

Iva Grubišić Ćurić*
PhD candidate at the Faculty of Humanities
and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb

UDC 811.111'373.72:811.163.42'373.72
81'362
DOI: 10.19090/gff.2020.5.23-37
Originalni naučni rad

BEAST OF BURDEN: A CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS OF ENGLISH AND CROATIAN IDIOMS CONTAINING THE LEXEMES *DONKEY* AND *MAGARAC***

The aim of this analysis was to establish the similarities and differences between English and Croatian idioms containing the lexemes *ass/donkey* and *magarac/magare/tovar*. The analysis of idioms according to Turk & Opašić (2008) points to the prevailing differences (50% of the sample) on both the lexical level and in-depth structure of the idioms in question. Instances of partial correspondence and total correspondence were also identified. Similarities may be explained by universal experience, or even their origin. Research (Hansen-Kokoruš 1996, Turk & Spicijarić Paškvan 2014) suggests that some Croatian idioms were influenced by the German language (e.g. *pasti s konja na magarca*), and some may be classified as national idioms (e.g. *pojeo vuk magare*).

Key words: idioms, donkey, English, Croatian, contrastive analysis

1. INTRODUCTION

This paper aims at providing a contrastive analysis of English and Croatian idioms containing the lexemes *donkey/ass*, i.e., *magarac/magare/tovar*. Fisiak (1981: 1) defines contrastive analysis as comparing two or more languages with the aim of determining similarities and differences between them. Contrastive studies may be theoretical or applied, whereby the first focus on the realisation of a universal category in the compared languages, and the latter are concerned with how a universal category, realised in a specific way in one language, is realised in the other language (ibid.). This paper is concerned with a specific type of comparison, namely contrastive idiom analysis, which differs from other cross-

* Email address: iva.grubisic@gmail.com

** This paper was presented at the 5th International Conference on English Language and Anglophone Literatures Today (ELALT 5) held in Novi Sad, Serbia, on March 9, 2019.

linguistic approaches, according to Dobrovol'skij (2000: 170), in the following: idioms of two languages are the objects of comparison; the aim is to establish similarities and differences between them; genetic relationships, typological similarities and geographic contacts of languages are not important; the results are intended to be used in bilingual lexicography.

Idioms are “complex expressions whose meaning cannot be derived from the meanings of its elements” (Weinreich 1969: 26). Nunberg–Sav & Wasow (1994: 492–493) list the following features of idioms: conventionality, flexibility, figuration, proverbiality, informality, affect. The object of this study corresponds to what Omazić (2015: 20) refers to as phraseological units and defines as “conventionalised multiword combinations that are holistically stored and automatically reproduced, and that may vary in frequency of occurrence, fixedness of form, and compositeness of meaning”. It needs to be pointed out that the term idiom has been chosen, even though the corpus contains examples that would be classified as proverbs and sayings, according to some classifications (e.g. Omazić 2015)¹.

The aim of this analysis is to determine similarities and differences between English and Croatian idioms, or more precisely the degree of correspondence between the lexical and in-depth structure. Examples that exhibit complete correspondence on the lexical level and in-depth structure correspond to “functionally adequate equivalents, which are lexical items of both source and target language (L1 and L2) which can be used in the same situations” Dobrovol'skij (2000: 170). The other two groups include idioms exhibiting partial correspondence between lexical components and in-depth structure, as well as idioms exhibiting differences between the aforementioned structures.

The literary burden of the donkey has been discussed by a number of authors (e.g. Levanat Peričić, 2010; Leko, 2007; Vuković, 2013); therefore this paper also aims at contributing to the discussion about the donkey's idiomatic burden.

1.1 Overview of the lexemes magarac and donkey

The donkey, metaphorically described as the horse of the poor and the grey shadow of land workers by Vuković (2013), is referred to by a number of lexemes in the Croatian language, e.g.: *čuše, magarac, mago, magare, tovar, osao, osal, osel, pule, sivac, sivonja, kenjac*, etc. (Kunac 2009, Matvejević 2006, Posavi–Ozimec–

¹ There is a number of taxonomies of multiword units/phraseological units/phrasemes (Makkai 1972, Mel'čuk 2015, etc.).

