

THE DOG AS A METAPHOR OR SYMBOL IN CHINESE POPULAR PHRASEOLOGY

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The current article is an attempt to examine the Chinese popular phraseology with dog motifs from the point of view of how Chinese proverbs and sayings make use of the motif mentioned as a/ a metaphor or b/ a phraseological symbol. Between the symbolics of the dog in Chinese traditional and popular culture there is sometimes a significant difference, the dog as a symbol in phraseology can be classified mainly as an ambivalent symbol, in spite of the prevailing positive symbolics in various areas of traditional culture.

Key words: dog, animal, phraseology, symbolics, Chinese popular literature and culture

The analysis of figurativeness of the dog motif in Chinese popular phraseological expressions – 熟语 *shuyu*, mainly the genres 谚语 *yanyu* (proverbs, further as /yy/), 俗语 *suyu* (sayings and popular phrases, expressions or colloquial expressions, further as /sy/); 歇后语 *xiehouyu* (sayings or alternatively gnomic proverbs, or proverbs containing a riddle/ enigmatic folk similes or truncated witticisms) and in the part of 成语 *chengyu* (further as /chy/) which became popular or widely understandable, denoted also as 俗成语 *suchengyu* (popular sayings or phrases).¹ The basic file of these phraseological

¹ With regard to the unclarity when defining the individual categories of Chinese popular phraseology 俗语 *suyu* or 俗话 *suhua* I decided to respect in my research the most recently works of PRC provenance – above all the collective monograph of WU Zhankun 武占坤 – MA Guofan 马国凡: *Yanyu 谚语 (Proverbs)* and the recent monograph of WU Zhankun 武占坤: *Zhonghua yenyao yanjiu 中华谚语研究 (Research of Chinese Proverbs and Popular Verses)*. They are regarded as the most

expressions – paremias (further sa /p/) under research is formed by the total of 266 Chinese dog /p/s and it was selected from two representative Chinese collections: 中国俗语 *Zhongguo suyu* (*Chinese Popular Proverbs and Sayings*) collected and edited by Jin Lu 金路, published in 1998, and 中国俗语大辞典 *Zhongguo suyu da cidian* (*Great Dictionary of Chinese Popular Proverbs and Sayings*), published in 1991, under the edition of WEN Duanzheng 温端政, containing together 7 000 paremias, mainly of Han-Chinese origin. Among them about 2 100 proverbs, sayings and popular phrases used animal motifs. The group of dog /p/s is the one of richest groups in the file of „six domestic animals – 六畜 *liu chu*“ /p/s.

The article focuses on 1/ the visualization of the ways animal motifs metaphorize on the basis of a categorization of /p/s according to their metaphorical meanings, 2/ on the characteristics of the shift of the dog metaphor into a symbol, and also presents some observations about the interaction between the phraseological and traditional cultural symbolics, which allows to classify some of symbols as *symbols par excellence*.

It is necessary to begin by underlining that these smallest popular verbal art genres with the dog or another animal motif in general strictly differ from other popular verbal art genres (e.g. fables and fairy tales), where the animal became anthropomorphized (personified or animated) – and the human dimension is introduced into the reality, which means that human features, abilities or feelings are attributed to animals. In most animal paremias one can speak about retro-application of zoomorphic metaphors on the human world. The basic characteristics of animal paremia metaphors is clearly formulated in the comprehensive works on metaphor of the prominent Slovak linguist and Austronesist Viktor Krupa.²

Animals as a cultural phenomenon

In the Chinese cultural and historical context the importance of each one of the “six domestic animals – 六 *liu chu*” ranged from their ritual and cultish importance to their functional use in hunting, guarding human and property, carriage and transportation; parts of animal bodies were (and still are) used in traditional medicine and finally formed (and still forms) a substantial

well-grounded and complex on the field of paremiological research in the PRC, and their contribution resides mainly in the clear and understandable definition of basic paremiological categories.

² KRUPA, V. “Pojmová vzdialenosť a účinnosť metafory (Conceptual Distance and Efficiency of Metaphor)”, pp. 3-9; and KRUPA, V. Metafora na rozhraní vedeckých disciplín (Metaphor on the Boundary of Scientific Disciplines).

component of diet (only with some exceptions in the case of dog meat). It is slightly more complicated to characterize the particular animal in the spheres of spiritual culture, each of which may also function as source of symbolical meaning of a given animal. Animals were frequently present in mythology, religious conceptions and teachings, philosophy, popular superstitions and customs, the lunar calendar and the allied zodiac; they participated on the creation of language culture, and can be found in literature, creative arts, and even in the garments of various nationalities. Although nearly all aspects of "animal culture" may be potential motivation sources for popular phraseology, the scope of their functional usage prevails. In traditional symbolics the sphere of popular spiritual culture – mainly some magic practices, myths, legends, popular superstitions and beliefs – plays a more substantial role.

The dog and the spiritual culture

Nature as a source of inspiration is significant in predominantly agrarian societies for all genres of popular culture, but maybe the concurrent influences of philosophical and religious teachings are the reasons why this source of inspiration is significant in China for all kinds of spiritual and artistic activities. Starting from the very beginning, the primary cosmogonic conceptions (from primeval totemistic imaginings³ and cultish shamanistic practices), the later philosophical thinking of Confucianism and Taoism; and after its arrival, naturalization and customizing to the Chinese cultural milieu Buddhism, influenced the formation of mankind's relationship to the outside world, to organic and inorganic nature.

The dog motif in popular phraseology

The rise and completion of animal /p/s in agrarian societies have been above all, motivated by empirical experience – via observation of and getting acquainted with animals. In applying the experience from the animal world in the world of man, it is necessary to appreciate that in the case of some animals – their features, abilities, needs, behaviour etc. in connection with their position on the traditional cultural value scale – their metaphorization is not necessarily mapping out the agrarian population's relationship to them, or, their economic significance in the given cultural context, but it is more or less under the influence of the traditional cultural symbolics. The metaphors of animal /p/s certainly includes some of the most persuasive evidence of the powers of

³ China, probably like the whole of mankind, experienced in antiquity a period of totemism, when the animal took precedence over the human and later it was considered equal to the human. E. Erkes presumes, that: "... the continuous pattern of evolution in China has never entirely blocked off this period, as was the case in Mediterranean Europe and because of that the animal in China never becomes such a thoroughly rightless object of exploitation as in the West and it still maintained something of his initial relationship with humans" (ERKES, E. „Der Chinese und das Tier“, p. 289).

observation, imagination, creativity and abstract thinking as expressed in the condensed wisdom of many centuries, created or accumulated by common people, the most frequent originators of paremias, which also represent statements on the hierarchy of qualities most valued by cultures. The use of zooapellatifs in the literal and especially in the metaphorical meaning in /p/s is in some cases enriched with the important role of animals in the traditional cultural symbolics and also from concrete zoological observations.

