

VILNIUS UNIVERSITY
FACULTY OF PHILOLOGY

Kamilė Gabrilaitė

Study programme “English and Another Foreign Language (Spanish)”

**CONTRASTIVE CULTURAL ANALYSIS OF LITHUANIAN AND ENGLISH PAREMIA
OF DOMESTIC ANIMALS**

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Academic Supervisor – Dr. Irena Snukiškienė

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INTRODUCTION

One of the greatest and most influential filmmakers of all time, Federico Fellini once said that a different language is a different vision of life. Rita Mae Brown, a well-known feminist writer, emphasised that language is the road map of a culture, it tells you where its people come from and where they are going. So, these prominent people highlighted the significance of the language. Language is not only verbal or written communication, but it also contains a lot of cultural aspects. It is a popular belief that language has close ties with culture, and it is true. The branch of study that analyses the relation between the language of a particular ethnic group and its culture, a relationship that reflects the essential features of the worldview of a community, its cultural patterns (schemas) and the characteristics of its mentality, is Ethnolinguistics.

In the past, language was studied only from the structural point of view, later, such memorable scholars as Benjamin Lee Whorf attempted to investigate language in the context of culture: scholars started to delve into the problems of text perception, interpretation, and linguistic thinking. This polysemous content is to a large extent hidden in folklore. Folklore not only involves riddles, magical sayings such as incantations and curses, sound imitations, jokes, and tongue twisters, but also proverbs and sayings. In the main Lithuanian encyclopaedia “Visuotinė lietuvių enciklopedija” proverbs and saying are defined as small phrases that evaluate and summarize people’s experiences, introduce norms of national behaviour, they usually advise and warn, and specify the regularities of nature and social life. However, folklore as a branch of culture, and especially proverbs and sayings, started to be deeply investigated very late, only at the beginning of the 20th century with the works of the first “modern” paremiologists Karl Friedrich Wilhelm Wander, Frederick Edward Hulm and Friedrich Seiler (Mieder, 2004, p. 125–126). The object of their research comprised only one language. International studies on proverbs and saying, their comparisons between two or more languages began much later. According to the Lithuanian most prominent paremiologist Kazys Grigas, the impulse for the wider comparative research of proverbs was given when in 1965 the Finnish folklorist Matti Kuusio launched the magazine *Proverbium*. Grigas was only one of the few Lithuanian authors that analysed the semantic foundation of proverbs of different languages. He was the only one who published works on Lithuanian proverb equivalents to Romance and Germanic proverbs. A catalogue of Lithuanian proverbs and idioms was created on his initiative which became a starting point for further significant works of paremiology and paremiography (Zaikauskienė, 2009, p. 70). Nonetheless, Grigas and other

Lithuanian linguists emphasised that very little attention is still paid to the analysis of paremiology. There are a lot of foreign authors who are comparing proverbs of different languages. However, Lithuanian works in this field are still scarce. Grigas, Giedrė Bufienė, Lilija Kudirkienė, and Dalia Zaikauskienė will be the main Lithuanian scholars and Ali Dabbagh, Arvo Krikmann, Wolfgang Mieder, Neal R. Norrick, Roumyana Petrova and Farzard Sharifian will be the main English linguists whose literature works on proverbs will be further analysed and discussed in the part of literature review. This research is special not only because it studies proverbs and sayings in English and Lithuanian languages, but also because it explores the profound and specific concept of domestic animals, which is culturally very important for both languages, especially for Lithuanians as their paremia is closely related to motifs of living nature and occupations related to hunting, fishing, and farming. Even Krikmann (2001, p. 19) noted years ago that in folklore there is a wealth of proverbs and sayings with domestic animals, but little research has been done to study their semantic and cultural aspects.

Grigas also emphasised that proverbs are too poorly analysed as the object of folklore (1998, p. 134). As mentioned, Lithuanian works in this field are still scarce. Little research has been done in order to collect proverbs and sayings, to examine their semantics and to compare them with other languages and cultures. Moreover, paremia is in a constant state of change. Some meanings of proverbs and sayings disappear, and new ones appear. As Mieder (2004, p. 128) highlighted, the change in the semantics of the paremia is influenced by the rise of technology, wars, etc. Also, it can be observed that sometimes if we lack reliable knowledge of some cultural aspects, we can experience serious misunderstandings in our communication with natives who speak a foreign language. My work is slightly different as it shows how the contrastive cultural analysis of English and Lithuanian paremia of domestic animals reveals cultural features of both nations.

The thesis raises the **hypothesis** that animalistic paremia serve as a great reflection of cultural linguistic worldview, which differs in the Lithuanian and English languages.

The **subject** of the thesis is proverbs and sayings on domestic animals in the English and Lithuanian languages.

The **aim** is to conduct a comparative analysis of proverbs and sayings on domestic animals in the English and Lithuanian languages, examining their cultural semantics. In order to achieve the aim, the following **objectives** have been set:

1. to introduce the theoretical background related to ethnolinguistics and paremiology;
2. to design the database of English and Lithuanian paremia on domestic animals;
3. to analyse each paremia's etymology and semantics;
4. to compare the English and Lithuanian paremia from the cultural perspective (to show how the domestic animal is presented in each culture).

The empirical data for the research has been taken from the following sources: Lithuanian proverbs and sayings have been selected from the online database "Lietuvių patarlės ir priežodžiai" created by the Institute of Lithuanian Literature and Folklore and from paper book *PO SAVO STOGU VISAIP PATOGU 5640 patarlių ir priežodžių* by Vanda Lipskienė; English paremia have been selected from Mieder's dictionary *Dictionary of American Proverbs* (mainly), *Oxford Concise Dictionary of Proverbs*, *The Facts on File Dictionary of Proverbs* and from *Dictionary of Proverbs and Their Origins*.

The structure of the paper. The paper consists of the introduction followed by the theoretical overview, the methodology, the empirical analysis, the conclusions and the summary in both languages. The introduction part provides the subject, the aim, the objectives and the novelty. The theoretical part consists of five chapters and eight subchapters. The first chapter deals with ethnolinguistics, the study of the relationship between language and culture. The second chapter is related to the first and third chapters as it explains the Sapir-Whorf theory and gives a deeper insight into the correlation between language and culture. The third chapter presents the theory of the Linguistic Worldview. The fourth chapter reveals that paremia is a part of folklore tradition. The last chapter covers paremiology in depth: it answers the question of what it is, provides features and functions of paremia, gives information on the previous studies done in this field, identifies a contrastive approach and the methods that help to analyse paremia with domestic animals. Then, the methodology involves the presentation of the applied methods. The empirical part provides the empirical research of paremia with domestic animals, and the degree of equivalence between proverbs (and sayings). The conclusions respond to the objectives and hypothesis that have been raised in the introduction part. Lastly, references, sources, summaries in both languages are listed at the end of the BA paper.

I. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND OF RESEARCH

1. 1. Cultural linguistics (Ethnolinguistics): the relation of language and culture

Ethnolinguistics is a part of anthropological linguistics, a branch of linguistics that studies the relationship between language and culture, analyses the correlation between language and group mentality and their traditional behaviour (“Visuotinė lietuvių enciklopedija”). Although ethnolinguistics is generally considered a new science, which was born as a counterweight to structuralism, its objects of research such as languages, cultures, and their relations to thinking had been investigated much earlier. The relation of language and culture has been analysed since the 18th century (Sharifian, 2017, p. 1). Such well-known scholars as Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767–1835), Franz Boas (1858–1942), Edward Sapir (1884–1939), and Whorf (1897–1941) all indicated the importance of the investigation of language and culture (Subbiondo, 2017, p. 215). Ethnolinguistics, the new discipline, appears only at the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries (Skukiškienė, 2019, p. 41). Various scholars used different names for the correlation between language and culture. They offered such names as *cultural linguistics*, *anthropological linguistics*, or *linguistic culture*. The name *ethnolinguistics* which is widely used today was given by the scholars of the Ethnolinguistic School of Lublin. The name is compounded of two Latin words *ethnos* and *lingua*. *Ethnos* means ‘nation’ and *lingua* – means ‘language’. Therefore, the name *ethnolinguistics* reflects a clear linguistical connection with *ethnos* – the people community that is identified by a language and a culture and this is how the relation of language and culture occurs to exist. People living in communities use a language to encode experiences, cultural characteristics, and conceptualizations of the world. So, ethnolinguistics explores the cultural heritage of a certain national community and the worldview which appears in the language of that community (Snukiškienė, 2019, p. 41). After all, culture may affect language and vice versa, they both work equally and interchangeably. However, as Sharifian (2017, p. 1) points out, cultural linguistics “has never been fully developed”, which means that this field lacks further investigations and more profound analysis.

According to what is mentioned above, folklore researchers highlight that proverbs reflect the worldview, cultural and sociocultural beliefs of certain communities by creating and using cultural schemas, cultural categories, and cultural metaphors. Cultural schemas, cultural categories,

and cultural metaphors are the main tools that help to examine the relationship between language and cultural conceptualisations (Sharifian, 2017, p. 7).

Cultural schemas are very closely related to cognitive science. They can also be called “cognitive schemas” as they reflect beliefs, norms, rules, expectations of behaviour as well as values which are formed through various experiences (Sharifian, 2017, p. 7). Since cultural schemas are part of cognitive science, they have traditionally been viewed as mechanisms that benefit the construction of cognition: storing, interpreting, organising, and communicating new information in our brains. Therefore, such schemas provide a basic foundation for pragmatic meanings. E.g., in different languages the word *time* is conceptualised differently. For example, according to the Cambridge Dictionary, the English proverb *Time is money* is used to emphasise that time is limited, and it should be valued as money is. So, English speakers perceive time as a valuable resource that should be not wasted. Therefore, the expressions with the word *money*: “waste, save and spend time” enter the daily usage (Dabbagh, 2016, p. 6). For instance, people can use the word *waste* in the sentence “it is a waste of time going to the doctor with the mildest complaints” (Collins dictionary), and the word *save* could be placed in the sentence “this invention will save you hours” (Dabbagh, 2016, p. 6), as the word *spend* could be inscribed in “I have spent years trying to learn Japanese” (Oxford Learner’s Dictionaries). However, in the Persian language time is associated not with money but with gold: *time is gold*. As it is mentioned in Encyclopaedia Iranica by M. Alram, Persia had a remarkable coinage. The Persian king invented *the gold daric* golden coins that were made of 98 percent of pure gold. As a result, a better equivalent of an English proverb *time is money* in the Persian language is *time is gold*, as it better depicts existing correspondents in the nation’s culture.

Categorisation is another aspect related to conceptualization. This cognitive process starts in the early stages of childhood and develops throughout the all-life span. Many studies have shown that children from 2 years old begin to categorise objects and events based on functional, causal, and other features (Gelman & Meyer, 2011, p. 97). Through growth, cognitive development extends, and children start to assume that their experience is interchangeably associated with the language they speak. In other words, categorisation has a mutual connection with culture. As Robert J. Glushko, Paul P. Maglio, Teenie Matlock, and Lawrence W. Barselou (2008, p. 129) mention, cultural categorisation is a study that focuses on the acquisition and usage of categories that are shared by culture and involved in the language. Cultural categories apply to objects, events,

settings, mental states, relations, and other components of experience (*for example, birds, weddings, parks, and etc.*) (Glushko, Maglio, Matlock, & Barselou, 2008, p. 129). Typically, the environment where the children live, and the surrounding of caregivers and parents influence children's categorisation process. Lexical items of the language often function as labels for categories. For instance, In English, the word *food* refers to a category and the word *meat* falls into that category. Usually, categories form networks and hierarchies (Sharifian, 2017, p. 15), so, in other words, could have their subcategories. For example, the word *pasta* is an instance of the food category, but on the other, there are a lot of pasta types or so-called subcategories such as *lasagna, rigatoni, or spaghetti*.

Cultural metaphors are not the only rhetorical tools used in literature. They are used in daily conversations – written or spoken. Metaphors are embedded with cultural views and society; they are reflections of a nation's values. From a cultural linguistic point of view, cultural metaphors mirror folk medicine, ancient religions, and worldviews. As Marin J. Gannon (2001, p. 237) highlights, “metaphors represent the culture at many levels: national, organizational, departmental, or even at the work-group level.” Unlike cultural schemas and cultural categories, conceptual metaphors embrace two domains: *source* and *target* (Gibbs, 2011, p. 543). Speaking in more precise words, we can emphasise that cultural metaphors are a form of a mixture of two domains of conceptualization. In some nations people associated the same things with the same domains of experience, so cultural metaphors could be divided into two groups: universal and specific to the culture. To conclude, cultural metaphors are used widely, they are more prominent than cultural schemas and categorisation processes as they compromise those two and display them in daily conversations.

1. 2. The Sapir-Whorf hypothesis

In the previous chapter, two prominent American linguists Sapir and Whorf were mentioned. They investigated the issue of the linguistic effect on culture and vice versa. Pieter Seuren (2013, p. 29) stresses that there are two versions of the hypothesis: weak and strong. The “weak” version states that language itself influences thought, and the “strong” version states that language determines thought. The “weak” version is more popular, as it draws linguists' attention to how far

the language affects the thought. Leonid Perlovsky (2009, p. 518) highlights that those scholars interpreted that “the way people think is influenced by the language they speak”. As Regier and Xu (2017, p. 1) point out, the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis emphasises that the semantic categories of one’s native language affect thought, and that is the reason why people from various countries, speaking different languages assume certain things authentically. This particular view was labelled as linguistic relatively. In order to prove that language has a huge impact on culture and cognition and support their hypothesis, linguists relied on “conceptual contents of language” (p. 518). Whorf indicated that languages mirror the scheme of conceptualizations of experience that can be embedded in the worldview of speakers (Sharifian, 2017, p. 116). The linguist was exploring American Indian languages such as Hopi, that are highly different from the European languages such as English (Reboul, 2015, p. 2). After analysing the grammar of the Hopi language, he discovered that Hopi provides different meanings of the concepts of time and space than European languages do. In comparison with Hopi language which is determined by more concrete notions of time and space, in the English language, those perceptions have more abstract meanings. Whorf emphasised that the Hopi language is “non-Newtonian” (Sinha & Gardenfors, 2014, p. 73), which means that the speakers of the Hopi language do not have metaphors that are related to the stream, the passage of time. Overall, the Hopi language was just an example to Whorf to try to justify that different languages have different conceptual systems or ways of thinking (Sharifian, 2017, p. 117). So, according to the theory of linguistic relatively, direct translation from one language to another is not always possible, people from various communities need to use distinctive words to express the same thing. Moreover, linguistic relatively depends on linguistic determinism – the perception that language shapes thought. In general, the viewpoints of people of distinct cultures are rooted in the specific language of their community (Sharifian, 2017, p. 117). The Sapir-Whorf hypothesis is neither substantiated nor proved. One of the first linguists who castigated this hypothesis was Noam Chomsky (Perlovsky, 2009, p. 518). He declared that language and perception are separate concepts of the mind. Some other critics stated that cognition is universal, not based on language and culture. The most important difference between linguistic relatively and cultural linguistics is that cultural linguistics focuses on cultural conceptualizations but not on the culture as an abstract view.

