

BULGARIAN AND RUSSIAN ZOOMORPHIC SIMILES AS A REFLECTION OF WAY OF LIFE AND LIVING CONDITIONS

Radostina Stoyanova

University of Economics – Varna (Bulgaria)

Institute for Bulgarian Language “Prof. L. Andreychin” – Bulgarian Academy of Sciences

Abstract. This paper presents the results of a comparative analysis of Bulgarian and Russian zoomorphic similes that reflect the way of life and living conditions of the two peoples. The types of semantic structure equivalence between Bulgarian and Russian zoomorphic similes are identified. We cite synonymous sets of zoomorphic similes with common meanings. The analysis we performed shows quantitative differences between the two languages in the occurrence of zoomorphic similes in this semantic field. This makes it possible to identify significant linguocultural gaps in one of the two languages.

Keywords: zoomorphic similes; Bulgarian and Russian linguocultures; way of life; living conditions

Introduction

The animal kingdom, of all the components of the natural environment, is the closest to the anthropocentric measure of this reality – Man. Hence, one supposes that figurative references to the word involving zoonyms would be the most ancient. It seems abundantly clear that “No other realm affords such vivid expression of symbolic concepts; symbolizing through use of animals is preeminent, widespread, and enduring” (Lawrence, 1993: 301). Whether as a result of some inborn tendency or as a result of a lengthy historical process, human beings commonly view animals “as elaborate metaphors and symbols, as spiritual beings, and as themselves” (Shepard, 1996: 281). More specifically, we tend to agree with Shepard that “symbolic images of animals enable humans to objectify qualities and traits” (Shepard, 1978: 247). Of course, at a deeper level still, Lévi-Strauss took such linguistic expressions as part of what enables human beings to deal with one of our fundamental dilemmas: that we are a part of nature, and yet are (or at least think we are) separate from it (Lévi-Strauss, 1968).

In one of its forms, the linguistic view of the world is reflected in similes that reflect the national consciousness and living conditions steeped in the local landscape, history, customs, traditions, culture and activities of those who speak the

language. Such similes impart vibrantly vivid images of the prevalent way of life and living conditions.

Our database of zoomorphic similes was collected by repeated sampling of dictionaries of phraseology, conventional similes, folk similes, etc. (Holandi, 2008; Lebedeva, 2015; Mokienko & Nikitina, 2008; Nicheva, Spasova-Mihaylova & Cholakova, 1975; Ogol'tsev, 2001; Yanev, 2013; Bulgarian Phrases and Expressions¹⁾; Dictionary of the Bulgarian Language 2.0²⁾).

Zoomorphic similes in the semantic field “way of life and living conditions” in Bulgarian and Russian linguocultures

We will discuss the varieties of Bulgarian and Russian zoomorphic similes in the semantic field “Way of Life and living conditions” in reverse order of their frequency in Bulgarian.

1. These similes are more frequent in the following semantic groups, each involving at least two synonymous expressions in each language:

– ‘to live alone’ (4 in Bulgarian and 2 in Russian): Bulgarian *живея като кукувица* ‘жить совсем одиноко, без никого, в одиночестве’ (Nicheva, Spasova-Mihaylova & Cholakova, 1975: 489); Bulgarian *сам (самичък) като кукувица* (Holandi, 2010: 280); Bulgarian *живея като сврака на драка* (dialect) ‘to live totally alone, lead a solitary life’ (Nicheva, Spasova-Mihaylova & Cholakova, 1975: 509; Holandi, 2008: 111); Bulgarian *живея като къртица* (Yanev, 2013: 253) ‘to live in solitude’; Russian *жить как кукушка* (*disapproving*) ‘1. (dialect) Of a woman living in complete solitude; 2. Of someone’s licentious, irregular lifestyle’ (Mokienko & Nikitina, 2008: 319); Russian *жить как медведь <в берлоге>* (*disapproving*) ‘of a recluse leading an unsociable, solitary life’ (Lebedeva, 2015: 239).

