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THE SEMANTIC SCOPE OF ENGLISH ANIMAL-SPECIFIC SURNAMES*

In this paper an attempt will be made to analyse a number of surnames either directly derived from animal names or variously associated with representatives of the animal world which may be said to embody and provide a variation on the general conceptual metaphor **HUMAN BEING IS ANIMAL** and/or the **ANIMAL NAME FOR PERSON ASSOCIATED WITH THAT NAME** metonymy. Animal-related surnames represent a fragment of the English lexicon where morphology and (broadly understood) semantics meet and exert mutual influence on each other. It seems that in animal-based nomination language users employ such morphological mechanisms as, for example, affixation or compounding which, in turn, seem to be conceptually motivated by metaphor and metonymy.

Keywords: *metaphor*, *metonymy*, *animals*, *surnames*, *motivation*

1. Introduction

The issue of semantic motivation is usually treated in onomastic literature (see, for example, Naumann 1987: 16, Jäkel 1999: 211, Bierwiaczonek 2013: 147) as a hypothesis. It is believed that proper names in general may originally be semantically motivated; however, this original motivation may gradually disappear, or it may be difficult, or impossible to ascertain. One might seek reasons for this state of affairs in distortions related to phonetics, phonology, orthography, or other linguistic subsystems. Therefore, to do justice to the facts one should bear in mind that even profound etymological research may not prove successful in deciphering the roots of certain surnames.

Proper names in general should therefore be viewed as having etymological, rather than lexical meaning. This study will analyze selected surnames that,

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etymologically speaking, seem to be variously related to animal names, that is, they have animal-specific motivation.

On closer scrutiny, one notices that the surnames we have inherited are far more semantically loaded than we typically realize. Especially when we adopt a panchronic perspective, an in-depth analysis of surnames may offer an interesting account of the way in which our distant ancestors perceived their surrounding reality. In this paper we limit the scope of our research to animal-specific surnames with a view to investigating their morphology and semantics. It will be argued that in animal-based nomination language users employ morphological mechanisms such as affixation and compounding which, themselves, are conceptually motivated by metaphor and metonymy.

The analysis of animal-specific surnames proposed here will be couched in terms of the conceptual metaphor theory formulated by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and Lakoff and Turner (1989) as well as the conceptual metonymy theory developed by Kövecses and Radden (1998), Radden and Kövecses (1999), Kövecses (2002, 2015) and Bierwiaczonek (2013). The language data analysed (mainly names of mammals and birds) have been collected from a variety of English lexicographic sources listed in the References.

Thus, in this account we will follow the definition postulated by Radden and Kövecses (1999: 128) according to which "[…] metonymy is a cognitive process in which one conceptual entity, the vehicle, provides mental access to another entity, the target, within the same idealized cognitive model"[1], or – concisely put – the conceptual entities involved belong to one and the same conceptual domain. We will also utilize the concept of the referential function of metonymy which, according to Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 36), "allows us to use one entity to stand for another" or "affording to access another conceptual entity" (Radden and Kövecses (1999: 128)) in the process of "naming of individuals" (see Jäkel 1999: 226). In turn, as argued by Kövecses (2015: ix), "conceptual metaphors consist of sets of systematic correspondences, or mappings between two domains of experience and […] the meaning of a particular metaphorical expression realizing an underlying conceptual metaphor is based on such correspondences". Below we will provide evidence suggesting that animal-specific surnames may be viewed as motivated by metaphor, or metonymy, or the interface of the two, a phenomenon referred to in the literature as metaphtonymy.[2]

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[1] The notion of *Idealized Cognitive Model* (ICM) was proposed by Lakoff (1987) for whom a domain is any conceptualization underlying semantic structures, whereas the ICM is the idealized model of bringing a certain structure to reality. The classification of the so-called *content metonymies*, in which specific relationships are characterized by certain conceptual content, offered in Kövecses and Radden (1998), Radden and Kövecses (1999) and Kövecses (2002), results from the assumption that human knowledge about the world is organised by structured ICMs, which are perceived by people as wholes and parts.

[2] The notion of the metaphor-metonymy interface is discussed by Goossens (1990), who proposed the term metaphtonymy, as well as by, among others, Mendoza Ibáñez and Diez Velasco (2003) and Gil and Ruiz (2006).

2. The problem of motivation

In view of the relevant language facts, we must recognize that in English there are a number of surnames whose motivation is indeterminate. However, if one narrows the perspective to the category of animal-specific surnames, the motivation for the rise of such surnames may become more ascertainable if the mechanisms of metaphor, metonymy, or both are employed.

On the basis of research to date, it is reasonable to suppose that metaphor and metonymy have been instrumental in the emergence of surnames in English. It seems that if surnames are motivated by similarity (likeness) between the source and the target, then their nature is metaphorical. If, however, they are motivated by an identifying salient property of the referent, i.e., they refer to a circumstance or distinctive aspect closely linked to their referent, their nature is metonymic (see Bierwiaczonek 2013: 142, Jäkel 1999: 214). This may apply both to animal-specific names/surnames and animal-related place names.