1. 3. The theory of the Linguistic Worldview

Language is usually understood as a social tool that helps to express thoughts and emotions. It is a system made of different units used for communicating with and persuading others. Sapir came to the conclusion that language could be viewed as “the symbolic guide to culture” or simply saying the study of cultural phenomena (Newman, 2008, p. 52). The relationship between language and culture began being studied by the Ancient Greeks, the process continued through the Middle Ages, reaching the 15th and 16th centuries then languages came the predominant goal of studies, and the research of correlation developed till the 19th century then linguists attempted to construct a universal language (Pajdzińska, 2013, p. 41). However, during that century the linguist John Locked noticed that each language has its own words that do not have their equivalents in other languages. From the conducted research, it was clear that some nations have similarities in their culture, but some have specific events, traditions, and religious contributions that are unique to that ethnicity. Locked stated that they express different and complex ideas that are associated with their own culture, with their nation (Pajdzińska, 2013, p. 41). So, language is used as a tool that gives insights into similarities and differences between countries. The question arises how the language operates in a way that it forces members of the relevant speech community to function? The mechanism starts from the identification of different things and phenomena that are related to definite speech communities (Pajdzińska, 2013, p. 44). After the identification, certain features are attributed and things or phenomena receive the name. Then, the exact things and phenomena are sorted and their relationship is defined. The last process of the operation is a multi-aspectual valuation of things and phenomena. In this state of action, cognitive science starts to play the main role, and with its help conceptual categories formulate a given worldview: the worldview is evaluated with anthropocentric perspective or with “us-them” opposition (Pajdzińska, 2013, p. 44). An anthropocentrism refers to a human-centered perspective (Padwe, 2013) and “us-them” opposition means a phase describing the perception of differences between different social groups (Pajdzińska, 2013, p. 44). Moreover, the semantic structures of lexemes, etymology, word-formation and metaphorization processes, morphology, syntactic structures, and grammar give diverse meanings and certain worldviews (Pajdzińska, 2013, p. 44–45). Almost any information can be rooted in the language, but the main differences could be found in the lexis and grammar structures in the language. The view of the world obviously depends on the geographical place

where a community exists, on climate, topography, and on other conditions but it mostly leans on culture.

1. 4. Paremia as a part of folklore tradition

When analysing a worldview coded in a language, all genres of minor folklore are important, including proverbs, sayings, riddles, greetings, curses, and jokes. Unfortunately, one thesis cannot embrace the analysis of all these branches, therefore, paremia was chosen as the object of this research. Paremia consists of proverbs and sayings that are highly recognisable, especially in the literature, and are used as rhetorical tools. They can also be considered a great object of linguo-cultural research. As Norrick (2014, p. 7) states, proverbs are valued as folk wisdom and keepers of traditions. Linguists are interested in examining paremia as it can be an implement of cross-cultural comparison. Proverbs and sayings can display the longevity of traditions and provide evidence of stereotypes and standards that are unique to a certain speech community. Moreover, linguists pay attention to paremia as it comprises features of the lexemes, phrases, collocations, quotes, sentences, and texts (Norrick, 2014, p. 7). Proverbs and sayings like other genres of folklore such as riddles, jokes, or fairy tales, do not come into the existence out of nothing, and neither they are mythical units of the folk (Mieder, 2004, p. 9). Instead, every human being uses them intentionally or unintentionally in spoken or written language. Mieder (2014, p. 31) highlighted that proverbs are made of proverbial markers like parallelism, rhyme, alliteration, ellipsis, and metaphor. Since these markers are easy to use, they spread like a flue – from a small family circle subsequently to a village, then to a city, a region, and finally reach all the nation. Some of them become universal, spread to a continent, and reach worldwide popularity.

1. 5. Introduction to paremiology

1. 5. 1. Definitions of proverbs and sayings

Cognitive linguistics can also be analysed from the perspective of folklore. Paremia can be particularly beneficial as proverbs and sayings are passed on from generation to generation.

Buftenė (1998, p. 141) and “Mažosios Lietuvos Enciklopedija” claim that proverbs and sayings are genres of minor folklore. Proverbs and sayings are frequently used in daily conversations. It seems that a proverb is easy to define. Paradoxically, there is still no universally accepted short and precise definition, even though many scholars, starting with Aristotle, have tried to formulate it. According to the compilation of the Lithuanian proverbs “Lietuvių patarlės ir priežodžiai”, the proverb is a fixed, common, traditional expression (usually having a metaphorical meaning), by which something is advised, taught, encouraged, admonished, or summarised. “Dabartinės lietuvių kalbos žodynas” provides a very brief definition of *the proverb*: “it is a short expression implying folk wisdom, advise and instructions”. The Oxford English Dictionary gives a broader definition: “proverb is a short, traditional, and pithy saying”; despite its brevity, it is a concise sentence, usually expressed metaphorically, “stating a general truth or piece of advice”.

Zaikauskienė and Vita Džekčioriūtė-Medeišienė in the electronic version of the same compilation “Lietuvių patarlės ir priežodžiai” provide the term *proverbial phrase*. *Proverbial phrase* or in other words *saying* is defined as the phrase or replication that is used to characterise an event or fact that expresses the speaker’s judgement (often mocking and unfavourable). “Mažosios Lietuvos enciklopedija” gives a slightly different definition of sayings: sayings are expressions and phrases that identify the mentioned person’s, thing’s or event’s peculiarities, for instance, the saying *he went from the speech like a beggar out of prayer* is used when a storyteller’s mind breaks and he falls silent. The Britannica Dictionary defines the saying as “an old and popular phrase, which discloses an idea that most people believe to be true.” According to “Visuotinė lietuvių enciklopedija”, traditional phrases that encode comparisons are also considered as proverbs, for instance *gudrus kaip lapė* (Eng. ‘as clever as a fox’) or *gyvena kaip žirnis prie kelio* (Eng. ‘lives like a pea by the road’). Also, so-called situational sayings or replicas made on a particular occasion as *vilką mini, vilkas čia* (Eng. ‘wolf is mentioned, wolf is here’) or provoked by another person’s words as *kad rodos, tai žegnokis* (Eng. ‘if you see the ghost then make the sign of the cross (cross oneself; you better start praying if you start seeing ghosts)’) are included under the category of proverbial phrases.

The main difference between the proverb and the proverbial phrase is that the proverb is usually a complete sentence-length phrase, on the contrary, the saying is often considered to consist of shorter syntactic construction, in other words, it does not constitute a complete sentence. Also, proverbs always convey a complete thought, whereas sayings express an incomplete thought and

only hint at a conclusion (Grigas, 1958, p. 7). However, proverbs and sayings have similarities. Metaphorical meanings, hyperboles, and personifications are typical of both proverbs and proverbial phrases. The poetic image of a proverb can be reinforced by certain rhythms created with the use of alliterations and assonances. In many cases, the lexis of proverbs and proverbial phrases comes from domestic life. An inexhaustible resource of proverbial phrases is deeply hidden in traditional trades and crafts, such as farming, hunting, fishing, trading, and finally, such exotic activities as winemaking (Bufienė, 1998, p. 142). Lithuanian proverbs depict the most frequent motifs and realities of the living and non-living nature around them. In both cultures, Lithuanian and English, the paremia illustrating the domestic life dominate.

In this paper, proverbs and sayings will be understood according to the definitions from the electronic database “Lietuvių patarlės ir priežodžiai”, as this electronic database provides the detailed definitions and examples of proverbs and sayings that are suitable for both Lithuanian and English languages. However, there are cases where the distinction between a proverb and a saying is not simple. As Grigas (1958, p. 7) mentioned, it is not always easy to clearly distinguish a proverb from a saying despite their differences, therefore, the empirical part is mainly based on the analysis of proverbs but may include several sayings as well.

1. 5. 2. Features of proverbs and sayings

1. 5. 2. 1. Semantic features of proverbs and sayings

In this chapter, semantic and syntactic features of proverbs and sayings are precisely defined. Semantic features are directed towards the understanding of the meanings of paremia. Bufienė (2000, p. 173) emphasises that proverbs – folk wisdom – were not invented abstractly or out of nothing but were provoked by a specific event. In one of her works, she even distinguished two functions of the proverbs’ worldview: interpretative and regulative. The interpretive function is the perception that “the worldview causes all members of the community to see and interpret reality in a similar way, and that without human communication and perception would be impossible” (Bufienė, 2000, p. 175). On the other hand, the regulative function is understood as an already formed continuous and stable system of behaviour, moral attitudes, and ethnicity. Even psychologists sometimes use proverbs and sayings to interpret the health condition of the patient.

However, if a person wants to grasp and evaluate the meanings of proverbs and sayings, he needs to recognise the way how such paremia was created, and what rhetorical devices were used in their construction.

Some proverbs and sayings have more than one meaning and they are called polysemic. For instance, the proverb *a rolling stone gathers no moss* has two standard interpretations, one is *a person on the move remains young* and another *a person on the move remains poor* (Norrick, 2014, p. 17). The perception of this proverbs comes from different situations.

Lithuanian proverbs are not characterised by the irony, a humorous use of a proverb that usually has several meanings are often found in English language. For example, the pun on *no news is good news* have two explanations, either *news is never positive* or *the absence of new information leaves hope that nothing bad has happened* (Norrick, 2014, p. 17).

Proverbs and sayings that incorporate absolute modifiers and adverbs such as *no, never, all* and *always* are likely to involve exaggeration of someone or something, make them sound bigger, better and nicer or, etc. than they truly are (Norrick, 2014, p. 17). In the example *all good things must come to an end*, the word *all* gives an overstatement that comes to the conclusion that good times do not last forever. In another pattern, the proverb *no man is an island* means that no one is truly capable of living alone, every person needs a connection to be mentally fulfilled. These two examples are the case of hyperbole.

Tautologous proverbs are considerably very broadly accepted by society. Such proverbs are characterised by the noun phrases occurring on both sides of a copula verb, as in “enough is enough” or “what will be, will be” (Norrick, 2014, p. 18). To sum up, such proverbs are not meaningless, their comprehension depends on the context in which they appear.

Paradoxical proverbs and sayings in both in English and Lithuanian languages are not particularly rare examples. For instance, *look before you leap*, the equivalent in Lithuanian language *neperšokęs griovio nesakyk op* or *two heads are better than one* (Lith. ‘dvi galvos yra geriau nei viena’) or *don’t look a gift horse in the mouth* (Lith. ‘dovanotam arkliui į dantis nežiūrima’) reinforce their didactic, moralizing tone.

Folk traditions and wisdom has been passed down from generation to generation through proverbs, so, since ancient times, certain proverbs have acquired specific, connotative meanings. Many proverbs display rural connotations such as *vasarą be darbo sedėsi, žiemą duonos neturėsi*

(Eng. 'if you will be out of work in the summer, you will have no bread in the winter'), some of them are religious as they are extracted from the Bible as saying *fear ends where faith begins*. The use of such proverbs and sayings with connotative meanings reinforces the rhetorical force and traditional significance of this type of paremia (Norrick, 2014, p. 18).

According to Norrick (2014, p. 19), there exists a very clear distinction and bond between proverbs and metaphors. A metaphor is a word or phrase for one thing that is used to refer to another thing in order to show that they are similar (The Britannica Dictionary). Usually, proverbs are not understood literally, but partially metaphorically. As in the example *if the shoe fits, wear it*, where only the noun *shoe* is comprehended in a metaphorical or figurative way as it can be changed with opportunity or chance. Such paremia is very noticeable and imaginative, it creates vivid connotations in our minds.

1. 5. 2. 2. Syntactic features of proverbs and sayings

In the previous subchapter on the features of proverbs and sayings the difference and the similarities between proverbs and metaphors were clearly defined. So, to continue analysing the features of proverbs and sayings, it is also very important to identify how proverbs differ from idioms. The idiom is a fixed phrase having a figurative meaning, on the other hand, the proverb is a brief, well-known saying, giving advice. As for example, the idiom *the elephant in the room* means the big issue, the problem someone is avoiding and this idiom does not function as a separate entity, it functions as part of a sentence; the proverb *a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush* acts as a complete statement on its own and is explained as what someone already has in their life is better than what he might get. It can be seen that the main difference is that idiom is not didactic, it does not convey moralisation, on the contrary, proverbs always transmit didactic, moralising tone giving advice. Moreover, idioms are phrases and cannot be understood without the given context. If the person has never heard a certain idiom before, it will be quite impossible for him to give the definition of it. In comparison with idioms, proverbs are expressed through the statements and the meanings of them are comprehensible even if the person has not heard it before. This is because proverbs and sayings unlike idioms, state the general truth that is proven by life.

According to Norrick (2014, p. 21), proverbs are used in daily conversations, so the syntax of their constructions is simple, conversational. Therefore, as it was previously mentioned, proverbs and sayings function as statements, but they can be grammatically unfinished, or as H. Nordahl (1999, as cited in Norrick, 2014, p. 21) defined – elliptical. Such proverbs as *the calm before the storm; out of sight, out of mind; no gain without pain* lack verbs, some of them as *forgive and forgot; easy come, easy go; once bitten, twice shy* do not have nouns. Proverb's structure is still disputative, and sometimes proverbial phrases that do not have the form of a sentence are considered to be proverbs as well.

There exists a wide range of repetitive proverbs. As Norrick (2014, p. 21) mentions “repetition in proverbs tends to focus attention on key terms and to emphasise contrasts between the repeated elements.” In the examples of tautological proverbs as in *enough is enough* it can be seen that in the sides of the copula verb, the same word *enough* is used. Some proverbs that have repetitive words such as *easy* in *easy come, easy go* or *scratch* (1) in *if you scratch my back, I will scratch yours* (2) refer to the same concept as (1) is associated with money since money is spent or lost as quickly as it was earned and (2) is related with the help if someone does something to help someone, that person who receives the help the next time will also offer the help to the one who helped him. However, in the example, *first things first* the two repetitive parts of the proverb mean contrastive things, the first *first* is comprehended as the most important things that should be done before everything else, so it corresponds with the exact element, the second *first* is related with the time management.

C. Bhuvanewar (2003, as cited in Norrick, 2014, p. 22) specified the main and the most common syntactic structures of proverbs:

- subject-verb-direct object as in *a leopard can't change its spots* or *curiosity killed the cat*;
- subject-verb-indirect object-direct object as in *you cannot teach an old dog new tricks*;
- subject-copula-predicate nominal as in *ignorance is bliss*.

To conclude, as proverbs are generalized statements that can stand alone and be completely comprehensible acting without any given context. They have simple sentence structure and contain a variety of rhetorical devices such as irony, puns, paradox, metaphors, etc. that usually intertwine with each other. Due to these features, proverbs and sayings are easily memorable and very

frequently used in daily conversations. Unlike idioms and metaphors, proverbs reflect a didactic tone, moral teaching, and offering pieces of advice.

1. 5. 3. Functions of proverbs

There are many studies conducted by various scholars identifying the functions of foreign paremiology. However, when comparing English and Lithuanian languages, it has become very clear that Lithuanian paremiologists have not specifically investigated the functions of Lithuanian proverbs and sayings, nor have they attempted to systematise and classify them (Zaikauskienė, 2010, p. 97). Since the world and people's lifestyles change rapidly, new expressions appear, and the meaning of old proverbs and sayings change, so their functions also change, which is why it is important to try to identify the functions of proverbial phrases in order to understand the use of traditional paremia in modern contexts. Grigas argued that the meaning of proverbs and sayings are stable or in other words, Lithuanian paremia is characterised by the permanence of their semantic content (Grigas, 2001, p. 108). According to Grigas, Lithuanian proverbs, and sayings can be divided into 3 functional groups (Zaikauskienė, 2010, p. 98): "internal" functions (pedagogical, didactic, patriotic, psychotherapeutic), situational functions (paremia is used in specific situations for a specific purpose) and folkloric functions (transmission of traditions, belonging to a community, normative and, etc.). The purpose and value of folkloric functions will be described below, but before continuing, it should be emphasised that paremia is polyfunctional, i.e. there are usually several functions associated with a single proverb or saying as paremia functions simultaneously as a linguistic element, as a representative of native culture, as a rhetorical device or for instance as a toll of resolving social interaction (Zaikauskienė, 2010, p. 98).

