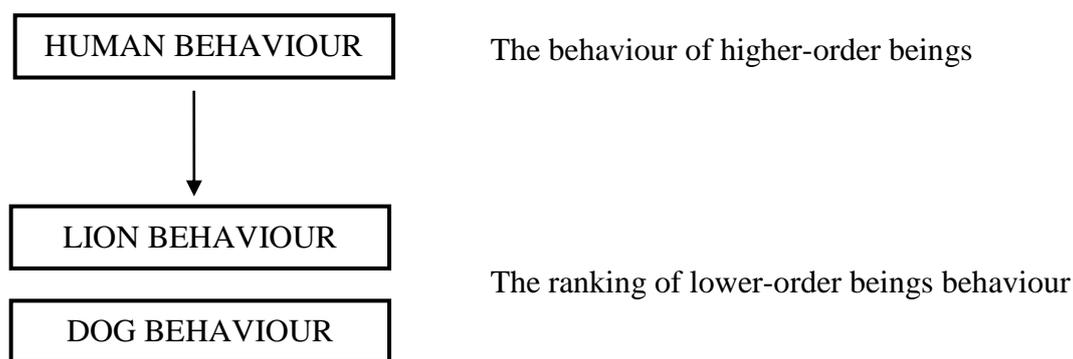


Figure 6: Application of human behaviour categorization upon lion-dog behaviour ranking

The ranking of lions above asses is observable in the French ass proverb (132), and Kabyle ass proverb (173), (184) where LION is presented as superior to ASS and lion

behaviour as better than ass behaviour because the lion is presented as brave and courageous while the ass as fearful and coward . This is shown in figure 7:

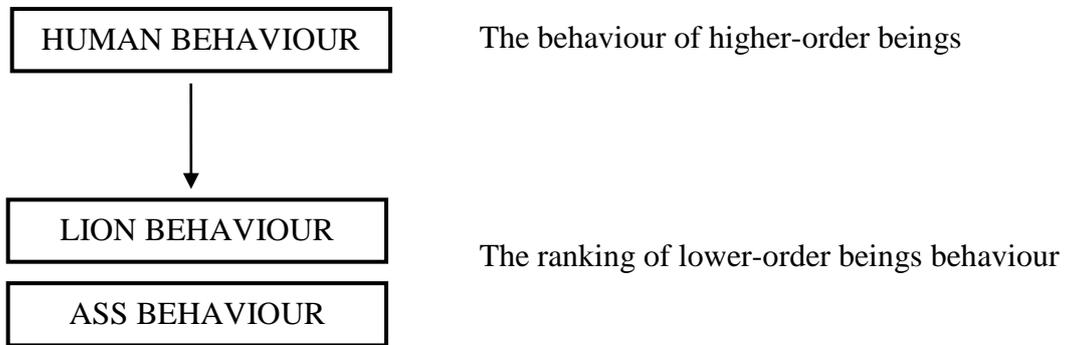


Figure 7: Application of human behaviour categorization upon lion-ass behaviour ranking

The ranking of horses above asses is apparent in the English ass proverbs (115), (122), French ass proverbs (134) (136), and Kabyle ass proverb (181) where HORSE is presented as superior to ASS and horse behaviour as better than ass behaviour because the horse is presented as noble and hard-working while the ass as poor and lazy, as illustrated in figure 8:

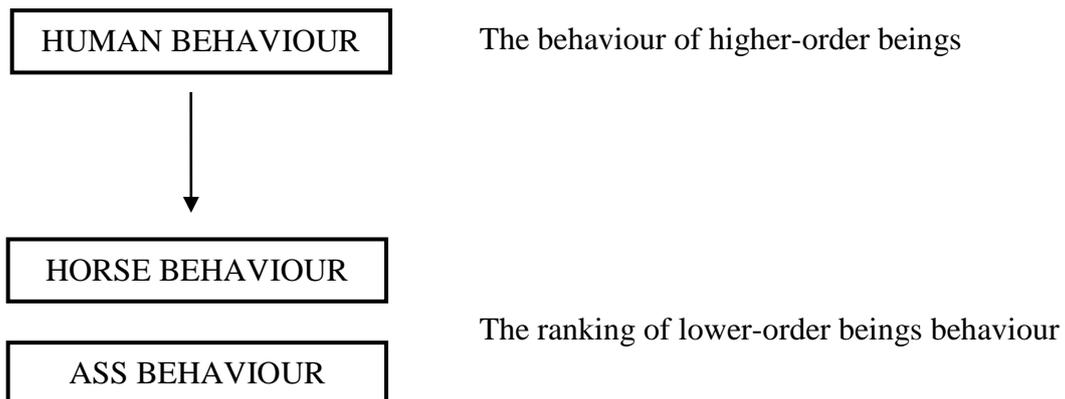


Figure 8: Application of human behaviour categorization upon horse-ass behaviour ranking

The ranking of oxen above asses is observable in the Kabyle ox proverbs (215), (216) and ass proverb (176) where OX is presented as superior to ASS and ox behaviour as better than ass behaviour because the ox is presented as a hard-worker and clever while the ass as lazy and stupid, as shown is figure 9:

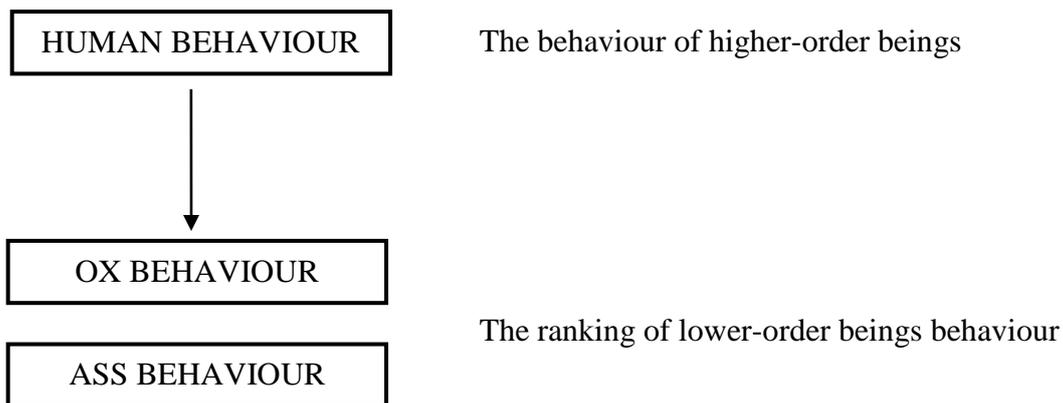


Figure 9: Application of human behaviour categorization upon ox-ass behaviour ranking

The ranking of oxen above camels is noticeable in the Kabyle proberb (243) where OX is presented as superior to CAMEL and ox behaviour as better than camel behaviour because the ox poughs better than the camel. This is illustrated in figure 10:

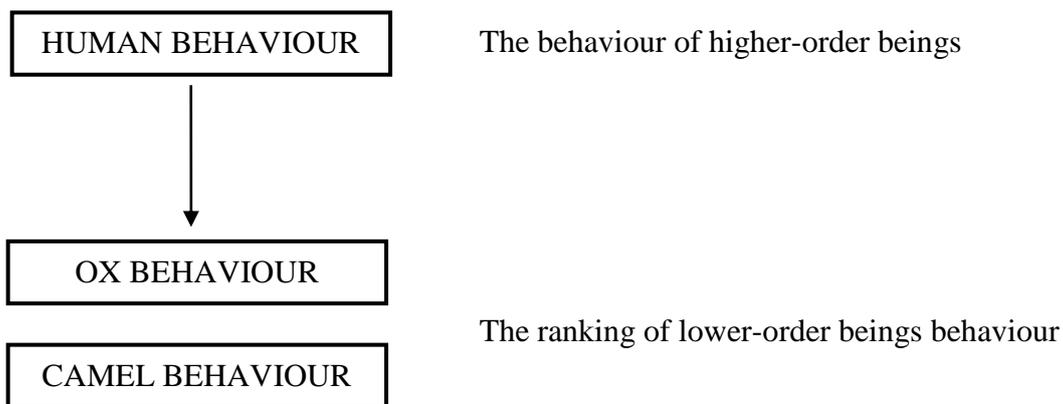


Figure 10: Application of human behaviour categorization upon ox-camel behaviour ranking

Figures 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10 show the application of the behaviour of higher-order beings upon the ranking of lower-order beings and their behaviour. As was previously observed, Marks (2008) sustains the idea that the way people categorize their own social relationships influences their way of arranging the natural world around them which fact leads them to organize animals into a realm like that of human beings (Cf. Marks 2008: 68). This is what explains the categorization of the lion as the noble king of all beasts (Cf. World Book Encyclopedia 1986: 298; Random house Webster's Unabridged Dictionary 2001: 1058; Longman Dictionary of the English Language and Culture 2005: 811).

