

Animal Names Used to Address People in Jordanian Spoken Arabic*

*Ahmad Mohammad Al-Harabsheh, Rafat Mahmoud Al-Rousan ***

ABSTRACT

This paper examines the metaphorical and vocative uses of animal names in Jordanian Spoken Arabic (JSA) to address people, either abusively or affectionately, thereby communicating the attitudes and feelings of the speakers toward their addressees. The results of the study are based on a survey that contained 44 animal names which were distributed to 100 undergraduate students (50 males and 50 females) at Yarmouk University, Jordan. This study is qualitative in nature. The participants were asked (a) to determine if they use the animal name to address a male or a female, (b) to determine the pragmatic meanings attached to these animals, (c) to give the syntactic structures in which they use these names, and (d) to describe real situations in which these names are used in Jordanian Spoken Arabic (JSA). The study concludes that animal vocative structures are usually used as human invectives. The study also reveals that Jordanians attribute animal names to humans based on the following aspects: Appearance, Behaviour, Intelligence, and Character. The study suggests that linguists should consider such aspects when conducting pragmatic studies about speech conversations in JSA. This study highlights a significant pragmatic feature of JSA.

Keywords: Animal names, Jordanian Spoken Arabic, addressing people, pragmatics.

1. Background

Animal names have different connotative meanings in Jordanian Spoken Arabic (henceforth JSA). Jordanians compare people to an animal's mental and physical traits, and these attributes can therefore be used abusively or affectionately. These names are also culture-specific terms, for example, if a person wants to praise someone, he or she may say, "*?inta?asad!*" ("You are a lion!"), because a lion is a symbol of strength in Jordanian society and many other societies. When insulting or derogating someone, one may say "*?intakalb!*" ("You are a dog!"), because a dog has a dysphemistic meaning in Jordanian culture, referring to something inferior. Another example of this would be to say to someone "You are a donkey!" which infers that the addressee is below average intelligence, as a donkey connotes stupidity.

The metaphorical transfer of animal names to human names is common across languages and cultures (Dominguez, 2006). Lakoff and Turner (1989, p.194) explain that animals behave naturally, and their behavior is different compared to their kinds. The behavior of animals is understood "in terms of human behavior, and we use the language of human character traits to describe such behavior. Cleverness, loyalty, courage, rudeness, dependability, and fickleness are human traits, and when we attribute such character traits to animals." Metaphorically, we can understand the behavior of those animals in human terms. Furthermore, animal names have cultural and social roots in every society and are often associated with proverbs and folk stories (Nesi, 1995). The popularity of using animal names in most societies is also due to their evocative emotional meanings, which may differ from one culture to another. "In Thailand, 'she walks like an elephant' is an expression of highest praise" (Ringmar, 2016, p.113). However, in Jordanian culture this expression would be seen as abusive to a woman, as it would imply she is obese. The same is true for other cultures unfamiliar with elephants.

Kovecses (2010, p. 152) states that, "Humans attributed human characteristics to animals and then reapplied these

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characteristics to humans." That is, animals were personified first, then these 'human-based, animal characteristics' were used to reflect human behaviour. "It appears that human behaviors can be metaphorically understood as animal behavior, especially when human behavior is violent, deviant or unreasonable. Humans are sometimes described as animals; we have the conceptual metaphor people are animals" (Kovecses, 2010, p.153).

Halupka-Rešetar and Radić (2003) investigate the metaphorical and vocative use of animal names in addressing people in the Serbian language. They distributed a questionnaire containing 40 animal names to 100 university students of linguistics and asked them to determine if the animal names would be used abusively or affectionately. They concluded that the animals are used in different syntactic structures with both positive and negative meanings.

Wierzbicka (1985) suggests the following thematic elements to understand animal terms: *habitat, size, appearance, behaviour, and relation to people*. These thematic elements are understood based on a person's knowledge about animals, and this knowledge can be proven by linguistic studies, as the meanings associated with animal names are culture-specific. The meanings of animal terms vary from one culture to another since people conceive them differently. However, while Marsta (1999) adopts the above thematic elements, she combines size and appearance into one. An individual's knowledge about animals can be understood through the following four thematic categories: "Habitat (specifying the place/circumstances of living characteristics of particular animals); appearance (specifying size, shape, color of fur, etc.); behaviour (specifying typical forms of behavior, movement, eating), and relation to people (specifying different aspects of cultural and economic utility of the particular animals.)" (Marsta, 1999, p.77).