According to Zaikauskienė (2010, p. 98) and Snukiškienė (2019, p. 44), the entire paremia fund is mostly concerned with belonging to a community, peoples unity, and preserving and representing their traditions. Proverbs and sayings are an integral part of the everyday life of every nation. People of various social classes, both educated and lacking social skills, have used and continue to use traditional paremia. As proverbs and sayings could be defined as short repetitive texts (Snukiškienė, 2019, p. 44), which are passed on from one generation to another, paremia codes certain stereotypes and values and contains information about how a particular community

perceives the world. Thus, all proverbs and sayings have an educational function, all of them are not only meant to show a person's worldview but also to educate, to remind people of their values.

The normative or regulative function is typical of all ancient folklore (Zaikauskienė, 2010, p. 99). This function belongs to collective translations and belonging to a community. According to Jurga Sadauskienė (2004, p. 203), "the content of a normative text consists of the statements of practical philosophy that are literally or figuratively presented as universal truths or rules."

The representative-referent function is typical for the paremia that literally reflect life's wisdom, experience, values, and worldview. This function is often linked to the expressive-emotional function, as the proverb or saying often not only summarises the values and the worldview, but also expresses evaluation (Zaikauskienė, 2010, p. 101).

In conclusion, it can be said that proverbs and sayings provide a wide range of functions. Both Lithuanian and English languages offer a lot of paremial functions, however, as it can be observed through that in the English literature the functions of proverbs and sayings are more abstractly defined, while in Lithuanian they are clearly distinguished. Nevertheless, both languages highlight the main functions of proverbs: transmitting the culture, community's wisdom, traditions, and worldviews, educating/persuading someone, and communicating with each other. These are the functions the further cultural analysis of proverbs will be based at.

1. 5. 4. The cultural analysis of paremia

The relations of linguoculturology and paremiology have mainly been analysed by the Bulgarian paremiologist Petrova, the author of numerous cultural paremiology articles, published in "Proverbium". Petrova (2003, p. 334) highlighted that proverbs are single sentences that can be analysed by linguists as narrow cultural texts. The study of proverbs as cultural texts is related to two main fundamental aspects: the linguocultural level and the cultureme. Petrova defined the linguocultural level of a proverb as "the level that reveals values and attitudes" and the cultureme as a word that has a particularly strong (positive or negative) cultural load in a given language (Petrova, 2003, p. 335). The values (sometimes it is replaced with other equal terms such as *morals*, *behaviour*, *views*, or *standards* (Petrova, 2003, p. 336)) are always involved in the texts, no matter how voluminous they are. They are shaped by society, the large system made up of various

organisations such as family, school, work, kindergarten etc., which together create acceptable behavioural norms, traditions, and customs. The author emphasises that proverbs mirror every day of our lives: where we are, what surrounds us, what we often do, what are main habits, work, crafts of different people or with whom we work (Petrova, 2003, p. 337). All proverbs are an expression of a particular cultural attitude towards something or an evaluation of something. Connotative meanings of proverbs reveal hidden positive or negative values (Petrova, 2003, p. 338). Usually, what is ridiculed, mocked, moralized in proverbs shows what is unacceptable in the culture, while what is highlighted, advised, recommended reflects what is acceptable, mirrors social norms. For instance, if there is the proverb *there is no place like home* then it expresses the theme that there is no better or more comfortable place in the entire world than home; it also implies the value that people appreciate the sense of security that comes from home and family; and in the end the approach of this proverb is positive. So, from the given example it could be concluded that proverbs are powerful tools which are used then someone wants to investigate cultural aspects of the language, then to compare two languages and make a cultural analysis.

1. 5. 5. Contrastive paremiology

In linguistics, the two terms *comparative* and *contrastive* mean different things. The comparative approach specialises in displaying the similarities between two linguistic concepts, while the contrastive approach focuses on revealing the differences between two linguistic items (Petrova, 2014, p. 244). Nonetheless, in paremiology, these *words* are frequently used as synonyms. In this research paper the term *contrastive* will be used in a broader understanding and it will embrace a synchronic, comparative, and contrastive approach (Petrova, 2014, p. 245). However, in this research paper, the analysis of differences between proverbs and sayings will remain the most important issue, as differences reveal the most interesting realities.

1. 5. 6. Former paremiological studies

Proverbs, as the concept that interacts with language and culture, have been studied in detail only for two decades (Dabbagh, 2016, p. 1). They have been examined from different perspectives. In a further analysis of the works of other linguists, Dabbagh (2016, p. 3) noted that descriptive research on proverbs and sayings tends to focus on the investigation of a single concept. For example, one of the most frequently appearing concepts in proverbs is colour. One study done by M. Shafaghi and A. Timdari showed that every colour is associated with a different concept as *black* with evil, *green* with beauty, or *red* with passion and love (Dabbagh, 2016, p. 3). The same author Dabbagh in one of his works focused on examining how time is perceived through the proverbs in Persian and English languages, trying to find cross-culturally equivalent proverbs. Other researchers mentioned by Dabbagh, such as K. Ghazizadeh and A. Najafi, explored proverbs according to semantic and lexical equivalence.

Since the 19th century, American anthropologists have studied proverbs and sayings from a sociological perspective. Prominent researchers, such as Edward Westermarck, were motivated to look for reflections of human behaviour and his lifestyle in paremiology. Proverbs and sayings are, after all, great rhetorical tools, and they should always be seen as a message to be transmitted from person to person (Zaikauskienė, 2009, p. 66).

In the second half of the 20th century, in different countries, paremia began to be investigated from a structural and semiotic point of view (Zaikauskienė, 2009, p. 64). However, there were no adherents of this flow of exploration in Lithuania, although Grigas admired the works of Krikmann, which showed how proverbs interact with each other, what their structure is, and what they mean. Grigas's contribution to Lithuanian folklore is the largest. His works laid the foundation for the whole Lithuanian paremiology and formed a clear direction of comparative analysis of Lithuanian proverbs and sayings (Zaikauskienė, 2009, p. 68). The development of Lithuanian proverb analysis began with Pilypas Ruigis' manuscript "Lietuvių kalbos nagrinėjimas" (1745), in which the proverb *Dievas davė dantis, Dievas duos ir duonos* (Eng. 'God gave teeth, God will give bread') was narrowly discussed from the perspective of comparative approach (Zaikauskienė, 2009, p. 69). Later, the development of comparative research in Lithuania was marked by the work of the Latvian folklorist and writer Jekabs Lautenbachs "Lietuvių—latvių liaudies kūrybos istorijos bruožai" (1915) in which Lithuanian and Latvian proverbs, sayings, curses and wishes were compared (Grigas, 1958, p. 9).

Currently, there are not many folklorists analysing Lithuania paremia. However, they continue to develop the work started by Grigas, specialising in comparative studies of Lithuanian paremiology. For example, Kudirkienė analyse the semantics of proverbs, Gražina Kadžytė searches for reflections of the folk worldview expressed in proverbs, Buftenė delves into the content of artistic images of proverbs, the principles of their composition, and their peculiarities (Zaikauskienė, 2009, p. 72). It is necessary to underline that the Electronic Compendium of Proverbs and Sayings by the Institute of Lithuanian Literature and Folklore mentions only these works: Grigas studied individual proverbs about work, treatment of the bread, proverbs describing meteorological phenomena, the representation of the sun in Lithuanian paremia; Buftenė profoundly analysed the proverb *obuolys nuo obels netoli krinta* (Eng. ‘the apple does not fall far from the tree’) and searched for its international equivalents, also searched for the depiction of the needle in Lithuanian and European paremia, as well as the depiction of the oak tree and the *boba* (Eng. ‘wife’ or ‘old woman’) in the Lithuanian paremiology; Rasa Kašėtienė examined the representation of a *drunkard* in Lithuanian proverbs and sayings; Irena Snukiškienė investigated the concepts of *truth* and *lie* in Lithuanian paremiology. Taking these works into account, it can be concluded that Lithuanian paremiology should continue to be developed in the future, examining various fields, including domestic animals.

1. 5. 7. Animalistic paremiology

The history of the Western, Eastern European, and Eurasian proverb development starts from the Archaic period of the Ancient Greece civilization and continues to the present day (Petrova, 2014, p. 246). As has been already mentioned, the most famous researcher in Lithuanian paremiology was Grigas, in English paremiology – Mieder. Mieder wrote a massive amount of different works, but one of his works was related to domestic animals – the article “Zoological Messages in Modern Anglo-American Proverbs”, published in 2019, which describes previous lingo-cultural studies done on animals. English proverbs about animals have been the subject of research since 1960 (Mieder, 2019, p. 94). Since then a number of works written by different linguists, folklorists, and researchers have appeared, such as *Animal Proverbs and Quetes Kingdom. Domestic Animals* (2012) by Rachid Lyazidi, *Animal Crackers. A Bestial Lexicon* (1983) by Robert Hendrickson, *The Animal Things We Say* (1983) and *Dictionary of Animal Words and*

Phrases (1994) by Darryl Lyman, *Animal Quotations* (1985) by G. F. Lamb, *Howl Like a Wolf: Animal Proverbs* (1993) by Wolfgang Mieder, *Animalogies. "A Fine Kettle of Fish" and 150 Other Animal Expressions* (1995) by Michael Macrone, *Speaking of Animals: A Dictionary of Animal Metaphors* (1995) by Robert Palmatier, *One Thousand and More Animal Proverbs* (1997) by Udo Steuck, and *Dog Days and Dandelions. A lively Guide to the Animal Meanings Behind Everyday Words* (2003) by Martin Barnette (Mieder, 2019, p. 94). Dogs, cats, horses, donkeys, chickens, pigs, sheep, rabbits, wolves, and so on were the most commonly covered subjects in these studies (Mieder, 2019, p. 94).

In Lithuania, proverbs and sayings occupy an important position in folklore. They are one of the most vibrant genres of folklore. However, according to the online database "Lietuvių patarlės ir priežodžiai", there are almost no works that deal exclusively with animals, the only work related to animals is Zaikauskienė's "The Image of *Cuckoo* in Folklore" (2004). This means that the examination and categorisation of Lithuanian paremia with domestic animals is very scarce, and there is still a lack of comparative cultural research.

1. 5. 8. Different methods of paremiological research

The fact that there are very few cultural and comparative studies that include animals as the object of their analysis has already been mentioned in the introduction. Krikmann, a well-known Estonian folklorist, also emphasised the shortage of publications on animal proverbs highlighting that there is only one prominent work "Howl like a Wolf. Animal Proverbs" written by Mieder (Krikmann, 2001, p. 11). He studied and compared a huge number of proverbs involving animals from different languages and then identified that, statistically, the following animals appear in proverbs most frequently: (1) dog, horse, neat (cow or ox)¹; the second group (2) consists of hen, rooster, wolf, swine, cat, sheep; the third group (3) involves donkey and mule, fish, bird, goat, and mouse; the fourth group (4) conveys 7 animals: crow, snake, bear, fox, camel, hare; and the last group (5) comprises frogs and toads, fly, lion, goose and eagle (Krikmann, 2001, p. 12). Most of these groups include domestic animals (Krikmann, 2001, p. 13), and animals such as dogs, cats, horses, donkeys, cows, pigs, sheep, goats, hens, roosters, geese will also be the focus of this

¹ The dog, as will be mentioned in the empirical part, is the first domesticated animal in the world, and horse and neat are the most beneficial animals.

research paper. Krikmann also developed a methodology strategy for the paremiological analysis: he categorised his proverbial data into (a) proverbs conveying animal identity, (b) proverbs expressing the relationship between human beings and animals (those proverbs often have a metaphorical meaning), (c) proverbs indicating the relationship between animals, and (d) proverbs related with the relation of animals (metaphorically or directly) which display no animal attributes and such proverbs are often personalized (Krikmann, 2001, p. 13–14).

According to Petrova, similarities, and differences of proverbs between different languages can already be observed while reading various national proverb dictionaries. The following similarities are often found in proverbs of different languages: syntactic structures, the topics of proverbs, the messages, lessons, and pieces of advice they give (Petrova, 2014, p. 243). On the contrary, the proverbs of each language also contain something peculiar to that country, its cultural meaning (the reflection of religion and rituals, the exaltation or degradation of certain values, relations with society and the environment, and other cultural phenomena unique to that nation). Human history has shown that the more geographically distant nations are from each other, the more proverbs will reflect cultural differences rather than similarities (Petrova, 2014, p. 243). Petrova, like Krikmann, based on her and other researchers' works, has developed the methodology of intercultural paremia analysis. Proverbs from different languages could be studied from the comparative perspective, dividing them into (1) full semantic and lexical correspondence, (2) full semantic, but no lexical correspondence; or analysing them from the perspective of *tertium comparationis*, e.g., (3) a single value (e.g., loyalty, honesty, faith, diligence, etc.), (4) an anti-value (e.g., greed, envy, jealousy, pride, laziness, concupiscence, etc.), (5) theme (e.g., family, work, leadership, nature, etc.), (6) image (e.g., the picture of the wolf, the bear or the cat, etc.), (7) a general concept (e.g., time, love, alcohol, abuse, etc.), or (8) from single individual qualities (intuition, creativeness, responsibility, etc.) (Petrova, 2014, p. 243-253).

Ali Dabbagh investigated English and Persian proverbs from different perspectives. He evaluated and systematised proverbs according to the following categories: complete semantics but no lexical correspondence, complete semantics but partial lexical correspondence, full lexical and semantic correspondence, and neither lexical nor semantic correspondence (Dabbagh, 2016, p. 3). The empirical research of this thesis comparing English and Lithuanian proverbs will be based on Dabbagh's proverbs classification method, which will be slightly modified.

II. METHODOLOGY OF THE RESEARCH

This research paper focuses on the contrastive cultural analysis of English and Lithuanian proverbs. In the chapter *Different methods of paremiological research*, different theories proposed by Krikmann, Petrova, and Dabbagh were analysed. In this research, the theory proposed by Dabbagh (2016, p. 3) was chosen, although his classification method will be slightly modified. This author grouped proverbs from two comparative languages into 4 categories: (1) complete semantics but no lexical correspondence, (2) complete semantics but partial lexical correspondence, (3) equal lexical and semantic correspondence, and (4) neither lexical nor semantic correspondence. Since this research is based on a very specific type of paremia – domestic animals, Dabbagh’s methodology has been slightly generalised. All the selected proverbs were divided into three categories: (1) fully equivalent proverbs that have both semantic and lexical correspondence in both languages, i.e., the same animal is used to reflect the same semantics; (2) partially equivalent proverbs that have complete semantics, but partial lexical correspondence or no lexical correspondence, i.e. different animals are mentioned with the same semantics, or one language does not mention the animal at all; and (3) proverbs of zero equivalence, i.e. proverbs that have neither lexical nor semantic correspondence in another language.

All examples have been taken from the main Lithuanian and English proverbial databases: Lithuanian proverbs and sayings have been selected from the online database “Lietuvių patarlės ir priežodžiai” compiled by the Institute of Lithuanian Literature and Folklore and from the paper book *PO SAVO STOGU VISAIP PATOGU 5640 patarlių ir priežodžių* by Vanda Lipskienė, English ones from the dictionary *Dictionary of American Proverbs* by Mieder, *Oxford Concise Dictionary of Proverbs*, *Facts on File Dictionary of Proverbs* and from the *Dictionary of Proverbs and Their Origins*. For the investigation of English proverbs and sayings, Mieder’s dictionary was used as the main source, as it provides the most comprehensive compendium of Anglo-Saxon paremia. The type of secondary data was used in order to find equivalent pairs of English and Lithuanian proverbs.