3. The typology of surnames

According to Jäkel (1999: 212-215) and Bierwiaczonek (2013: 144), German semantically motivated surnames may be grouped according to the notions of motivation and metonymy. The taxonomy proposed works for English to an extent. It includes the following classes of surnames: genealogical (e.g. *Lampson* 'the son of *Lamb*'), professional (e.g. *Shepherd* 'a person tending sheep'), surnames based on utensil metonymy (e.g. *Lamb* 'a person tending lambs'), surnames based on quality metonymy (e.g. *Hardman* 'a brave man', *Foxman* 'a sly man'), surnames based on location metonymy (e.g. *Horsey* 'horse island').

Other researchers, e.g. Reaney (1958, 1967), Cottle (1967), Smith (1950, 1969), McKie (2013) enumerate four groups of English surnames: those based on the names of their ancestors (patronymical or relational), those recording localities or places where ancestors originated, those referring to the occupation or status of the ancestor, and those that constitute nicknames, descriptive of the ancestor's various characteristics. This four-fold division of surnames is confirmed by Matthews (1966: 69) in the words: "[…] nearly all writers on the subject of surnames have classified them into [the] four types of Locality, Relationship, Occupation and Nicknames." In fact, Smith (1950: 45) goes a step further, saying that "[…] surnames in all countries originate in one of the [above] four ways if they are not consciously adopted."

It seems that Jäkel's (1999: 215) surnames which are based on utensil metonymy include those cases that are derived from nicknames or whose exact motivation is unknown, e.g. *Herring* used as a surname may refer to a resemblance between the source and the target, in which case its motivation is metaphorical, or it may represent a metonymic "stand for" relation where the bearer acquired his surname because he was associated with fishmongering.

4. Animal-specific surnames

The analysis of available data makes it possible to indicate both morphologically simplex and complex animal surnames. By the former we mean those surnames that are directly based on animal names without any morphological modification, e.g. *Doe* 'nickname from an OE word for a doe' (see Titford 2009: 152), which originally was presumably used with reference to a person of mild or gentle disposition. In this category we also find those surnames that are based on animal-specific actions, e.g. *Hunt* (used as a metonym for 'a hunter') or animal-specific sounds, e.g. *Howl* (used as a metonym for a person producing a sound similar to that typical of a wolf).

In turn, the morphologically complex animal surnames may belong to a number of categories. One of them comprises those surnames that are based on suffixation. For example, in the case of metaphorically conditioned *Dogget* 'nickname for a person bearing some resemblance to a dog (OE *docga*)', the suffix *–et* could indicate a diminutive form. As argued by Titford (2009: 152), *Dogget* was originally not used as an affectionate or complimentary nickname. As far as its productivity is concerned, it is known to have been popular in Ireland since the thirteenth century, while in England it is a rare surname. Another example of a surname obtained through the addition of the diminutive suffix *–et*, or one of its variants, is the Romance *Lovett, Lovitt* 'wolfcub' (see Cottle 1967: 172).

In fact, one may find numerous animal-related surnames based on suffixation. In the case of the surname *Lambkin* the suffix *–kin* has been added to provide the diminutive of 'little or small Lamb' but more literally 'son of Lamb'. Other surnames derived by diminutivisation are *Lionel* and *Lovell*. In the case of *Lionel*, also spelled *Lionell* and *Lyonell*, one may argue following Cottle (1967: 172) that it originated as a nickname for 'a fierce or brave warrior' from the French word *lion* to which the diminutive suffix *–el* was added. According to the author, *Lovell* with variant spellings *Lovel* and *Lowell*, is derived from the Anglo-Norman French *lou* 'a wolf' (based on the Latin *lupus*) with the diminutive suffix *–el*, and, as one may suppose, it was originally given as a nickname to 'a fierce or shrewd person'.

Other morphologically complex English animal-related surnames include *Hunter*, *Fisher*, *Yearling*, *Butcher* (from OE *bucca* 'he goat'), *Slaughter* (derived from the stem **slah* 'slay'), related to Polish *Rzeźnik* 'butcher', all derived by suffixation and all, with the exception of *Yearling*, based on what people do to animals. These surnames may be qualified as occupational in nature and as such motivated metonymically. In turn, the surnames *Fisherman* and *Lampson* are products of compounding (see Titford 2009: 531). Among English animal-related surnames, some that were originally compounds no longer exhibit transparent morphological structure. Such is the case with *Calvert*. According to Smith (1969: 110), this surname is of Anglo-Saxon origin, and it is an occupational name for 'a tender of cattle'. It was derived from the Middle English *calfhirde*,

a development of the Old English *calf* meaning 'calf' and *hierde* 'herdsman'. The surname is now most widespread in northern, especially north-eastern, England and in Northern Ireland.