2. Methodology

This study adopts the methodology of Halupka-Rešetar and Radić (2003) to answer the research questions. The data was collected from a survey containing 44 domestic and wild animal names which was distributed to 100 male and female undergraduate students at Yarmouk University, Jordan. The students were all native speakers of JSA. The animal names used were: *camel, donkey, dog, lion, mouse, hyena, cow, he-goat, chicken, eagle, falcon, mule, monkey, gazelle, she-goat, pigeon, sheep, cat, wolf, buffalo, goose, duck, elephant, tiger, snake, scorpion, bee, roach, fly, mosquito, butterfly, ant, ostrich, giraffe, fox, peacock, turkey, insect, fish, owl, crow, bear, and turtle*. The students were requested to write the meaning(s) associated with an animal name, and to state if that meaning has a positive or a negative connotation. In addition, they were asked to write proverbial expressions containing these animal names. The data obtained was analysed with respect to (a) animals that have affective meanings, and those that have negative or abusive meanings, and (b) the semantic-pragmatic meanings associated with these names based on Marsta's (1999) four thematic elements, and the syntactic structures of the expressions that contained animal names, such as vocatives and simile.

3. Analysis and Discussion

This section presents the analysis and discussion of different syntactic structures of animal names in JSA, including vocative, simile, emphatic structures, proverbial expressions, and other structures. It also presents the pragmatic meanings and thematic features of the animal names as used in JSA.

3.1. Syntactic Structures of Animal Names in JSA

3.1.1. Vocative

Animal names are used in three vocative patterns in JSA:

1) The animal name is used alone as an adjective to describe someone; it is usually used in a negative context, for example, "*iHmar*" (donkey), meaning "*Oh! You are a donkey!*" In this example the subject and the verb (*to be*) are omitted.

2) Pronoun + waHad (someone, masculine) / waHadih (someone, feminine) + animal name, which is used as an adjective. For example, "*?intawaHadkalb!*" (*You are a dog!*)

3) Vocative of the diminutive is exclusively used in positive contexts; it is composed of a pronoun + a possessive

pronoun + a diminutive animal name which is used as an adjective. For example, “*Yabusbusih!*” (*You are my little cat!*)

3.1.2 Emphatic Structures

Emphatic structures are used with emphatic words or an oath expression, plus the animal name which is used as an adjective. This structure can be used positively or negatively. For example, “*Wallah ?innakiHimar!*” (*I swear to God that you are a donkey!*), or “*?intafiflan ?asad!*” (*You are really a lion!*)

3.1.3 Simile

This structure is usually used with or without the word ‘*mi?il*’ (*like*) and can be used positively or negatively. For example, “*?inta (masculine) ?i:b!*” (*You are a wolf!*), or “*?inti (feminine) mi?ililbaghbagha!*” (*You are like a parrot!*)

3.1.4 Animal Names used in Proverbial Expressions in JSA

This section describes the proverbial expressions that include animal names in JSA. These proverbs may carry positive (praising) and negative (abusive) meanings. The following are the most commonly-used proverbs containing animal names in JSA:

-?illi ma yi?rifilSaqiryifwe:h. The one who does not know the eagle, grills it.

This proverb indicates that a person is not appreciative of valuables, and that he is negligent.

-tiHitkulfa?ra fi mi:txanze:r. Under each hair there are a hundred pigs.

This proverb describes someone who appears superficially good, but in reality, is not.

-?id?ad?ihriziqha fi rid?le:ha. The livelihood of a hen is between her legs.

This refers to someone who gets things easily without any effort.

-?i?u?ulnaxlahwil?agul?agulSaxlah. He is as tall as a palm, but his mind is like the baby goat.

This describes someone (either male or female) who is tall and handsome/beautiful, but his/her actions are unbalanced.

-fa?rah min ?ildilxanzi:rbarakah. A hair from the pig's skin is a grace.

This proverb describes someone as a miser and urges people to take whatever they can from him/her.

-?i?ta?ra:silHayih. Chop off the snake's head.

This adage encourages people to eradicate the source of the trouble, i.e. to solve the root of the problem.

-Hayih min tiHittibin. She is a hay snake.

This refers to a woman who is cunning and untrustworthy.

-Hayihisabi?ru:s. A snake with seven heads.

This describes a cunning and harmful woman.

-??anb ?il?agrab la tigrabwu?anbilHayih ?ufrufuna:m. Don't approach the scorpion, but you can sleep next to the snake.