The total number of proverbs and sayings with domestic animals found in the Lithuanian language is approximately 2 940, and in English – 365. The research included 178 proverbs and sayings from both languages. Only the most interesting, comprehensible, and the most vividly cultural images conveying proverbs were selected for the survey. It should also be noted that the

Institute of Lithuanian Literature and Folklore includes in its online database not only proverbs and sayings but also idioms, situational phrases, and variations of proverbs and sayings, what resulted in such a significant difference in the number of English and Lithuanian proverbs. Proverbs and sayings with a higher number of variants (*variant* – a slightly modified version of the proverb or saying having the same semantics) were considered more popular than other proverbs and sayings with fewer or no variants and included into research.

In order to compile the methodology, the works of various linguists and folklorists were read and analysed. The works of Krikmann, Petrova, and Dabbagh have been the main focus of attention, as they indicated different methods of classifying paremia. A sufficiently large database of paremia has been compiled and analysed on Dabbagh's modified methodology. After completing the selection of proverbs and sayings from both languages, tables comparing Lithuanian and English proverbs were drawn. The tables were structured as follows: in the first two columns the English and Lithuanian proverbs and sayings with domestic animals are presented, the fourth column provides the semantics explanation of the paremia, and the last column gives the degree of equivalence. To achieve the aim, the qualitative and comparative method was used to analyse and compare the semantics of proverbs with domestic animals and determine the cultural differences and similarities between them. In conclusion, the analysis of the cultural imagery has been carried out, showing how a particular domestic animal is similarly or differently mirrored in both languages.

III. EMPIRICAL SURVEY

This part of the research paper deals with the presentation, categorisation, and explanation of English and Lithuanian proverbs and sayings with domestic animals. In the first column of the tables with domestic animals the number of proverbs and sayings was identified, then in the second column, the English proverbs or sayings were presented, the third column provided the Lithuanian proverbs and sayings, in the fourth column the semantics of the paremia was described, and in the last column, the level of equivalence was indicated, i.e. paremia was divided into three separate groups: (1) proverbs and sayings of zero equivalence, (2) partially equivalent proverbs and sayings, (3) proverbs and sayings of zero equivalence. As Grigas (1958, p. 7) mentioned, it is not always easy to clearly distinguish a proverb from a saying, so for the sake of convenience, in the fifth column, sayings and proverbs are included under the general term “proverbs”.

The data consists of 178 examples of English and Lithuanian proverbs and sayings related to domestic animals. Not all domestic animals were selected to appear in the survey. The survey conveys proverbs and sayings with a dog, cat, horse, donkey, hen, rooster, goose, pig, sheep, goat, and cow. Only the most interesting and culturally relevant proverbs and sayings that represent a vivid cultural image have been selected for the study. It should be noted that such domestic animals as a bull, rabbit (*triušis*), turkey, and duck were not selected for the investigation because the number of these paremia in both languages is very small (in the Lithuanian language there are only 24 cases with a bull, 1 with a duck, 2 with a rabbit, 24 with a turkey, and in the English language there are only 8 cases with a bull, 7 with a duck and a rabbit, and no cases with a turkey).

Dog

According to Robert K. Wayne and Bridgett M. vonHoldt (2012, p. 3), a dog is the first tamed animal that was domesticated in Europe and mostly in eastern Siberia approximately 23 000 years ago. At that time, people were mainly gathering fruits, mushrooms, and nuts, and also lived from hunting. During that period, dogs were used as “hunting accessories”, but not as loyal pets (Online Etymology Dictionary). Scientists believe that humans and wolves (dog primates) became friends then they were isolated together during the severe weather conditions of the Last Glacial Maximum. Over time, people have come to know dogs in many different ways, as they were their

closest and oldest domesticated pets. Therefore, it is not surprising that they have formed opposing views about these animals, and all these opinions have a lot of resonance in folklore. However, according to the Online Etymology Dictionary and Lithuanian online dictionary “Lietuvių kalbos žodynas”, negative expressions with dogs such as *a dog’s life*, *dogged* (“mean, surly, contemptible”), *kaip šunį mušęs* (Eng. ‘like a dog being beaten’), *šuns akys* (Eng. ‘the eyes of a dog’) (this expression defines the person who feels no shame), *šuns dantys* (Eng. ‘dog’s teeth’) (“gossipmonger”), *šunimi smirdėti* (Eng. ‘smell like a dog’) (“to be tired and bored”) dominate in both languages folklore.

Table 1. Proverbs and sayings with **dog**

No.	English proverb	Lithuanian proverb	The meaning of proverb	The level of equivalence
1.	A dog is man’s best friend	Šuo – geriausias žmogaus draugas	This proverb indicates that people can rely on dogs because they are the most loyal friends to have in their lives. Dogs do everything to protect and please their owner.	Fully equivalent proverbs
2.	—	Bijok šuns iš priekio, arklio – iš užpakalio, o blogo žmogaus – iš visų pusių	This proverb advises us to be cautious of certain dangerous situations or people.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
3.	Every dog has his day	Kiekvienas kada nors sulaukia savo dienos Ir akla višta grūdą randa	This proverb suggests that fortune smiles on everyone at least once in a lifetime.	Partially equivalent proverbs
4.	You can’t teach an old dog new tricks	Senis senyn – protas durnyn	This proverb indicates that older person cannot successfully create new ideas, handle new practices or skills.	Partially equivalent proverbs
5.	—	Mažesnis šuo visada skaudžiau kanda	This proverb means that even though someone or something may be small or seemingly less significant, they can still cause significant damage or harm.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
6.	—	Šuns balsas į dangų neina	This proverb suggests that making a lot of noise or complaining about someone or something is not necessarily going to change the situation.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
7.	A barking dog never bites	Kuris šuo loja, tas nekanda	This proverb says that if the person talks a lot about someone else, that person will not hurt another person. These people only talk a lot because they want to show that they are	Fully equivalent proverbs

			better human beings, but in reality, they are just cowards.	
8.	—	Iš bado ir šuo varškė ėda	This proverb suggests that when there are no big opportunities, it is a good idea to take advantage of smaller ones. It emphasises that when people are in a desperate situation, they become less selective and more inclined to take what is offered to them, even if it is not the best or most pleasant choice.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
9.	—	Geras šuo ant vėjo neloja	This proverb indicates that a good dog does not bark when it does not need as a wise person does not talk when there is no need.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
10.	The saddest dog sometimes wags its tail	Viltis miršta paskutinė	This proverb explains the idea that even when things are very difficult to handle, there is always hope that things can change for the better at any time.	Partially equivalent proverbs
11.	A beaten dog is afraid of the stick's shadow	Bijo kaip šuo mušamas	This proverb is used about someone who is very frightened, afraid to move.	Partially equivalent proverbs
12.	A blind dog won't bark at the moon	—	This proverb states that if someone is not aware of a situation or a problem, they are unlikely to have an opinion or a reaction to it.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
13.	A dog ain't heathy if he ain't got any fleas	—	This proverb shows that challenges make a person stronger. The person becomes more resilient to stressful and difficult situations.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
14.	A dog that has two homes is no good	—	This proverb is used about a person who is disloyal or is cheating with someone.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
15.	A guilty dog always barks	—	This proverb indicates that guilty people always blame others. They do not take responsibility for their own mistakes.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
16.	A lazy dog finds no bone	Tinginiui visados blogi metai	This proverb suggests making effort, because whoever does not make the effort to achieve something, does not get anything good in return.	Partially equivalent proverbs
17.	Every dog thinks her puppies are the cutest	Pelėda visados savo vaiką giria	This proverb shows that for every mother, her child is the most precious, the best of all and the most beautiful one.	Partially equivalent proverbs
18.	If you lie down with dogs, you'll get up with fleas	Su šunim atsigulsi, su blusom atsikelsi	This proverb stresses that if the person associates with people who have a bad reputation,	Fully equivalent proverbs

			that person is likely to be negatively influenced by those people of bad reputation and as a result may face serious consequences.	
19.	Never trust a man a dog doesn't like	Ant gero žmogaus ir šuo neloja	This proverb suggests to never trust someone your dog does not like since the dog has good intuition.	Partially equivalent proverbs
20.	Where there's a dog, there's fleas	—	This proverb means that if the person has relationships with the people with a bad reputation, they can affect him negatively and make him to be a bad person.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
21.	—	Kaip šuo ant šieno: nei pats ėda, nei kitam duoda	This proverb describes the person who is possessive or selfish towards others, because he has a lot of resources which could be shared with a large group of people.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
22.	A square peg in a round hole	Reikalingas kaip šuniui penkta koja	This proverb is used to define someone or something that is completely unnecessary, unsuitable and does not fit.	Partially equivalent proverbs
23.	—	Skubus darbas šuniui ant uodegos	This proverb emphasises the urgent need to work, people put in less effort and the work remains done quickly, but with poor quality.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
24.	—	Šuo ir kariamas pripranta	This proverb suggests that everyone can get used to anything.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
25.	—	Šuo loja – vėjas nešioja	This proverb emphasises that gossip spreads quickly.	Proverbs of zero equivalence

Overall, the English and Lithuanian proverbs involving the dog in Table 1 indicate that the dog is portrayed in three different ways: (1) as a positive animal, (2) as an aggressive animal that causes threat, and (3) as a negative animal. The image of a positive dog (1) is well reflected in the following proverbs: *a dog is man's best friend* (in Lithuanian language exist fully corresponding equivalent – *šuo – geriausias žmogaus draugas*) or *never trust a man a dog doesn't like* (Lithuanian language has partially equal variant *ant gero žmogaus ir šuo neloja* (Eng. 'even a dog does not bark at a good person')). These proverbs show that a dog is man's best friend which has a strong intuition to distinguish between good and evil, and always remains devoted and loyal to its owner. The portrait of a dog as an aggressive animal that threatens everyone (2) is very well illustrated in these Lithuanian proverbs: *bijok šuns iš priekio, arklio – iš užpakalio, o blogo žmogaus – iš visų pusių* (Eng. 'be afraid of a dog from the front, a horse from behind and a bad man from all sides'),

mažesnis šuo visada skaudžiau kanda (Eng. ‘a smaller dog always bites more painfully’) or *šuo loja – vėjas nešioja* (Eng. ‘the dog barks – the wind blows’). Such examples reveal that dogs can also be dangerous animals, with outbursts of aggression such as barking and biting. English proverbs display less of this imagery than Lithuanian proverbs and sayings. On the contrary, the last image of the dog, i.e., the identification of the dog as a negative animal (3), seems to be more evident in English culture than in Lithuanian. For instance, such English proverbs and sayings as *you can’t teach an old dog new tricks, the saddest dog sometimes wags its tail, a beaten dog is afraid of the stick’s shadow, a dog ain’t healthy if he ain’t got any fleas, if you lie down with dogs, you’ll get up with fleas* or *a lazy dog finds no bone* are associated with the devaluation of the dog (as it is said – an old dog is useless), a miserable life, beatings, humiliation and neglect (dogs have fleas and if the person lies down with the dog, fleas will bite him). In Lithuanian sayings, the reference to the dog with hunger and poverty is somewhat less frequent, but still present in *iš bado ir šuo varškę ėda* (Eng. ‘even a dog eats curd from hunger’) and with hanging *ir šuo kariamas pripranta* (Eng. ‘and the dog gets used to being hung’).

Cat

Cats belong to the most recently domesticated species. Terry Pratchett once said, “In ancient times cats were worshipped as gods; they have not forgotten this.” The first records of cats as supernatural beings appear in Egypt, approximately three thousand years ago (McNeill, 2007, p. 6 and Online Etymology Dictionary). As Lynne S. McNeill (2007, p. 6) writes, cats were sacred in ancient Egypt. The male cat represented the Sun God Ra who helped buried people find their way to the underworld. It is not only the Egyptians who regarded cats as divine creatures. In Thailand royal Siamese cats protected temples; in India, cats made the role of a religious symbol, especially the big cats – leopards; in Burma, cats were so worshipped that they even had their own human servants (McNeill, 2007, p. 6). Reading such information, the question arises: why did cats become such popular animals and why did people adore them so much? Donal Engels (1999, p. 10) gives a detailed answer to this question. He divides cats into three different groups: the most prominent group is the house cat, the second – the barn cat and the last one is a feral cat (*Felis sylvestris catus*) which lives in human houses on its own. All these types of cats have always protected human property, such as grain, from rodents, such as mice and rats. Therefore, it is not surprising that over the years, people have developed a deep love for cats and have recognised their character traits.

According to Online Etymology Dictionary, such expressions with cats as *a cat has nine lives* (recorded in the 1560s), *cat burglar* (started to be used from 1907 and describes a quiet and stock movement), and *cat-witted* (in use from 1670s, describes someone who is “small-minded, obstinate, and spiteful”) have been widely incorporated into folklore.

Table 2. Proverbs and sayings with **cat**

No.	English proverb	Lithuanian proverb	The meaning of proverb	The level of equivalence
1.	A cat has nine lives	—	This proverb describes a person who has lived to a very old age, despite many serious problems and misfortunes.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
2.	A cat may look at a king	—	This proverb is used to justify what others may see as an imposition or intrusion. Even the lowliest people have rights.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
3.	Curiosity killed a cat	—	This proverb shows that anxiety can ruin even the most resilient people.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
4.	What is in the cat will come out in the kitten	Obuolys nuo obels netoli rieda	This proverb suggests that children are just like their parents. They reflect the same or almost the same behaviour of their parents.	Partially equivalent proverbs
5.	When the cat is full, then the milk tastes sour	—	This proverb describes the person who is overloaded with everything, and nothing pleases or surprises him anymore.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
6.	When the cat's away, the mice will play	Katinas iš namų – pelės iš kampų Drąsiai pelės bėginėja, kai katės namie nėra	This proverb suggests that the followers of a leader will take advantage of his absence for their own needs.	Fully equivalent proverbs
7.	—	Bėga kaip katė nuo šuns	This proverb emphasises that a person is running as far away as possible from facing the problem.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
8.	—	Cypia kaip katė, uodegą užmynus	This proverb describes a situation that is unpleasant, unacceptable and makes a person feel uncomfortable.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
9.	—	Katė senyn – nagai aštryn	This proverb is used about a person who is already old but despite the age — still wise and strong.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
10.	—	Meili kaip katė	This proverb indicates someone or something who is very sweet and kind.	Proverbs of zero equivalence

11.	Dirtier than a pigsty	Murzina kaip katė	This proverb suggests that someone is very dirty.	Partially equivalent proverbs
12.	To buy a cat in a sack	Nepirk katės maiše	This proverb advises people to have a look at a product before buying it.	Fully equivalent proverbs
13.	—	Pagirk katę – užries uodegą	This proverb suggests that if someone praises someone else, he or she feels happier.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
14.	—	Pučiasi kaip katė glostoma	This proverb is used in situations when someone wants to make fun of a person who is proud and has said something good about himself.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
15.	—	Tyko kaip katė pelę	This proverb is used about someone who waits quietly and patiently for someone else who will fall into an ambush.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
16.	The guilty dog barks first	Žiūri kaip katė, miltus pridirbus	This proverb defines someone who pretends to be innocent and is lying even though he or she is guilty.	Partially equivalent proverbs
17.	—	Žiūri kaip katinas į lašinius	This proverb is used about someone that really wants to get something.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
18.	To be like a cat on a hot tin roof	—	This proverb means to behave extremely nervously.	Proverbs of zero equivalence

When analysing proverbs and sayings about cats, it was observed that English and Lithuanian cultures have quite clear differences when it comes to the representation of this pet. Even the lack of finding equivalents shows this. In English proverbs such as *as a cat has nine lives* the cat's longevity is reflected, *curiosity killed a cat* the cat's inquisitiveness is emphasised. There are more Lithuanian proverbs and sayings with the picture of a cat than in English language which indicate: pleasure *maloni kaip katė* (Eng. 'as sweet as a cat'), slyness *žiūri kaip katinas į lašinius* (Eng. 'one is looking (at sth) like a cat looks at a flitch of bacon'), and arrogance as in *pučiasi kaip katė glostoma* (Eng. 'one is getting bristle like a cat that is being stroked') or *pagirk katę – užries uodegą* (Eng. 'praise a cat, and it will raise its tail'). However, both cultures also mirror some similarities as dangerousness in *when the cat's away, the mice will play* (Lithuanian equivalent will be *katinas iš namų - pelės iš kampų* (Eng. 'a cat from the house – mice from the corners')), *to buy a cat in a sack* (Lithuanian equivalent – *nepirk katės maiše* (Eng. 'do not buy a cat in a sack')) and deception as in *žiūri kaip katė, miltus pridirbus* (Eng. 'one is looking (at sb/sth) like a cat that has shit into the flour').