– ‘to live freely with no constraints/restrictions or worries’ (3 Bulgarian и 5 in Russian): Bulgarian *живея като птичка божия* ‘to live a carefree life in freedom with no restrictions’ (Nicheva, Spasova-Mihaylova & Cholakova, 1975: 506; Holandi, 2008: 111); Bulgarian *живея като волна птичка* ‘to live freely, with no worries’ (Holandi, 2008: 108); Bulgarian *волен (свободен) като птица (птичка)* ‘to live with no constraints (Holandi, 2008: 47); Russian *жить как птица <Божия (небесная)>* (informal; *disapproving*) ‘of someone leading a carefree life’ (Lebedeva, 2015: 241; Mokienko & Nikitina, 2008: 546); cf. also Russian *жить как птица небесная (Божия)* (informal) ‘1. (high style) of someone’s free, affluent, above-the-mundane lifestyle; 2. (humorous) of someone’s carefree, happy-go-lucky lifestyle with no chores or commitments’ (Mokienko & Nikitina, 2008: 546); Russian *жить как птица поднебесная* (informal) ‘1. of someone’s free, affluent, above-average lifestyle; 2. of someone living in poverty’ (Mokienko & Nikitina, 2008: 546); Russian *свободный (вольный) как птица* ‘of someone not bound by responsibilities, ties to others, etc.’ (Lebedeva, 2015: 246); Russian *жить <одна> как голубушка* (dialect, humorous) ‘of a free, uninhibited life led by a lone, single woman’ (Mokienko & Nikitina, 2008: 141); Russian *жить как*

перелётна кукушка (dialect, disapproving) ‘of a drifter leading a carefree life, habitually changing places and jobs’ (Mokienko & Nikitina, 2008: 319).

– ‘to find oneself in difficult and adverse living circumstances’ (3 in Bulgarian and 5 in Russian): Bulgarian *оставам като жаба на вир* (dialect) ‘to be in adverse circumstances, in a bad state’ (Nicheva, Spasova-Mihaylova & Cholakova, 1975: 484); Bulgarian *оставам/остана като гъска (патка) на лед* ‘to be in a bad state, to fail to achieve expected goals or success’ (Nicheva, Spasova-Mihaylova & Cholakova, 1975: 34); Bulgarian *оставам/остана като риба на лесата* (dialect) ‘to be in a ‘bad state, to fail to achieve expected goals or success’ (Nicheva, Spasova-Mihaylova & Cholakova, 1975: 34); Russian *быть (оставаться) как рак на мели* (non-standard, ironic) ‘of someone in a desperate ‘situation’ (Lebedeva, 2015: 237); Russian *угодить (попасть<ся>) как кур во щи (в ощи)* (old-fashioned, non-standard) ‘of someone in a bad state with no way out’ (Lebedeva, 2015: 248), cf. also Russian *попасть (попасться, угодить) [куда] как кур во щи (в ощи)* (non-standard, ironic) ‘said of a man who has unexpected problems, suddenly finding himself (through his own fault) in a difficult, impossible, unpleasant (often humorous or embarrassing) situation’ (Mokienko & Nikitina, 2008: 324); Russian *попасться как птица в кляпцы* (colloquial) ‘of someone in a bad state with no way out’ (Mokienko & Nikitina, 2008: 546); Russian *попасться как ворона в суп* (informal, dialect, humorous) ‘of someone in an unexpected (self-inflicted) and often ludicrously embarrassing situation with no way out’ (Mokienko & Nikitina, 2008: 118); Russian *попасться как косач в кош* (dialect, humorous) ‘of someone in a bad state with no way out’ (Mokienko & Nikitina, 2008: 296).

– ‘to live in bad conditions’ (3 in Bulgarian and 4 in Russian): Bulgarian *живея като животно (скот)* ‘to live a primitive life, in hard conditions’ (Holandi, 2008: 108); Bulgarian *живея като куче* ‘1. To live in poverty; 2. To live alone; 3. To be homeless’ (Nicheva, Spasova-Mihaylova & Cholakova, 1975: 489); Bulgarian *живея като куче под стряха* ‘to be homeless, to have no family’¹⁾; Russian *жить как скот/скоты/скотина* (non-standard, derogatory) ‘of people living in extreme poverty, ignorance, deprivation’ (Lebedeva, 2015: 241); Russian *жить как собака* (non-standard, disapproving) ‘of someone living a comfortless, unsettled, bleak life’ (Lebedeva, 2015: 241), cf. also Russian *жить как собака* (disapproving) ‘of someone living a crude, uncivilized and embittered life’ (Mokienko & Nikitina, 2008: 630); Russian *жить как чёрна собака* (dialect, disapproving) ‘of someone living in extreme poverty and complete solitude’ (Mokienko & Nikitina, 2008: 630); Russian *жить (скитаться, бродяжничать и т.п.) как бездомная собака/бездомный пёс* ‘usually said of someone who is alone and has no home or shelter’ (Lebedeva, 2015: 247).