Jordanians believe that a scorpion is more harmful than a snake, which is also inevitably harmful.

-?ilgirdib?e:nummuhghazal. In the eyes of his mother, a monkey is a gazelle. This proverb is used cynically; it means that mothers (or fathers) always exaggerate the good characteristics of their sons.

-Kul?anzihim?alagahb?argu:bha. Every sheep will be hanged by its leg.

This means that everyone is responsible for the consequences of his/her behaviour.

-?il?anzihild?arbah ma bt?rab ?illa min ra:sil?e:n. The scabby sheep will drink from the head of the spring.

This proverb refers to arrogant people, especially those who are poor and lack social status.

-?in ?a:Hild?amalbtik?arska:ke:nuh. If a camel fall down, a lot of knives will be stabbing it.

This proverb means do not trust everyone, because your friends may abandon you when you fail.

-Du:dilxalminnuhwufi:h. The worm of vinegar is from within.

This means that betrayal often come from those you would least suspect.

-fa:rib min Hali:bisba:?. He drinks from the milk of the lion.

This saying describes a man who is very brave.

-SabiŕwillaĐabiŕ. A lion or a hyena?

This describes a situation as positive or negative. If someone says *Đabiŕ* (hyena), then it is negative, but if someone says *sabiŕ* (lion), then it is positive.

-BiduhHuSitiŕ?asad. He wants the largest share.

This refers to someone who is so greedy that he always asks for the largest share in everything.

-Ra:figisabiŕ law ?akalakwalatrafiqilxase:swalawHamalak. Follow the lion even if it eats you, but don't follow the skinflint even if he carries you.

This proverb comes in the form of advice, meaning avoid accompanying dishonorable people even if they appear to be nice.

-Ka:nat ?ilnaSe:Haibđamal. The price of advice was a camel.

This is aimed at those who neglect the advice of others and therefore end up in trouble.

-?ildđamalwu ma Hamal. The camel and its cargo.

This is usually used to refer to greedy people who want to take everything.

-?ildđamal ma bifu:fHabatuh. The camel does not see its hump.

This proverb refers to someone who does not recognise their mistakes.

-Ma na:buh min ildđamalghē:riđnuh. He gets only the ear of the camel.

This refers to unlucky persons who participate in, or organise an activity, but they not receive a satisfactory share from it.

-La nagah li fi:hawalađamal. I have nothing to do with it.

This phrase is said by people who do not want to interfere in people's affairs as they have no interest in them. It is also said by someone to convince others that they are trying to solve an issue but gain nothing from it.

-Ma ŕinduhkabi:rghe:rildđamal. For him, the biggest thing is the camel.

This refers to a person who does not respect anyone.

-?ilkalbwe:n ma bugŕudbinadđis. Wherever a dog goes, it brings impurity.

This proverb describes someone who is villainous. In the Jordanians culture as well as other Arab cultures, dogs are considered impure, and if someone touches a dog they must thoroughly wash their hands. Also, if a dog touches any utensil, it must be washed seven times.

-Mu:t ?ilHame:rfarađđaliliklab. The death of a donkey is a relief for dogs.

This has a similar meaning to the proverb: "The misfortunes of some people are an advantage to others."

-?ilxe:lil?ilaSe:lbitđu:dbil?axir. The well-bred horse will win at the end of the race.

This means that even if a good person initially behaves badly, they will revert to their intrinsic good nature.

-?urbuŕliHma:rmaHal ma bigulakSa:Hbuh. Tie the donkey in the place you were told by his owner.

This means do not argue with your superior at work, do whatever they want.

-?ilgafih ?illikasratĐahirilbaŕe:r. The last straw that broke the camels' back.

This refers to a small action that has a great effect.

-BagrahHalla:bih. A milking cow.

This refers to a man who marries an employed woman to benefit from her salary.

-Hu:nmarbaŕillfaras. Here is the stud of the horse.

This is said when someone finds the root of the problem.

-?ilfaras min xaya:lha. The horse is known by its cavalryman.

This proverb blames the husband whose wife does not obey him.

-?ilxe:lil?aSe:lih ma biŕi:bhaiđla:lha. The bad saddle of the original horse does not shame it.

This means that old-fashioned clothes do not affect a good person's status.

-?aŕla ma bixe:lakirkabuh. Ride the highest horse.

This is said by someone who is angry at someone else, and he does not care about the consequences of the conflict.

-?ilguṭbiHibXana:guh. The cat loves its killer.