As we will try to demonstrate in what follows,[3] the majority of animal-specific surnames originate either from nicknames (e.g. *Fox* based on metaphor – alluding to resemblance to the animal's physical or other characteristics), placenames/localities (e.g. *Bear* and *Lion* from names of taverns and inns, motivated metonymically, and *Horscroft*, *Horsfall*, *Horsley* and *Horstead*, which originally denoted people who came from these villages associated with horses and whose motivation is also metonymic), or names of occupations (e.g. *Fish*, *Fisher* motivated metonymically). In terms of complexity, the surname *Fish* may qualify as morphologically simplex, while *Fisher*, derived by suffixation, represents a morphologically complex derivative of *fish*. Evidently, the great majority of animal-specific surnames analysed represent morphologically complex lexical units.

4.1. Surnames motivated by metaphor

Animal surnames like *Wren(n)* have typically reflected a person's general character – in the case of *wren* 'a small, lively person'. Such surnames seem to be based on the general conceptual metaphor **HUMAN BEING IS ANIMAL**. The group of surnames that are likely to have been derived from some personal characteristic or feature of appearance includes, among others, the name *Sparling* (or *Sparr*), which should indicate a central characteristic of sparrows. As mentioned by Titford (2009: 12), more recognizable bird-names have also contributed to the stock of animal-related surnames, examples being *Crow(e)/Corbet*, *Duck*, *Peacock*, *Wildgoose*, *Woodcock*, *Partridge*, *Pheasant* and *Starling*. Other surnames that seem to belong to this metaphorically motivated group include *Fox*, *Hogg*, *Tod* 'a fox', *Brock* 'a badger', and *Bird* (or *Byrd*). If the property of SMALL SIZE is a key factor here, that could explain in part why the name *Byrd* has been as common as it has. In Middle English *bird* originally meant 'young bird, fledgling, and the young of animals in general, also a child or young man'. In contrast, according to Smith (1969: 177), *Crane*, *Heron* and *Stork* have provided nicknames for tall men with long legs, while *Crowe* and *Crow* convey the sense of BLACKNESS. One may, therefore, argue that the above surnames and many others alluding to objective similarities between source and target domains, along with some number which were originally used as derogatory terms or terms of endearment, should be viewed as metaphorical comparisons.

A number of metaphorically conditioned surnames were offensive originally. *Pigg*, *Piggott* and *Hogg*, for instance, were often used in the same

[3] See also the discussion of surnames proposed in Kiełtyka (2015, 2016).

way as the uncongenial extensions of words from which they were derived. Additionally, as noted by Smith (1969: 177), *hogg* "originally referred to the wild boar more than to the farmyard pig; it was the most exciting animal to hunt and was admired because of its ferocity at bay". Thus, in this particular case the motivation behind the development of the surname *Hogg* could be either metaphorical, based on the similarity between the source and the target, or metonymic, based on certain associations between people and hogs.

The following quotation from Titford (2009: 12) shows possible sources of motivation for the choice of bird-names used as surnames: "[…] but what can it have been about the original Mr Starling that led to his unusual nickname/byname/surname? Did he love brightly coloured clothes, did he have an ungainly waddling gait, or was he possessed of a greedy, squabbling temperament?" It seems that the exact motivation for the rise of animal-related surnames may not always be transparent, especially if one also takes into consideration potential metonymic conditioning – being variously associated with a particular animal. Interestingly, some birds have acquired human names in compound forms: *Tom Tit, Robin Readbreast*, *Jack Daw, Margery Daw, Jenny Wren, Mag Pie, Polly Parrot*. This indicates that the process of metaphorization leading to "surnaming" (see Jäkel 1999: 2017) is bi-directional in that human beings are named after animals, while animals may undergo human-specific nomination.

4.2. Surnames based on placenames/localities and motivated by metonymy

Lexicographic sources confirm that both domesticated and wild animal names have commonly been employed on inn signs. Moreover, Smith (1969: 219) claims that "while it is certain that many men [have] acquired their surnames from the signs in front of their houses or inns, […] there is little direct documentary evidence of the fact." Under this analysis, one may propose a pattern of metonymic projection in which one conceptual entity (animal name) provides mental access to another conceptual entity (inn sign name or human surname):

- ANIMAL NAME > INN SIGN > SURNAME metonymy: *fox* (animal name) > *Fox* (inn sign name – metonymic formation) > *Fox* (surname – metonymic formation)

The situation may, however, be slightly more complex. For example, *Fox* may have served as a sign name as well as a nickname for 'a shrewd or crafty man', in which case one must acknowledge the conceptual metaphor HUMANS ARE ANIMALS and mappings between two different conceptual domains leading to the metonymic formation AN ANIMAL NAME USED AS AN IDENTIFYING PROPERTY OF A REFERENT FOR THE REFERENT (**A SHREWD OR CRAFTY MAN (FOX) FOR A HUMAN SURNAME**).

The figure[4] presented below shows the formation of a surname based on the metaphor-metonymy interface, that is HUMANS ARE ANIMALS metaphor and AN ANIMAL NAME FOR AN INN SIGN metonymy leading to AN INN SIGN FOR A HUMAN SURNAME metonymy.