Important questions arise here. Why is the lion ranked above the dog, the lion above the ass, the horse above the ass, the ox above the ass, the ox above the camel, and the behaviour of the former animal considered better than that of the latter in some proverbs? Is this a universal fact, as explained in the Great Chain of Being, or a cultural phenomenon?

In order to find an answer to these questions, it is worthwhile looking at the way the lion and the horse are viewed in the different cultures. Then, compare this with the already mentioned cultural representations of dogs, asses, oxen, and camels. Generally, the lion is viewed as a noble animal that inspires fear and respect while the dog is not. This view is common to English, French, Arabic and Kabyle cultures, as reflected in the above-mentioned proverbs.

In the English culture, the lion represents *'the national emblem of Great Britain'* (Random House Webster's Unabridged Dictionary 2001: 1119). According to the Longman Dictionary of the English Language and Culture (2005), *'Lions are usually considered to be strong, brave, and frightening, and the lion is sometimes called 'the king of the JUNGLE'. In the UK, the lion is often used on flags and signs to represent the country'* (Longman Dictionary of the English Language and Culture 2005: 811). Although the lion is not an animal

living in the UK, it is given the important position of king because the country is a monarchy. Moreover, the British Rugby Union that plays in international matches bears the name ‘the British Lions’ (ibid: 164). When used metaphorically, the word ‘lion’ means ‘a famous and important person’ (Longman Dictionary of the English Language and Culture 2005: 811) or ‘a man of great strength and courage’ (Random House Webster’s Unabridged Dictionary 2001: 1119).

In the French dictionary *Larousse 3 Volumes en Couleurs (1966)*, the lion is described as an African, beautiful and powerful animal referred to as ‘*roi des animaux*’ (king of animals). The figurative meaning of the word ‘lion’ is as follows: ‘*personne d’un grand courage, d’un grand coeur*’ (a person with great courage and great heart) (Larousse 3 volumes en Couleurs 1966: 1845).

In ‘Al-Jahid’s *‘Al-Ḥayawa:n I (1965)*, the lion is referred to as *sayyid ‘asiba:*’ (king of beasts) (‘Al-Ḥayawa:n II 1965: 668) . It is interesting to observe that the Arabic language possesses a verb ‘*asida*’ (to become a lion) meaning figuratively ‘*to have the courage and conduct of a lion*’ (Lisa:n ‘al –‘arab 1990: 72)

Kabyle people know the lion because it lived in Kabylia but disappeared in the beginning of the twentieth century (Cf. Nacib 2009: 94). According to Nacib (2009), the proverb has immortalized the lion’s qualities (nobleness, courage, power, and loyalty) in the Kabyle collective memory (ibid). In the Kabyle culture, the lion is an animal that everyone fears and respects as expressed by the expression ‘*izem bu tissas*’ (redoubtable lion that inspires fear and respect) (Dallet 1982: 946). The word ‘*izem*’ (lion) refers metaphorically to a courageous and brave man. Some kabyle men and boys are named ‘*ayiles*’, a synonym of ‘*izem*’ (lion). In addition, when Kabyle speakers mention the word ‘*izem*’, they do not apologize for doing so but they do when they mention the dog or the ass.

The account of the lion in the four cultures compared to the previously given account of the dog as friendly and servile but dirty and obscene shows that all of the English, French, Arabic and Kabyle people perceive lions as superior to dogs and lion behaviour as being better than dog behaviour because of cultural influences.

Moreover, In the French proverb (132) and Kabyle proverb (173) and (184), the LION is represented as superior to the ASS. As was already remarked, the ass is described as an ignorant, fearful, and stupid animal; this shows its low position compared to the brave lion.

The HORSE is also ranked above the ASS in the English proverbs (115) and (122), French proverb (134) and (136), and Kabyle ass proverb (181). A description of the cultural representations of the horse in the English, French, Arab and Kabyle cultures is useful in clarifying this fact.

In the *Longman Dictionary of English Language and Culture* (2005), the 'horse' is defined as 'a large strong four-legged animal with hard feet (hooves), which people ride on and use for pulling heavy things' (Longman Dictionary of English Language and Culture 2005: 677). In its old use, especially in British English, the word 'horse' means 'soldiers riding on horses; cavalry: a regiment' (ibid). Nowadays, the animal is used for horse-racing that 'is a popular sport in Britain and the US [...] while very few people own racehorses, many people are interested in the races and risk money on the horse which they think will win a race' (ibid: 678).

In the French dictionary *Larousse 3 Volumes en Couleurs* (1970), the horse is described as a domestic animal that has an important role in the flourishing of civilizations (Cf. Larousse 3 Volumes en Couleurs II 1970: 602). It is valuable as an animal used in wars. Nowadays, the racehorses are trained for participating in important races where spectators win a significant

sum of money if they bet on the horse that is the winner. The word ‘*cheval*’ (horse) is used figuratively to refer to a person that is active and persistent at work. This differs from the figurative meaning conveyed by the word ‘*âne*’; that is, stupidity and ignorance.

The horse is an animal that is said to be absent from the fauna of Kabylia in the Holocene era. In *the Encyclopédie Berbère* (1993), the absence of the horse is a fact that is asserted in the North African pre-history. It is also assumed that horses from Europe are introduced to North Africa via the Gibraltar Detroit (*Encyclopédie Berbère* XII 1993: 1907-1908). Although the horse is not an indigenous Kabyle animal, it is considered better than the ass that is a very useful animal in Kabylia. This view emerges out of the Arab and Muslim perception of the horse. In the Arab culture, the horse is seen as a beautiful animal that is of great value especially in periods of war (Cf. ‘Al-Ḥayawa:n I 1965: 210). As has previously been observed, Arabs have a low-value view of the ass that is usually used figuratively to denote humiliation (Cf. Qatamish 1988: 321) or ignorance (Cf. ‘Al- Ḥayawa:n II 1965: 75). Hence, Arabs perceive the horse as being better than the ass.

The above descriptive account shows that horses are ranked above asses and horse behaviour is considered better than ass behaviour because of the cultural representations that speakers of English, French, Arabic and Kabyle have of the horse as a noble and active animal and the ass as a stupid and lazy animal.

In addition to the lion-dog and horse-ass rankings, we notice some rankings that are particular to Kabyle; namely, ox-ass and ox-camel rankings in the proverbs (215), (216), (176), and (243). The descriptive accounts of the ox, ass, and camel in Kabyle have shown the paramount importance that Kabyle people give to the ox that constitutes a precious economic source for subsistence. The camel, as has previously been shown, is associated, in Kabyle, to

the ass and incarnates naivety and stupidity. This makes the ox more important than both the ass and camel.

So far, it has been shown that the concept LION is superior to DOG, LION is superior to ASS, HORSE is superior to ASS, OX is superior to ASS, OX is superior to CAMEL and so on, in some proverbs of English, French, Arabic, and Kabyle. This reveals that derogatory animal proverbs excessiveness is not a simple question of HUMAN as superior vis-à-vis ANIMAL, as claimed by Lakoff and Turner (1989) and Taylor (1986). As was demonstrated above these animal rankings are influenced by the socio-cultural beliefs and attitudes that people have towards these animals. That is, they feel need and friendship for the servile and faithful dog, but feel respect and fear for the courageous and brave lion. They feel admiration for the beautiful strong horse but feel ridicule for the silly and stubborn ass. Furthermore, Kabyle people feel need for the very precious ox, but feel mockery for the naive and stupid camel. These cultural representations influence their conceptualization of lion behaviour as better than dog behaviour, lion behaviour as better than ass behaviour, horse behaviour as better than ass behaviour, ox behaviour as better than camel behaviour, and so on.

A further similarity that is also worth discussing is the existence of positively slanted proverbs in the four languages. This similarity proves that the use of animals to describe human beings' conduct is not only influenced by the socio-cultural relationships existing between people that determine the attitudes that people have towards other people belonging to their own social group, as claimed by Marks (2008) but also by the cultural relationship between people and their animals. In sum, both human-human relationships and human-animal relationships influence the characterization of animals in the proverbs. All the languages possess proverbs conveying desirable main meaning focus and representing animals positively. This sustains the above-mentioned claim. Dog proverbs provide

convincing arguments for this. For instance, the English proverb (32) reflects the tight relationship that links English people to their dog that leads them to consider this domestic animal as their best friend. The French proverb (52) shows the trust that French people put in their old and experienced dogs in hunting, the Arabic proverbs (80),(81),(82),(83),(84) reveal the close relationship between Arabs and their dogs that they view as very friendly, grateful, protecting, cherishing and obedient. The Kabyle proverb (107) shows the trust that Kabyle people put in their dog for not barking at familiar persons while guarding their homes and belongings. Ass proverbs also provide interesting arguments. The English and French proverbs (123) and (137) show that English and French people view the ass as an animal that can be experienced, the Arabic proverbs (157) and (158) show Arabs' favourable view of the ass as a very healthy and patient animal. In addition, English ox proverbs are all positively slanted and French ones include more ox proverbs that are used positively than negatively. This fact shows the favourable attitude that the English and the French have towards oxen. The Kabyle proverbs (209), (210), (211) show that Kabyle speakers view oxen as brothers, and proverbs (213) and (216) show that they consider oxen as wise and clever. This is evidence of the close relationship that the Kabyle have with their precious oxen. Arab camel proverbs also constitute good examples that show the influence of the human-camel relationship on the positive characterization of camels. For example, the proverb (239) shows that Arabs consider their camel as very easy to guide and proverb (213) shows the close link between Arabs and their camel that they consider as a good companion that gives them news.