In contrast to European traditions, where the boundaries between nature and human culture were fixed much more distinctly, and the research of nature in different periods of history was determined by the social, religious and philosophical atmosphere of the times, for example, R. Sterckx claims that: "the conceptualization of animals in ancient China clearly reflects a predominantly sociocentric model. The Chinese tended to think of their animal with morality (ethics) As such, animals, more than any other object in the natural world, provided a lens through which the natural realm and the social order of human society converged."⁴ For example, the motif of the dog (allied with other animal motifs), its behaviour or action as an argument often appeared in classic Confucian and Taoistic philosophy. Well known is the allegory of Zhuangzi 庄子: **The dog is not regarded as good according to its good barking, so the man is not considered virtuous and able according to his nice words** – 狗不以善吠为良，人不以善言危贤，⁵ that gradually became popular and a component of the Chinese phraseological treasury.

Motivation and empirical sources of dog paremias

The associative field of animal metaphor in general and of the dog metaphor in Chinese culture is very large. It is proved not only by the fact, that in the file under research the dog is one of the most numerous motifs of /p/s, but also by the large number of dog metaphors which shifted to become phraseological symbols.

The total of empirical sources of /p/s partly reflects what the anonymous creator of paremias noticed and to what extent. In 214 /p/s, created not only to express a certain figurative meaning, the frequency of particular empirical sources is as follows:

- 1/ characteristics of the dog as such (78 /p/s);
- 2/ good features, abilities of the dog, at the same time advantageous for the human (71 /p/s);
- 3/ bad feature of the dog and at the same time disadvantageous and dangerous for human (33 /p/s);

⁴ STERCKX, R. *Animal and Daemon in Early China*, p. 240.

⁵ A CONCORDANCE TO CHUANG TZŪ, p. 67.

4/ relationship between the dog and other dogs or animals, or his influence on other animals (18 /p/s) – in 5 /p/s good relationship, in 5 /p/s bad, in 1 /p/ indifferent, only a coexistence in 2 /p/s, no relationship in 1 /p/ a in 4 /p/s a dog's negative influence on dogs or other animals;

5/ relationship between the dog and human (14 /p/s) – negative consequences for the dog in 9 /p/s, (in 3 /p/s just punishment, or bad approach of the human) and in 5 /p/s positive consequences, advantages for the dog.

Considering that the MM of /p/s can have different connections to their literal meaning⁶ (further as /LM/) and so to the empirical basis, source or experience; the attitude, relationship of the human to the dog, or his appreciation cannot be characterized upon this ranking; only in the case, that we would assume, that the contemporary interpretation of the MM is the same as the primary motivation for the creation of the /p/ – namely what the anonymous creator originally intended to express with the given /p/. With definitiveness we can say only that the ancient and recent authors prevalingly of agrarian social status had very good powers of observation and closely observed the dog in detail. It is especially proved not only by the visualization of the dog's good features, for example, the good treatment of the young by parents or the dog's relationship to his home, represented mostly by the person of his owner and master; but also of some of his rather curious habits – for example, that the dog likes snow and is playful; or of his ability to bear in mind an unjust punishment (so-called situational memory, as denoted by K. Lorenz).

A small dog bears in mind a thousand years – 小狗记千年 – MM: *The person of low social status doesn't forget injustice*

If the snow falls, the dogs feel good (are delighted) /chy/ – 雪落狗喜

To estimate the man's attitude towards an animal (especially in the case of dog) more precisely seems to be possible only after certain characteristics of the relationship between the LM (empirical basis or source) and the MM are considered. Probably the best indicator is the frequency of types of metaphorization – objective, shifting, opposite or ambivalent (equivocal), and the frequency of the dog in position of unequivocal positive or unequivocal negative figure in those /p/s, which implicate an evaluation of it.

The ways of metaphorization

Maybe the behaviour of an animal is metaphorized simply on the basis of the impression it makes on the man, and in the relationship between the LM (empirical basis or source) and the MM we can find various kinds of metaphorization: a/ objective, b/ shifting, c/ opposite or casually even d/ an

⁶ I mean the literal meaning, marked according to the Slovak linguist and phraseologist F. Miko as "a statement about reality" (MIKO, F. *Frazeológia v škole* (Phraseology in the School), p. 66).

ambivalent (unequivocal) metaphorization, and sometimes an interaction also occurs between the experience with a real animal and the traditional cultural animal symbolics.

a/ An objective metaphorization means treating a metaphorization in accordance with the empirical experience gained from the relationship with the animal or from the observation of the animal, which means, for example, that bad features or behaviour of the dog are metaphorized as bad ones and good ones as good etc., and in the same manner they are figuratively applied to man.

b/ As shifting metaphorization I denote those cases, in which common (for the dog) or indifferent (neither good or bad) features, abilities, behaviour etc. are treated negatively.

c/ Opposite metaphorization is present when common (for the dog), indifferent or positive features, abilities, behaviour etc. of the dog serve as metaphors of negative features, abilities, behaviour etc. of man. Exceptionally we can also find a certain kind of positive metaphorization of negative features and abilities of an animal.

d/ Ambivalent (equivocal) metaphorization is to be found only occasionally, mainly in polysemic dog /p/s.

Metaphorization of the dog motif in paremias

Groups of metaphoric meanings

It can be stated in general, that most MMs of animal /p/s belong to the following groups:

1. **The person characterized** (*in comparison with others, too*) by: a/ mental features, b/ character (also behaviour), c/ abilities, d/ needs, e/ tools, f/ property and position
2. **The person and his action:** a/ in general, b/ his approach to problems and their solutions (*right or wrong, or wrong selection of preferences*), c/ action determined by: precepts (*law, ethical norms, ethics in general*), rules (*forces of nature, too*), surroundings (society), or in general – by limits of ambitions or opportunities, d/ faults and mistakes, e/ rewards or punishments for action (*just or unjust*)
3. **The person within society:** a/ relations between peoples as such (*good, bad, disharmony*), b/ mutual help, c/ influence of one person on another
4. **The person and the life:** a/ happiness, b/ misfortune, c/ bad luck, d/ unusual (impossible) situation

The kind of metaphorization if needed is listed behind the /p/s as – MM-shifting or MM-opposite; in the case of type a/ the MM is denoted only as MM, and in the case of type d/ I do not make any special denomination, only mention all MMs of the polysemic /p/. The MM of /p/, in the case, that it is not evident at first sight, is listed behind the /p/.)

Now I would like to concentrate on some of the interesting examples of metaphorization according to the literal meanings /LM/ of /p/s. I will also mention some /p/s, which were created only or mainly because of figurative expression, the majority of them have metaphoric meanings not evident at first sight or in some way curious.