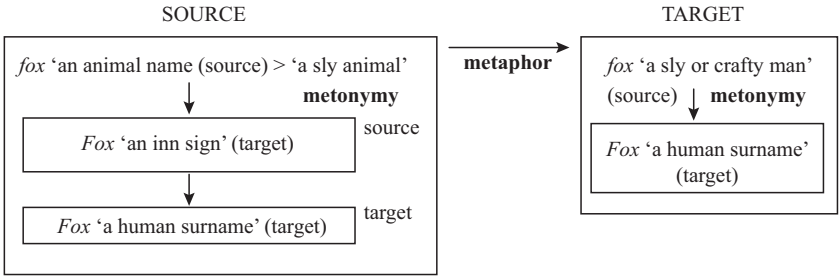

Figure 1. Metaphor-metonymy interface in *Fox* – a sign name and a nickname for 'a sly or crafty man' leading to *Fox* 'a human surname'

Here we see an interesting analogy between animal-specific surnames motivated by metaphor, metonymy or both. Accordingly, if we accept the claim proposed by Kövecses (2002: 124) and others that "much of human behaviour seems to be metaphorically understood in terms of animal behaviour," which leads to the formulation of the HUMAN BEHAVIOUR IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR metaphor, we must accept a metonymic origin. People attribute human characteristics to animals and afterwards reapply these characteristics to humans. Thus, in order to understand human behaviour, personification of animals is followed by the application of human-specific animal characteristics. Thus, animal metaphors may be said to be metonymy-based in that, anthropomorphically, the most characteristic properties of an animal represent the animal. For example:

- *fox* 'an animal' > (metonymy) *fox* 'a sly or crafty animal' > (metaphor) *fox* 'a sly or crafty person' > (metonymy) *Fox* 'a human-specific surname'

Analogically, if we accept that *fox* once served metonymically on an inn sign, after which it started to refer to 'a person living there', we may suppose that when its motivated meaning was lost, it started to be used as a surname. For example:

- *fox* 'an animal' > (metonymy) *fox* 'an inn sign' > (metonymy) *fox* 'a person living there' > (metonymy) *fox* 'a human-specific surname'

[4] The diagram is based on the discussion of patterns of conceptual interaction offered by Mendoza Ibáñez and Diez Velasco (2003) and Gil and Ruiz (2006).

It appears that the only difference between these two possible surname formations is the absence of the metaphor stage based on the resemblance between people and animals.

In a similar way, *reynard*, *todd* in the north of England, *colfax* 'black fox', Scottish *guptill*, which all serve as synonyms for *fox*, may metaphorically symbolize human cunningness and metonymically be used as human surnames *Reynard*, *Todd*, *Colfax*, *Guptill*, respectively. Additionally, many surnames linked to the deer family may have arisen from residence of an ancestor behind a tavern sign. Consider in this respect surnames referring to the red deer: *Buck* ('a male deer'), *Hart* and *Hurt* ('an adult male deer'), *Pritchett* ('a buck in its second year'), *Roe*, *Roebuck*, *Doe* ('a female deer').

The surnames *Bear* and *Beer* may also derive from tavern signs. Likewise, to this set belong *Brackett* from *brackett* 'little hunting dog', *Otter* from *otter, Lyons, Lyon* from *lion*, *Bull, Bullock* and *Farr* from *bull*, *Farrow, Hogg, Hogue, Purcell* and *Suggs* all referring to the pig family, as well as *Cooney, Hare* representing the rabbit family and *Stott* from the horse family. Interestingly, surnames linked to the goat include *Cheever*, *Kidd* and *Haver* in English and *Chevrolet* 'little goat' in French. The surnames *Agnew, Lamb* and *Withers* are derived from the sheep family, while *Steere* represents the ox and *Beaver* – the beaver. Even the very general animal-specific surname *Best* from *beast* seems to have originally functioned either as a term used with reference to the dweller at the sign of a beast or one assumed to have the qualities of a beast.

Moreover, birds of all sorts were popularly used on inn signs and later developed into human-specific surnames. Here one can mention the general terms naming the feathered tribe, that is *Byrd* and *Bird* from Old English *bridd* 'young bird' as well as *Fowle* 'a game bird'. In turn, the surnames related to the more specific bird-related terms belong to the domestic chicken family, e.g. *Cox* related to *cock*, while among the wild birds one may find surnames based on the very popular sign name *Eagle* derived from the term *eagle*.

Other wild birds, pigeon and dove, are represented in the English surnames of *Pidgeon, Culver* and *Dove.* Interestingly, the bird name *dove* is rich in religious symbolism being the symbol of the Holy Spirit. The surname *Pye* seems to be related to *magpie*, while both *Swan* and the diminutive form *Sinnett* are derived from *swan.* A number of common inn signs that gave rise to bird-specific surnames include, among others, *Havoc* and *Kite* both from *hawk*, *Sparks*, which is a contraction from the *sparrow hawk*, *Raven* and its synonym *Corbett*, *Crowe* and *Crow* from *crow, Herron, Sparrow, Spurr* both from *sparrow, Poe, Peabody and Peacock* all derived from the sign of the *peacock*, *Crane*, *Crain* both from *crane*, *Speck* from *woodpecker, Snite* from *snipe, Rook* and *Wren* from the names of these familiar birds.