2. Similes that have only one example instance each in Bulgarian but multiple synonyms in Russian:

– ‘to lead a secluded or solitary life’ (1 in Bulgarian and 9 in Russian): Bulgarian *кривя се като лалугер* ‘to dislike seeing or talking to other people, prefer staying

home'¹⁾; Russian *жить как зверь* = Russian *жить зверем* (informal, dialect, disapproving) 'of someone unsociable leading a secluded life' (Mokienko & Nikitina, 2008: 217); Russian *жить (сидеть) <одному/одной> как бирюк* (disapproving) = Russian *жить (сидеть) бирюком* (disapproving) 'of someone unsociable or devoid of company' (Lebedeva, 2015: 243); Russian *жить (сидеть) <одному/одной> как сыч/сычиха* (disapproving) 'of someone unsociable or devoid of company' (Lebedeva, 2015: 243); Russian *жить (сидеть) <одному/одной> как филин* (disapproving) 'of someone unsociable or devoid of company' (Lebedeva, 2015: 244); Russian *сидеть как заяц на острове (острову)* (dialect, disapproving) 'of someone stranded or isolated from the rest of the world' (< Based on the proverbial flood-stranded hare sitting on an island early in the spring) (Mokienko & Nikitina, 2008: 214); Russian *спрятаться (уйти в себя и т.п.) как улитка <в раковину>* (disapproving) 'of someone overly cautious or timid living in seclusion' (Lebedeva, 2015: 248); Russian *прятаться [от кого] как собака в подмостье в жаркий день* (colloquial, humorous) 'of someone avoiding friends and acquaintances' (Mokienko & Nikitina, 2008: 632); Russian *сидеть в гнезде как кукушка* (dialect, humorous, ironic) 'of someone rarely seen outside their home' (Mokienko & Nikitina, 2008: 319); Russian *сидеть (отсиживаться) [где, в чём-либо] как суслик в норе/норке* '1. of someone forced to keep a low profile or hide out; 2. (figurative, disapproving) of someone living in seclusion' (Lebedeva, 2015: 247).

– 'to live in harmony' (1 in Bulgarian and 4 in Russian): Bulgarian *като змийските яйца* 'задружные, сплотени, единные' (Nicheva, Spasova-Mihaylova & Cholakova, 1975: 486); Russian *жить как сокол с соколихой* (dialect, approving) 'of a close-knit marriage' (Mokienko & Nikitina, 2008: 639); Russian *жить как голубь с голубкой* (informal, dialect, humorous) 'of an inseparable (usu. married) couple living in faithful love and complete harmony' (Mokienko & Nikitina, 2008: 142); Russian *жить как два голубка (как голубки)* 'of an inseparable (usu. married) couple living in faithful love and complete harmony' (Mokienko & Nikitina, 2008: 141); Russian *сохраняться как гуси в шайке* (dialect, approving) 'of people living in harmony' (Mokienko & Nikitina, 2008: 158).

– 'to live a life of constant strife' (1 in Bulgarian and 2 in Russian): Bulgarian *живеем като куче<то> и котка<та> (котката с кучето)* 'to have angry arguments all the time' (Holandi, 2008: 106); Russian *жить как кошка с собакой* (informal, dialect, disapproving or humorous) 'of never-ending and uncompromising antagonism, quarrels and mutual hatred between those in close touch (spouses, relatives, competitors, etc.)' (Mokienko & Nikitina, 2008: 303), cf. also Russian *жить как собака с кошкой* (disapproving or humorous) 'of never-ending and uncompromising antagonism, quarrels and mutual hatred between those who interact regularly (spouses, relatives, competitors, etc.)' (Mokienko & Nikitina, 2008: 630); Russian *жить как журавль с цаплей* (colloquial, dialect, humorous or ironic) '1. Of spouses who have heated disputes, arguments and quarrels all the

time 2. Of two people who are different to the point of incompatibility' (Mokienko & Nikitina, 2008: 203).

– 'to lead a parasitic lifestyle' (1 in Bulgarian and 2 in Russian): Bulgarian *живея като кърлеж* 'to have no work and live at someone else's expense' (Holandi, 2008: 109); Russian *разжиться как вошь в коросте* (colloquial, ironic) 'of someone getting very rich or wealthy at someone else's expense through a parasitic lifestyle' (Mokienko & Nikitina, 2008: 121); Russian *впиваться [в кого-либо] (сосать, пить кровь и т.п.) как клон (клец)* (figurative, derogatory) 'of someone enjoying a parasitic lifestyle at someone else's expense' (Lebedeva, 2015: 237).