Ernoić & Poljak 2003: 93). The lexeme *magarac* denotes the male donkey (jack), *magarica* the female (jenny, jennet), *magare* denotes both the male as well as a foal, and *pule* denotes only a young donkey (foal). The lexemes *mago*, *magarčić*, and *magarence* are all hypocoristic forms of the lexeme *magarac*. Even though dictionaries provide the lexeme *magarad* as the collective noun of *magarac*, Kunac (2009) indicates another form, *magarenje*, as the collective noun. Other lexemes that denote the donkey include *čuža* (which could have been derived from the command *čuš*² used to call a donkey) and *mušarelo* (both presumably used in the town Sinj and the region Cetinska krajina, and possibly in Herzegovina), *osao* (used in the town of Dubrovnik) and *osel* (used in the continental part of Croatia). A jenny is also referred to as *ugota* in Dalmatia, and *kela* in the Dalmatian town Šibenik³. Matvejević (2006: 175) remarks that “in the Mediterranean, people often made mistakes, more often than elsewhere, by referring to those unworthy the name as donkeys”. Therefore, the meaning of the lexeme *magarac* ‘donkey’ expanded to mean a stupid person (*magarac* ‘jackass’), a reprimand (*magarac jedan* ‘that jackass’), and the augmentative *magarčina* is also used pejoratively. The verb *magarčiti*, derived from the noun *magarac*, has the following meanings: to do the donkey work, make a fool of somebody, and force somebody to do the donkey work. The transferred meanings of the lexemes *magarac*, *magare*, and *tovar* include ignorance (*glup kao magarac* > as stupid as a donkey), stubbornness (*tvrdoglav kao magarac* > stunt as an ass), a fool (*lako je jašiti onoga koji od sebe pravi magarca* > make yourself an ass and men will ride on you), hard work (*magareći posao* > donkey work), laziness (*lijen kao magarac* > as lazy as a donkey), etc.

In everyday Croatian, a negative connotation is pervasive in the idiomatic use of the lexeme *magarac*. Students used to be sent to the dunce’s seat (Cro. *magareća klupa* ‘lit. donkey seat’) as a punishment for unwanted behaviour, and the creased messy notebook pages are called *magareće uši* ‘lit. donkey ears’⁴. There is also an idiom describing those who drop out of school, *pojeo mu magarac libre* ‘lit. a donkey ate his books’. When finishing counting in a game of hide-and-seek, in Croatian, the

² Kunac (2009: 60) explains that, among other commands, *čuš* was used predominantly by the inhabitants of the coastal area, and *de* by the inhabitants of the Hinterland region.

³ The lexemes listed in this section are dialectally marked synonyms, which are not found in idioms. The Croatian idioms in the corpus of this analysis contain the lexemes *magarac*, *magare*, and *tovar*.

⁴ It is worth noting that the German lexeme *Eselsohren* exhibits equivalent meanings to *magareće uši*, both mean literally donkey’s ears, as well as creased pages.

seeker calls out *tko se nije skrio, magarac je bio* (those who did not hide are asses), also when children run somewhere they may say *tko zadnji, magarac* ‘lit. the last one to arrive is an ass’. The period of growing up or puberty is referred to as *magareće godine* ‘lit. donkey years’. Whooping cough is referred to as *magareći kašalj* in Croatian, and there is also a saying that translates literally as ‘illness arrives on a horse, and leaves on a donkey’ (Cro. *bolest dolazi na konju, a odlazi na magarcu*). Two Croatian verbs (*namagarčiti* and *nasamariti*) bearing the meaning ‘to deceive’ can be traced to the lexemes *magarac* ‘donkey’ and *samar* ‘pack saddle’ or *samariti* ‘to fit the donkey with a pack saddle’.

The use of the lexeme donkey in English can be traced back to the late 18th century, and its origin is lost (Cresswell, 2010: 134). The lexeme ass is “from an Old English word related to easel and goes back to the Latin *asinus*” (ibid. 23). Other lexemes in Britain referring to a donkey include cuddy, moke, and neddy (Bough 2011: 12). The transferred meaning of the lexeme ass is ‘obstinate fool’, which is reflected in idioms.

2. CORPUS AND METHODOLOGY OF THE RESEARCH

English and Croatian idioms were extracted from monolingual and bilingual dictionaries, both online and printed editions, as well as the lists provided in Kunac (2009) and Vuković (2013).⁵ The idioms were analysed on the basis of correspondences between their lexical and in-depth structure⁶ (Turk & Opašić 2008). Apart from consulting dictionaries to establish the meaning of idioms, the determination of correspondences also partially relied on the author’s intuition. The idioms were divided into three categories as follows (Turk & Opašić 2008): (1) idioms exhibiting compatibility of lexical components and in-depth structure; (2) idioms exhibiting partial compatibility of lexical components and in-depth structure; (3) idioms with different lexical components and in-depth structures. Gläser (1984) adopts the categories of complete, partial and zero equivalence when contrasting English and German idioms, whereby only idioms that cannot be translated by an idiom in the target language are considered zero equivalent. The classification followed in this paper is different, since idioms for which no corresponding idiom (by

⁵ The dictionaries and online sources are listed in the reference list.