- The MM of dog /p/s in their LM statements about the appearance, good and bad features, abilities, behaviour or habits of the dog (in comparison with another animal or a human, too) usually remain in the 1st group, more rarely in the 2nd group and only exceptionally within the 4th group.

Objective metaphorization of good features and abilities

Hardworking dogs (also horses) are metaphors for hardworking people, the faithfulness or devotion of the dog to his master is used as a metaphor for an ordinary man's devotion and loyalty to his master; the abilities of dogs fighting enemies are multiplied by their number – here the dog serves as a metaphor of an ordinary but good man, sometimes even a hero.

For example:

The labour of a dog and of a horse or: To work like a dog and a horse – 犬马之劳 /sy/

The heart of a dog and of a horse (word for word translation) – 犬马之心 /sy/ – the /p/ also lexicalized in the meaning of faithfulness and devotion

A good dog guards (watches after...) its own family (house) – 好狗看自家

In which house a dog is fed, that house's door it will guard (*Mongolian nationality*) – 狗吃谁家的饭，就守谁家的

[When] dogs are many, do not fear wolves, [when] peoples are many, do not fear tigers – 狗多不怕狼，人多不怕虎

Even a skilful wolf cannot resist a pack of hounds – 能狼难敌众犬

Shifting metaphorization of common features

The waywardness of the dog is a metaphor for the excessive or even irresponsible behaviour of a man, who unexpectedly becomes rich.

If a dog fattens, then he goes crazy – 狗肥了就发狂

Opposite metaphorization of positive, common or indifferent features and behaviour

Blandishing (greasiness, also snuggling) serves as a metaphor for the servility of a man for gain advantages; fastidiousness, demandingness on food as a metaphor for greediness or even of a bad action of a bad person; courage, fearlessness, determination when faced with troubles metaphorizes as a lack of shame, reverence for moral values or even a nasty overeagerness; utilitarianism (more or less a common feature of the dog in regard to gaining food or some advantages) metaphorize as selfishness, utilitarianism; unconsciousness of

deficiencies and shortcomings (common feature) serves as a metaphor for the insufficient self-criticism of a stupid person. A frequent source of metaphor or even of a symbol of man's incorrect or wrong action is the "aggressive" behaviour – barking or biting of the dog, in fact only its necessary defence.

For example:

An ever-greedy dog – 喂不饱的狗 /sy/

The heart of a dog is set only upon bones (*Uyghur nationality*) – 狗的心操在骨头上 – MM-shifting, even opposite: *A bad man's concern is only self-profit*

Even the Buddhist divinities are kind-hearted, though all the dogs dare to lick them (*that is lick their sculptures*) – 佛爷老师, 狗都敢舐(添) – MM-shifting: *The man has no shame – nothing is sacred to him*

If the dog see a bone, he behaves friendly (*Miao 猫 nationality*) – 狗见骨头亲

[As if] a dog wags its tail – 狗颠屁股垂儿

A stupid dog does not know it stinks – 傻狗不识臭

A good-for-nothing dog, and it calls the wolf evil (*Kazakh nationality*) – 没用的狗, 偏偏起名狼见愁

A non-barking dog bites the man most – 不出声的狗才咬人

A biting dog does not show its teeth – 咬人狗儿不露齿

A fierce dog doesn't bark, a barking dog isn't fierce – 猛犬不吠, 吠犬不猛

- **Exact likeness or similarities between the dog and another animal**

In the majority of these /p/s the motif of the dog metaphorize on the basis of objective evaluation.

Objective metaphorization of good features and abilities of the dog in comparison

In some Chinese /p/s the dog and its relationship to its puppies and family is even set as an example for human. We can see the motif of good relationship, good treatment of the young by their parents in /p/s on most animals, the strange thing is that the motif is absent in horse proverbs. The MM generally contains a kind of unpronounced criticism felt towards the man, that in certain situations an animal is better than a human. The different importance of duties of the dog (to guard), the cat (to catch mice), and the rooster (to announce the day-break) make the dog, the cat and the rooster metaphors for equally diligent people, indispensable for society.

For example:

A dog carefully raises his puppies, a cat carefully raises his kittens – 狗养狗疼, 猫养猫疼

A cat tenderly loves its kittens, a dog tenderly loves its puppies – 猫有猫疼, 狗有狗疼

Both a cat and a dog knows tenderness – 猫儿狗儿识温存

You raise a cat catch mice; you raise the dog to guard the house – 养猫捕鼠，蓄犬防家

The dog guards at night (or guards the night), the rooster announces the day-break – 狗守夜，鸡司晨

A good dog doesn't jump, a good cat doesn't miau – 好狗不跳，好猫不叫 – MM-objective: *A man, who really has some abilities, doesn't need any demonstration, or to boast*

Objective metaphorization of the dog's bad features

If the ferocity of the dog and the mildness of a sheep are emphasized, the dog serves as a metaphor for a bad man.

Three sheep heads hardly oppose (or resist) one dog head – 三只羊头，难当一只狗头

Opposite metaphorization of the dog's positive, common or indifferent features

Resolution and perseverance of the dog by gaining food is a metaphor of the greed⁷ or graspingness of evil people – the source for metaphorization is probably the use of the motif of the dog and of gaining human excrement for nutrition and of the motif of the wolf as a negative symbol in /p/s.

An ever-greedy dog – 喂不饱的狗 /sy/

A dog travels a thousand li to eat excrement; a wolf travels a thousand li to eat people – 狗行千里吃屎，狼行千里吃人

A specific (unique) example is an objective (rather positive, and so opposite) metaphorization of a negative feature: stealing of food by the dog and the cat used as metaphors for small, poor people, in their poverty compelled to immoral action

[As] a dog eats stolen food, [so] a cat eats the wheat of the mouse – 狗食贼粮，猫食鼠粮

• **Differences between the dog and another animal**

Objective metaphorization of the dog's positive features and behaviour

A cat remembers (knows) the house, a dog remembers (knows) a human – 猫认屋，狗认人

A cat [is well in] with a bowl of food, a dog with [his] master – 猫跟饭碗，狗跟主人

⁷ The motif of a dog serves mostly as a metaphor for greediness 贪 *tan*, anger 嗔 *chenhui*, and of a jealous action 忌妒行为 *jidu xingwei*, marked as *dog laws or rules* 狗法 *goufa* for example in Buddhist literature or in chan *gong'ans* 公案 (FOJIAO DE DONGWU 佛教的动物 (Animals in Buddhism), p. 80).

A cat has no emotions (is hard-hearted), a dog has faithfulness (is faithful and truthful) – 猫无情, 狗有义(气)

A cat makes use of power (word-for-word translation – i.e. fawns on someone powerful), a dog is faithful (i.e. loyal, truthful) – 猫势利, 狗义气

Chinese /p/s in the LM **comparing the dog and the human** are, in their construction, compound sentences, mostly composed of two parts, where the one part speaking about man, is an explanation of the MM part, which uses a dog motif. Their creation often includes two-part psychological parallelism, or the three-part parallelism, mentioned by A. N. Veselovskij.⁸ It is directed not only towards the expansion of figurativeness but also to the achievement of substantially stronger effectiveness.