This proverb means that someone respects their oppressor.

-?ilguṭibsabiḥirra:H. Cats have seven souls.

This refers to someone who always survives horrible accidents and serious injuries.

-?iḍagha:biḥguṭ ?ilḥabya: fa:r. When the cat is away the mice will play.

This saying is used to describe children or employees who take advantage of parent's or superior's absence.

-?ilguṭahibtu:kilḥafa:ha. The cat eats her dinner.

This proverb is usually used to describe a woman's behaviour, specifically a woman who is humble and simple and does no harm to others. This characteristic is highly appreciated in Jordanian society, especially to those who are looking for a wife. Another proverb with nearly the same meaning is: *MiḌilguṭahlimghamḌah* (Like a blind cat), i.e. she is very friendly.

ḍibnasi:ritilguṭ ?iḍaynuṭ . Speak of the devil.

This phrase is used when someone who is the object of a conversation suddenly shows up.

-liḥibilfa:rib?ubuh. The mouse plays in my vest.

This saying is used when someone is very suspicious about something.

-Baxaliḍiḍiba:nlizrag ma yiḥrifari:gak. I warn you, the blue flies will never know your place.

This proverb is used as a threat. It means that I will make you disappear and no one will know your whereabouts.

-bikiḍiḍibba:n. He is fighting flies.

This refers to an unemployed person who is frustrated and angry for not having a job.

-Binguluhte:sbigu:luHlubu:h. I told him it is a he-goat, but he said 'milk it'. This proverb is used to describe the stupidity, foolishness and stubbornness of someone.

-miḌililHirba:hkulfatrahbitghayirḍildha. Like chameleon every time changes its colour.

This saying refers to sly and cunning people who regularly change their tactics.

-miḌilinnaHlih min Zahrah la zahrah. Like a bee jumping from one flower to another.

This phrase describes someone who is womaniser.

3.1.5 Other Structures

The following structures are also used:

1)Where are you + animal name (used as an adjective)? This structure can also be used positively and negatively. For example: *We:nakya dub? (Where are you, oh bear?)*

2)What's up + animal name (used as an adjective)? This structure is usually used negatively. For example: *fu:ma:lakyaHma:r? (What's wrong with you, oh donkey?)*

3)Come here + animal name (used as an adjective). This structure is usually used by parents addressing their children, or by older siblings addressing their younger brothers and sisters. For example, *taḥa:lyakalb!(Come here, oh dog!)*

4)Get out of here + animal name (used as an adjective). This structure is used to insult someone and get them out of an office or house. For example, *?iḥlaḥbarrayakalb!(Get out of here, oh dog!)*

4. Pragmatic Meanings of Animal Names

The pragmatic meanings associated with animal names vary depending on the reaction or emotion of the speaker in response to the addressee's physical appearance, behaviour or intelligence. This reaction can be positive, or alternatively it can be an insult, indicating stupidity, clumsiness, ugliness, size, obstinacy, etc. It has been observed that the use of animal names to address humans can be categorised as follows:

1) Appearance, which includes the size and shape of the animal and its physical features, for example, *?inta gad*

ilfi:l (You are the same size as an elephant).

2) Behaviour, which includes the behaviour of the animal, its movements and eating habits, for example, *miθilgird* (He is like a monkey - i.e. agile).

3) Intelligence, which includes the intellectual capabilities of animals compared to humans, such as ignorance and intelligence, for example *hwamiθl ?iθaʕlab!* (He is like a fox!)

4) Character, which includes the social and cultural meanings attached to these names in Jordanian society, for example *?idʒalighra:b!* (Here comes the crow! i.e. a bad omen).

The thematic contents of the animal names were classified under the following four categories:

1) Appearance - fish, peacock, bear, turkey, peacock, giraffe, butterfly, elephant, camel, hyena, cow, he-goat, eagle, falcon, monkey, gazelle, she-goat, pigeon, cat, ox, goose, and duck.

2) Behaviour - turtle, fox, ostrich, ant, fly, mosquito, bee, scorpion, snake, tiger, camel, mouse, he-goat, monkey, pigeon, cat, wolf, and buffalo.

3) Intelligence - fox, chicken, falcon, eagle, mule, donkey, cow and ox.

4) Character - owl, crow, insect, ant, mosquito, fly, cockroach, scorpion, bee, snake, tiger, dog, lion, pigeon, cat, wolf, tiger, hyena, camel, ostrich, and chicken.

The same name can be classified under more than one category, as it is used to refer to two thematic contents.