As argued by Smith (1969: 223), "it cannot be too strongly emphasized that while these animal and bird names sometimes come from shop or inn signs, many also have other derivations such as nicknames from a real or fancied resemblance to the creature depicted". For example, some fish-specific names

derive from names on signs, but most of them probably denote the fisher or seller of the particular kind of fish, that is, in both cases they are metonymically motivated. Consider in this respect the English *Spratt* 'spratt' and *Shattuck* 'shad' and Polish *Ryba* 'fish'. In the case of *Spratt* we might indicate the presence of the following metonymic chain (see Hilpert 2007): *spratt* 'fish' > (metonymy) *spratt* 'seller of spratt' > (metonymy) *Spratt* 'surname'.

Animal-specific surnames are toponymic when they represent the general metonymic pattern PLACE (OF ORIGIN) FOR PERSON. For example, *Horscroft*, *Horsfall*, *Horsley* and *Horstead* originally denoted people who came from these villages associated with horses. One can divide these morphologically compound surnames into a few groups, for example those whose heads function as natural and man-made landmarks. As far as animal-related terms used to derive names of localities and yielding human surnames are concerned, one can mention, for example, *Harley* 'hare' + *ley* (a form of Old English *leah* 'a wood or a clearing in a wood; a meadow'). Consider a possible derivation of the surname *Harley: hare* 'animal' > (metonymy) *Harley* 'a wood where hares live' > (metonymy) *Harley* 'a person associated with this place' > (metonymy) *Harley* 'surname'. Here one can see the working of a metonymic chain (see Hilpert 2007): **ANIMAL FOR PLACE** WHERE THE ANIMAL LIVES > **PLACE FOR PERSON** ASSOCIATED WITH THAT PLACE.

The morphologically compound surnames found in Cottle (1967: 47), and mentioned in passing by Titford (2009: 5-6, 14), which are based on natural landmarks, seem to reference animal names and some morphological elements functioning as heads (treated in this account as bound roots, although originally they served as independent roots) listed below. The bound roots employed in surname formation seem to differ in productivity. The most productive one, the element *–ley* (a form of Old English *leah* 'a wood or a clearing in a wood; a meadow') led to the derivation of the following surnames:

Beverley 'beaver stream',
Birley 'clearing with a byre/cowshed',
Borley 'boar wood',
Brisley 'wood/clearing full of gadflies',
Buckley 'buck (male deer) clearing',
Bulkeley 'bullock pasture',
Catley '(wild) cats' wood/clearing',
Cowley 'cow pasture',
Cranley 'wood (or clearing)/pool/spring with cranes',
Crawley 'wood/clearing with crows',
Crowley 'wood/clearing with crows',
Darley 'wild animal/deer wood/clearing',
Harley 'wood/clearing with hares',
Hartley 'stag wood/clearing',
Horsley 'horse pasture',

Lambley ‘lambs’ pasture’,
Martley ‘marten (weasel) wood/clearing’,
Midgley ‘wood/clearing infested by midges (gnats)’,
Oxley ‘clearing/field for oxen’,
Padley ‘clearing with toads/frogs’

Another productive head leading to the derivation of animal-specific surnames is the element *–ford* ‘a shallow place in a river or stream allowing one to walk or drive across’, which gave rise to the following derivations:

Catford ‘(wild) cats’ ford’,
Cranford ‘ford with cranes’,
Gosford ‘goose ford’,
Handford ‘ford where there were cocks’,
Hartford ‘stag ford’,
Horsford ‘ford that can be crossed on horseback’,
Oxford ‘ford with oxen’.

The element *–field*, ‘an area of open land’, is found in a handful of animal-specific surnames. Consider the following instances:

Cranfield ‘open land/ford/river-meadow with cranes’,
Duffield ‘open country with doves’,
Hartfield ‘field with stags’,
Padfield ‘field with toads/frogs’,
Sheffield ‘open country with sheep’.

Among the less productive roots one may list the element *–well* ‘stream, spring’, which is part of the following surnames:

Barwell ‘boar stream’,
Cranwell ‘pool/spring with cranes’,
Hartwell ‘stags’ spring/stream’,
Hauxwell ‘spring/stream with hawks’.

The element *–ridge/–rick* ‘a long, narrow hilltop, mountain range, or watershed’ is to be found in a small set of animal-specific surnames such as:

Aldridge ‘dairy farm in the alders’,
Hathersage, Hathersich ‘he-goat’s edge/ridge’,
Hawkridge ‘ridge with hawks’,
Lambrick ‘ridge with lambs’.

Consider the following surnames which contain the element *–grove/–grave* (‘small wood or other group of trees’):

Hargr(e)ave ‘grove with hares’,
Musgrave, *Musgrove* ‘grove full of mice’,
Belgrave ‘grove where martens live’.