• **Exact likeness or similarity between the dog and the human**

The /p/s of the group are mostly demonstrations of an objective metaphorization of the dog motif, the main parallels between the dog and human occur in features (the attitude to wealth/well-fedness), positive attachment to their home-place; in abilities (to guard, or secure); in behaviour (non-conflicting in the relationship of man and woman), in the need for community, and in manners – mostly in a positive sense; in negative life events (e.g. unjust punishment etc).

[It is] not advisable [for] people [to be too] well-off, [just as it is] not advisable [for] dogs to be well-fed – 人不宜好, 狗不宜饱 – MM-objective: People become avaricious if they are too wealthy, just as dogs become lazy if they are too much well-fed

A dog doesn't dislike his poor family, [so as] a man doesn't complain [even] about his poor land – 狗不嫌家穷, 人不嫌地薄

A good dog is able to guard [even] three neighbours, [so a] a good man (hero) to protect [even] three [neighbouring] villages – 好狗护三邻, 好汉护三村

A dog needs another dog, a person another human, evil spirits and ghosts like paper money⁹ (word for word translation) or: A dog with a dog, a man with a man, and ... (Zhuang 壮 nationality) – 狗找狗, 人找人, 纸钱爱鬼神

In the group we also find /p/ s created mainly or explicitly for the purpose of figurative expression of a certain MM:

- **A man's labour is very important, but his salary is very low – He labours as an buffalo, [but] eats a dog's food – 出牛劲, 吃狗食 or He labours as an buffalo, [and, but] eats food for a pig and a dog – 出的是牛马力, 吃的是猪狗食**

⁸ VESELOVSKIJ, A. N. *Historická poetika (Historical Poetics)*, pp. 59 – 65.

⁹ I.e. paper made to resemble money and burned as an offering to the dead.

- *Non-conflictiness, obedience in the relationship of man and woman (in married life) or of two people of different social status (both a traditional standard of Confucian ethics)* **A good (correct) dog doesn't fight a hen, [as] a good (just) man doesn't fight a woman** – 好狗不和鸡斗, 好男 不和女斗 or **A cat doesn't fight a dog, as a poor man doesn't fight a rich one** – 猫不跟狗斗, 穷不跟富斗,
- *Every one has his own truth, or something to respect, or that designates his action* – here a dog probably serves as a metaphor for an ordinary man – **A dog has the truth of a dog, a demon the truth of a demon** or **A dog has his truth and a demon his own** – 狗有狗道理, 人有人道理
- The MM of the 2nd group **The man and his action** - /c/ action determined by: precepts (*law, ethical norms, ethics in general*), rules (*forces of nature, too*), surroundings (*society*), in general - by limits of ambitions or opportunities is represented by /p/s with LM/s/: The animal is objectively restricted (limited) in certain ways or: Precepts and rules applied to every (subjectively good or bad) animal

Objective or shifting metaphorization of the dog's positive, common or indifferent features

If in LM low stature, or blindness limits the abilities of the dog, the little or blind dog motif functions as a metaphor for a characterless, unscrupulous, and sometimes poor and unlucky man, and all activities of a dog for the purpose of gaining food are used as a metaphor for the mistaken striving or vain effort of a man (used mainly as a reproach); a scabby dog serves as a metaphor for an unable or good-for-nothing person.

The motif of the dog eating human or other excrements is very often used exclusively in Chinese /p/. The fact that dogs like to eat excrement is valid on the broadest level everywhere in the world, not only in the case of the lack of other food. In the past but in the present too, mainly in prevailing agricultural communities or countries, countries with big social differences there are many dogs, living on the “border of society” – without homes, on the streets. Eating of excrements is an actual biological need for them – the bottom-line condition for survival. Only in a few such /p/ is their MM in accordance with this empirical source. In Chinese, Arabic and other /p/s, this kind of dog's behaviour gained from observation more often has an opposite MM – that of bad behaviour, acting or of a bad (insidious, unworthy or greedy) man, and the excrement (human or dog's) is always a metaphor of something bad or unclean, immoral. These /p/s repeatedly contain an “anthropomorphization” of the animal, the animal is for the reason of figurative expression judged upon the criteria valid in human society (which is not usual in animal /p/s).

A little dog has climbed [even] up to the top of the wall – 小黄狗爬上墙头顶 – MM- opposite: *A characterless man with the help of dishonest practices attained high position*

A scabby dog even with help does not climb the wall – 赖狗扶不上墙

A hungry dog doesn't leave the outhouse (closet) – 饿狗离不开茅房 – MM: *A bad men is unchangeable*

A dog follows the excrement, doesn't matter that it smells – 狗朝屁走, 不知道臭 – MM/a: *If the man likes something or benefits from something, he is not able to judge about right or wrong* or MM/ b: *A picture of decadence, or even of moral decline*

Dogs cannot change eating excrement – 狗改不了吃屎 – MM: *Bad people cannot change their bad nature*

Opposite metaphorization of dog's positive or common features and abilities

Even more dogs can't withstand a big enemy, here the dogs in comparison with a leopard – a metaphor of a hero – mirror small, ordinary yet bad people; an unexpected surplus of food for a dog serves as a metaphor of unexpected gain for a bad and unworthy man.

Even [when] dogs are many, [they] are not able bite to death a leopard – 狗多咬不死豹子

Even a blind dog can find a pile of excrement – 瞎狗碰见一堆屎

- **The identity of a man** – namely „what makes a certain kind of man a certain kind of man“, and distinguishes him from other people, the impossibility or possibility to change his identity, or substitute that man by another man is the MM represented by groups of /p/s in LM **statements about the identity of the dog, or of the impossibility or possibility to change the whole identity or appearance, qualities, abilities or behaviour of the dog into the whole identity or appearance, qualities, abilities or behaviour of another animal, or substitute it with another animal and vice versa.** Most /p/s within these groups were created only or particularly for the reason of figurative expression, they originally had no real motivation derived from empirical experience. The motif of the dog in this kind of /p/ (often allied with the motif of a mythical animal) functions to accentuate the contradiction between an ordinary or useless man – a man without any talent or extraordinary qualities (represented in most cases by the motif of a dog, sometimes connected (allied) with a pig) and a hero or extraordinary man (represented mostly by the motif of horse, water buffalo or one of the mythical animals) or vice versa, always dependent on this or another animal.

Objective metaphorization of the dog's identity

If in LM it is stated, that the dog is only a dog, the dog is a metaphor for a poor, small man; the black and the white dog are metaphors for evil and good persons respectively.