4.1 Appearance

In JSA, animal names are often used to describe a person's appearance such as their size, shape, and physical features such as ugliness or beauty. These comparisons can have negative connotations (insulting, degrading, or poking fun), as well as and positive meanings (praising or complimenting), depending on the selected animal name. Some animal names can fall under two or three different categories and can be used to refer to appearance and behaviour at the same time. Jordanians use the following animal names to describe a person's physical appearance negatively and positively:

Cow is usually used to refer to a female's appearance, behaviour, intelligence (i.e. she is unintelligent). It is negatively used to describe the physical appearance of a woman, especially if she is overweight. It can also indicate obesity, stupidity, lactation, and productivity.

Monkey can refer to a person's behaviour, physical attributes and agility. It is often used to describe a spry person's swift movements but may also be used to describe an ugly person.

He-goat is used to refer to men and it can indicate nimbleness, submission, walking with a bowed head, and doltishness. On the other hand, **She-goat** refers negatively to a woman's appearance, for example, *miθilʕanzih!* (She is like a she-goat!)

Elephant refers to a person's large size or obesity and is used negatively to describe the appearance of a man or a woman.

Hyena indicates ugliness (i.e. teeth), danger, fear, strength and cunningness.

Fish is used positively to describe a woman's body and her beauty; it refers to an attractive female in a very sexual, sensual way.

Bear refers to fatness; it is used to describe the bodies of both men and women.

Turkey refers to arrogance and untidiness; it is used to describe the behaviour and the appearance of both men and women.

Peacock refers to a person's arrogance and beauty; it is used to describe the negative behaviour of an arrogant person, as well as the beauty of a woman.

Giraffe refers to beauty; it is only used to describe the tallness of a woman, which is considered to be a sign of beauty in Jordanian society.

Butterfly refers to beauty; it is only used to describe the attractiveness and grace of a woman.

Camel refers to beauty, patience, hatred, endurance and stamina. It is used for both men and women; for women it is used to describe her tallness and beauty, i.e. she has an attractive body. It is also used to refer to the patience of a man.

Gazelle describes the appearance of both women and men; it refers to agility, beauty, softness, tenderness, and speed.

Pigeon describes the appearance of both men and women, with connotations of kindness, beauty, peace, tranquility, love and chastity.

Goose and **duck** describe the appearance of women only; they refer to beauty, a full body and a long neck. It is used by men as a kind of courting ritual.

4.2. Behaviour

In JSA, animal names are also used to describe the behaviour of humans. They are used to allude to the movement and behaviour associated with particular animals, such as noisiness, activeness, treachery, and wildness. The following animal names are used to describe certain behaviors:

Turtle describes the slowness of both women and men; it is used negatively to describe lazy behaviour.

Fox is used to describe the negative behaviour of men; it means that a person is treacherous and disingenuous.

Ant is used affectionately to describe how hardworking a person is; it can also be used to show weakness and peace.

Fly and mosquito negatively describe the behaviour of a person as being annoying, silly, and vexatious.

Bee is positively used to describe the behaviour of a person as hard working, busy, giving, and active. It is also used to describe the movement of housewives, especially those who work hard at home.

Scorpion and **snake** are used negatively to describe a person's behaviour; they mean enmity, cunningness, untrustworthiness, and harm. These names are widely used to describe the disingenuous behavior of a woman, for example, *X miΘiHayitittibin!* (*She is like a hay snake!*)

Tiger is used positively to describe a man's speedy and agile movements, for example, *XmiΘlinnimr!* (*X is like a tiger!*)

Mouse is used negatively to describe the behaviour and movements of a person (children and men in particular.) For example, *XmiΘilifa:rwe:n ma ra:Hbinadgis!* (*X is like a mouse, wherever he goes, trouble follows*).

He-goat and buffalo are used negatively to describe the uncivilised behavior of a man. They are also sometimes used when a person behaves in unusual manner and hurts others physically or emotionally.

Monkey negatively describes the movements of a person, particularly a child, who jumps around and annoys people in the vicinity.

Pigeon and cat describe the peaceful behaviour of a man or a woman.