⁶ “(...) an image (Cro. *semantički talog*) remains in the in-depth structure, which simultaneously helps in forming the phraseological meaning and signals the phraseological meaning, i.e., helps decipher it.” (Fink-Arsovski 2002: 7)

denotational meaning) could be found, as well as those whose meaning could not be determined, were not taken into account in this analysis.

3. ANALYSIS OF ENGLISH AND CROATIAN IDIOMS CONTAINING THE LEXEMES *ASS/DONKEY* AND *MAGARE/MAGARAC/TOVAR*

A total of 54 idioms were included in the analysis. The frequency of use of idioms or their obsolescence were neither investigated, nor taken into account for the purpose of this analysis. Idioms were classified into three groups, as presented in the following sections.

3.1 Complete correspondence

15 idioms exhibit correspondence in both their lexical components and in-depth structure, and they may be regarded as functionally adequate equivalents (Dobrovol'skij 2000) or completely equivalent (Gläser 1994). This group of idioms is provided in Table 1 below.

Table 1. English and Croatian idioms exhibiting complete correspondence.

English idiom	Croatian idiom
an ass is beautiful to an ass, so is a pig to pig	<i>magarac je magarcu najljepši, a svinja svinji</i>
an ass is but an ass, though laden with gold	<i>i tovar koji nosi vreću zlata je tovar</i>
an ass must be tied where the master will have him	<i>veži magarca gdje gospodar kaže</i>
ass in a lion's skin	<i>magarac u lavljoj koži</i>
donkey-work	<i>magareći posao</i>
dumb as a donkey	<i>glup kao magarac/magare/tovar</i>
if all men say thou art an ass, then bray	<i>ako svi kažu da si magare, onda je vrijeme da zareveš</i>
lazy as a donkey	<i>lijen kao magarac/tovar</i>
make an ass out of somebody	<i>napraviti/praviti magarca od koga</i>
make yourself an ass and men will ride on you	<i>lako je jašiti onoga koji od sebe pravi magarca</i>
many asses have only two legs	<i>mnogo je magaraca na dvije noge</i>
stunt as an ass	<i>tvrdoglav kao magarac</i>
the braying of an ass does not reach heaven	<i>magareći glas do neba ne dopire</i>
tired as a donkey	<i>umoran kao magare</i>
to plough with an ox and an ass	<i>orati s volom i magarcem</i>

3.2. Partial correspondence

12 idioms exhibit partial correspondence, i.e., specific differences in their lexical structure and some differences between their in-depth structures. The meaning incompetence is reflected in the English idiom to have as much idea of it as a donkey has of Sunday. The same denotational meaning (incompetence) is contained in the Croatian idiom *razumjeti se u što kao magarac/magare/tovar u kantar/petrusimul/mužiku*, which may contain the lexemes *kantar* (steelyard balance), *petrusimul* (parsley), or *mužika* (music). Some idioms exhibit the same in-depth structure, whereby the English idiom contains the lexeme horse, and the Croatian idiom contains the lexeme *magarac/tovar* (donkey): flog a dead horse > *mlatiti/šamarati mrtvog magarca* both mean waste efforts on a lost cause; you can lead a horse to water, but you can't make him drink > *tovara moreš dognati do lokve, ma ne i natirati da pije*, both mean that one can give somebody an opportunity, but cannot force the person to take it. The idioms who goes a beast to Rome, a beast returns > *magarac u Rim, magarac iz Rima* also share the in-depth structure, whereby the Croatian idiom contains the lexeme *magarac* (donkey), and the English contains the lexeme beast. The difference between the idioms you can't make a runnin' horse outer a jackass > *od magarca ne stvori konja* (lit. 'you cannot make a horse out of an ass') lies in the type of horse (running horse > *trkaći konj*). All idioms in this category are provided in Table 2 below and the Croatian idioms are accompanied by their literal translations into English.

Table 2. English and Croatian idioms exhibiting partial correspondence.