Even a dog with a golden saddle is still [only] a dog (*Mulao 佬佬 nationality*)
– 狗备金鞍还是狗

A dog is only a dog, it doesn't matter if he has a golden dog-collar – 狗就是狗, 哪关金圈套上头

[If] it is a black dog, you can't wash him white – 是黑狗, 洗不白

For example the /p/: **[On a] dog's head [you] cannot place golden flowers** – 狗头上差不得金花, is created only for the purpose of figurative expression: *Bad and self-confident people do not change after obtaining a high position*

Shifting or opposite metaphorization of the dog's identity

A dog can have only dog puppies, a dog cannot be the son of a tiger – in these cases the dog serves as a metaphor for an ordinary man, a man without extraordinary features, abilities or talent; if in LM the dog usually cannot follow (that means cannot have as a fellow) the tiger – the tiger and the dog are metaphors for peoples of high or low social status; if in LM the horse gets old, he is not like a dog – the dog serves as a metaphor of a person without any useful abilities and the horse mostly a metaphor and a symbol, too of a man of extraordinary features and abilities; the dog, from whose mouth will never come ivory tusks, serves as a metaphor for the irreversibly bad person and the ivory tusks for wise and spiritous words

For example:

Dragons beget dragons, dogs beget dogs – 龙生龙种, 狗生狗种 – a polysemic /p/ with MM: *a/ Heroes beget heroes and common people beget common people* or *b/Like parents, like children* or *c/ Like master, so pupils, or followers*. This /p/ is only one example of many synonymous /p/s of the original one, where the MM/a is limited to heroes – extraordinary peoples:

Dragons beget dragons, phoenixes beget phoenixes – 龙生龙子, 凤生凤儿

A tiger father won't have a dog son – 虎父无犬子 – MM: *A brave, talented father won't have a good-for-nothing son*

A wild wolf cannot be re-educated as a domestic dog – 野狼养不成家狗 –

[When] a wolfling grows up, he cannot become a dog (*Kirghiz nationality*) – 狼崽长不成狗

Even if a cat raises a dog, he is no relative – 猫养的狗不亲 – MM: *Some facts are unchangeable* or *You can't change a man's character*

A fish doesn't suit a dragon, a dog hardly can follow a tiger – 鱼不偶龙, 犬难偕(同)虎

Even if a horse “which can run a thousand leagues [per day]” becomes old, he won’t be like a dog – 老了的千里马还不如一条狗 – MM: *Even if an extraordinary man becomes old (loses his position) he won’t lose his abilities or influence*

Out of a dog’s mouth [will] never come ivory tusks – 狗口里吐不出象牙

The group of /p/s with the motif of so called **zoohybrids**¹⁰ (the dog corresponds to the notion of a dog, or serves the purposes of a dog only in half) was probably created mainly or only for figurative reasons, and we can find there various kinds of metaphorization:

a/ objective metaphorization of the dog motif

The zoohybrid of the dog and the cat is a metaphor for a person maintaining double positive features – those of a man with his own will-power and creativity, but also obedient and susceptible to the opinions of other people

From the front it is a thirty years old cat, from behind a thirty years old dog – 前三十年的猫，后三十年的狗

b/ opposite metaphorization of the dog’s positive (common or indifferent) features, abilities etc.

The zoohybrid of a cat and a dog serves only as an irony of utilitarians, persons, that change their mind according to situation or circumstances; sometimes the cat-dog zoohybrid the dog can be seen as a metaphor for a cruel, outrageous person and the cat that for a gentle, sensitive person (the negative metaphorization of the dog and the positive one of the cat in the same /p/ occurs only occasionally).

Sometimes [he has] the face of a cat, sometimes that of a dog – 一时猫脸，一时狗脸

Cat on one day, dog on another – 猫一天，狗一天

Opposite metaphorization of the dog’s common ability

The dog, from whose mouth would never come a human speech, serves as a metaphor for a bad person, who never speaks gently

Out of the dog’s mouth will never come a human speech – 狗嘴里没人话

Some other /p/s with the motif of human-dog zoohybrids are created to express MMs as follows:

– *A human does not behave like a human* - where the motif of dog bones or of dog excrement are metaphors for bad character or substance, or for an incorrect action

¹⁰ A. Krikmann denotes “zoohybrids” in some types of /p/s, “in which the individual is excluded from two or more species or subspecies ... and they ... fall into the paradigm ‘neither this nor that’, in which referents other than animals can also appear.” (KRIKMANN, A. “Proverbs on Animal Identity: Typological Memoirs,” pp. 42 -43).

Human skin covers dog bones – 人皮包狗骨

[He] eats the food of a human,[but] takes the shit of a dog – 吃人饭，拉狗屎

In the group of p/s/, where in LM a possibility of change is expressed, we can find MMs as for example:

- *Hypocrisy, deception or misguiding of other people* – the dog wearing a black gauze cap (worn by officials) serves as a metaphor for a bad, double-minded person

A dog [who] wears an official's cap and pretends to be a human, [is the same as] a tiger [who] wears a (Buddhist) string of beads and impersonates a divinity – 狗戴纱帽装人样，虎戴素珠(串珠)装假神

- *A bad person cannot expect a help from good (other) people* – here the dog is a metaphor for an unworthy person

A dog sitting in a sedan (chair) no human would carry – 狗坐轿子不受人抬

- Dog in /p/s/ with the LM **Dog and another animal in mutual relationship or the influence of the dog on another animal** are mostly metaphors for qualitatively different people in mutual relationship or influencing each other and their MM belonging to the 3rd group **The person in society** or to the 4th group **The person and life**

- **Relationship**

Objective metaphorization of the dog's abilities

The dog and the wolf fighting each other always serves as a metaphor for the conflict between two equally strong enemies or rivals

If the wolf and dog fight each other, their families are both anxious – 狼狗打架，两家害怕

Shifting metaphorization of dog's common or indifferent features

Conflict between two dogs metaphorizes as conflict between two equally wrong persons

[When a] dog bites another dog, both have fur in their mouths – 狗咬狗，两嘴毛

Opposite metaphorization of the dog's positive, common or indifferent features

An objective statement about kinship, or about a good relationship metaphorizes in opposite MM: *Bad people always consort*; a fight between two dogs as a mortal combat, in the same manner it is also lexicalized in political vocabulary. Specific and also seldom is an opposite metaphorization of the motif of a pig joined with a dog – there the dog and the pig serve as metaphors for equally evil people.

A dog bites another dog – 狗咬狗 – *Gou yao gou /sy/*

A pig and a dog are of the same family – 猪狗是一家 – *Zhu gou shi yi jia*

- **Influence**

Opposite metaphorization of dog's positive, common or indifferent influence on another animal (or animals)

A dog attracting flies is a metaphor for a bad person's wrong influence on his followers (flunkies); female dog in heat, attracting male dogs serves as a metaphor for immoral behaviour by a woman.