Therefore, it should be reckoned that, in the English, French, Arabic and Kabyle cultures, people have positive attitudes towards animals, as they find them very useful. The English like their dogs and consider them as members of the family. French people view the dog as a friendly and faithful animal and find it very useful for hunting and guarding livestock. Kabyle people view dogs as patient animals, and find them very valuable in protecting and guarding

their livestock, homes and possessions. Although Arabs consider the dog as a dirty animal, they recognize its amiability, obedience and faithfulness for its master. In addition, Arabs find dogs useful for guarding and hunting. In addition, the ass is seen as being experienced by the English and the French, and as very healthy and patient by Arabs. The Kabyle consider oxen as brothers, wise, clever, and very valuable animals, and Arabs view their camels as easy to guide and good companions.

Such positive attitudes justify the presence of animal proverbs conveying positive meaning. The ubiquity of positive attitudes towards animals in the four cultures and the significant occurrence of positively slanted proverbs show that the hierarchy principle of the Great Chain of Being does not suffice as an explanation of why most animal proverbs are derogatory and that an explanation in terms of socio-cultural influences is necessary. Therefore, one should not discard the occurrence of such proverbs even though they are few in number because of the significant information they bear about socio-cultural beliefs and attitudes that influence human conceptualization.

6.2.2. Culture-specificity in the Use of Animals

Although the descriptive account of the main meaning foci conveyed in the proverbs shows the presence of similarities like the predominance of negatively slanted proverbs over the positively slanted ones and the use of common animal characteristics and behaviours to represent human behaviour, etc. the characterization of animals also presents differences. The present subsection aims at investigating the differences in the characterization of animals that are caused by socio-cultural specificities. The investigation begins with cultural influence on dog use.

6.2.2.1. Culture-specificity in Dog Use

Significant instances indicating culture-specificity influence on the metaphoric use of dogs in proverbs to refer to humans and their conduct are worth mentioning to support the claim that the Great Chain of Being metaphor is a tool that needs to refer to socio-cultural specificities to ensure effectiveness. An example that can be provided, first, is the dog behaviour of HUNTING characterising the English proverbs (10), (16) and (30), the French proverbs (51) and (52) but neither Arabic nor Kabyle ones. As was previously remarked, it is part of the British culture for dogs, like greyhounds, to be used to hunt hares and participate in competitions in which the dog that is foremost and catches the hare is the winner. This cultural tradition is British, but in no way Arabic or Kabyle. British dogs are involved in a cultural specific situation and event in which Arabic and Kabyle dogs are not. This leads to a variation in the use of dogs in English, Arabic, and Kabyle proverbs because of the difference in the roles assigned to dogs in the three socio-cultural environments. Therefore, British dog behaviours involve HUNTING FOULEST, WORRYING A HARE and BEING FOREMOST while Arabic and Kabyle dogs' behaviours do not. Furthermore, the French find their dogs very useful for hunting. This manifests in the two proverbs (51) and (52) where HUNTING is a behaviour that characterizes the dog.

Another arresting example reveals the influence of people's cultural perceptions upon the use of dogs and indicates cultural dissimilarity in the figurative use of dogs. Kabyle people perceive dogs as patient and enduring animals, they conceptualize HUMAN ENDURANCE in terms of DOG'S LONG LIFE in the proverb (47). This is completely different from the way the English and the French conceptualize dog's life. The English idiomatic expression '*a dog's life*' meaning '*an unhappy existence full of problems or unfair treatment*' (Oxford Dictionary of Idioms 1999: 102) and the French idiom '*une vie de chien*' (Larousse 3 Volumes en

Couleurs III 1970: 3173) conveying a similar meaning prove to be a convincing argument that backs up the culture-specificity of dog use in the proverbs of the three languages.

It has already been observed that the experience of dogs in Anglo, French, Arabian, and Kabyle cultures is somewhat different. Dogs have played multiple roles in human societies and currently in the U.K. they are thought of as the paradigm pet, '*man's best friend*', etc., this is so in France where dog is considered as '*le meilleurs ami de l'homme*', But for the Kabyle and Arab people, dogs are not pets, but rather working animals, used to guard flocks, homes and belongings. Unlike in the U.K. and France, they are seldom allowed inside the house because they are dirty animals, so the relationship is not as close as it is in England and France. These socio-cultural dissimilarities are reflected in the way the dog is depicted in the proverbs of the four languages.

Interesting cases that support the above-made assertion can be mentioned. The characterization of the dog as a selfish animal is found in English, Arabic, and Kabyle. This is noticeable in the English proverbs (18), and Kabyle proverb (95). However, the actions and situations in which the dog is involved are peculiar to each language's proverbs. This difference originates from the different relationships speakers of English and Kabyle have with dogs. In the Kabyle proverb (95), the role of the dog as a working animal used for guarding in the Kabyle society influences the characterization of the dog as barking so much to protect itself but too little to protect its master when accomplishing its job of watchdog. This is not the case in the English proverb (18) where GUARDING is not used but GNAWING BONE, which is completely distinct dog behaviour.

Furthermore, in some proverbs of English, Arabic and Kabyle, the dog is characterized as an ungrateful animal. But, here again, the actions and situations involved differ under the influence of the socio-cultural specificity of human-dog relationship. This is observable in the

English proverb (17), Arabic proverb (72), and Kabyle proverb (96). In the former example, the dog is depicted as being thankless when leaving a foreign master who has treated it well. In this English proverb, the master-dog close relationship is strongly reflected because the dog leaves the present owner but shows loyalty to its old master. In the Arabic proverb (72) and Kabyle proverb (96) dog's ingratitude is described via different behaviour and situation; that is, the dog provokes its master or bites someone who removes its fleas.

6.2.2.2. Culture-specificity in Ass Use

Interesting examples that reveal culture-specificity influence upon the figurative use of asses in proverbs to refer to humans and their behaviour can also be given to support the claim that the Great Chain of Being metaphor needs to refer to socio-cultural specificities to be effective. An initial example that can be provided is the characterization of the ass as acting in a foolish way in some English, Arabic and Kabyle ass proverbs. However, the actions performed by the ass and the situations involved differ. In the English proverb (113) braying against another ass are the action and situation used to depict the ass's foolishness, while in the Arabic proverb (152) refusing hospitality represent different action and situation. This also goes for the Kabyle proverbs (169), (176), (177), (178) involving various actions and situations; namely, hiding in the haystack, imitating the ox running away, eating the saddle, and biting one another. It is interesting to observe that compared to English and Arabic, Kabyle makes use of several actions and situations depicting the ass as foolish. This can be explained in terms of the socio-cultural close relationship between the Kabyle and their asses. It has been previously noted that the ass's role in the Kabyle rural life is tremendous. The donkey is the most frequently used animal that has an important economic value (Cf. *Encyclopédie berbère* 1991: 652-654).

Another interesting example that should be mentioned is the characterization of the ass as being unsuccessful in hiding its nature in English, French, and Kabyle. Here again, the actions and situations in which the ass is involved differ socio-culturally. In the English proverb (115), the ass is described as travelling but not changing into a horse, in the French proverb (131) the ass is depicted as being loaded and braying, and in the Kabyle proverb (179), the ass is characterized as wearing a hat for the purpose of disguising. In addition, we notice the ass's characterization as ignorant in French, Arabic, and Kabyle. Different actions and situation are used for this characterization. In the French proverb (125), the ass is described as speaking Latin, a language used only by the educated and intellectuals. In the Arabic proverb (139), the ass is described as being ignorant. In the Kabyle proverb (175), the ass is given lettuce and is unable to consider it as better than any other type of food because of its ignorance.