English idiom	Croatian idiom
an ass is known by his ears	<i>magarca krase dva uha</i> (lit. 'the donkey is adorned by two ears')
as stubborn as a mule	<i>tvrdoglav kao magarac/mazga</i> (lit. 'as stubborn as a donkey/hinny')
better an ass that carries you than a horse that throws you	<i>bolje imati svoga tovara nego tuđeg konja</i> (lit. 'better have one's own donkey than the horse of another')
better strive with an ill ass than carry the wood one's self	<i>bolje i magarca moljakati nego sam nositi</i> (lit. 'better ask the donkey than carry [the load] oneself')
flog a dead horse	<i>mlatiti/šamarati mrtvog magarca</i> (lit. 'flog a dead donkey')

I hear the asses bray; we shall have some rain today	<i>kiše magare, kiša će</i> (lit. ‘the donkey is sneezing, there will be rain’)
they don’t put horse’s feet on donkeys	<i>nije za magarca konjsko sedlo</i> (lit. ‘the horse’s saddle is not for a donkey’)
they earn it like horses and spend it like asses	<i>radim kao konj, a plaćaju me kao magarca</i> (lit. ‘I work like a horse and get paid like an ass’)
to have as much idea of it as a donkey has of Sunday	<i>razumjeti se u što kao magarac/magare/ovarovu u kantar/petrusimul/mužiku</i> (lit. ‘to have as much idea of it as a donkey has of a steelyard balance/parsley/music’)
who goes a beast to Rome, a beast returns	<i>magarac u Rim, magarac iz Rima</i> (lit. ‘a donkey [goes] to Rome, a donkey [returns] from Rome’)
you can lead a horse to water, but you can’t make him drink	<i>tovara moreš dognati do lokve, ma ne i natirati da pije</i> (lit. you can lead a donkey to a puddle, but you can’t make him drink’)
you can’t make a runnin’ horse out of a jackass	<i>od magarca ne stvori konja</i> (lit. ‘you can’t make a horse out of a donkey’)

3.3 English and Croatian idioms with different lexical components and in-depth structures

The majority of the analysed idioms (50%) exhibit differences between lexical constituents and their in-depth structure. Due to spatial restrictions, only a few shall be mentioned in this paragraph, but all idioms in this group are provided in Table 3 and a literal translation of Croatian idioms into English is also provided therein. The idiom *fast as a donkey’s gallop* is an ironic way of saying that somebody or something is slow, whereby the Croatian idiom *brz kao puž* (lit. ‘as fast as a snail’) contains the lexeme *puž* ‘snail’, and in the English idiom it is the donkey’s gallop that allows for the conceptualisation of slowness. A dexterous thief may be said to be willing to *steal the cross off an ass’s back* in English, and if someone is prone to thievery, he is compared to a magpie in Croatian – *kradljiv kao svraka* (lit. ‘as thievish as a magpie’). The English idiom *the straw that broke the donkey’s (also camel’s) back* denotes a seemingly minor event that causes a huge reaction, whereby the Croatian idiom *kap koja je prelila čašu* (lit. ‘the drop that made the glass overflow’) contains no zoonym and is based on the accumulation of

water. The idioms honey is not for the ass's mouth < *magarac ne razumije riječi, samo štap* (lit. 'a donkey does not understand words, but a [beating with a] stick') differ in both their lexical and in-depth structure, but both denote the futility of reasoning with a foolish person. Talking for a long time is reflected in the idioms talk the hind leg off a donkey < *pričati Markove konake* (lit. 'to talk Marko's stays'). If somebody criticizes another person for the fault they have themselves, then the pot is calling the kettle black, whereby the Croatian idiom contains two zoonyms – *rugao se zec magarcu da ima velike uši* (lit. 'the hare mocked the donkey for his large ears').⁷

It must be pointed out that equivalents are provided for specific idioms, which are completely compatible with another idiom of the same denotative meaning (strawberries to a donkey > *biserje pred svinje* > pearls before swine; if the mountain will not come to Muhammad, then Muhammad must go to the mountain > *ako tovar neće k tebi, tebi je poći k njemu* > *ako neće Muhamed brdu hoće brdo Muhamedu*).

Table 3. English and Croatian idioms with different lexical components and in-depth structures.