Behind a dog there is [always] a swarm of flies – 狗的身后总是跟着一群苍蝇

If female dogs do not present their posteriors, male dogs don't mount them – 母狗不出屁股,公狗不上身

Among the /p/s about **negative influence** there are also /p/s created only to express a certain figurative meaning:

– *Compassion for those, who suffer*

If a dog is dying, a fox catch breath too – 狗死狐也喘

– *A powerful person who has lost power will be less respected by ordinary, common people*

A phoenix, when landing on earth, will be not as good as a chicken; a tiger, when leaving the hill, will be insulted even by a dog – 凤凰落地不如鸡, 虎落平原被狗欺

- The /p/s with the LM **Dog and human in mutual relationship, or the dog's influence on the human and vice versa** originally had a real motivation derived from empirical experience of everyday life and from various areas, in which the dog was used. They acquired metaphorical meanings only later in the process of their long-term use with literal meanings. As we can understand from their MMs, they rather characterize the man himself and his approach to the dog, to its ownership and use or breeding and belong most frequently to the following groups of MM: **1. The person characterized** (*in comparison with others, too*) by: a/ mental features, b/ character (also behaviour), c/ abilities, d/ needs, e/ tools, f/ property and position and **2. The person and his action:** a/ in general, b/ his approach to problems and their solutions (*right or wrong, or wrong selection of preferences*)

Objective metaphorization of the dog's ownership for a human

Ownership of a dog (also of a pig and rooster) serves as a metaphor for prosperity, or for property in general

A family is wealthy – [there are] **a fleshy pig, a robust dog, and a crowing rooster** – 家里兴, 肥猪壮狗叫鸡公

If the /p/s, originally meant as advice for the positive approach to the dog by breeding, or instructions for the punishment of a bad dog, or as warnings

against the nasty or strange dog later acquired MMs,¹¹ those generally belong to the 2nd group **The man and his action** b/ approach to problems and their solutions (*right or wrong, easy or difficult, or it is necessary to know about the heart of the matter, choose the most suitable moment for action etc.*), for example:

a/ Positive approach to the dog (advantageous for the dog)

Feeding the dog at night so that it can guard the house and property, in contrast to feeding a cat in the morning, otherwise it will not catch mice at night is metaphorized as the solution of a problem at the right time, or of the different ways to the solution of different problems.

In the morning you should feed the cat, and at the evening the dog – 日饲猫, 夜饲狗

b/ Punishing the dog, beware of the nasty dog

The punishment (correct or incorrect, just or unjust) is used as a metaphor for the solution of a problem (difficult or easy, just or unjust).

If you want to strike a dog, you should use the same strength as if trying to catch a tiger – MM- objective /b: *You should never underestimate an enemy* – 打狗要有擒虎力

Close the door [when you] beat a dog; close the cage [when you] catch a hen – 关门打狗, 堵笼抓鸡

c/ Trust the dog to guard some food

– these /p/s serve as metaphors of incorrect action

On the neck of a dog hang some meat, into a wolf's retreat put a sheep (*Mongolian nationality*) – 狗脖子上挂肉, 狼窝里圈羊 /sy/

On the dog's head don't hang a zongzi¹² – 狗头上挂不住粽子

Don't put a bone at the dog's head – 狗头上搁不住骨头

Don't hide in a dog's house a remaining mantou¹³ – 狗窝里放不住剩馒头

d/ Too many people want to kill a dog

¹¹ Wu Zhankun mentions 10 basic thematic groups of Chinese proverbs – yanyu – as follows: 1/ practical wisdom, 2/ ways to cultivate a man – educational proverbs, 3/ relations within society, 4/ history and political situation of the past, 5/ life in general, 6/ local natural curiosities and customs, 7/ nature in general, 8/ agriculture branches, 9/ industry and trade, and 10/ culture, civilization and knowledge in general (WU Zhankun. *Yanyu 谚语(Proverbs)*, p. 112-113). In all these groups we can find, sometimes often (mainly in the groups 1/, 2/, 3/, 5/, and 10/), animal proverbs with the MM mentioned above.

¹² A pyramid-shaped dumpling made of glutinous rice wrapped in bamboo or reed leaves.

¹³ A steamed bun.

– the figurative meaning of the /p/ is: *If too many people do the same thing, there will be more confusion, and they cannot succeed*, or a metaphor for disunited action.

If there are more [too many] people, they are not able to kill the dog – 人多打狗不死

Ambivalent (equivocal) metaphorization of the dog's common behaviour

The fact, that the dog always relies on his master – in /p/s for the reason, that the property and high social status or position of the dog's master will determine the relationship and behaviour of others towards his dog – might be 1/ only a metaphor for the reality of life, that everyone relies on something or someone; or 2/ the MM can be opposite – the dog serves as a metaphor for a bad man, relying on people in high positions.

For example:

[So] A dog relies on the power of a man (namely his master), [as] a fire relies on the power of a wind – 狗仗人势, 火仗风势 or

A dog relies on the power of the man (his master) – 狗仗人势 – MM/b: *Bad people rely on the power of their masters, and so they can better bug the others*

In the part of /p/s with LM **Negative or incorrect approach of a human to a dog** we find /p/s created mainly to express a certain figurative meaning:

- a/ *If the man tolerates evil people (enemies), they will harm him again.*
- b/ *It is necessary to entirely destroy (eliminate, "shoot") the enemy* – the dog in these /p/s serves as a metaphor for an enemy.

[If you] rescue a drowning dog; he will turn back his head and bite you (word for word translation) – 救了落水狗, 回头咬一口

There is a close connection to the /p/: **Beat a drowning dog** – 打落水狗, which initially had two MMs:

- a/ *Suffer under twofold punishment, twofold bad luck* (reduplication of misfortune occurs in MM of Chinese /p/s very often) or
- b/ *Completely crush a defeated enemy* – later in the same manner also lexicalized in political vocabulary.

The dog and traditional cultural symbolics

Dog symbolics emerging from traditional Chinese mythology or popular legends

The dog is a frequent motif mostly in myths and legends of Chinese nationalities of the North and in some areas of the South. I will mention only some of them: a/ *foundation myths, linked by the motif of the Spirit (Heavenly Spirit) and the dog, who together created the world* (elsewhere in the world

very rare)¹⁴; b/ *myths and legends about the dog, who brought food to mankind – more precisely the five cereals* 五谷 (rice, two kinds of millet, wheat and beans)¹⁵; c/ *myths and legends about the dog – forefather of mankind, based on kinship*¹⁶; d/ *legends and myths about the dog – forefather (not in consequence of marriage or copulation of a human and a dog), who in hard times saved people by feeding them with her own milk*¹⁷ and for example also e/ *myths and legends about the dog, which offered the man a certain life span (a long one) in exchange for human care* (three meals a day, good nurture, ban on beating and even on abuse). Within the majority of these nationalities along with these mythological traditions the eating of dog meat was tabooed and there were various kinds of restrictions and orders for correct human behaviour towards the dog, too.¹⁸ Myths and legends of the nationalities mentioned probably originate in primary dog totem worship and supply many of the popular customs and rituals. The Chinese character for a dog was and is still used for creating surnames, if the mother of the child was born in the Year of dog, the dog becomes a child's guardian spirit.