Horse

According to Daniel Mills and Sue McDonnell (2005, p. 5–19), very little information is known about the time when wild horses were domesticated and became man’s assistants in everyday life. Researchers discovered various burial places in Eastern and Western Europe and Asia (Ukraine and Kazakhstan) where human remains lie next to those of horses. It shows that horses have accompanied people since ancient times. They were also used in large numbers for nutrition and transport.

Encyclopedia Britannica highlights that in Britain horses were used mainly in wars as in the best-known Battle of Hastings when King Harold II of England was defeated with his army by the invading Norman forces of William the Conqueror. William’s cousin, Bishop Otto, also participated in the battle. After the successful battle, he ordered a tapestry illustrating 190 horses whose bravery helped to bring victory. Since then, various phrases referring to a horse or horses as “horseplay” (rowdy behaviour) began to appear in folklore, along with numerous proverbs and sayings about horses (Online Etymology Dictionary).

Table 3. Proverbs and sayings with horse

No.	English proverb	Lithuanian proverb	The meaning of proverb	The level of equivalence
1.	Don’t change horses in mid-stream	Nelaikas perkėloje arklius keisti	This proverb advises to not change direction or tactics in the middle of the process.	Fully equivalent proverbs
2.	All lay loads on a willing horse	Koks arklys daugiau traukia, tam daugiau ir kliūva Katraš arklys daugiau veža, tam daugiau ir deda	This proverb suggests that everyone takes advantage of the person who never says “no”.	Fully equivalent proverbs
3.	Don’t look a gift horse in the mouth	Dovanotam arkliui į dantis nežiuri	This proverb is used to advise someone not to check the quality of what is being offered.	Fully equivalent proverbs
4.	A friend in need is a friend indeed	Arklį pažinsi kelionėj, o draugą bėdoj	This proverb indicates that a true friend is that who helps someone when someone is in trouble or has a lot of problems.	Partially equivalent proverbs
5.	You can take a horse to water, but you can’t make him drink	—	This proverb is a reminder that opportunities can be created for a person, but it is up to the person to take advantage of them.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
6.	—	Arklį pažįsta iš dantų, žmogų iš žodžių	This proverb indicates that if someone is willing to get to know the person, they need to	Proverbs of zero equivalence

			see how that person interacts with others.	
7.	There's no such thing as a free lunch.	Nei arklys arklio dykai ne kaso Nešertu arkliu netoli važiوسي	This proverb is used to emphasise that someone cannot get something for doing nothing.	Partially equivalent proverbs
8.	—	Meilė – tai toks niežėjimas, kad net su arklio dantimis nepakasyti.	This proverb reminds us that love is a dominant and intense emotion that cannot be easily ignored and suppressed.	Partially equivalent proverbs
9.	—	Namo arkliai smarkiau bėga, negu kaip iš namų	This proverb signifies that people usually want to return home rather than leave it. In other words, to go back to something that is familiar to them, rather than to take a risk on something that is unknown.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
10.	A horse may stumble though he has four legs	Arklys parklumpa su keturiomis kojomis, o žmogus su dviem kojom dar veikiau	This proverb suggests that nobody is perfect, i.e., no one is protected from making mistakes.	Partially equivalent proverbs
11.	No hoof, no horse	—	This proverb indicates that if someone is not healthy, he will not be able to work and earn money.	Partially equivalent proverbs
12.	—	Svetimu arkliu toli nevažiuosi	This proverb emphasises that the best way to achieve your own goals and dreams is not to rely on the resources or achievements of others.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
13.	A good horse is never a bad colour	Nespręsk apie knygą iš jos viršelio	This proverb suggests that a person should be not judged by the way he looks, but by the things he does.	Partially equivalent proverbs
14.	When the horse is dead, the cow gets fat	Vienam džiaugsmas, kitam verksmas	This proverb signifies that one person's loss is another person's gain.	Partially equivalent proverbs
15.	A good horse is worth its fodder	Arklio nepašėres toli nevažiuosi Jei nori joti, tai ir arklį šerk	This proverb emphasises that a hard-working person deserves good pay.	Fully equivalent proverbs
16.	—	Tinginys arklys prieš kalną vežimą du kartus veža	This proverb suggests that if someone postpones a difficult task, he or she will end up spending more time and putting more effort in order to finish it.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
17.	Looking for a needle in a haystack	Tamsią naktį neieškok juodo arklio	This proverb suggests to not take on work that the person cannot do based on their abilities or capabilities.	Partially equivalent proverbs
18.	An old horse for a hard road	Senas arklys vagos negadina	This proverb suggests that it is often wise to lean on someone who has a lot of practical knowledge and who has been	Fully equivalent proverbs

			involved in similar situations before.	
19.	Better ride a poor horse than go afoot	—	This proverb advises to take advantage of any opportunity than to do nothing at all.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
20.	Don't whip the horse that is pulling	Arklys veža ir jį dar muša, o karvę melžia ir dar paglosto	This proverb advises to not grumble and be angry at a person who works hard.	Partially equivalent proverbs
21.	—	Greitas arklys netoli tebėgs	This proverb means that even if a person is naturally talented or skilled in a particular area, they still must work hard to develop their abilities and make progress.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
22.	—	Ant arklio jojo, arklio ieškojo	This proverb is used when a person has an object at hand and is still looking for it.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
23.	—	Arkliu gimei – žinok, kad tavim važiuos, durnius esi – žinok, kad išjuoks	This proverb emphasises that people often are cruel and rude, and that they seize opportunities to use someone or someone's skills for their personal purposes, or to make fun of someone who lacks intelligence for their own amusement.	Proverbs of zero equivalence

The selected proverbs show the main specific purpose of domestic horses: their use as a means of transport. For example, the English proverb *don't change horses in mid-stream*, according to Online Etymology Dictionary appeared originally in one of Abe Lincoln's stories and date back to the times of American Civil war. There are also several proverbs that demonstrate the importance of the horse, its value in both cultures. For instance, Lithuanian proverbs such as *arklį pažinsi kelionėj, o draugą bėdoj* (Eng. 'you will know a horse on a journey and a friend in trouble') and *svetimu arkliu toli nevažiuosi* (Eng. 'you will not ride a stranger's horse far away') identify that the horse was one of the most important animals of human beings which was like a dear friend that helped with transport, transferring of food and other heavy things and in other words, which helped to solve daily problems. English proverb such as *better ride a poor horse than go afoot*, which now means that it is better to take advantage of any opportunity than to do nothing at all, also points out that in the old days, when cars had not yet been invented, the horse was the only domestic animal that was likely to travel with its owner the furthest from home.

However, the horse was not only used as a means of transport and war but also as a main workforce. The biggest difference between English and Lithuanian proverbs and sayings depicting horses is that Lithuania, being a predominantly agricultural nation, most often portrays the horse

as the main tool for farming, i.e., the horse ploughs the land and carries the hay. This is reflected in the etymology and semantics of the two Lithuanian lexemes used for horse: one (*žirgas*) is related to riding, another one (*arklys*) is derived from the word “plough” (*arklas*). According to “Lietuvių kalbos etimologinio žodyno duomenų bazė”, a working horse is that “pulls a plough”. So, Lithuanians have mainly used and continue to use horses in agriculture. For instance, the proverb *koks arklys daugiau traukia, tam daugiau ir kliūva* (Eng. ‘which horse pulls more, that gets more loads’) which has an English equivalent *all lay loads on a willing horse* notes that a horse’s life is hard-working. The importance of the horse is emphasised in such proverbs as *kaip arklys traukia, taip ratai ir rieda* (Eng. ‘as the horse pulls, so the wheels roll’) and in English *a good horse is worth its fodder*. Moreover, in English, more than in Lithuanian, the horse is presented as the precious owner’s property and pride. These proverbs such as *don’t whip the horse that is pulling, a good horse is never a bad colour, a good horse is worth its fodder* encourage taking care for the horse, not beating it, and feeding it with high quality fodder. To sum up, in these examples, the horse is displayed ambiguously. On the one hand the horse is presented as a hard-working animal, used for hard physical work, on the other hand, it is presented as the symbol of a master’s prestige. The image of the horse is also often used to talk about labour. In Lithuania, it is often said that a person works like a horse, meaning that the person works very hard and diligently.

The most popular proverb used with the horse in both English and Lithuanian cultures is *do not look a gift horse in the mouth* or as it sounds in Lithuanian *dovanotam arkliui į dantis nežiūri* (Eng. ‘do not look a gift horse in the teeth’). As can be noticed, the lexis of these proverbs is almost identical, except that English people use mouth instead of teeth. In both cultures, this proverb is used to advise someone not to refuse something good that is being offered. According to Online Etymology Dictionary, such a proverb was first recorded in 1921.

Donkey

The donkey was domesticated only 5000 years ago. According to Online Etymology Dictionary, the donkey is portrayed negatively in the English culture. Since ancient times, the word *donkey* was used to humiliate stupid, obstinate, or wrong-headed people. A similar negative image of this animal is depicted in Lithuanian folklore and lexicography. In Lithuanian fairy tales, the donkey is pictured as a good-hearted animal, however, it misunderstands a lot of things, and is unsuitable for hard agricultural work. As stated in “Lietuvių kalbos žodynas”, a donkey is not only

a stupid animal but also inappropriate to use as a means of transport. This dictionary provides a brilliant example: *su asilu netoli nuvažiuosi* (Eng. ‘you will ride not far away with the donkey’).

Table 4. Proverbs and sayings with **donkey**

No.	English proverb	Lithuanian proverb	The meaning of proverb	The level of equivalence
1.	A donkey is but a donkey though laden with gold	—	This proverb suggests that a person’s or an object’s true nature cannot be altered by their external look or material possessions.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
2.	A donkey looks beautiful to a donkey	—	This proverb emphasises that people often discover value and beauty in things that other people may not find appealing or attractive. In other words, each person has their own individual tastes and preferences.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
3.	A donkey that carries the load is more decent than a lap dog that lives in idle luxury	—	This proverb suggests that is better to live a life working hard and having a lot of responsibilities, even if the life is not glamorous, than to live a comfortable and luxurious life without any purposes and responsibilities.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
4.	Better a donkey that carries me than a horse that throws me.	Geriau asilas, kuris neša, negu arklys, kuris numeta	This proverb advises that it is preferable to have something or someone reliable, steady, and trustworthy, even if it is not the greatest option, than to have something or someone erratic and potentially dangerous, even if it initially appears more alluring and desirable.	Fully equivalent proverbs
5.	As stupid as a donkey	Kvailas kaip asilas	This proverb describes the person who is dumb, stupid, or immature.	Fully equivalent proverbs
6.	Use the right tool for a right job	Arklys tinkamas važiuoti, asilas sunkenybėm nešioti	The proverb means that each person or thing has special talents and qualities, so it is crucial to choose the greatest person or tool to achieve the best possible results.	Partially equivalent proverbs
7.	A big head and little wit	Didelis kaip arklys, durnas kaip asilas	The proverb means that someone or something can be physically powerful or impressive but lacking in intelligence or common sense.	Partially equivalent proverbs
8.	—	Klauso kaip asilas ausis pastatęs	This proverb is used in situations when a person is not listening attentively, not	Proverbs of zero equivalence

			hearing what is being said to him.	
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An analysis of proverbs with the donkey shows that the image of such an animal is very similar in both languages, English and Lithuanian. The same semantic motifs emerge in both cultures, one of them is that the donkey was only used for hard labour. Such proverbs as *a donkey that carries the load is more decent than a lap dog that lives in idle luxury, better a donkey that carries me than a horse that throws me* or *arklys tinkamas važiuoti, asilas sunkenybėm nešioti* (Eng. ‘a horse is suitable for riding, a donkey is suitable for carrying heavy loads’) demonstrate that the donkey is like a tool to be used to carry heavy loads from one place to another or basically, to physically help a person. The donkey is not the most important and precious animal for human beings, it is particularly noticeable in the comparison with the horse: the horse was presented as the property that must be treated with care (E.g., *a good horse is worth its fodder*), whereas the donkey is unattended, as shown in the examples in Table 4. Another semantic motif that is common in both cultures is the stupidity of the donkey. Taming the horse was easy for humans, but taming the donkey was difficult. A horse was and still is more beneficial to humans, while a donkey is not only less capable to help with the constant physical work on farms but is also stubborn. Because of their hostility to the human being, and their stubbornness, people began to treat the donkey as a stupid animal: *as stupid as a donkey, didelį kaip arklys, durnas kaip asilas* (Eng. ‘big as a horse, dumb as a donkey’). In comparison with the Lithuanian proverbs, the English proverbs also concentrate on the negative aspect of the physical appearance of the donkey: *a donkey is but a donkey though laden with gold* or *a donkey looks beautiful to a donkey*. These two proverbs perfectly illustrate that the donkey is an unattractive, unlovely animal. According to Faith Burden and Alex Thiemann (2015, p. 374), the donkey has often been pictured as “a lowly beast of burden” and it is often considered to be a poorer animal than its “cousin” the horse. To conclude, both languages depict donkey as a negative and unlovable animal.

Chicken (hen and rooster)

A recent study published in the Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences in 2022 reports that chickens were domesticated by humans 3 500 years ago (Gamillo, 2022). The history of chickens as tamed animals begins in Southeast Asia where they were reared as exotic birds but not as birds, which are farmed for meat and eggs as nowadays (Bower, 2022). Over time, different

conceptions of the nature of hens and roosters have developed and reflected in the paremia of different cultures. According to Online Etymology Dictionary and “Lietuvių kalbos žodynas”, since ancient times (in the English language from the 1620s), the word *hen* has been used as a pejorative description of a woman: *akla višta* (Eng. ‘a blind hen’) (about an ignorant, uneducated woman) or *kaip šlapia višta* (Eng. ‘like a wet hen’) (about a weak woman). On the other hand, in the Lithuanian language, the rooster (or *cock*) is associated with a man who is quarrelsome, weak, and boastful. It is interesting to note that according to Online Etymology Dictionary and “Lietuvių kalbos etimologinio žodyno duomenų bazė”, *gaidys* (Eng. ‘rooster’) is derived from the word *giedoti* (Eng. ‘chant’), while in English language it is derived from the verb *roost*. It shows that different qualities of this animal have been distinguished in Lithuanian and English cultures as relative. The table below shows and describes other differences and similarities.