Finally, the element *–den*, ‘a form of Old English *dūn* ‘a hill’, finds its place in the group of surnames that include *Harden* ‘a hill where hares live’ and *Ramsden* ‘a hill where rams graze’.

As indicated by Cottle (1967), all of the above surnames are of Old English origin. It is worth mentioning that in most of them the modifying elements involve reference to either domesticated or wild mammals (e.g. cats, horses, lambs) or birds (e.g. cranes, crows), while names of other animals (e.g. midges (gnats), toads/frogs) seem to be far less frequent in this type of surname formation. In turn, morphologically compound surnames based on man-made landmarks appear to contain reference to animal names and some morphological elements functioning as heads listed below. In this group of surnames, the most productive element is that of *–ton* from Old English *tūn* ‘enclosed piece of land, farm, homestead, village’, which found its place in the following cases:

Bickerton ‘beekeepers’ place’,
Calton ‘calf farm’,
Cawton ‘calf farm’,
Catton ‘(wild) cats’ valley’,
Darton ‘deer enclosure’,
Dufton ‘place with doves’,
Fullerton ‘bird-catchers’ place’,
Lambton ‘lamb farm’,
Laverton ‘place with larks’,
Notton ‘wether-sheep/cattle farm’,
Oxton ‘place/farm where oxen are kept’.

As the above placename-surnames illustrate, at the time of their appearance the element *–ton*, which represents the Old English word for *tūn*, modern English *town*, had the sense ‘place/enclosure, farm’ and the meaning of ‘(small) settlement’ must have developed later.

A slightly less productive root used to derive animal-specific surnames is the element *–wick* ‘a town, hamlet, or district’ (from Old English *wīc* ‘dwelling place’) found in such instances as:

Bewick ‘beefarm’,
Denwick ‘valley dairy-farm’,
Fishwick ‘dairy-farm where fish was sold’,

Hardwick ‘herd (dairy-)farm, sheep farm’,
Keswick ‘cheese dairy-farm’.

Interestingly, the surnames here are clearly animal-related; however, in some cases they do not display direct reference to animal names, but rather to animal habitation (e.g. *Denwick* ‘valley dairy-farm’) or food products obtained from animals (e.g. *Keswick* ‘cheese dairy-farm’). In turn, as the examples listed below suggest, the most common meaning of the element *–ham*, another bound root used to derive surnames, is ‘meadow’ as opposed to ‘homestead’, which must have developed later. Consider the following examples:

Altham ‘river meadow with swans’,
Cranham ‘open land/ford/river-meadow with cranes’,
Feltham ‘hay meadow’,
Horsham ‘horse homestead/river-meadow’,
Oxenham ‘water-meadow/island with oxen’.

Last but not least, the element *–by* ‘farm, homestead, village’ is to be found in such placenames, which give rise to surnames, as *Derby* ‘farm/village where (wild) animals/deer are seen’, *Weathersby/Wetherby* ‘a homestead, a village where sheep are seen’.

4.3. Surnames based on animal-related occupations/professions and motivated by metonymy

Notice that some authors, e.g. Norrick (1981) and Jäkel (1999), do not regard surnames derived from occupations as cases of metonymy. Our stance is different in that we view metonymy as a mechanism whereby occupation may stand for a person. And so, if we adopt the view that some animal-related surnames are metonymic for occupations, we may consider a number of possible paths of metonymic projection. Some of the surnames may have to do with the keeping or sale of the animals that they refer to and as such they represent the OCCUPATION FOR PERSON type of metonymy. Specifically, the names of domestic animals are sometimes metonymic terms for the herder or caretaker of such creatures. For example, *Lamb* may be a metonym for somebody who was in charge of lambs. Similarly, names of wild animals may also indicate an occupation. For example, *Bear* may have originally been used for the bearward or keeper of performing bears. Likewise, bird names may have designated the man who handled or raised them. In this respect consider *Hawk*, which designated the *Hawker*, the keeper and trainer of hawks and falcons. Fish names may denote somebody who fished for or dealt in that species. For example, *Pike* and *Herring* were originally fishmongers dealing in such fish. Smith (1969: 8) argues that “some occupations may have acquired their names by the words peddlers used in calling out their wares”.

On closer inspection, one notices that the vast majority of surnames in this group are morphologically complex and as such they are derived by affixation, e.g. *Hawker*, *Fisher* or compounding, e.g. *Beeman* 'beekeeper' or *Calverd/Calvert* 'calf-herd'.

Generally speaking, deriving a surname from the name of a (animal-related) profession or occupation that embodies the conceptual metonymy **ANIMAL-RELATED OCCUPATION FOR PERSON ASSOCIATED WITH THAT OCCUPATION** is a characteristic feature of many natural languages. For example, the Russian surname *Konovalov*, which is derived from the noun *konoval* 'a horse's doctor' is related to Polish colloquial *konował* 'veterinary surgeon' and metaphorically 'quack', which also gave rise to the surname *Konował*. In Polish there are numerous animal-related surnames based on occupations such as, for example, *Bartnik* 'forest bee-keeper', *Rybak* 'fisher/fisherman' (equivalent to the English surname *Fisher/Fisherman*), *Koniuch/Koniuszy* 'equerry', *Prasoł* 'horse trader/dealer'.