Dog symbolics emerging from the oldest ritual practices, popular customs and superstitions

In antiquity the dog played an important role in religious sacrificial rituals – offerings in the form of food or beverages, for example, one of the main offerings was a hot dense soup prepared from dog meat 犬羹 – *quan geng*. Eating of dog meat was often connected with religious sacrificial rituals and the fighting – magic practices probably aimed to help defeat the enemy by killing a dog. The dog was one of the first sacrificial animals, already in the early Qin dynasty (221– 206 B.C.) later replaced by a water buffalo, sheep and pig. It was

¹⁴ They are numerous not only in Central Asia, Mongolia and Northeastern Asia, among nomadic, pastoral and hunting nations (Mongols, Kazakhs, Uyghurs), but in specific areas in the South, too.

¹⁵ Widespread not only among nomadic nations in the north of China (Mongolian tribes, Uyghurs in Xinjiang, Kazakhs; and after the move of Mongolian tribes southwards (12. - 13. century) the legend infiltrated also into the milieu of Tibeto-Burmese languages – it was adapted e.g. by nationalities *Yugu* 裕固 a *Hui* 回 etc. (SANGJI Zhaxi 桑吉扎西: *Xuquan tonling 戌犬通灵* (The Eleventh Dog and His Ability to Communicate with Spirits), p. 69).

¹⁶ From myths „*about the marital union of human and dog* 人狗婚配 “ especially well known is a myth about the Dragon-like dog Panhu 盘瓠, worshipped as forefather among the Yao 瑶, She 畲, Miao 苗, Li 黎, Tujia 土家 nationalities in the South of China and among the Dais 傣 in Hainan. Following the continual movement of these nationalities and in the proces of mutual communication and mixed impacts the myth about Panhu can be found in modified versions also among the nationalities Yi 彝, Lisu 傣, Pumi 普米, Mosuo 摩梭 atd., even in some areas of Southeastern Asia – in Vietnam or in Thailand.

¹⁷ Widespread among the *Hani* 哈尼, *Lahu* 拉祜, *Mulao* 仡佬, and *Gelao* 仡佬 nationalities.

¹⁸ SANGJI Zhaxi 桑吉扎西. *Xuquan tonling 戌犬通灵* (The Eleventh Dog and His Ability of Communication with Spirits), pp. 66-67).

mainly sacrificed to the Wind spirit for the purpose of calming down the wind. Later the very dog was worshipped as the Wind spirit in person, referred to as a *Fengshen* 风神, *Fengshi* 风师 etc. Some nationalities often sacrificed a dog during disasters caused by natural forces, or during the rituals invoking rain or wind. In primeval sacrifices the blood of various animals also had important symbolic meanings in accordance with their various capabilities. Northern nationalities once had a custom to spread coffins with dog blood, then they became a red colour and acquired the ability to repulse the evil spirits from the dead man. Han nationality people after cutting the dog meat into portions spread its blood on the four town gates, likewise the *Miao*, *Dong*, *Dai* spread with dog blood their clothing to prevent evil spirits, and hung parts of the dog's body (its head or tail) on doors and gates. Nearly all magic practices stressed the dog's ability to repulse evil spirits and demons. Before the Spring and Autumn Period (until the 8th century B.C.), the dog, together with the rooster and the tiger, was regarded as a Door or Gate (guardian) spirit 门神 *Menshen*, until it was later replaced by mythological and historical characters. Among several ancient Chinese nations the dog was also regarded as a guide of wandering and scrawling spirits of deceased people – it not only guided them, but also enabled reunion with the spirits of their ancestors. W. Eberhard, for example, mentions that in North China the dead were also given paper dogs for their protection, or the lunatics were washed with dog's dirt in order to expel the demons.¹⁹

Very rich is the symbolics of the dog as a good, lucky or evil, unlucky omen by explaining the meaning of the dreams 释盟 *shimeng*, for example in the Han dynasty (206 B.C.– 220) the dog's howl (or the dog allied with the pig) was regarded as an omen for misfortune, disaster or even a war.²⁰

More /p/s, for example, mirror a superstition that the arrival of a strange dog indicated the wealth of a family in the future (a rational core probably lies in the ability of the dog to guard the house and property against thieves).

For example:

A dog will bring riches, a cat will bring nobleness; if a pig arrives, a disaster is coming – 狗来富 猫来贵 猪来主灾晦

The dog symbolics and the popular taboo

Among several nationalities in China a popular taboo (*strict rule against ... strong control or prohibition of ...* 禁止 *jinzhi*, 抑制 *yizhi* or 禁忌 *jinji*) was applied towards the dog (as a totemistic animal, forefather, benefactor or saviour of mankind), especially the taboo against eating dog meat, for example

¹⁹ EBERHARD, W. *Lexicon chinesischer Symbole*, pp. 80-81.

²⁰ SANGJI Zhaxi. *Xuquan tonling (The Eleventh Dog and His Ability of Communication with Spirits)*, pp. 200-206.

among the originally pastoral and hunting nationalities of the North-east such as the *Hezhe* 赫哲, *Elunchun* 鄂伦春, or *Evenki* 鄂温克; and of the Northwest in what is today Xinjiang among the Kazakh, Uzbek and Kyrgyz nationalities. The reason is probably most truthfully grasped in the /p/: **A dog catches wildlife, guards the door [and] so maintains abilities as virtues; a man dares not to eat it** – 狗捕猎看门有功德, 人不忍杀食.

The food taboo of several nationalities including the Tibetans, *Qiang* 羌, *Yi* 彝, *Bai* 白, *Naxi* 纳西, *Pumi* 普米, *Lisu* 傈僳, *Nu* 怒, *Hani* 哈尼 etc. in the southwest, south, and southeast of China, was a consequence of surviving mythological conceptions (of the dog as a donator of cereals and beans) and of the relatively long period of the pastoral and hunting way of life. The taboo of the southern *Yao* and *She* nationalities emerged from worshipping the *Panhu deity* 盘瓠神 as a forefather. Dynasties of non-Chinese origin such as the Mongolian Yuan dynasty (1271- 1368) and the Manchu Qing dynasty (1644 - 1911) enforced the prohibition of eating dog meat in the whole empire. The clan of Genghis Khan concurrently practised totemism and believed in the copulation of the dog and human. Under the Qing dynasty's rule the prohibition of meat eating was also applied to cattles. These prohibitions had an official character, and influenced only the life of the upper class, the common people still slaughtered dogs for meat, only less frequently. The attitude of dog worshipping nationalities towards the dog cannot be compared with the attitude to any other animal.