6.2.2.3. Culture-specificity in Ox Use

Examples that show the influence of socio-cultural features upon the figurative use of oxen in proverbs to refer to humans and their behaviour are worth being explained to sustain the above-made claim. First, a difference in the characterization of the ox is noticed in Arabic and Kabyle. The ox is characterized as being subtle in the Kabyle proverb (216) but characterized as being stupid in the Arabic proverb (197). This difference can be explained by the fact that, in the Kabyle culture, the ox is considered as an important economic resource on which most Kabyle people depend, while Arabs consider the camel as the most important economic resource. Another interesting difference is also noticed in the way oxen are characterized as being arrogant in both Arabic and Kabyle. In the Arabic proverb (196), the ox is simply described as arrogant while in the Kabyle proverb (200), the ox is depicted as disdaining water. Therefore, the actions and situation differ in the two proverbs. It is also

worth noting that oxen are described as having deceptive appearance in both French and Kabyle. However, the actions and situations involved are not similar. In the French proverb (190) oxen are characterized as being big but not making great ploughs, while in the Kabyle proverb (199) they are described as being white and fatty.

6.2.2.4. Culture-specificity in Camel Use

Interesting examples of camel proverbs that reveal the socio-cultural influence upon the figurative use of camels to refer to humans and their behaviour are worth mentioning. This is also sustaining to the above-made claim. First, a difference in the characterization of the camel is noticed in English and Arabic; in both languages, the camel is characterized as having limited endurance. However, the actions and situations involved are different. In the English proverb (218) as not bearing the weight of a last straw on its back, while in the Arabic proverbs (213) and (233), the camel is depicted as being unable of walking because of tire and unable of lying down because of the difficult situation in which it is.

Furthermore, another difference is also noticeable in Arabic and Kabyle. In the two languages, the camel is characterized as lacking cleverness. In the Arabic proverbs (227) and (230), it is described as having little cleverness and being unable of rewarding in a correct way, whereas in the Kabyle proverb (243) it is characterized as not being clever and doing clumsy ploughing.

Conclusion

This chapter has been devoted to the investigation of socio-cultural influences on conceptual and metaphorical use of animals in some English, French, Arabic, and Kabyle proverbs. The Great Chain of Being theory (Lovejoy 1936; Lakoff & Turner 1989; Kövecses, 2002, etc.) and the description of cultural views of animals have been used in the

investigation. The main results reached have shown that the characterization of animals (dogs, asses, oxen, and camels) presents points of convergence as well as culture-specific features moulding the use of animals in the proverbs. The descriptive account of the main meaning foci conveyed in the proverbs has provided interesting findings that reveal the overwhelming number of negatively slanted proverbs over the positively slanted ones. The discussion of these findings with reference to the Great Chain Metaphor theory and cultural representations of animals has revealed the weaknesses of this theory in offering an exhaustive treatment of the figurative use of animals in proverbs. It has been shown throughout the study that this observable fact cannot be explained by means of the Great Chain of Being metaphor theory alone. The explanation suggested within the framework of this theory was that humans ranked themselves above animals in the beings scale and had dominance over animals that are given low value in metaphoric proverbs. However, this explanation overlooked the influence of people's favourable attitudes towards animals upon their positive use of these animals in some proverbs. It also discarded the socio-cultural representations of lions as superior to other animals, horses as superior to asses, and so on; which fact influenced human behaviour conceptualization. In addition, further socio-cultural influences moulding the depiction of animals in the proverbs are left unobserved.

Although the Great Chain of Being is an idea that is not exclusively relevant to the Jewish-Christian tradition or to the Western culture, but also to the non Jewish-Christian Arabian and Kabyle cultures, and thus may be universal, as sustained by Lakoff and Turner (1989) and Kövecses (2002), it does not, on its own, suffice to account comprehensively for the use of animals in proverbs. Consequently, it needs to be supplied with complementary socio-cultural information in order to be effective.



GENERAL CONCLUSION

General Conclusion

This study was exploratory in nature. It was mainly undertaken with the aim of investigating, from a cross-cultural cognitive perspective, some animal-related proverbs in English, French, Arabic, and Kabyle. The major question that was raised at the outset of our work was whether or not the HUMAN BEHAVIOUR IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR conceptual metaphor involved in these proverbs was influenced by socio-cultural specificities across the four languages. The significance of this study was twofold: first, at the national educational level, it would contribute to raising teachers' awareness of the cross-cultural differences in metaphor across the four languages and cultures, improving their teaching of English, and helping their students face problems caused by these differences, and cope with metaphor and metaphoric proverbs in an easy way. Second, at an international scientific level, our work would be a humble contribution to research advance in the area of metaphor in culture and cognition.

Five hypotheses were put forward in the general introduction of our work. The investigation we conducted and the findings we reached allowed us to confirm all of them. First, we have discovered cross-cultural variation in the mappings involved in the four specific-level conceptual metaphors HUMAN BEHAVIOUR IS DOG BEHAVIOUR, HUMAN BEHAVIOUR IS ASS BEHAVIOUR, HUMAN BEHAVIOUR IS OX BEHAVIOUR, and HUMAN BEHAVIOUR IS CAMEL BEHAVIOUR. This variation is mainly due to socio-cultural features that influence individuals' knowledge, beliefs, and values and interfere in the shaping of mappings and consequently in their conceptualization of HUMAN BEHAVIOUR. For instance, we reached the conclusion that the physical environment, particularly the fauna, leads metaphorical mappings involved in the HUMAN BEHAVIOUR IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR to vary, as argued by Kövecses (2005). Similarly, social history also influences the structuring of mappings and leads to variation. Furthermore, prototypical animal concepts that people use in conceptual metaphors come out of their experiences in the social and cultural environment in which they

are brought up and this leads mappings to vary as maintained in the CCT. This confirms that conceptual mappings characterizing the generic-level metaphor HUMAN BEHAVIOUR IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR and the specific-level ones it involves are influenced by cultural features and thus subject to cross-cultural variation. Second, our findings have revealed that animal-related metaphors involved in proverbs are highly culture specific as such they cannot be analyzed in terms of the embodiment/experiential hypothesis, because the latter is based on humans' bodily experience but not on humans' experiences with animals in their cultural environment. This conclusion evidences that CMT's embodiment hypothesis is inadequate for the treatment of conceptual domain mappings involved in animal metaphors across English, French, Arabic, and Kabyle proverbs. Third, the results we reached have revealed differences in the characterization of animals that are caused by socio-cultural specificities. For instance, we have discovered that differences in the kind of relationship humans had with their animals, in the four societies, had a direct impact upon the way the animals are metaphorically used in the proverbs. The human-dog relationship provided interesting instances of this difference. This finding proves that Socio-cultural influences shape the metaphoric use of animals in proverbs. Fourth, the analysis of the main meaning foci conveyed in the proverbs has revealed that the overwhelming number of negatively slanted proverbs over the positively slanted ones constitutes a similarity. The explanation suggested within the Great Chain of Being theory relates to human-animal ranking on the beings' scale and human dominance over animals. However, we found that this explanation overlooked the influence of people's favourable attitudes towards animals upon their positive use of these animals in some proverbs. It also discarded the peoples' scaling of animals and other socio-cultural features that influenced human behaviour conceptualization. This confirms that CMT's Great Chain of Being Metaphor theory does not on its own suffice to account comprehensively for the metaphoric use of animals in proverbs. Finally, the confirmation of all these hypotheses leads us to assert that that the CCT is truly an improved version of CMT that deals with animal-related proverbs across English, French, Arabic, and Kabyle in a more satisfactory way.

This study, it should be remarked, has cross-culturally and cognitively explored some animal-related proverbs in four languages only; and this has made the scope of the research limited. Moreover, the results reached were bound to the selected corpora including proverbs involving the HUMAN BEHAVIOUR IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR conceptual metaphor and which have been extracted from some books and dictionaries. Therefore, our findings relate only to the present study and cannot be generalized. Furthermore, we have to admit that we did not explore the HUMAN BEHAVIOUR IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR in an extensive way, as many of its aspects were left aside for a lack of time and space. Nevertheless, it is hoped that this modest work has contributed to the widening of knowledge about the subject matter and has provided ideas for future research in the Algerian context. We also understand that cross-cultural variation is a significant characteristic of conceptual metaphor. The scope of our research did not allow an in-depth exploration of it.

We, therefore, wish to recommend this field of study for further investigation. The findings of our research following the claim of Lakoff and Johnson (1980) that metaphor is ubiquitous in ordinary language have implications for the teaching of languages. It is, thus, essential to know how metaphors work and how different they may be across languages and cultures. It is important to know the similarities and differences in metaphors when learning English as a foreign language. This implies that there is need for some change in the teaching approaches used nowadays if our learners are to take advantage from the learning process and be able to use language efficiently. This being said, we wish to recommend that further research be conducted on conceptual metaphor in the Algerian environment with the aim of highlighting the effects of socio-cultural influences on metaphor in the learning of second/foreign languages.