Table 5. Proverbs and sayings with **hen**

No.	English proverb	Lithuanian proverb	The meaning of proverb	The level of equivalence
1.	A black hen always lays a white egg	Juoda višta, o kiaušinius baltus deda	This proverb reminds us that we should not judge people or things solely based on how they look like, nor should we draw judgments about them based on our expectations and thoughts, which may be wrong.	Fully equivalent proverbs
2.	A good hen does not cackle in your house and lay in another’s	—	This proverb emphasises that a reliable and stable person does not reveal any secrets or private information about someone to others.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
3.	Nothing can sit still and make a profit except a hen	Tupi kaip višta ant kiaušinių	This proverb reveals that is unusual for a person to be in stagnation for a long time. Stagnation does not bring profit for people.	Fully equivalent proverbs
4.	There are more ways to kill a hen besides choking her	—	This proverb emphasises that there is more than one way or more than one method or strategy to accomplish a certain goal.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
5.	Where the hen scratches, there she expects to find a bug	—	This proverb highlights the habit that people tend to stick on past experiences. By limiting themselves, they prevent new opportunities and experiences from coming into their lives.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
6.	Fat hens make rich soup	—	The proverb emphasises the idea to use high-quality resources or inputs in order to succeed or achieve dreams and goals.	Proverbs of zero equivalence

7.	Not the sharpest knife in the drawer	Kvaila kaip višta Aklas kaip višta	The proverb describes the person who lacks intelligence and is quite silly.	Partially equivalent proverbs
8.	The eggs do not teach the hen	Kiaušinis vištą moko	This proverb is used to imply that someone who is weak or inexperienced should not control or lead someone who is stronger or more experienced. This proverb suits those who, being much younger or less educated, like to teach those who are older or wiser than themselves. It usually emphasises that children wish to teach about something their elders.	Partially equivalent proverbs
9.	—	Be gaidžio višta nei lest nemokėtų	The proverb suggests that sometimes we need the advice or guidance of others in order to succeed or accomplish our goals.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
10.	—	Ir gudri višta į dilgėles įbrenda	The proverb emphasises the fact that even the cleverest people sometimes get trapped.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
11.	Throw someone under the bus	Nupešė kaip gaidys vištą	This proverb is used when talking about someone who takes advantage of others.	Partially equivalent proverbs

There are many proverbs in the English language that portray the hen as a positive bird. The proverb *a good hen does not cackle in your house and lay in another's* indicates that the hen is often associated with loyalty. The hen is also the symbol of patience, endurance, and the effort required to reap the sweetest fruits of hard work – *nothing can sit still and make a profit except a hen*. In Lithuanian culture, however, the hen is presented only from the negative perspective. In both languages, but in the Lithuanian language more than in English, the hen is demeaned (associated with stupidity, naivety, blindness, and fragility), and treated instrumentally, in order to profit and benefit from it: *kvaila kaip višta* (Eng. ‘as stupid as a hen’), *aklas kaip višta* (Eng. ‘as blind as a hen’), *gegužė rupūžė per dieną kukavo, vakare vištą pagavo* (Eng. ‘a may toad croaked during the day and caught a hen in the evening’), *nupešė kaip gaidys vištą* (Eng. ‘plucked like a rooster a hen’), *be gaidžio višta nei lest nemokėtų* (Eng. ‘without a rooster, a hen would not even peck’), *there are more ways to kill a hen besides choking her, fat hens make rich soup*.

Table 6. Proverbs and sayings with rooster

No.	English proverb	Lithuanian proverb	The meaning of proverb	The level of equivalence
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1.	He that's a good rooster will crow in any hen yard	Darbštus žmogus visuomet ras darbą	This proverb describes a confident and capable person who will succeed in any environment or situation they find themselves in, regardless of the challenges or obstacles they may face.	Partially equivalent proverbs
2.	The rooster can crow, but it's the hen that delivers the goods If you are a cock, crow; if a hen, lay eggs	—	The proverb highlights that it is actual results or accomplishments that matter, rather than talking or boasting about one's skills.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
3.	The rooster crows to let us know, if we are wise, it's time to rise	Ankstyvas darbas vaisius didina	The proverb suggests that wise people should follow the rooster's call and take advantage of the early morning hours to be productive and accomplish their goals or the hardest tasks of the day.	Partially equivalent proverbs
4.	Over the moon	Džiaugiasi kaip gaidys kirminą suradęs	This proverb is used about someone who is extremely happy or pleased.	Partially equivalent proverbs
5.	—	Ėda kaip arklys, dirba kaip gaidys	<i>Working like a rooster</i> means doing nothing. This saying was used to reprimand mercenary workers.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
6.	When pigs fly	Gausi, kai gaidys kiaušinį sudės	This proverb describes the person who will hardly get something or will never get it.	Partially equivalent proverbs
7.	Be all hat and no cattle	Gyrėsi gaidys, kad vanagą nubaidys	This proverb is used in situations when someone wants to mock the boaster.	Partially equivalent proverbs
8.	—	Pasipūtęs kaip gaidys	The proverb describes an immensely proud and impolite person.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
9.	—	Giriasi kaip gaidys prieš vistas	This proverb is used to describe someone who is boasting excessively, usually in front of an audience that is not impressed or does not care about their accomplishments.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
10.	—	Rėžia kaip gaidys sparną	This proverb is used about boys who hang out around girls.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
11.	Every cock will crow upon his own dunghill	Savo kieme ir gaidys drąsus	The proverb suggests that people tend to feel more confident and courageous in familiar surroundings, such as their own home or neighborhood.	Fully equivalent proverbs

In the table above, it is evident that Lithuanian proverbs and sayings emphasise the meaning of the rooster's pride and arrogance. Both meanings are very well reflected in the following

proverbs such as *džiaugiasi kaip gaidys kirminą suradęs* (Eng. ‘as happy as a cock that has found a worm’), *gyrėsi gaidys, kad vanagą nubaidys* (Eng. ‘the cock boasted of driving the hawk away’), *pasipūtęs kaip gaidys* (Eng. ‘as puffed-up as a cock’), or *rėžia kaip gaidys sparną* (Eng. ‘he looks like a cock flapping his wings when he fancies hens’). Moreover, in both cultures, the rooster is characterised as a lazy worker for whom others do the work: *ėda kaip arklys, dirba kaip gaidys* (Eng. ‘he eats like a horse, he works like a cock’) (also, in reality *working like a rooster* means doing nothing) and *the rooster can crow, but it’s the hen that delivers the goods*.

Goose

In spring and autumn, people raise their eyes towards the sky to see the birds flying in a “V” shape – a well recognisable flock of geese. Geese were domesticated roughly 3 000 years ago. According to Kristin Hitchcock (2023), geese are quite friendly birds and loyal to their families, and friends, therefore, they appear in the folklore of different nations, especially proverbs and sayings. However, the Online Etymology dictionary and “Lietuvių kalbos žodynas” show that although the goose is a friendly animal, it is associated with stupidity, foolishness, and ignorance (*žąsies galva*), as well as with drunkenness (*žąsies vestuvės*), that is a very common issue in Lithuania. Other characteristics of this bird are reflected in the paremia below.

Table 7. Proverbs and sayings with **goose**

No.	English proverb	Lithuanian proverb	The meaning of proverb	The level of equivalence
1.	—	Eina kaip žąsys kryptodamos	This proverb is often used to describe a person who has a swaying gait.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
2.	Live high on the hog	Gyvena džiaugsmuose kaip žąsinas pūkuose	This proverb indicates the quality of a good life; a person lives very luxurious life.	Partially equivalent proverbs
3.	They are like oil and water	Gyvena kaip žąsinas su gaidžiu	The proverb shows that they are very different, and they cannot have any relationship together.	Partially equivalent proverbs
4.	—	Tiek težino, kiek žąsinas apie varles	This proverb is used about the person that lacks deeper understanding about a certain subject or is completely ignorant.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
5.	As the old goose yells, so yells the young goose.	Vėjo vaikas, vėjais ir eis	The proverb suggests that young people learn from the examples set by seniors, and that they are likely to shape their behaviour and beliefs	Partially equivalent proverbs

			based on what they observe in those around them.	
6.	Don't kill the goose that lays the golden egg.	Žąsis, dedanti aukso kiaušinius	The proverb advises to not destroy a source that gives income such as a profitable business.	Fully equivalent proverbs
7.	Don't throw away anything a goose can swallow	—	This proverb suggests not to waste anything that has the potential to be useful in some way.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
8.	Nothing is dumber than a goose	—	The proverb is often used to judge someone's behaviour or decision-making skills, implying that they are not using their intelligence or common sense.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
9.	You can't fool a goose	Seno vilko neapgausi	The proverb emphasises that the person is wise and could handle stressful situations and no one will deceive him.	Partially equivalent proverbs

Lithuanian proverbs and sayings with the image of the goose are not abundant. Therefore, it is not surprising that there is no vivid image of such a bird. Proverbs and sayings such as *eina kaip žąsys krypuodamos* (Eng. 'they walk waddling like the geese'), *gyvena džiaugsmuose kaip žąsinas pūkuose* (Eng. 'they live in joy like a goose in down'), or *gyvena kaip žąsinas su gaidžiu* (Eng. 'they live like a goose with a cock'), may be used to highlight someone's external appearance or the way of living, which is similar to that of a goose. On the other hand, in English folklore, there are many proverbs depicting the goose. This gives a more complete and slightly different picture of the goose than the Lithuanian paremia. For instance, the proverb *don't kill the goose that lays the golden egg* presents the goose as the symbol of property, good luck, and the source of wealth. On the other hand, proverbs also reflect the negative picture of the goose. For example, the proverb *nothing is dumber than a goose* shows it as a stupid animal, as well as the hen ('as stupid as a hen'). However, another proverb *you can't fool a goose* ambiguously characterises the goose as a clever bird.

Pig

Pigs were domesticated approximately 9 000 years ago. They have been farmed for meat rich in protein since ancient times. It was also observed that pigs are sociable and highly intelligent creatures, smarter and more capable to learn new tricks and commands than any dog would do

(Cappiello, 2022). Therefore, it might be surprising that proverbs, both English and especially Lithuanian, draw a rather negative image of these animals. Before the description of the differences, it is necessary to look at the etymology. According to the Online Etymology Dictionary and “Lietuvių kalbos etimologinio žodyno duomenų bazė”, the etymology of the word *pig* is unclear, and there is no precise data on when the word originated and how it spread. In the Lithuanian language, the word *kiaulė* (Eng. ‘pig’) may have been borrowed from the Slavic languages. In English, such proverbial expressions as *a pig in a poke* or *flying pigs* were noticed in the 14–16 centuries (Online Etymology Dictionary). However, before reviewing the table of proverbs with the pig, it should be noted that the English language, unlike Lithuanian, used to have a wide range of other terms for pigs, such as *sow* for female pig, *boar* for male pig, and *swine* for adult pigs, but these terms are now considered to be old-fashioned, and proverbs and sayings with these terms have not been included in the study.

Table 8. Proverbs and sayings with **pig**

No.	English proverb	Lithuanian proverb	The meaning of proverb	The level of equivalence
1.	Don't buy a pig in a poke	Nepirk katės maiše	This proverb describes the person who should not buy something without first examining it.	Partially equivalent proverbs
2.	If a pig had wings, he might fly	—	The proverb expresses that the person or situation being discussed is unrealistic or unlikely to succeed.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
3.	Pigs are pigs	—	This proverb suggests that some people or things are what they are, and it is unlikely that they will change.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
4.	A pig in the parlor is still a pig	Karvės pėdų vyžais nepaslėpsi	This proverb means that no matter how much the person attempts to be someone nicer, their character will remain the same.	Partially equivalent proverbs
5.	A pig used to dirt turns up its nose at rice boiled in milk	Paršą ar prausk, ar neprausk, vis į purvyną lenda	The proverb emphasises that people better do the things that are familiar to them and even if someone shows the different way full new opportunities, they will be still resistant to change.	Fully equivalent proverbs
6.	Even a blind pig occasionally picks up an acorn	Ir akla višta randa grūdą	This proverb emphasises that even the unluckiest person may occasionally find a fortune. The proverb suggests remaining a positive person who always has will even	Partially equivalent proverbs

			something is going on unsuccessfully and who is open to new opportunities, those that sometimes come in the most unexpected ways.	
7.	The biggest pig eats the most	Kieno rankose pinigai, to ir valdžia	This proverb suggests that people who run the business or simply are the most powerful and influential in the society often enjoy the most privileges and benefits, because they have the power for control.	Partially equivalent proverbs
8.	You can lead a pig to water, but you can't make him drink	—	The proverb emphasises that opportunities can be created for a person, but it is up to the person to accept them.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
9.	The pig dreams of acorns, and the goose of maize	—	The proverb emphasises that all people are different having different desires and aspirations based on their surroundings, experiences, and circumstances and that what one person values may not be as important to someone else.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
10.	Wash a pig, scent a pig; a pig still is a pig	Kiaulę ar prausk, ar rėdyk – smirda ir gana	This proverb suggests that superficial changes will not hide someone's flaws. The proverb can be interpreted as a warning against investing time, effort, or resources into something that is fundamentally unsuitable.	Fully equivalent proverbs
11.	—	Ant aruodo ir kiaulė gospadinė	This proverb describes the good housewife, that if there is something to cook with, every housewife knows how to make something.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
12.	—	Ant kiaulės ausies mokytas	The proverb signifies an uneducated person.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
13.	—	Ar didelis iš kiaulės astrónomas? Išmano kaip kiaulė apie žvaigždes	This proverb is used about a person who does not know anything, barely understands.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
14.	—	Ar nematei kiaulės su zvaneliu?	This proverb is used when someone does not say hello while passing another person. Using such a proverb, adults shame a child who has not said hello to someone.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
15.	As white as a sheet	Baltas kaip kiaulės blakstienos	The proverb describes the pale, scared, frightened person.	Partially equivalent proverbs

16.	—	Bėga kaip kiaulė, debesį pamačiusi	The proverb is used about a pig is always afraid of rain, so this proverb is used to laugh at the coward.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
17.	—	Bepigu kiaulei: nei barzdos skusti, nei poterių kalbėti	This proverb is used about someone who lives a good life.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
18.	He eats like a pig	Ėda kaip kiaulė	The proverb describes a person who eats in a rude manner: gobbles, chews loudly.	Fully equivalent proverbs
19.	Three sheets to the wind	Girtas kaip kiaulė	This proverb describes a heavily drunk person.	Partially equivalent proverbs
20.	—	Graži kaip kiaulė darži Graži graži, kaip šūdas darži	In Lithuania this is the most common answer when someone asks if she is pretty.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
21.	—	Guli kaip kiaulė migy	The proverb which means very messy.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
22.	—	Įleisk kiaulę į bažnyčią – lips ir ant altoriaus	This proverb is used to describe the person who behaves very freely in the company of guests or in someone's house.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
23.	—	Iš ožkos nebus avelės, iš kiaulės – kumelės	The proverbs emphasises that character traits cannot be changed.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
24.	—	Kad kiaulė ragus turėtų, visą svieta išbadytų	This proverb describes a person who would like to do a lot of terrible things, but he cannot.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
25.	—	Kiaulės akis turėdamas visur įlįsi	The proverb describes the shameless person who comes somewhere uninvited.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
26.	—	Knisasi kaip kiaulė po bulves	This proverb signifies that there are more troubles than benefits.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
27.	—	Kriokia kaip žila kiaulė	The proverb is used about someone who snores loudly.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
28.	—	Lenda kaip kiaulė	This proverb describes someone who always wants to be the first.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
29.	—	Mandagus kaip kiaulė	This proverb identifies an impolite person.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
30.	—	Ne galvoj kiaulei paršai, kai ją pačią svilina (Ir višta negalvoja apie viščiukus, kai	The proverb emphasises the idea that people do not care about other people's worries and problems when personal experiences are more important.	Proverbs of zero equivalence

		vanagai naguosna pakliūva)		
31.	—	Ne mano kiaulės, ne mano pupos (Ne mano avisos, ne mano vištos; ne mūsų katė, ne mūsų pienas – kas nori tegu laka)	This proverb is applied to someone who does not want to help others and thinks it is not their business.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
32.	—	Peniukšlė kiaulė nežino, ko žieminė žviegia	The proverb emphasises that rich people do not understand or sympathise the poor people.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
33.	At cross-purposes	Susikalbėjo kaip kiaulė su žąsinu	This proverb describes the situation when people misunderstood each other.	Partially equivalent proverbs
34.	—	Tyli kiaulė giliai šakni knisa	This proverb is used about a quiet person who has strong intentions.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
35.	—	Tinka kaip kiaulei balnas Tinka kaip kiaulei ragai	This proverb is used in response to someone asking about the suitability of a completely unsuitable object.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
36.	Chasing rainbows	Užsimanė kiaulė bananų	The proverb is used about someone who wants something that is impossible to get.	Partially equivalent proverbs
37.	—	Žviegia kaip kiaulė skerdžiama	The proverb describes a person who is pressed, injured, or tickled by someone.	Proverbs of zero equivalence