– 'to live prosperously' (1 in Bulgarian and 2 in Russian): Bulgarian *живея като кърлеж в ухото* 'to live a comfortable life with enough money' (Nicheva, Spasova-Mihaylova & Cholakova, 1975: 491; Holandi, 2008: 110), cf. also Bulgarian *живея като кърлеж в куче ухо* 'to live in prosperity' (Nicheva, Spasova-Mihaylova & Cholakova, 1975: 491); Russian *зажировать как индейский петух* (colloquial, humorous) 'of someone getting to enjoy a well-fed and prosperous life' (Mokienko & Nikitina, 2008: 497); Russian *жить (3rd person singular живёт) как свинка-господинка* (dialect, humorous) 'of a woman enjoying a happy and prosperous married life' (Mokienko & Nikitina, 2008: 599).

3. Similes with the sense of 'to live a life of anxiety' involve two synonymous expressions in Bulgarian but only one in Russian:

– 'to live a life of anxiety': Bulgarian *живея като бълха в тъпан* 'to live in anxiety' (Holandi, 2008: 108); Bulgarian *живея като подгонен звяр* 'to live in a constant state of anxiety and tension' (Holandi, 2008: 108); Russian *жить как заяц на слуху* (colloquial, disapproving) 'of someone living in anxiety over an anticipated danger' (Mokienko & Nikitina, 2008: 214).

4. There are also cases where a given zoomorphic simile is represented by one expression in each language:

– 'to achieve a prosperous life': Bulgarian *наредих се като куче в каруца (кола)* 'to achieve a very favorable position' (Nicheva, Spasova-Mihaylova & Cholakova, 1975: 490), cf. also Bulgarian *наредих се като куче в каруца (каручка)* (colloquial) 'to arrange good, advantageous conditions for oneself, to set oneself up'²⁾; Russian *забиться [куда] как виш в коросту* (dialect, humorous or ironic) 'of someone enjoying a lucrative position or sinecure' (Mokienko & Nikitina, 2008: 121).

– 'to avoid facing problems by living in self-deception': Bulgarian *крия си главата като щраус* (literary) 'to escape, avoid facing problems' (Holandi, 2008: 150); Russian *прятать голову в песок как страус* (figurative, disapproving) 'of someone given to self-deception in an attempt to avoid facing problems or danger' (Lebedeva, 2015: 246).

5. The following similes seem to only exist in Russian:

– 'to live in a squalid home' (3 in Russian): Russian *жить как свинья* (non-standard, derogatory) 'of a slovenly, unclean person, living in squalid conditions

inappropriate for human use' (Lebedeva, 2015: 241); Russian *жить* (3rd person plural *живут*) *как свиньи в сажу* (dialect, derogatory) 'of slovenly, unclean dwellers of a squalid home' (<*сажа* – cowshed, pigsty) (Mokienko & Nikitina, 2008: 600); Cf. Russian *жить как в свинарнике (в хлеву)* (non-standard) 'of someone occupying a squalid, untidy dwelling, office, etc.' (Lebedeva, 2015: 239) – this simile originates from the zoomorphic image of pigs in a pigsty.

– 'to lead a carefree, promiscuous lifestyle' (2 in Russian): Russian *порхать как мотылёк* (disapproving) = *порхать мотыльком* 'of a happy-go-lucky man, womanizer, etc.' (Lebedeva, 2015: 162); Russian *жить как зезюля* (dialect, derogatory) 'of a woman leading a carefree and promiscuous lifestyle' (<*зезюля* – cuckoo) (Mokienko & Nikitina, 2008: 218).

– 'to live a life of worries and troubles' (2 in Russian): Russian *бегать <высунув язык> как собака* (figurative, disapproving) 'of someone constantly worried, troubled and busily trying to get everything done' (Lebedeva, 2015: 236); Russian *метаться как кукушка в гнезде* (dialect, disapproving) 'of someone living a life of worries and troubles' (Mokienko & Nikitina, 2008: 319).

– 'to live in overcrowded conditions' (2 in Russian): Russian *жить как налим <бок с боком>* (dialect, disapproving) 'of people living crammed in close quarters' (Mokienko & Nikitina, 2008: 425); cf. additional connotation: Russian *набиться (набиты) как сельди в бочке (в бочку)* (disapproving) 'of extremely overcrowded conditions with people jostling in a confined space' (Mokienko & Nikitina, 2008: 606).