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APPENDICES

These appendices include English, French, Arabic and Kabyle animal-related proverbs referring to the dog, ass, ox and camel. They are extracted from the following books and dictionaries: In English, Rosalind Ferguson's *Penguin Dictionary of Proverbs* (1983/2000), Martin H. Manser's *Facts on Files Dictionary of Proverbs* and Wilson's *Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs* (1970). In French, proverbs have been extracted from Alain Ray's and Sophie Chantereau's *Le Dictionnaire des Expressions et Locutions* (1985), *Le Robert Dictionnaire des Proverbes et Dictons* (1989), and Vigerie's *La Symphonie Animale. Les Animaux dans les Expressions de la Langue Française* (1992). In Arabic, proverbs have been taken from Hassan Al Youssi's *Zahr 'al 'akam fi 'al-amthalwa 'al-ḥikam* (1981), Abi-Hilal Al-Askari's *Kita:b Jamhartu 'al-'amṭa:l* (1988), Ḥamza Al-Asbahani's *'aḍarra 'al-fa:xira fi: 'al-'amṭa:l 'assa:'ira* (1988), and Abu Al-Fazl Al-Maydani's *Majma'u 'Al-'Amṭa:l* (1996). In Kabyle, we have taken proverbs from Youcef Nacib's *Proverbes et Dictons Kabyles* (2009) and Remdan At Mensur's *Dictionnaire des Proverbes Kabyles* (2010).

Appendix 1: Dog proverbs

- **English Dog proverbs**

Barking dogs seldom bite.

Dogs bark and the caravan goes on.

Dogs that bark at a distance bite not at hand.

The dog barks in vain at the moon.

The dog that is idle barks at his fleas, but he that is hunting feels them not.

Dogs bark as they are bred.

An old dog barks not in vain.

If the old dog barks, he gives counsel.

Dog does not eat dog.

The dog bites the stone, not him that throws it.

In every country dogs bite

Dead dogs bite not.

Two dogs strive for a bone, and a third runs away with it.

Quarrelsome dogs get dirty coats.

Quarrelling dogs come halting home.

The dog that hunts foulest, hits at most faults.

Many dogs may easily worry one hare.

The foremost dog catches the hare.

Dogs wag their tails not so much in love to you as to your bread.

Better to have a dog fawn on you than bite you.

The dog that fetches will carry.

Let sleeping dogs lie.

You can't teach an old dog new tricks.

Two dogs and a bone never agree.

If you would wish the dog to follow you, feed him.

He that keeps another man's dog shall have nothing left him but the line.

While the dog gnaws bone, companions would be none.

When a dog is drowning, everyone offers him drink.

The dog returns to his vomit.

The dog that licks ashes trust not with meal.

If you lie down with dogs, you will get up with fleas.

A good dog deserves a good bone.

Dumb dogs are dangerous.

Every dog is a lion at home

A dog is man's best friend

- **French Dog Proverbs**

Chien qui aboie ne mord pas

(A barking dog does not bite)

Les chiens aboient, la caravane passe

(Dogs bark, the caravan goes on)

Jamais bon chien n'aboie à faux

(A good dog barks not in vain).

On ne peut empêcher le chien d'aboyer ni le menteur de mentir

(we can neither prevent the dog from barking nor the liar from lying)

A chien qui mord il faut jeter des pierres

(you must throw stones on a barking dog)

Un chien mort ne mord plus

(A dead dog no longer bites)

Bon chien chasse de race

(A good dog hunts by nature)

Il n'est chasse que de vieux chiens

(Only old dogs hunt well)

Les chiens ne chassent pas ensembles

(Dogs do not hunt together)

Pendant que le chien pisse, le lièvre s'en va

(While the dog is pissing, the hare runs away)

A toute heure chien pisse et femme pleure

(At every hour, the dog pisses and the woman cries)

Qui se couche avec les chiens, se lève avec des puces

(He who lies down with dogs, gets up with fleas.)

Deux chiens à l'os ne s'accordent

(Two dogs and a bone never agree.)

Quand un chien se noie, tout le monde lui offre à boire

(When a dog is drowning, everyone offers him drink.)

Chien hargneux a toujours l'oreille déchirée

(A ferocious dog has always the ear torn)

Un chien regarde bien un évêque

(A dog may look at a bishop)

Jamais à bon chien, il ne vient un bon os

(A good dog never gets a good bone)

Les chiens ne font pas des chats

(Dogs do not breed cats)

C'est le chien de Jean de Nivelles, il s'enfuit quand on l'appelle

(It is Jean de Nivelles's dog that runs away when called)

Gardez-vous de l'homme secret et du chien muet

(Beware of the silent man and the dumb dog)

Le chien du jardinier ne veut ni manger les choux ni permettre au lapin de les manger

(The gardener's dog neither wants to eat sprouts nor allows the hare to eat them.)

- **Arabic Dog Proverbs**

أبخلُ من كَلْبٍ

'abxalu min kalbin

He is more miserly than a dog

أَبْخَلُ مِنْ كَلْبٍ عَلَى جِيْفَةٍ

'abxalu min kalbin 'alaji:fatin

He is more miserly than a dog on a corpse

أَبْخَلُ مِنْ كَلْبٍ عَلَى عِرْقٍ

'abxalu min kalbin 'ala 'irqin

He is more miserly than a dog on a meaty bone

أَحْرَصُ مِنْ كَلْبٍ

'ahraṣu min kalbin

He is more leager than a dog

أَحْرَصُ مِنْ كَلْبٍ عَلَى جِيْفَةٍ

'ahraṣu min kalbin 'alaji:fatin

He is more eager than a dog on a corpse

أَلْأَمُّ مِنْ كَلْبٍ عَلَى عِرْقٍ

'al'amu min kalbin 'ala 'irqin

He is baser than a dog on a meaty bone

أَلْأَمُّ مِنْ كَلْبٍ عَلَى جِيْفَةٍ

'al'amu min kalbin 'alaji:fatin

He is baser than a dog on a corpse

أَلْفٌ مِنْ كَلْبٍ

'a:lafu min kalbin

He is more domestic than a dog

أَشْكَرُ مِنْ كَلْبٍ

'aṣkaru min kalbin

He is more grateful than a dog

أَحْسَنُ حِفَاظًا مِنْ كَلْبٍ

'aḥsanuḥifa:ḍan min kalbin

He is a better protector than a dog

أَصْحُ رِعَايَةً مِنْ كَلْبٍ

'aṣṣaḥuri'a:yatan min kalbin

He cherishes better than a dog does

أَطْوَعُ مِنْ كَلْبٍ

'aṭwa'u min kalbin

He is more obedient than a dog

أَنْهَمُ مِنْ كَلْبٍ

'anhamu min kalbin

He is more insatiable than a dog

أَجْشَعُ مِنْ كَلْبٍ

'ajša'u min kalbin

He is more insatiable than a dog

أَعْرَمُ مِنْ كَلْبٍ عَلَى عُرَامٍ

'a'ramu min kalbin 'ala 'ura:min

He takes meat off a bone better than a dog does

أَحَبُّ أَهْلِ الْكَلْبِ إِلَيْهِ الظَّاعِنُ

'aḥabba 'ahli 'al-kalbi 'ilayhi 'aḍa':inu

The dog loves most a stranger

أَنْوَمُ مِنْ كَلْبٍ

'anwamu min kalbin

He sleeps more than a dog does

أنعسُ من كلب

'an'asu min kalbin

He is sleepier than a dog

إذا نامَ ظالعُ الكلابِ

iḍa: na:mada:li'ual-kila:bi

When the weak dog goes to sleep

أبصرُ من كلب

'abṣaru min kalbin

He sees better than a dog

أحرسُ من كلبِ

'aḥrasu min kalbin

He guards better than a dog

ألجُ من كلبِ

'alajju min kalbin

He insists more than a dog

ألجُ من كلبِ

'alahḥu min kalbin

He insists more than a dog

أسمعُ من كلبِ

'asma'u min kalbin

He hears better than a dog

أشمُ من كلبِ

'ašammu min kalbin

He scents better than a dog

أَشَجَعُ مِنْ كَلْبٍ

'ašja'u min kalbin

He is more courageous than a dog

أَفْحَشُ مِنْ كَلْبٍ

'afḥašu min kalbin

He is more obscene than a dog

أَصْبَرُ عَلَى الْهَوْنِ مِنْ كَلْبٍ

'asbaru 'ala 'al-hawni min kalbin

He is more patient in humiliation than a dog

أَنْتَنُ مِنْ رِيحِ الْكَلْبِ

'antanu min ri:ḥi 'al-kalbi

He is more stinky than the scent of a dog

أَبْوَلُ مِنْ كَلْبٍ

'abwalu min kalbin

He pisses more than a dog

أَسْرَعُ مِنْ كَلْبٍ إِلَى وُلُوغِهِ

'asra'u min kalbin 'ilawulu:ḡihi

He drinks water faster than a dog

أَعْجَلُ مِنْ كَلْبٍ غَلْوُلُوغِهِ

'a'jalu min kalbin 'ilawulu:ḡihi

He drinks water faster than a dog

أَسْرَعُ مِنْ لِحْسَةِ الْكَلْبِ أَنْفَهُ

'asra'u min laḥsati 'al-kalba 'anfahu

He is faster than a dog that licks his nose.