The table above draws people's attention that pigs are portrayed as negative, unlovely animals in both English and Lithuanian cultures. First of all, both cultures reflect that the pig is unclean, untidy: English proverbs *wash a pig*, *scent a pig*; *a pig still is a pig* has Lithuanian equivalents *kiaulę ar prausk, ar rėdyk – smirda ir gana* (Eng. 'you can either wash or dress up a pig, it still stinks') or *paršą ar prausk, ar neprausk, vis į purvyną lenda* (Eng. 'you can wash a pig – it will get into mud again'). People have seen that the pigs tend to burrow and wallow in the mud, which is why they become so messy. However, they did not know that pigs cannot sweat as they do not have sweat glands (Gillespie, 2019, p. 24). In order to cool their body temperature, they roll, sleep, and wallow in mud. Moreover, the pig has a voracious appetite and bad table manners (gobbles and chews the food very loudly), as the following proverbs show: *the biggest pig eats the most* or *he eats like a pig* (Lith. 'ėda kaip kiaulė'). Furthermore, as the following examples will demonstrate, both cultures indicate that not only the behaviour and manners of this animal remain

unchanged, but also its characteristics: *a pig in the parlor is still a pig* and *iš ožkos nebus avelės, iš kiaulės – kumelės* (Eng. ‘a goat will not grow into a sheep, nor a pig into a mare’). To our surprise, the English culture, more than Lithuanian, reveals that the pig is a dreamer, dreaming of things that are impossible to reach or have for its nature: *the pig dreams of acorns, and the goose of maize* or *užsimanė kiaulė bananų* (Eng. ‘a pig craves for bananas’).

There are ten times more proverbs and sayings about pigs in Lithuanian than in English. This suggests that pigs are one of the most important domestic animals for Lithuanians. The most common perception among Lithuanians is that pigs are impolite, inappropriately behaving animals that feel no shame in doing what they want: *lenda kaip kiaulė* (Eng. ‘one is getting in like a pig’), *įleisk kiaulę į bažnyčią – lips ir ant altoriaus* (Eng. ‘let a pig come into the church, and it will get on the altar’) and *kiaulės akis turėdamas visur įlįsi* (Eng. ‘if you have pig’s eyes you will get everywhere’). The following proverbs and sayings show that pigs are associated with different character traits and aspects: *girtas kaip kiaulė* (Eng. ‘as drunk as a pig’) suggest that pigs are inadequate mammals, *graži kaip kiaulė darži* (Eng. ‘she is beautiful as a pig in the garden’) is a common Lithuanian reply to the question “is she beautiful?” which emphasises again the unsympathetic nature of this animal, *kad kiaulė ragus turėtų, visą svietaį išbadytų* (Eng. ‘if a pig had horns, it would stab the whole world’) illustrate that pigs are presented as impudent animals.

Sheep and Goat

According to P. Taberlet, A. Valentini, H. R. Rezaei, S. Naderi, F. Pompanon, R. Negrini, and P. Ajmone-Marsan (2008, p. 277), sheep and goats were the first pastoral animals domesticated 10 000 years ago. Proverbs and sayings involving sheep and goats date back to old times, some come from the Bible. The presentation of the sheep as a timid and stupid person in the English language dates back to the 1540s (Online Etymology Dictionary). It can also be observed in numerous proverbs. Meanwhile, the expression with goat, in the Lithuanian language *atpirkimo ožys*, in the English – *scapegoat*, has been used since the 19th century and refers to a person who is blamed for the faults of others (Online Etymology Dictionary and “Lietuvių kalbos žodynas”).

Table 9. Proverbs and sayings with **sheep**

No.	English proverb	Lithuanian proverb	The meaning of proverb	The level of equivalence
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1.	A lazy sheep thinks its wool heavy.	—	This proverb is often used to describe someone who complains about how difficult their duties or tasks are, even though they have not actually done much work.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
2.	He that makes himself a sheep shall be eaten by the wolves	—	Those people who present themselves as weak or vulnerable are more likely to be targeted by those who seek to exploit or harm them. The proverb suggests that it is important to be assertive to avoid being taken advantage of.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
3.	Many patient sheep will enter one stall	—	This proverb means that if one is patient and waits their turn, they will eventually achieve their goal.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
4.	One scabbed sheep will mar a flock One sickly sheep infects the flock and poisons all the rest	Viena nešvari avis visą pulką teršia	One bad member of a group can spoil the reputation by his negative behaviour or the success of the entire group. The proverb is often used to caution against the influence of negative individuals and the importance of taking steps to isolate or remove them from a group.	Fully equivalent proverbs
5.	One sheep follows another	Avis nuo avies netoli tenubėgs	This proverb emphasises that people tend to imitate or follow the actions or behaviours of those around them without thinking on their own. It suggests that individuals lack critical thinking and decision-making skills.	Fully equivalent proverbs
6.	There's a black sheep in every family	Kaip balta varna	The proverb highlights the idea that in every group or family, there is at least one member who is considered an outsider or who does not fit in the group or even conform to the expectations or values of the people. This individual is often seen as a troublemaker or an embarrassment to the family or group or just as a person who does not belong there.	Fully equivalent proverbs
7.	—	Burba kaip avis, į uodegą įkirpta	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) The proverb refers to a restless person who is never satisfied with something; 2) and who speaks so that you cannot hear what they are saying because that person is 	Proverbs of zero equivalence

			muttering something under his nose.	
8.	Keep one's eyes open	Ganyk avis ir vilko nematydamas	The proverb suggests to always be attentive/watchful.	Partially equivalent proverbs
9.	—	Tyli kaip avis pjaunama	This proverb suggests remaining silent and not complain even when abused or injured.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
10.	—	Nebūk baikštus kaip avis, būk drąsus kaip kiaulė	The proverb means that it is better to be brave and assertive, like a pig, than to be timid and submissive, like a sheep. It encourages people to stand up for themselves and their beliefs, rather than simply going along with the crowd or conforming to the expectations of others.	Proverbs of zero equivalence

In both English and Lithuanian folklore, the sheep is not a prominent animal. The popular English proverb *there is a black sheep in every family* has the opposite well-known Lithuanian saying *kaip balta varna* (Eng. ‘as white as the crow’), which indicates that sheep are probably sometimes born with a different colour, resulting in uniqueness, standing out from the rest of the flock, and not fitting in with the characteristics of the flock. Such animals are vulnerable and have a lower chance of survival, and even the herd or the flock will separate and abandon them in order to protect themselves from predators. The sheep is also presented as a dependent animal, lacking critical thinking. The interdependence of the sheep, a necessity to live in the same flock, in the same family, is mentioned in two equivalent proverbs, in English *one sheep follows another* and in Lithuanian *avis nuo avies netoli tenubėgs* (Eng. ‘the sheep will not run far from the sheep’). Moreover, as previously mentioned, both the English and the Lithuanians portray the sheep in proverbs as a vulnerable, weak, and suffering animal, as *he that makes himself a sheep shall be eaten by the wolves* or *tyli kaip avis pjaunama* (Eng. ‘she is as silent as a sheep that is being slaughtered’). The following Lithuanian proverbs, unlike English proverbs, reflect the cowardice of a sheep: *burba kaip avis, į uodegą įkirpta* (Eng. ‘she is muttering like a sheep when its tail has been cut’), and *nebūk baikštus kaip avis, būk drąsus kaip kiaulė* (Eng. ‘do not be coward like a sheep, be brave like a pig’).

Goat

Table 10. Proverbs and sayings with **goat**

No.	English proverb	Lithuanian proverb	The meaning of proverb	The level of equivalence
1.	If the goat would not jump around, she wouldn't break her leg.	—	The proverb highlights the idea that by acting cautiously and avoiding unnecessary risks, certain undesirable effects, such as accidents or injuries, can be avoided.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
2.	No goat ever died of hunger.	—	The proverb suggests that if a goat can survive without eating much, then humans should be able to as well, and that it is important to be resourceful and make the best of what is available.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
3.	—	Bliauna kaip ožka, vilko nešama Bliauna kaip ožka	The proverb refers to a person loudly complaining and making a fuss over his difficult situation.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
4.	—	Užsispyrusi kaip ožka	The proverb is used to describe the stubborn person/individual.	Proverbs of zero equivalence

In the English and Lithuanian paremia, the goat is not a very popular animal (there are only 5 proverbs with this animal in the English language). However, despite this relatively limited number of proverbs, the distinct characteristics of the goat can be observed. The English proverb *if the goat would not jump around, she wouldn't break her leg* describe the goat being an active, agile, and headless mammal. On the other hand, the proverb *no goat ever died of hunger* emphasises the positive nature of such an animal, goats are hardy creatures, resilient to hunger and adaptable to changing life circumstances. In the Lithuanian language, the negative qualities of this animal, such as the goat's frustration, bleating (*bliauna kaip ožka* (Eng. 'one is bleating like a goat')) and stubbornness (*užsispyrusi kaip ožka* (Eng. 'as stubborn as a goat')) are stressed more.

Cow

Cows are one of the oldest domesticated animals. Their history starts approximately more than 10 000 years ago (Pitt, Sevane, Nicolazzi, Machugh, Park, Colli, Martinez, Bruford, & terWengel, 2019, p. 123). Wild cattle (now extinct) – aurochs (*Bos primigenius*) were the ancestors of cows, which were highly valued as a source of food, tools, and jewellery that was made from their bones, and used for clothing. Horns were used for carrying and storing liquid, and for ritual

decorations (Velten, 2007, p. 10–14). In terms of etymology, according to the Online Etymology Dictionary and “Lietuvių kalbos etimologinio žodyno duomenų bazė”, the word *cow* came to the English language a long time ago, probably from Proto-Germanic, whereas in Lithuanian language the origins of this word are not known, but the root of *karv-* is very similar to the Slavic and Prussian one. The same sources also note that in the Slavic languages, *cow* meant “lazy ox”, and in the English language the word was used to insult and humiliate women. As a result, cows have also left a huge imprint on folklore, especially in the form of proverbs and sayings.

Table 11. Proverbs and sayings with **cow**

No.	English proverb	Lithuanian proverb	The meaning of proverb	The level of equivalence
1.	—	Apkaišytas kaip karvė per Sekmines	This proverb is used to emphasise that the person, usually a woman, is overdressed.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
2.	—	Apsimynusi kaip karvė	This proverb describes someone who is untidy.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
3.	—	Ar gali karvę išmokyti kopėčiom lipti? Neišmokysi karvės į medį lipti	This proverb defines someone who is not good at doing something. He is not able to do it.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
4.	—	Aš karvę už ragų laikysiu, o tu melši!	The proverb emphasises the idea that one is working, the other one is taking advantage of it.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
5.	The heart wants what it wants, or else it does not care	Baubia kaip karvė veršio	This proverb is used to highlight the situation when someone is longing for somebody or something.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
6.	—	Be karvės – pasnininkas, be arklio – šventė	This proverb highlights the idea that if someone does not have a cow, they do not have milk, and if someone does not have a horse, they do not have to work.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
7.	Bawling my eyes out (Bawl one’s eyes out)	Bliauna kaip karvė	This proverb emphasises someone who is crying loudly.	Partially equivalent proverbs
8.	—	Džiaugiasi kaip karvė negyvu veršiu	The proverb describes the person who is boasting.	Partially equivalent proverbs
9.	—	Eina kaip karvė	This proverb is used to show that someone is walking carelessly.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
10.	—	Kartais ir karvė kiškį paveja	This proverb notes that sometimes impossible things happen.	Proverbs of zero equivalence

11.	—	Karvė geria, kiek gana, žmogus geria, kiek yra.	The proverb describes the person who is unsatisfied, for whom something is not enough.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
12.	There's no such thing as a free lunch	Karvei duok šieno, karvė duos pieno	This proverb emphasises the idea that if one wants to get something, one must give something.	Partially equivalent proverbs
13.	—	Nudvėšė karvė, kai perkūnas trenkia į ožką	This proverb tells us that when a big disaster strikes, people do not pay attention to the little things.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
14.	—	Taškosi kaip karvė su šūdina uodega	This proverb applies to people who say unkind things about others.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
15.	A cow is a very good animal in the field, but we turn her out of a garden	—	This proverb emphasises that people or things cannot be equally useful or appropriate in all situations; they will be appropriate in some situations and unfortunately not in others.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
16.	Cows can't catch no rabbits	—	This proverb describes a person who is incapable of carrying out tasks or activities which are outside their natural abilities. The person or object must be realistic and focus on tasks that they can accomplish.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
17.	Cows prefer the grass on the other side of the fence	Už tvoros ir žolė žalesnė	This proverb highlights the idea that people often believe that other people have better living conditions and opportunities than they do. It encourages people to take a look at their own lives and see what can be valued.	Partially equivalent proverbs
18.	Faraway cows have long horns	—	This proverb warns people not to judge a person by their appearance, or by their first impressions, but to really get to know a person for a longer period of time in order to identify what they are.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
19.	The cow gives a good pail of milk and then kicks it over	Žingsnis pirmyn, du žingsniai atgal	This proverb emphasises that someone can do something positive or successful but quickly ruin it by one negative action (like a cow because of its clumsiness).	Partially equivalent proverbs
20.	The cow must graze where she is tied	—	The proverb suggests that sometimes people must accept the circumstances they are in and make the best of what they have. Some situations cannot be in control and	Proverbs of zero equivalence

			should be accepted no matter what.	
21.	You cannot sell the cow and have the milk	—	This proverb is used to warn people not to make hasty decisions. It is better to consider them carefully, weigh up all the pros and cons, and only then make a final decision.	Proverbs of zero equivalence
22.	The cow knows not the value of her tail till she has lost it	Ką turim, nesaugom, kai prarandam, verkiam	This proverb highlights that people tend to appreciate the value of their possessions only when they no longer have them.	Partially equivalent proverbs

According to the proverbs and sayings listed in the table, it can be said that the cow is depicted more frequently in the Lithuanian language than in English. Cows are one of the most important domestic animals for Lithuanians. Since ancient times they were highly respected and loved. The Lithuanian love for cows is well expressed in the saying *apkaišytas kaip karvė per Sekmines* (Eng. ‘he looks as smart as a decorated cow on Whit Sunday’). This saying reflects one of the most important Lithuanian customs. In accordance with “Visuotinė lietuvių enciklopedija”, Whit Sunday is a Christian holy day celebrated on the 7th Sunday after Easter, during which the Holy Spirit descends to earth. The customs of Pentecost in Lithuania are associated with the end of sowing and the beginning of summer work, and the desire to grow a bigger harvest. Pentecost was also known as the herders’ feast. Thus, one of the most memorable accents of the Holy Day until the end of the 19th century was the process of decorating the cows. Herders wove wreaths together and put them on the cows’ horns, believing that the cows would be blessed and bring more milk (Naujokė, 2020, p. 15). Nowadays, the old traditions of Whit Sunday are preserved only in the Ignalina district, in the village of Meironys. According to Vima Čiplytė, a cultural scientist at Aukštaitija National Park, locals take decorated cows to the lake peninsula for summer grazing while all the people gather together to sing traditional songs and play music (Mindaugas Jackevičius, 2009).