The dog and the phraseological symbolics

The shift of the dog metaphor into an phraseological symbol

According to A. N. Veselovskij: "... if the parallel appealed, came into the praxis, custom or cult, crystalized and got established for long time ... then it became a symbol, also acting independently in other connections like an indicator of appulative."²¹

In some cases dog /p/s to certain extent represent language or more exactly phraseological symbols, whether "...*genuine symbols*, where a certain conceptual distance must exist between the real, the true – by means of which something has to be symbolized and the symbolized itself; ...*quasi symbols*, where the symbolized and the real are mutually in closer connection, or *symbols par excellence*, where there is a harmony/conformity between symbolic functions in the language and in the culture, too."²²

²¹ VESELOVSKIJ, A. N. *Historická poetika* (Historical Poetics), p. 64.

²² DOBROVOL'SKIJ, D. – PIIRAINEN, E. *Symbole in Sprache und Kultur. Studien zur Phraseologie aus kultursemiotischer Perspektive*, pp. 68 and 75.

If we apply the typology of symbols mentioned above to paremias with dog motifs, we can denote the dog as a phraseological symbol in the following cases and connections²³:

- in /p/s emphasizing the ability of the dog to guard the house and property, the dog functions as a symbol of the guardian
- hardworking dogs (also horses) are symbols of hardworking people
- by comparing duties, the dog, the cat, and the rooster function as symbols of industrious and responsible people, indispensable for society
- the dog in comparison with the cat, in the case of exact likeness of good features and behaviour, serves as a symbol of a noble man, respecting the principal ethic standards valid in the family
- the dog's relationship to its home-place or even to poverty is always used as a symbol of a person who is both loyal and modest
- the dog's devotion to his master is a symbol (even an example for humans) of observance of one the basic Confucian virtues – that of filial piety 孝 *xiao*, or of faithfulness, loyalty to one's master 忠 *zhong*
- in comparison with the wolf the dog is always used as a symbol of a small, but essentially good man, in the motif of the dog – wolf fight they serve as symbols of equally strong enemies
- the dog functions as a symbol of the ordinary man in /p/s, where it is compared with the evil spirit or demon
- the motif of the dog's excrement is a symbol of something wrong, immoral, the motif of eating excrement by a dog functions as a symbol of incorrect action of a bad person even of moral decline
- the resolution and perseverance of the dog in gaining food is a symbol of the greed and graspingness of evil people
- the motif of a small dog can symbolize: a/ a small, poor or unimportant person or b/ an unscrupulous person
- if the dog in /p/s is depicted together with the tiger or any mythological creature, it always serves as a symbol of an ordinary man of very low social status, without any extraordinary features, abilities, talent or possibilities
- a dog as a property is always a symbol of wealth (often allied with the maintainance of one or all of the other *six domestic animals*)

²³ In terms of the definition mentioned above it seems, that in the case of objective metaphorization it would be possible to speak about *quasi symbols* and in that of *shifting metaphorization* about *genuine symbols*; but it cannot be applied continually, therefore I would prefer to use only the denomination *phraseological symbol*.

- the relationship between the female and male dog can be denoted as a symbol of immoral behaviour

Conclusions

In terms of phraseological symbolics we can speak about the dog in the Chinese context as an ambivalent symbol. The equivocalness of attitudes towards the dog is also stated by Sangji Zhaxi: "... in times when people have not yet known its features, behaviour etc., ... they indeed acknowledged its loyalty, faithfulness, obedience, tameness, and cunning (cleverness), but at the same time they disdained its dependence on humans – from this point of view emerge, for example, nearly all abusive expressions ..." (see SANGJI 1998: 298). As I mentioned in the introduction, the dog played and still plays in the popular spiritual culture of several nationalities an important and chiefly a positive role and it would be necessary to pay more attention to the paremias of these nationalities, so that we can speak about the interaction of traditional symbolics and phraseological symbolics with more force. If we concentrate on part of the traditional symbolics – that of the Chinese zodiac – which is in some way integrating for the Han-Chinese and for most of the ethnic groups – the characteristics of the dog, and of the person born in the Year of the dog are almost unequivocally positive (more or less it can be stated about all of the animals of zodiac, differences are, maybe in their positions on the traditional value scale, based on their features and abilities etc.) and so it is not always in accordance with the metaphorical meaning of dog paremias, or with the dog symbolics in popular phraseology.

If we draw more attention to the traditional appreciation of each one of the "six domestic animals" in the Chinese historical and cultural context, often reflected by its prevailing objective and positive, or negative metaphorization in paremias, negative metaphorization (whenever objective, shifted or opposite) of the dog motif in Chinese paremias we can probably also explain as a consequence of his lower position on the traditional animal value scale in China (mainly in the case of the Han nationality people). So the motif of the dog is presumably the most suitable among the "six domestic animals" motifs for the purpose of pillorying the mistakes, faults, and shortcomings of man.

If we consider a symbol in terms of a simple definition of C. G. Jung, that: "... a word or a picture is symbolic if it contains more that can be grasped at first glance ..." ²⁴ and as it formed the theoretical basis of W. Eberhard's pioneer writing on Chinese symbolics, the traditional codified "symbols" are reflected only in some Chinese animal /p/s. D. Dobrovolskij and E. Piirainen distinguish two kinds of cultural symbols: "... *strong cultural symbols* – bound to specific

²⁴ JUNG, C. G.: Man and His Symbol, p. 4.

cultural space and to specific time periods, beyond which they have no significance or can be interpreted symbolically quite differently; and ... *weak cultural symbols* – presupposing a certain “professional” level of knowledge – they are not known in a broader stratum of the cultural community.” If two same language (phraseological) and traditional *strong cultural symbols* concur, there is a origin of a “... *symbol par excellence*, where it is a concordance between the two symbolical functions – both in the language and in the culture”.²⁵ In the case of evaluations resulting from the file of dog paremias under research, we can already point out, that the dog represents a *symbol par excellence* of loyalty or reliability. The traditional symbolics of the dog, regarding it as a Door or gate (guarding) spirit *Menshen* is in concordance with its phraseological symbolics as a guardian of the house, family members and property and can also be regarded as a *symbolics par excellence*.

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²⁵ DOBROVOĽSKIJ, D. – PIIRAINEN, E: *Symbole in Sprache und Kultur. Studien zur Phraseologie aus kultursemiotischer Perspektive*, pp. 68 and 75.

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