أَقْلُ مِنْ صَوْفِ الْكَلْبِ

'aqallu min sawfi 'al-kalbi

He has less hair than a dog

أَعْسَرُ مِنْ صَوْفِ الْكَلْبِ

'a'saru min sawfi 'al-kalbi

He has less hair than a dog

أَنْكَدُ مَنْ كَلْبٍ أَحْصَى

'ankadu min kalbin 'aḥaṣṣa

He is moodier than a hairless dog

هُوَ فِي مَزَجِرِ الْكَلْبِ

huwa fi: mazjari 'al-kalbi

He is in the dog's niche

فُلَانُ كَلْبُ الْجَمَاعَةِ

Fula:nukalbu 'al-jama:'ati

He is the group's dog

عَلَيْهِ وَاقِيَةٌ كَوَاقِيَةِ الْكِلَابِ

'alayhiwa:qiyatankawa:qiyata 'al-kilabi

He has the protection that dogs have

جَوِّعْ كَلْبَكَ يَتَّبِعَكَ

Jawwi' kalbakayatba'ka

Don't feed your dog, he will follow you

سَمِّنْ كَلْبَكَ يَأْكُلُكَ

samminkalbakaya'kulka

Feed your dog excessively, he will eat you

كَالْكَلْبِ يُهَرِّشُ مُؤَلَّفَهُ

kalkalbiyuharriřumu'alifahu

He is like a dog who provokes his master

كَالْكَلْبِ يُهَرِّشُ مُؤَلَّفَهُ

'ahabba 'ahli 'al-kalbi 'ilayhixa:niquhu

The dog loves a strangler better than his masters

نَعِمَ كَلْبٌ فِي بُؤْسِ أَهْلِهِ

na'imakalbun fi: bu'siahlihi

a dog found grace in the misery of his masters

أَنْجَسُ مَا يَكُونُ الْكَلْبُ إِذَا اعْتَسَلَ

'anjasu ma: yaku:nu 'al-kalbu 'idaigtasala

Dirtier than a dog that washes

وَقَعَ الْكَلْبُ عَلَى الذَّنْبِ

Waqqa 'a 'al-kalbu 'ala 'addi'bi

The dog strikes the wolf

كُلُّ كَلْبٍ بِبَابِهِ نَبَّاحٌ

kullukalbinbiba:bihinabba:hun

Every dog is barking at his own door

لَا يَضُرُّ السَّحَابَ نُبَّاحُ الْكِلَابِ

la: yađurruassaḥa:banuba:hū 'al-kila:bi

Dogs' barking don't harm the clouds

الْكَلْبُ لَا يَنْبُحُ مَنْ فِي دَارِهِ

'al-kalbu la: yanbaḥu man fi: da:rihi

The dog doesn't bark at the home's inhabitants

مَالِكٌ لَا تَنْبَحُ يَا كَلْبَ الدَّوْمِ فَذُ كُنْتَ نَبَّاحًا فَمَا لَكَ الْيَوْمَ

Ma:laka la: tanbaḥuya: kalba 'addawmiqadkuntanabbahaḥanfama: laka 'al-yawm

Why don't you bark you eternal dog, you used to bark; so, what's the matter with you today.

الكلاب على البقر

'al-kila:ba 'ala 'al-baqari

The dogs provoke the cows

كَلْبٌ عَسَّ خَيْرٌ مِنْ أَسَدٍ رَبَضٍ

kalbun 'assinxayrun min asadinrabḍin

a dog that requests is better than a lion lying down

شَمَّ خِمَارَهَا الْكَلْبُ.

šammaxima:raha 'al-kalbu

The dog scented her veil

- **Kabyle Dog Proverbs**

Aqjun isseglafen ur iteṭṭara

(A barking dog does not bite)

Isseglaf wqjun 99 tikwal yef qarrus, tis miyya i bab-is.

(The dog barks 99 times to protect himself, the hundredth's time to protect his master)

Iqwjan-neṣ ur seglafen-ara fellas

(Our dogs do not bark at him)

Tekksey iselfan i wegdi, ihebberdgi.

(I remove fleas from the dog, he bites me)

Laeb n weqjun d tikaṛac, wwin n wemcic d tixebbac

(The dog's playing is biting that of the cat is scratching)

Muqger wugdi urtiwi taerict.

(The dog is so grand that the garret does not contain him)

Fkas iwegdi aclim, ad yečč ney ad yeqqim.

(Give bran to the dog, he eats it or leaves it)

Amennuy gizem yibbwas, amennuy bwgdi kullas.

(The lion quarrels once, the dog quarrels every day)

Ṭnayen am yiđan di tesraft

(They quarrel like dogs in a pit.)

Yerbaḥ weqjun əalqen-as taqlaṭ.

(The dog succeeded, we put a collar to him)

Addred aqjun, dmedd aəkwaz

(When you mention the dog, take a stick)

Aqjun ikelben d imawlan at iḥkmen

(A mad dog must be controlled by his masters)

Balak a kəeğben leḥnak, llan ula s aqjun ḥaca-k

Miyaben yezmawen, ad sraəreen yidan

(When lions disappear, dogs howl)

Sxeşren ay zzhu yiđan.

(the dogs spoiled our joy)

D laəmer bwqjun

(It is a dog's life)

Appendix 2: Ass Proverbs

- **English Ass Proverbs**

An ass endures his burden, but not more than his burden

An ass laden with gold climbs to the top of the castle

The ass loaded with gold still eats thistles

An ass must be tied where the master will have him

An ass pricked must needs trot

Every ass thinks himself worthy to stand with the king's horses

The ass that brays most eats least

He is an ass that brays against another ass

Every ass likes to hear himself bray

If an ass goes on a-travelling, he will not come home a horse

When an ass climbs a ladder, we may find wisdom in women

Wherever an ass falls, there will he never fall again

When an ass kicks you, never tell it

Scabby donkeys scent each other over nine hills

- **French Ass Proverbs**

L'âne frotte l'âne.

(The ass rubs the ass)

Les ânes parlent Latin.

(The asses speak Latin)

L'âne du commun est toujours le plus mal bâti.

(The community ass is always the worst saddled.)

Le plus âne des trois n'est pas celui qu'on pense.

(The biggest ass of the three is not the one you might think of.)

On ne fait pas boire un âne qui n'a pas soif.

(Don't make an ass drink if he is not thirsty.)

Parlez, chantez à un âne, il vous fera des pets.

(Talk to, sing to an ass, it will make farts to you.)

On tirerait plutôt un pet d'un âne mort qu'un sou de sa bourse

(You'll rather take a fart from a dead ass than a penny from its purse.)

Un âne chargé ne laisse pas de braire

(A loaded ass still brays.)

Nul ne sait mieux que l'âne où le bât blesse.

(Nobody knows better than an ass where the saddle hurts.)

L'âne vêtu de la peau de lion

An ass wearing the lion's skin

Tous les ânes ne portent pas sac.

(Not all asses carry a bag.)

L'âne avec le cheval n'atèle.

(The ass must not be harnessed with the horse.)

Quand il n'y a plus de foin au râtelier, les ânes se battent.

(When there is no hay left in the hayrack, the asses fight.)

Les chevaux courent les bénéfices et les ânes les attrapent.

(The horses chase after benefits and asses catch them.)

Un âne ne trébuche pas deux fois sur la même pierre.

(An ass does not stumble twice on the same stone).

- **Arabic Ass Proverbs**

هُوَ أَصْحُ مِنْ عَيْرٍ

Huwa' asahhu min 'ayrin

he is healthier than an ass

أَصْحُ مِنْ عَيْرِ أَبِي سَيَّارَةَ

Asaḥḥu min ‘ayri ‘abi: sayyarata

Healthier than abi: sayyara’s ass

هُوَ أَجْهَلُ مِنْ حِمَارٍ

Huwa’ajhalu min ḥima:rin

He is more ignorant than an ass

هُوَ أَغْيَرُ مِنْ حِمَارٍ

Huwa’aḡiaru min ḥima:rin

he is more jealous than an ass

هُوَ أَدْلُّ مِنْ حِمَارٍ

Huwa’adallu min ḥima:rin

he is more humiliated than an ass

هُوَ أَدْلُّ مِنْ حِمَارٍ مُقَيَّدٍ

Huwa ’adallu min ḥima:rinmuqayyadin

He is more humiliated than a tied ass.