Lithuanian proverbs and sayings reflect many positive qualities of cows. Cows are highly sensitive creatures who love their children dearly and mourn when they lose them: *baubia kaip karvė veršio* (Eng. ‘one moos like a cow moos for a bull’) and *bliaina kaip karvė* (Eng. ‘one moos like a cow’). However, Lithuanian paremia also include the negative characteristics of cows. For instance, a cow is not a very clean animal (*apsimynusi kaip karvė* (Eng. ‘she lives in a mess like a cow’) and *taškosi kaip karvė su šūdina uodega* (Eng. ‘one jabbers like a cow splashes with her

shitty tail’) and the animal is clumsy and who walks very heavily (*eina kaip karvė* (Eng. ‘she walks like a cow’)).

As it has already been mentioned, the image of the cow is less popular in the English language compared to Lithuanian. Still, its negative characteristics are slightly more highlighted in these English proverbs: *cows prefer the grass on the other side of the fence, the cow must graze where she is tied* presenting them as curious and do not always obey the rules.

There are also similarities in the Lithuanian and English picture of the cow. In both English and Lithuanian cultures, regardless of all the differences described above, the cow is portrayed as a warm, good animal. It is valued for its milk and observed as the family feeder: *be karvės – pasnininkas, be arklio – šventė* (Eng. ‘without a cow – a fast, without a horse – a feast’), *karvei duok šieno, karvė duos pieno* (Eng. ‘give hay to a cow, and she will give you milk’) and *you cannot sell the cow and have the milk*.

A summary of the level of equivalence

The statistics of the collected and categorised examples of the English and Lithuanian paremia with domestic animals is provided in Figure 1.

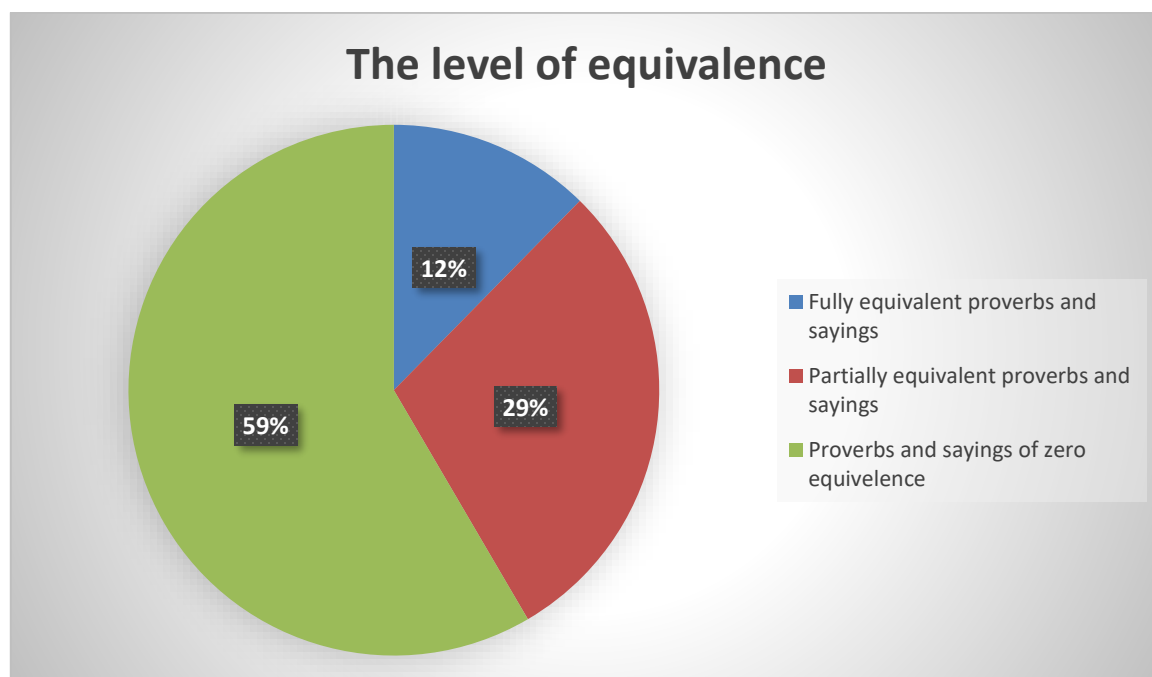


Figure 1. The level of equivalence of paremia

As can be observed in Figure 1, proverbs and sayings of zero equivalence (104 cases) dominate in the contrastive analysis of this thesis, making 59 % of the total data. Partially equivalent proverbs and sayings (52 cases) were less frequent, which ranks in second place with 29 %. Finally, fully equivalent proverbs and sayings (22 cases) were the least frequent, making only 12 %. The data shows that English and Lithuanian paremia have some similarities, but it also displays that they have many differences that reveal the linguo-cultural aspects.

CONCLUSIONS

This research paper focused on a contrastive cultural analysis of Lithuanian and English paremia with domestic animals. A review of comparative works by various authors revealed that there is a lack of studies in both English and Lithuanian languages that investigate and compare proverbs and sayings with domestic animals. In general, there are definitely more comparative paremiological works in English than in Lithuanian. Lithuanian paremiology is much younger than the English one. The Lithuanian online database “Lietuvių patarlės ir priežodžiai” created by the Institute of Lithuanian Literature and Folklore is still in the compilation process, and there are no published works on the comparison of the Lithuanian and English animalistic paremia. This thesis is innovative as it is the first contrastive cultural study of the English and Lithuanian proverbs and sayings on domestic animals. The research led to the following conclusions:

1. Paremia consists of proverbs and sayings. Proverbs are defined as fixed, short, and complete sentences, whereas sayings are the expressions that are semantically narrower, incomplete, and dependent on context. However, it can sometimes be difficult to draw a strict line between a proverb and a saying. Paremia was chosen as the subject of this cultural analysis because it includes cultural aspects: it records people’s experience, behavioural norms, national characteristics, and values. This study shows that linguistic and cultural worldviews are deeply intertwined and affecting each other.
2. All the 178 examples of paremia were selected mainly from the main Lithuanian and English paremiological data sources: the online database “Lietuvių patarlės ir priežodžiai” compiled by the Institute of Lithuanian Literature and Folklore, the book *PO SAVO STOGU VISAIP PATOGU 5640 patarlių ir priežodžių* by Vanda Lipskienė and from the *Dictionary of American Proverbs*. The methodology applied in this thesis was designed according to the modified Dabbagh’s methodology. The selected proverbs and sayings (the most compelling, understandable, revealing cultural images and having the most variants) were divided in three categories: (1) fully equivalent proverbs that have both semantic and lexical correspondence in both languages, i.e., the same animal is used to reflect the same semantics; (2) partially equivalent proverbs that have complete semantics, but partial lexical correspondence or no lexical correspondence, i.e., different animals are mentioned for the same semantics, or one language does not mention the animal at all; and (3) proverbs of zero equivalence, i.e., proverbs that have

neither lexical nor semantic correspondence in another language. The information was provided in the tables followed by the detailed analysis.

3. Each paremia's etymology and semantics was analysed. The semantics was interpreted with the help of the online database "Lietuvių patarlės ir priežodžiai", *Oxford Concise Dictionary of Proverbs*, *Facts on File Dictionary of Proverbs* and *Dictionary of Proverbs and Their Origins*. When analysing paremia related to domestic animals, it was observed that some proverbs and sayings with domestic animals reflect some similarities of the English and Lithuanian worldviews. Several dictionaries and databases were used to explore the origins of the lexemes noting the domestic animals: Online Etymology Dictionary (for the English lexemes), and "Lietuvių kalbos žodynas", and the online etymological database "Lietuvių kalbos etimologinio žodyno duomenų bazė" (for the Lithuanian lexemes). The origin of many of these lexemes is disputable, and it is often difficult to identify which languages they came from and how they developed. However, the fact that both the English and Lithuanian languages contain numerous fixed expressions with domestic animals reflects their great significance in everyday household life.
4. The research reflects the linguo-cultural image of the domestic animals in the Lithuanian and English languages. In general, the animals were portrayed either positively, negatively, or in both ways. Most domestic animals were defined ambiguously. The hypothesis raised in the thesis was confirmed, because the survey has displayed that animalistic paremia serve as a great reflection of the cultural-linguistic worldview, which has some differences in the Lithuanian and English languages.

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SANTRAUKA

Patarlės ir priežodžiai yra neatsiejama kiekvienos kalbos dalis. Paremijos savyje koduoja įvairius kultūrinius aspektus: žmonių elgesio normas, patirtis, gyvenimo pamokas, vertybes, tautinius bruožus ir nuostatas. Tiek anglų, tiek ir lietuvių kalbose vyrauja daug patarlių bei priežodžių su naminiais gyvūnais, tačiau lyginamųjų kultūrinių tyrimų atliktų su šiais gyvūnais yra nepakankamai. Ypač lietuvių kalboje pastebimas patarlių su bet kokiais gyvūnais tyrimų trūkumas. Tad šiuo bakalauro darbu buvo siekiama prisidėti prie paremijų su naminiais gyvūnais analizės. Analizuojant patarles ir priežodžius su naminiais gyvūnais paaiškėjo, kad kalbinis ir kultūrinis pasaulėvaizdis yra labai tarpusavyje susiję, jie vienas kitą papildo, nes kalba daro įtaką kultūrai, o kultūra daro įtaką kalbai.

Darbo tiriamasis objektas – patarlės ir priežodžiai su naminiais gyvūnais anglų ir lietuvių kalbose. Darbo tikslas – atlikti anglų ir lietuvių patarlių ir priežodžių su naminiais gyvūnais lyginamąją analizę, iširti jų kultūrinę semantiką. Šiam tikslui pasiekti buvo išskelti šie uždaviniai: 1) apžvelgti mokslinę literatūrą, nagrinėjančią etnolingvistiką bei paremiologiją; 2) sukurti anglų ir lietuvių paremijų su naminiais gyvūnais duomenų bazę; 3) išanalizuoti kiekvienos paremijos etimologiją ir semantiką; 4) palyginti anglų ir lietuvių paremijas iš kultūrinės perspektyvos (aprašyti kaip kiekvienas naminis gyvūnas yra pristatomas abiejuose kultūrose). Iškelta hipotezė – paremijos su gyvūnais puikai atspindi kultūrinę lingvistinę pasaulėžiūrą, kuri lietuvių ir anglų kalbose skiriasi.

Išanalizavus teorinę dalį paaiškėjo nežymūs skirtumai tarp patarlių ir priežodžių. Patarlės apibūdintos kaip pilni sakiniai, turintys išbaigtą mintį, o priežodžiai apibūdinti kaip siauresni posakiai, suprantami tik tam tikrose bendravimo situacijose. Vis dėlto, patarlės nuo priežodžių skiriasi labai nedaug, todėl kartais sunku aiškiai nusakyti kur yra patarlė, o kur priežodis. Anglišku ir lietuvišku paremijų ekvivalentiškumas buvo tirtas pasitelkiant modifikuotą Dabbagh'os tipologiją. Patarlės buvo suskirstytos į tris grupes: ekvivalentiškos, dalinai ekvivalentiškos ir neekvivalentiškos. Tokiu suskirstymu grįstas tyrimas padėjo aiškiai įvardinti kiekvieno naminio gyvūno kultūrinį vaizdavimą. Iš įvairių žodynų ir duomenų bazių, išrinktos 178 abiejų kalbų paremijos patvirtino iškeltą hipotezę, jog paremijos su naminiais gyvūnais atspindi kultūrinę lingvistinę pasaulėžiūrą, kuri lietuvių ir anglų kalbose labiau skiriasi, nei sutampa. Iš atrinktų tirti 11 naminių gyvūnų, tik 2 vaizduojami identišškai, tai yra arklys ir asilas. Apskritai naminiai gyvūnai

paremijose įvardijami kaip teigiami, neigiami arba turintys ir teigiamų, ir neigiamų savybių. Dauguma naminių gyvūnų buvo vaizduojami dviprasmiškai, kaip šunys, katės, vištos, ožkos ir karvės. Sudaryta skritulinė diagrama, parodanti ekvivalentiškumo laipsnį paremijose, atskleidė, kad net 59 % procentai patarlių ir priežodžių nesutampa. Šis skaičius lemia, kad abiejų kalbų patarlėse ir priežodžiuose su naminiais gyvūnais yra daugiau kultūrinių skirtumų, nei panašumų.

SUMMARY

Proverbs and sayings are an inseparable part of every language. Paremia encode various cultural aspects: people's behavioural norms, experiences, life lessons, values, national characteristics, and beliefs. There are many proverbs and sayings with domestic animals in both English and Lithuanian languages, however, their research is still scarce. Especially the Lithuanian language lacks research of animalistic proverbs and sayings. Therefore, this bachelor thesis aimed to contribute to the analysis of paremia with domestic animals. The study of proverbs and sayings involving domestic animals has shown that the linguistic and cultural worldviews are highly related, as language influences culture and culture influences language.

The subject of this thesis is proverbs and sayings on domestic animals in the English and Lithuanian languages. The aim is to conduct a comparative analysis of proverbs and sayings on domestic animals in the English and Lithuanian languages, examining their cultural semantics. In order to achieve the aim, the following objectives were set: 1) to introduce the theoretical background related to ethnolinguistics and paremiology; 2) to design the database of English and Lithuanian paremia on domestic animals; 3) to analyse each paremia's etymology and semantics; 4) to compare the English and Lithuanian paremia from the cultural perspective (to show how the domestic animal is presented in each culture). The hypothesis is raised that animalistic paremia serve as a great reflection of cultural linguistic worldview, which differs in the Lithuanian and English languages.

After analysing the theoretical part, slight differences between proverbs and sayings became clear. Proverbs were described as complete sentences conveying a complete thought, while sayings were described as narrower expressions that can only be understood in certain situations of conversation. However, it is sometimes difficult to draw a strict line between a proverb and a saying. The equivalence of English and Lithuanian paremia was investigated using a modified Dabbagh's typology. The proverbs were divided into three groups: fully equivalent, partially equivalent, and non-equivalent proverbs. This categorisation helped to clearly identify the cultural picture of each domestic animal. 178 proverbs and sayings from both languages were selected from various dictionaries and databases. They confirmed the hypothesis that paremia on domestic animals reflects a cultural linguistic worldview, which is different in Lithuanian and English languages. Of the 11 domestic animals selected for the study, only 2 were observed as identical,

the horse and the donkey. In general, domestic animals were portrayed as being positive, negative, or having both positive and negative characteristics. Most domestic animals were defined ambiguously, such as dogs, cats, hens, goats, and cows. Nonetheless, Figure 1 indicating the level of equivalence of the proverbs and sayings has shown that up to 59 % of proverbs and sayings do not match, have no equivalence. This number shows that there are more cultural differences than similarities between proverbs and sayings on domestic animals in both languages.