As argued by Titford (2009: 10), a *herd* was originally a man responsible for tending animals, therefore the combination of this word with some animal terms led to the rise of animal-specific surnames. According the *OED*, the English suffixes *–hurd* or *–hird* (from *herd*) and *–ward* have an occupational meaning 'the tender of animals', and these yielded, e.g. *Coward* derived from *cow* + *herd*, *hog+ward*, which gives rise to the surname *Hoggart*, *stot* 'a young ox' + *herd*, which has become the surname *Stoddart*, *Shepherd* derived from *sheep* + *herd*. The already mentioned *Fisher/Fisherman* is another instance of a surname derived from a common animal-related profession. Yet another interesting example in this group of surnames is *Knacker* derived from *knacker* 'a buyer of worn-out domestic animals or their carcasses for use especially as animal food or fertilizer'[5]. Moreover, there are a few examples of surnames derived from names of animal-related professions or occupations like *Fox* or *Todd* – originally employed as a nickname for 'a fox hunter' – with no suffixation used.

From the morphological perspective, terms like *shepherd* 'sheep tender' derived from *sheep* + *herd* should be analysed as endocentric compounds (see, for example, Bierwiaczonek 2013: 139), where the source and the target represent two different cognitive domains (ANIMAL + PERSON), while their use as surnames is motivated metonymically **ANIMAL-RELATED OCCUPATION FOR PERSON ASSOCIATED WITH THAT OCCUPATION**. The surnames obtained from Cottle (1967) that are discussed below can be classified as derived from occupations with reference to different patterns of surname formation.

The surnames listed in (A) below represent the metonymic pattern **ANIMAL FOR KEEPER/SELLER/BREEDER/HUNTER OF ANIMALS** leading to another pattern **KEEPER/SELLER/BREEDER/HUNTER OF**

[5] For example, *OED* 1812 He was a *knacker* [note, A purchaser of worn-out horses] > 1967 The graveyard is the sea. They have all come who sought distinction hard to this universal *knacker's* yard.

ANIMALS FOR SURNAME (OF THAT PERSON). These surnames are either morphologically simplex (most cases) or complex, based on suffixation (specifically, the addition of the suffix *–er*).

(A)
Ambler 'ambling horse/mule' used for a keeper of them,
Duck 'duck-breeder/-seller',
Farr 'bull',
Otter 'otter-hunter',
Palfrey 'a man who looked after palfreys, saddle horses',
Horse 'a horse tender'.

Another group of surnames (B) consists of cases based on the compounding pattern animal name + *man*, animal name + *herd* (or its variant) or suffixation (*–er*). These surnames result from the metonymic projection **ANIMAL-RELATED OCCUPATION FOR PERSON ASSOCIATED WITH THAT OCCUPATION** which leads to another metonymic formation, that of **PERSON ASSOCIATED WITH AN OCCUPATION FOR SURNAME (OF THAT PERSON).**

(B)
Beeman 'beekeeper',
Boucher/*Butcher* 'butcher',
Buckman 'goat-/stag-keeper',
Calverd/Calvert 'calf-herd',
Colthard/Colthart 'colt-herd',
Cowherd 'cow-herd',
Falconar, Falconer, Falk(i)ner, Falkner, Faulconer, Faulkener, Faulkner, Faulknor, Fawkner 'hawker, falconer, keeper/trainer of falcons',
Fisher 'fisherman',
Gossard 'goose-herd',
Hoggard, Hoggart(h), Hoggett 'hog-herd',
Horseman 'a rider, mounted warrior, or horse-dealer',
Oxnard 'herder of oxen'.

Other cases:
Horsenail, Horsenell 'horseshoenail(-maker), shoer of horses' (see Reaney and Wilson 1997:239),
Coxet(t)er 'cock-setter' (who sets the cocks in cock-fighting).

One may also find a number of surnames that are not based on animal names but on words variously associated with animals (C). Here, we find another instance of conceptual metonymy **ANIMAL-RELATED TERM FOR PERSON ASSOCIATED WITH ANIMALS** which leads to the metonymic projection

PERSON ASSOCIATED WITH ANIMALS FOR SURNAME (OF THAT PERSON).

(C)
Flesher 'butcher',
Forest(i)er 'forester, gamekeeper',
Hensman 'groom, squire, carrier (literally stallion-man)',
Herd 'herdsman',
Hunter 'huntsman',
Marshall 'horse(mare)-servant',
Maskery, *Maskrey* 'butcher',
Neat(e) 'ox-/cow-(herd)',
Osler 'bird-catcher, poulterer',
Ostridge 'hawk(er), falcon(er)',
Pell 'skin, hide' for a fellmonger,
Constable 'count of the stable' – from the chief executive officer of a king's court to a castle governor'.