هُوَ أَصْبَرُ مِنْ حِمَارٍ

Huwa’aṣbaru min ḥima:rin

He is more patient than an ass

هُوَ أَعْسَرُ مِنْ صَوْفِ الْجِمَارِ

Huwa’a‘saru min sawfi ’al-ḥima:ri

Less than the ass's hair

هُوَ أَقْصَرُ مِنْ عَبِّ الْجِمَارِ

Huwa’aqṣaru min ḡabbi ’al-ḥima:ri

He drinks water less than an ass does

هُوَ أَقْصَرُ مِنْ ظَمَأِ الْحِمَارِ

Huwa' aqşaru min dama'i 'al-hima:ri

Less than the ass's thirst

سَوَاسِيَةٌ كَأَسْنَانِ الْحِمَارِ

Sawa:siyaka-'asnani 'al-hima:ri

They are equal like the ass's teeth

هُوَ أَخْلَى مِنْ جَوْفِ الْحِمَارِ

Huwa' axla: min jawfi 'al-ḥima:ri

It is emptier than the ass's stomach

الْعَيْرُ أَوْقَى لِدَمِهِ

'al-'ayruawqa: lidamihi

The ass protects himself

عَيْرٌ رَكَضَتْهُ أُمُّهُ

'ayrun rakaḏathu ummuhu

An ass whose mother stepped on

فِصْفِصَاتُ حِمَارُهَا لَا يَقْمُصُ

Fişfişatun ḥima:ruha: la: yaqmuşu

Fisfisa's ass doesn't flee

نَجَّى عَيْرًا سِمْنُهُ

Najja: 'ayran simnuhu

An ass whose obesity has saved

كَانَ حِمَارًا فَاسْتَأْتَنَ

Ka:na ḥima:ran fasta'tana

He was an ass, then, became a jennet

دُونَ ذَا وَيَنْفُقُ الْحَمَارُ

Du:na da: wayanfuqu 'al-ḥima:ru

The ass says less than this

اتَّخَذُوهُ حِمَارَ الْحَاجَاتِ

'ittaxadu:hu ḥima:ra 'al-haja:ti

They made of him an ass to serve them

بَالَ حِمَارٍ فَاسْتَبَالَ أَحْمِرَةً

Ba:la ḥima:run fa 'istaba:la 'aḥmiratun

An ass pissed and made other asses piss (people's concurrence in bad behaviour)

أَصْبَحَ فِيمَا دَهَاهُ كَالْحِمَارِ الْمُوَحَّلِ

'asbaḥafi:madaha:huka 'al-ḥima:ri 'al-mawḥu:li

His problems made him become like the entangled ass.

لَا يَأْبَى الْكِرَامَةَ إِلَّا حِمَارٌ

La: ya'ba: 'al-kara:mataillahima:run

Only an as refuses hospitality

فَلَمَّ رَبَضَ الْعَيْرُ إِذَنْ

Falima rabaza 'al-'ayru idan ?

So why did the ass lie down

قَدْ يَضْرَطُ الْعَيْرُ وَالْمِكْوَاةُ فِي النَّارِ

Qad yaṣraṭu 'al-'ayruwa 'al-mikwa:tu fi: 'annari

The ass may fart while the iron is on fire

أُودَى الْعَيْرُ إِلَّا ضَرِطاً

'awda: 'al-'ayruilla: zariṭan

The ass farts excessively

وَدَقَّ الْعَيْرُ إِلَى الْمَاءِ

Wadaqa 'al- 'ayruila: 'al-ma:'i

The ass approached water

- **Kabyle Ass Proverbs**

Ayyul iw iruḥ, taberdas teqqim tetfuḥ.

(My ass is lost, what is left to me is his stinky saddle)

Yewqae wyyul di txemreḥ.

(The ass entangled in the mud)

Daacu bwyul yegrarben.

(Some ass must have tumbled down the hill)

Anegr-ik a yul, tarigt tuyal iwyyul.

(Poor you heart, the horse's saddle is on the ass's back.)

Arwu lemḥiba bwyul a yizimer urnesei bwul.

(Be satisfied with the ass's love, you senseless lamb.)

Ayyul n lehbas eebbi w rkeb fellas.

(The religious community's ass, you can load and ride it.)

Ayyul menwala ieebbi fellas.

Anyone can use the ass for loading

Akken is yenna wyyul, ma llan iqwrar di lḡnnet ur tedduy ara.

(As the ass said, I will not accompany you to heaven if there are children in it.)

Tufra bwyul deg temmu.

(It is the hiding of the ass in the haystack.)

Laeb bwyul d tikarac.

(The ass's game is biting.)

Igzra Rebbi deg wyyul yeksas acciwen.

(Allah knows the nature of the ass; so, He deprived him of horns)

Fkan tifat i wyyul.

(They gave chicory to the ass.)

Tiherci yessakwayen iywyal.

(Cunning that awakes the asses)

D ayyul id yeğgan taḍṣa.

(It is the ass that once created laughter.)

Yemmut yizem, yeggwrad wyyul.

(The lion died, the ass is still alive.)

Ayyul, mi yemyi yiger, yal ass yesnagar.

(When wheat grows in the field, the ass always goes there)

Izem iraəd, ayyul iteddu yures.

(the lion roars but the ass walks towards him)

Am min itakken claḍa i wyyul.

(It is like giving lettuce to the ass.)

Yeṭṭuki wzger yecna, i weyyul ayyer yerna?

The ox ran-away, we understand, but why did the ass follow him?

Yeffey wzrem tagwlimt-is yef weyyul yeččan tabarda.

Iywyal ṭtemkarrasen garasen

Asses bite one another

Iruḥ am tadla yečča weyyul

It disappeared like a sheaf swallowed by an ass

Yeqqen ctacta tacacit

The ass is wearing a hat

Appendix Three: Ox proverbs

- **English Ox Proverbs**

An ox is taken by the horns, and a man by his word

An ox, when he is loose licks himself at pleasure

The ox when weariest treads surest

An old ox makes straight furrow

An old ox will find a shelter for himself

- **French Ox Proverbs**

Vieux bœuf fait sillons droit

An old ox makes straight furrows

Autant chie un bœuf que mille moucheron

One bull's shit is better than that of a thousand midges

On a beau mener le bœuf à l'eau, s'il n'a pas soif

However much we take the ox to water, if he is not thirsty

Les grands bœufs ne font pas les grands labours.

Big oxen do not make big ploughs

Quand les bœufs vont à deux, le labourage va mieux.

When oxen work in pairs, ploughing is better.

- **Arabic Ox Proverbs**

كَالتَّوْرِ يُضْرَبُ لَمَّا عَافَتِ الْبَقَرُ

Kattawri yuḍrabu lamma: 'a:fat 'al-baqaru

Like the ox, he is beaten when the cows despise water

تَوْرٌ كِلَابٍ فِي الرَّهَانِ أَقْعَدُ

tawru kila:bin fi: 'ariha:ni 'aq'adu

Kila:b's ox is slow in the race.

النَّوْرُ يَحْمِي أَنْفَهُ بِرَوْقِهِ

'attawru yahmi: 'anfahu birawqihi

The ox uses his horn to protect his nose.

أَزْهَى مِنْ تَوْرٍ

'azha: min tawrin

He is more arrogant than an ox.

أَبْلَدُ مِنْ تَوْرٍ

'abladu min tawrin

He is more stupid than an ox.

- **Kabyle Ox Proverbs**

Azger amellal tassemtakw.

A white ox is fatty.

Tajlibt teswa, azger iyunfa.

The flock drank water, the ox has disdained it.

Yedles uzger deg wdref.

The ox fell in the furrow.

Azger matyusbet, ad iffey iwedref.

If you hurry the ox, he will go out of the furrow.

Tagmaṭ haṭ yer yezgaren, yer yiwen uzaglu ay qqnen

We find brotherhood in oxen, they are yoked in one yoke.

A yazger anwi id gmak? Inna yas d win widkerzay.

You ox, who is your brother? He said: the one whom I plow with.

Azger yaεqel gmas.

The ox recognizes his brother

Argaz yeṭwaṭṭaf seg iles, azger yeṭwaṭṭaf segw mezzuy.

The man is taken by the tongue and the ox by the ear.

Wid yumnen ddunit tezhaten, ččan am yezgaren tšsen.

Those who believed in life are distracted, like oxen, they ate and slept.

Nan as i wzger uyal s yen, inna allen iw kter bwallen n wen.

They said to the ox: make a u-turn, he said: my eyes are larger than yours are.

Izgaren temyewwatan f lemdawed.

Oxen fight for the mangers.

Azger mi tyeđlen, fellas ketren ijenwiyen.