4.3. Intelligence

Animal names in JSA are used to describe the attitude and feeling of the speaker toward their recipient. The theme of intelligence is socially attached to these names, which can be used invectively or affectionately. The following names are used to describe the intelligence or ignorance of a person:

Mule, ox and donkey mainly describe a man's lack of intelligence; they are used to refer to stupidity, dumbness, doltishness, stubbornness, sluggishness, and vulgarity. Alternatively, they can refer to stamina and hard work. They are also used to describe someone whose behaviour is abnormal, for example, if a person ignores a red light at an intersection, a person may say: *"Oh donkey? Why did you do that?"* thereby alluding to the careless and incautious behaviour of human beings. The word 'donkey' in particular relates to intelligence levels, for example, if a student is unintelligent, or underperforms in an exam, others may describe him as a 'donkey' (i.e. stupid). It is interesting to note that there is no scientific proof that donkeys are actually stupid. However, the social and pragmatic meanings associated with the donkey and mule are stupidity and feeble-mindedness.

Eagle is used to refer to men only to describe their strong observation skills and intelligence. Additionally, it can

refer to a person's power and courage.

Sheep is usually used to describe the stupidity of a man, especially one who is easily tricked by women; it also has several other meanings, including henpecked, submissive, a follower, gullible, kind, and naïve.

4.4. Character

Character includes the social and cultural meanings associated with certain animals; it refers to the psychological and physical features of these animals and the human characteristics associated with them, for example, weakness, strength, cowardliness and humbleness. The results of the study show that animals such as the pigeon, lamb, and butterfly, are used to indicate humbleness and weakness. The pigeon and the butterfly are used to describe the characteristics of females only, such as their physical appearance and their behaviour, while the lamb can refer to a good-hearted person and is used with reference to both males and females.

The participants of the study indicate that the socio-pragmatic meanings associated with animal names such as lion, hawk, eagle, wolf, and tiger, are courage and strength. These words are used by the interlocutor to compliment the courage of other people, especially men. For example, if a person rescues someone from a dangerous situation, he may be described as a 'lion', thereby indicating his courage under hazardous circumstances. Jordanians favour the hawk and eagle as these birds represent dignity, status, glory, courage, wisdom, and speed.

The participants consider the owl and the crow to be bad omens and the embodiment of evil because of their habits and physical shape; these beliefs are socially transferred and there are myths about these particular animals, for example, it is believed that the presence of an owl or crow in a certain place will bring bad fortune. Some people still believe in this folklore. For example, if an owl is seen flying over a house, it foretells the death of someone in that house; likewise, if a crow flies over a house, it prophesies a bad omen for the people of that house. These animals are therefore used to describe a man or a woman who always brings bad news, or his/her presence brings trouble with them.

Conclusion

The study concludes that Jordanians use animal names to express their emotions and attitudes towards a person or an object. Moreover, animal names are most frequently used as terms of abuse rather than terms of endearment. They are used pragmatically to describe, in terms of animal traits, the behaviour, character, appearance and intelligence of people, and these descriptions are often insulting. In addition, animal names are excessively used as similes, metaphors and proverbs. Evaluating the meaning of using of animal names in this manner in JSA is risky, as much depends on the level of social distance, or familiarity between the interlocutors.

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استخدام أسماء الحيوانات لمخاطبة الناس في اللهجة الأردنية

أحمد محمد الحراششة، رأفت محمود الروسان*

ملخص

درست هذا الورقة استخدامات المجاز والنداء لأسماء الحيوانات في مخاطبة الناس بطريقة مسيئة أو محببة في الأردن، وذلك من أجل التعبير عن مواقف ومشاعر المتحدث تجاه المخاطب، واشملت عينة هذه الدراسة على استطلاع يحتوي على 44 اسم حيوان، إذ تتوزع الاستبيان على 100 طالب بكالوريوس (50 طالب و50 طالبة) في جامعة اليرموك، الأردن، وتم سؤال الطلبة عن (أ) تحديد إذا كانوا يستخدمون اسم الحيوان لمخاطبة ذكر أو انثى، (ب) تحديد المعنى البراغماتي المرتبط باسم الحيوان، (ج) إعطاء التركيب القواعدي الذي تستخدم فيه هذه الأسماء، (د) وصف المواقف الحقيقة التي تستخدم فيها هذه الأسماء في العامية الأردنية، واستنتجت الدراسة أن أسماء الحيوانات في تركيب النداء عادة ما تستخدم لإهانة للشخص الآخر، ويعزو الأردنيون أسماء الحيوانات إلى البشر استناداً إلى العوامل التالية: المظهر، والسلوك، والذكاء، والشخصية.

الكلمات الدالة: أسماء الحيوانات، اللهجة المحكية في الأردن، مخاطبة الناس والبراغماتية.

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