6. Once again, there is only one example and only in Russian of a zoomorphic simile with each of the following meanings:

– 'to live in complete subjugation': Russian *жить как собака на привязи* (disapproving) 'of someone living in complete subjugation, restricted in their freedom' (Mokienko & Nikitina, 2008: 630).

– 'to live with no choices or rights, in dependence on someone else': Russian *жить как приблудная собака* (deprecating) 'of someone living temporarily, without any choice, without any right, with someone else' (Mokienko & Nikitina, 2008: 630).

– 'to live by tricks and dishonesty': Russian *жить лисой = жить как лиса* 'of someone living by tricks and dishonesty' (Mokienko & Nikitina, 2008: 348).

– 'to get settled in a new place': Russian *привыкать к новому дому (месту) как кошка* (Ogol'tsev, 2001).

– 'to escape social problems': Russian *сидеть в щели (забиваться в щель/щели) как таракан* (figurative, derogatory) 'of someone avoiding social problems in a cowardly fashion' (Lebedeva, 2015: 247).

As the material we cited shows, the semantic "Way of Life and Living Conditions" is represented by different quantities of zoomorphic similes in Bulgarian and Russian. This allows us to assume the existence of significant culturological gaps in one of these languages. Such exist in Bulgarian (as compared to Russian) in the case of similes with the meanings 'to live in a squalid home', 'to lead a carefree,

promiscuous lifestyle', 'to live a life of worries and troubles', 'to live in overcrowded conditions', as well as 'to live in complete subjugation', 'to live with no choices or rights, in dependence on someone else', 'to live by tricks and dishonesty', 'to get settled in a new place', 'to escape social problems'.

The large quantity of the zoomorphic similes in Russian, in the case of the the semantic field "Way of Life and Living Conditions", reveals the significance of this fragment of the linguistic picture of the world for speakers of the Russian linguoculture. Thus, in the Russian linguoculture the sets of synonymous similes with the common meaning of 'to lead a secluded or solitary life' are quite significant.

The types of semantic equivalences between bulgarian and russian zoomorphic similes reflecting the way of life and living conditions

In terms of semantic structure equivalence, the Bulgarian and Russian zoomorphic similes analyzed here can be classified into the following types:

1. Completely equivalent zoomorphic similes found in both Bulgarian and Russian. These employ identical tenors as well as identical animal vehicles. Thus one's free life with no restraints tends to be associated with a flying bird in both Bulgarian and Russian (Bulgarian *живея като птичка божия* – Russian *жить как птица <Божия (небесная)>*; Bulgarian *свободен (волен) като птица (птичка)* – Russian *свободный (вольный) как птица*), whereas never-ending antagonism is associated with cats and dogs sharing a living space (Bulgarian *живеем като куче и котка* – Russian *жить как кошка с собакой*). These vivid zoomorphic similes are found in many Slavic and non-Slavic languages. Cf. Serbian and Croatian *живети (лагати се) као нас и мачка (као мачка и нас)* (Mokienko & Nikitina, 2008: 303-304), cf. also French *vivre (être, s'accorder, s'entendre) comme un chien et un chat*; English *<as> free as a bird*, etc.

A destitute and solitary existence is compared with a dog's life in both Bulgarian and Russian linguocultures: Bulgarian *живея като куче* – Russian *жить как собака*, cf. English *live like a dog*. The human tendency towards self-deception in an attempt to avoid problems is represented by the zoonym *ostrich*: Bulgarian *крива си главата като щраус* – Russian *прятать голову в песок как страус*. This stems from the popular misconception that ostriches will bury their heads in the sand to escape predators. The myth appears to have originated with ostriches often bending down their heads to swallow small pebbles to help digestion. They may also flop to the ground after being chased for so long that they are too exhausted to run away or even keep up their heads.

2. Zoomorphic similes that are semantically analogous in Bulgarian and Russian in that they have the same tenor but different zoomorphic vehicles: Bulgarian *живея като подгонен звяр* – Russian *жить как заяц на слуху*, etc. The similes of this type use different coding to express the same concept.

3. Zoomorphic similes that are semantically analogous in Bulgarian and Russian even though they employ different tenors as well as and divergent animal vehicles:

Bulgarian *живея като кърлеж в ухото*, Bulgarian *живея като кърлеж в куче ухо* – Russian *зажировать как индейский петух*; Bulgarian *наредих се като куче в каруца (каручка)* – Russian *забиться [куда] как виша в коросту*.