Once they knock down the ox, they go around him with many knives.

Azger is yekkat wi yhuza yerzat.

His ox kicks, anyone who is hit has bones fractured

Azger ikerhen lmaæun irenud lehmum.

The ox that dislikes the cart causes troubles.

Tayuga alamma tejhed ar ad tawed saħdidad tbedd.

Only if oxen are strong in ploughing, will they reach the slope.

Swawal ur yeđali lebni, tayuga ur tkarrez igenni.

With words we cannot build a building and a pair of oxen cannot plough the sky

Ikerziť wzger, yeččat wyyul.

The ox ploughed it (the field), the ass ate it (the harvest)

Nğæ ayyul yefhem wzger

Prick the ass, the ox apprehends.

Appendix Four: Camel proverbs

- **English Camel Proverb**

It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God

The last straw breaks the camel's back

The camel never sees its own hump, but that of its brother is always before its eyes

- **French Camel Proverb**

Il est plus aisé pour un chameau de passer par le trou d'une aiguille, que pour un riche d'entrer dans le royaume de Dieu

It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God

- **Arabic Camel Proverbs**

هُوَ أَحَقُّ مِنْ جَمَلٍ

Huwa 'ahqadu min jamalin

(He has more hatred than a camel)

هُوَ أَهْدَى مِنْ جَمَلٍ

Huwa 'ahda: min jamalin

(He is more guided than a camel)

هُوَ أَسْهُونُ مِنْ جَمَلٍ

Huwa 'ahwanu min jamalin

(He is easier than a camel)

هُوَ أَغْيَرُ مِنْ جَمَلٍ

Huwa 'agieru min jamalin

(He is more jealous than a camel)

هُوَ أَصْوَلُ مِنْ جَمَلٍ

Huwa 'aṣwalu min jamalin

(He bites more than a camel does)

هُوَ أَبْخَرُ مِنْ جَمَلٍ

Huwa 'abxaru min jamalin

(He has foul breath more than a camel)

أَخْلَفَ مِنْ بُولِ الْجَمَلِ

Huwa 'axlafu min bawli 'al-jamali

(More different than the way the camel urinates)

هُوَ أَهْوَنُ مِنْ ظَرْطَةِ الْجَمَلِ

Huwa 'ahwanu min ḍartati 'al-jamali

(It has less value than the camel's fart)

فُلَانُ جَمَلُ السِّقَايَةِ

Fulan jamalu 'a-ssiqa:ya

(He is a camel used for water drawing)

هُوَ أَخْفُ جِلْمًا مِنْ بَعِيرٍ

Huwa 'axaffu ḥilman min ba'i:rin

(His patience is lighter than that of a camel)

هُوَ أَذْلُ مِنْ بَعِيرٍ سَانِيَةٍ

Huwa 'aḍallu min ba'i:risaniya

(He is more humiliated than a water-drawing camel)

إِنَّمَا يَجْزِي الْفَتَى لَيْسَ الْجَمَلُ

'innama: yajzi: 'al-fata: laysa 'al-jamalu

(It is the boy who rewards not the camel)

إِذَا زَحَفَ الْبَعِيرُ أَعْيَتْهُ أُذْنَاهُ

'ida: zaḥafa 'al-ba'i:ru a'yathu uḍuna:hu

If the camel creeps, his ears will exhaust him.

الْجَمَلُ مِنْ جَوْفِهِ يَجْتَرُ

'al-jamalu min jawfihi yajtaru

The camel ruminates

أَخَذَتِ الْإِبِلُ أَسْلِحَتَهَا

'axaḍati 'al'ibilu 'asliḥataha:

The camels took their weapons.

لِكُلِّ أَنْاسٍ فِي بَعِيرِهِمْ خَبْرٌ

likulli 'una:sin fi: ba':rihum xabarun.

People get news from their camel.

لَأَفْعَلُ كَذَا حَتَّى يَلِجَ الْجَمَلُ فِي سَمِّ الْخِيَاطِ

La: af'alkaḍa: ḥattayalija 'al-jamalu fi: sammi 'al-xiya:ṭi

I won't do this until the camel goes through the eye of the needle.

هَذَا أَمْرٌ لَا تَبْرُكُ عَلَيْهِ الْإِبِلُ

Ha:ḍa'amrun la: tabruku 'alayhi'al-'ibilu.

Such a matter does not make camels lie down.

أَمَّهُ لَكَ الْوَيْلُ فَقَدْ ضَلَّ الْجَمَلُ

'amhi laka'al-waylu faqad ḡalla'al-jamalu

Hurry up the camel is lost.

سَيْرُ السَّوَانِي سَفَرٌ لَا يَنْقَطِعُ

Sayru assawa:ni safarun la: yanqaṭi'u

The camels' walk is a journey that does not end.

قَدْ اسْتَنَوَقَ الْجَمَلُ

Qad istanwaqa 'al-jamalu

The he-camel became a she-camel.

كُرْهَا تَرْكَبُ الْإِبِلَ السَّفَرَ

Kurhan tarkabu 'al-'ibila' assafara

The camels travel unwillingly.

يُكْوَى الْبَعِيرُ مِنْ يَسِيرِ الدَّاءِ

Yukwa: 'al-ba'i:ru min yasi:ri 'adda:'i

The camel is ironed for easy disease

- **Kabyle Camel Proverbs**

Am tyerza bwlyum: ayen yekrez at yaefes.

Like the camel's ploughing, he tramples on all that he plows.

Am tyerza bwlyum: ayen yeddez ktar bwayen yekrez.

Like the camel's ploughing, he tramples on (the furrows) more than he ploughs

Igzra Rebbi deg wlyum, yeksas afriwen.

Knowing the nature of the camel, Allah deprived him of wings.

Awisæan æenqiq am lyum, ur diteffey ara segs awal d ilem.

Happy is someone having a neck like that of the camel, no empty words will go out of it.

Alyum uriwal ara taerurt is.

The camel does not see its own hump.

Les études effectuées sur la métaphore dans la cognition et la culture ont démontré que les métaphores conceptuelles varient à travers les langues et les cultures sous l'influence de caractéristiques culturelles. La présente dissertation offre une étude culturelle et cognitive de quelques proverbes animaliers en anglais, français, arabe, et Kabyle. Son objectif est d'explorer les influences socioculturelles que subissent les correspondances de domaines conceptuels caractérisant la métaphore conceptuelle LE COMPORTEMENT HUMAIN EST LE COMPORTEMENT ANIMAL ainsi que l'utilisation métaphorique des animaux dans les proverbes. Pour atteindre notre objective, nous nous référeront à la théorie de la métaphore conceptuelle et la théorie culturelle et cognitive de la métaphore. En nous basant sur des recueils de proverbes de chien, âne, bœuf, et chameau ainsi que les représentations culturelles des animaux, nous comparons les correspondances de domaines conceptuels et l'utilisation des animaux dans les proverbes. Les résultats démontrent que les correspondances de domaines conceptuels et l'utilisation des animaux sont influencées par des aspects culturellement spécifiques.

Mots clés: métaphore. Cognition. Culture. Variation. Correspondances de domaines conceptuels. Utilisation métaphorique des animaux. Proverbes. Anglais. Français. Arabe. Kabyle

ملخص

أظهرت أبحاث تتعلق بالاستعارة في مجال الإدراك والثقافة أن الاستعارات تختلف باختلاف اللغات والثقافات تحت تأثير الخصائص الثقافية. تتم هذه الرسالة بعرض دراسة بين اللغات والثقافات لبعض الأمثال الخاصة بالحيوانات في الإنجليزية، الفرنسية، العربية، والقبائلية. الغاية من هذه الدراسة هي محاولة إظهار التأثيرات الثقافية على تطابقات الاستعارة "السلوك البشري هو سلوك الحيوان" وعلى استعمال الحيوانات في بعض الأمثال الإنجليزية، الفرنسية، العربية، والقبائلية الخاصة بالكلب، الحمار، الثور، والجمل. للقيام بذلك، نعتمد على نظرية الاستعارة المفاهيمية والنظرية الثقافية الإدراكية للاستعارة. ثم اعتمادا على مدونة تشمل أمثال خاصة بالكلب، الحمار، الثور، والجمل وعرضا يخص دور الحيوانات في الثقافات الإنجليزية، الفرنسية، العربية، والقبائلية نقوم بمقارنة الاستعارات في الأمثال قيد الدراسة. أظهرت نتائج الدراسة أن الأمثال تشمل تطابقات متباينة بسبب الاختلافات الثقافية وكذلك استعمال الحيوانات في الأمثال.

كلمات البحث: الاستعارة. الإدراك. الثقافة. الاختلاف. تطابقات الاستعارة. استعمال الحيوانات. الأمثال. الإنجليزية. الفرنسية. العربية. القبائلية.