On closer scrutiny one may observe that some of the above surnames (e.g. *Ostridge* 'hawk(er), falcon(er)') may also result from the metonymic projection **ANIMAL-RELATED OCCUPATION FOR PERSON ASSOCIATED WITH THAT OCCUPATION**, which leads to another metonymic formation, that of **PERSON ASSOCIATED WITH AN OCCUPATION FOR SURNAME (OF THAT PERSON).**

The remaining two patterns of surname formation are far less productive than those proposed above. One of these metonymic patterns (D), which may be formalized as **MEAT FOR PERSON SELLING IT**, leads to the metonymic projection **PERSON SELLING MEAT FOR SURNAME (OF THAT PERSON).**

(D)
Bacon 'bacon-seller', 'pork-butcher',
Hogsflesh 'seller of hog's flesh'.

Yet another category of surnames that we may indicate (E) is one in which animal-related verbs start to be used with reference to people who perform actions denoted by these verbs. In this case one may propose the working of the conceptual metonymy **ACTION FOR PERSON** yielding another metonymic projection **PERSON PERFORMING ACTION FOR SURNAME (OF THAT PERSON).**

(E)
Chase 'to hunt' > a metonym for 'hunter' (OF origin), (Cottle (1967:70)),
Hunt(e) 'huntsman, hunter' (OE origin), (Cottle (1967:146)).

From the etymological perspective,[6] the vast majority of the surnames listed above are of Old English origin. Productivity-wise, that largest group of surnames are those that follow the patterns proposed in (B) and (C). A general conclusion that emerges from the analysis of the language data collected above is that job descriptive surnames originally denoted the actual occupation of the namebearer, and later must have become hereditary.

4.4. Metonymically motivated or metonymic surnames?

One may argue, following Bierwiaczonek (2013: 147), that although many surnames are metonymically motivated, not all of them may be viewed as metonymic. For example, the surname status of *Lampson* 'son of Lamb' or *Coxon* 'son of Cock' seems to be determined by the suffix *–son*, which is why, according to Bierwiaczonek (2013: 147), the surname cannot be regarded as metonymic. In English one may find a number of animal-specific surnames, mostly of Gaelic origin, based on the element *–son* or the prefix *mac–*, the Gaelic word for 'son'[7] some of which, collected by Cottle (1967), include the following:

(F)
McEachan 'son of Horse Lord',
McKeith 'son of Wolf',
McKinnawe 'son of Swimming Hound',
McMahon 'son of Bear',
McMorran 'son of Seal's Slave',
McNamara 'son of Hound of the Sea',
McQuilly 'son of Cock',
McTurk 'son of Boar'.

The surnames displayed above show that animal-specific nomination based on terms of Celtic origin plays an important role in the process of surname-giving. Determining whether these surnames are regarded as metonymic or metonymically conditioned is not our concern here. In fact, some of them might even result from the working of metaphor. We may, for example, hypothesise that *McKeith* 'son of Wolf' is based on the surname *Keith* 'Wolf' which, in turn, originally denoted a bearer of some of the physical characteristics of wolves (metaphoric motivation) or someone who was in some way associated with the animals in hand (metonymic motivation).

[6] See Cottle (1967).
[7] See the *OED*.

5. Conclusions

A general conclusion from a detailed analysis of our language data is in accord with Smith's (1969: 177) observation that practically every species of wild and domesticated life, common in any locality, has had some prominent attribute or characteristic applied to men. This observation points to the considerable productivity of the general conceptual metaphor HUMANS ARE ANIMALS. Consider in this respect the following animal-related surnames together with the properties they originally alluded to: *Leo, Leon* and *Lyon* 'FIERCENESS', *Bull* and *Ox* 'STRENGTH', *Hare* 'SPEED, TIMIDITY', *Nightingale* 'MELODIOUS VOICE', *Peacock* 'GORGEOUS COLORING, PRIDE', *Dove* 'GENTLENESS', *Owl* 'WISDOM', *Crabbe* 'ILL-TEMPER, WALKING LIKE A CRAB'. Moreover, Smith (1969: 177) argues that "small or baby animals, birds and insects have been used as terms of endearment with children and have clung to them throughout life". In this case the motivation for surname-formation could be either metaphorical or metonymic.

Available evidence suggests that animal-specific surnames can be viewed as, to use Bierwiaczonek's (2013: 147) wording, "modifiers specifying the identifying property of the head proper name". The property part may be accessed by various components of the idealized cognitive model of a given individual, e.g. [THE NAME OF THE FATHER], [THE PROFESSION], [THE CHARACTERISTIC TOOL, PLACE OR ACCESSORY]. This leads to the conclusion that with the exclusion of the surnames that are motivated metaphorically, other ones are metonymically conditioned or represent cases of metaphtonymy, that is, an interface between the two.

In this paper we have argued that the surnames we have inherited are far more semantically loaded than has generally been acknowledged to date. Especially when we adopt a panchronic perspective where diachrony meets synchrony, an in-depth analysis of surnames may offer an interesting account of the way in which our distant ancestors perceived their surrounding reality.

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