4. Non-equivalent and non-matching zoomorphic similes in Bulgarian and Russian. These zoomorphic similes are found only in one of the two languages: Russian *сидеть в щели (забиваться в щель/щели) как таракан*; Russian *метаться как кукушка в гнезде*; Russian *жить как налим <бок с боком>*; Russian *порхать как мотылёк*; Russian *жить как зезюля*; Russian *жить как приبلудная собака*; Russian *жить как собака на привязи*, etc. For some of these similes it may be possible to find a semantic match in the other language, albeit involving a non-animal image.

The tenors and vehicles bases in Bulgarian and Russian may or may not be equivalent, depending on the popular perception of each animal in the linguistic consciousness and everyday cultural experience of the given ethnic group.

The zoomorphic similes specific to a given linguoculture formed as the result of centuries-long use and transmit cultural principles and values.

Conclusion

Based on the analysis we performed, the zoomorphic similes reflecting way of life and living conditions registered in Russian lexicographic sources appear to be more detailed than in Bulgarian ones. This suggests the need for a new, comprehensive, Bulgarian dictionary of idioms and/or just of conventional similes, comparable to the *Bol'shoi slovar' russkikh narodnykh sravnenii*, which comprises more than 45,000 examples of similes (Mokienko & Nikitina 2008), which would include among other things recent coinages. Such a dictionary would be useful not only for linguists, students of philology, foreign learners of Bulgarian, and high school teachers and students, but in fact also for the general public.

Quite a few of the zoomorphic similes discussed here are set expressions repeatedly used by certain individuals in a variety of discourse situations (Bulgarian *живея като куче*; Bulgarian *живея като кукувица*; Bulgarian *сам като кукувица*; Russian *жить как кукушка*; Russian *порхать как мотылёк*, etc.). Other zoomorphic similes seem to be so removed from modern psycholinguistic reality that they are rarely used by the native speakers (Bulgarian *като змийски-те яйца*; Bulgarian *живея като сврака на драка*; Bulgarian *оставам (остана) като риба на лесата*; Bulgarian *оставам като гъска (патка) на лед*, etc.). According to F.N. Guketlova and N.G. Sherieva, “Zoonyms (with the exception of those involving cats and dogs) have become peripheral in everyday usage, thus confirming just how removed modern man is from the animal world” (Guketlova & Sherieva, 2018: 83).

Our linguistic analysis supports the view of Deignan, that “many, more transparent, metaphorical expressions are also historical in that they allude to

knowledge that is still shared as part of our cultural repository, but no longer directly experienced” (Deignan, 2003: 270). As noted by Kövecses, Deignan articulates the key insight that “the metaphors we use today may not reflect current understandings about our culture” (Kövecses, 2003: 315).

Our database of zoomorphic similes is full of such usage notes as ‘disapproving’, ‘derogatory’, ‘humorous’, ‘humorous or ironic’, which all seem to confirm that “the prevalence of pejorative connotations in the field of zoomorphic code of the Bulgarian and Russian linguocultures suggests a general trend toward pejorative connotations” (Stoyanova, 2017: 384).

Interestingly, among the similes we have studied there are some that are polysemous (with two or more quite distinct meanings) e.g. Russian *жить как птица небесная* (*Божия*) (ligh style) ‘to live an affluent lifestyle’ vs. (humorous) ‘to live a carefree, happy-go-lucky life’.

The comparative aspect of the research in zoomorphic similes provides a deeper understanding for comparing the value systems of the Bulgarian and Russian linguocultures (Stoyanova, 2018: 384), and helps to decode the national specifics inherent in the linguistic semantics of the two cultures.

The zoomorphic similes analyzed here form an important part of the linguistic view of the world in the Bulgarian and Russian linguocultures, proving that the zoomorphic code has its place in the culture of each nation.

NOTES

1. Balgarski frazi i izrazi. Spravochnik na izpolzvani frazi i frazeologizmi [Bulgarian Phrases and Expressions. Directory of Phrases and Phrasal Expressions Used]. Retrieved 12 April, 2018 from: <https://frazite.com>
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✉ **Dr. Radostina Stoyanova, Assist. Prof.**

University of Economics – Varna
77, Kniaz Boris Blvd.
9002 Varna, Bulgaria

Institute for Bulgarian Language “Prof. L. Andreychin”
Bulgarian Academy of Sciences
52, Shipchenski Prohod Blvd., block 17
1113 Sofia, Bulgaria
E-mail: r.stoyanova@ue-varna.bg