English idiom	Croatian idiom
a little goes a long way	<i>mali štap tjera velikog magarca</i> (lit. 'a little stick pushes a big donkey forward')
a long face	<i>oborio uši kao mrgodno magare</i> (lit. 'he lowered his ears like a grim donkey')
angry as an ass with a squib in his breech	<i>bijesan/ljut kao ris/zmija/pas</i> (lit. 'angry/mad as a lynx/snake/dog')
as old as Methuselah	<i>stariji od Isusova magarca</i> (lit. 'older than Jesus's donkey')
as strong as an ox	<i>iščupao bi magarcu/konju/volu rep</i> (lit. 'he could pull the tail of a donkey/horse/ox out')
back the wrong horse	<i>uzjašio si na krivog magarca</i> (lit. 'you mounted the wrong donkey')

⁷ There is another idiom in the Croatian language with the same meaning – *rugala se sova sjenici* (lit. 'the owl mocked the tit').

better be the head of an ass than the tail of a horse	<i>bolje prvi u selu nego drugi u gradu</i> (lit. 'better [be] the first in the village than the second in the city')
fast as a donkey's gallop	<i>brz kao puž</i> (lit. 'as fast as a snail')
go downhill	<i>pošlo magare nizastranu</i> (lit. 'the donkey went downhill')
have your cake and eat it	<i>vuk sit a magare cijelo</i> (lit. 'the wolf is fed and the donkey intact')
he that is born a fool is never cured	<i>tko se puletom rodi magaretom krepa</i> (lit. 'he who was born a foal dies an ass')
he'd steal the cross off an ass's back	<i>kradljiv kao svraka</i> (lit. 'as thievish as a magpie')
honey is not for the ass's mouth	<i>magarac ne razumije riječi, samo štap</i> (lit. 'a donkey does not understand words, but a [beating with a] stick')
if the mountain will not come to Muhammad, then Muhammad must go to the mountain	<i>ako tovar neće k tebi, tebi je poći k njemu</i> (lit. 'if the donkey will not come to you, then you must go to the donkey')
make a mountain out of a molehill	<i>napraviti od komarca magarca</i> (lit. 'to make a donkey out of a mosquito')
not be able to carry a tune in a bucket	<i>pjeva tko kao da mu je magarac prdnuo u uho</i> (lit. 'he sings like a donkey farted in his ear')
out of the frying pan into the fire	<i>(pasti) s konja/vola na magarca</i> (lit. 'to fall from a horse onto a donkey')
speak of the devil	<i>ja o vuku a magare na vrata</i> (lit. 'speak of the wolf, and the donkey arrives')
strawberries to a donkey	<i>biserje pred svinje</i> (pearls before swine)
talk the hind leg off a donkey	<i>pričati Markove konake</i> (lit. 'to talk Marko's stays')
the pot calling the kettle black	<i>rugao se zec magarcu da ima velike uši</i> (lit. 'the hare mocked the donkey for his large ears')

the straw that broke the donkey's back	<i>kap koja je prelila čašu</i> (lit. 'the drop that made the glass overflow')
to beat somebody black and blue	<i>izlupati kao magare</i> (lit. 'to beat somebody like a donkey')
to do someone an ill turn	<i>učiniti kome magareću/medvedu uslugu</i> (lit. 'do somebody a bear/donkey favour')
to have a feeling in one's bones	<i>slutiti što kao magare kišu</i> (lit. 'to foresee something like the donkey foresees rain')
two heads are better than one	<i>više znaju čovjek i magarac nego sâm čovjek</i> (lit. 'a man and donkey know more together than a man alone')
until the ass ascends the ladder	<i>kad na vrbi rodi grožđe</i> (lit. 'when grapes grow on a willow')

4. DISCUSSION OF THE RESULTS

As far as correspondences of lexical components and in-depth structure are concerned, the majority of idioms from the analysed corpus falls within the category of differences between the lexical and in-depth structure (50%), partial correspondence was identified in 22.22% of idioms, whereas 27.77% of idioms exhibit total correspondence. Idioms that exhibit total correspondence include the following: make an ass of someone (Cro. *napraviti magarca od koga*), donkey work (Cro. *magareći posao*), as stupid as a donkey (Cro. *glup kao magarac*), etc. These similarities, i.e., complete correspondences, may in some cases be attributed to the fact that a number of such idioms are of Latin or biblical provenance,⁸ e.g., to plough with an ox and an ass may be of biblical origin (Deuteronomy 22:10), and the idiom an ass is beautiful to an ass is of Latin origin (*asinus asino pulcherrimus*). Correspondences may also probably be explained by the donkey's features (e.g. behaviour) and its historical role of a beast of burden.

The second group exhibits certain differences, be they on the level of lexical components, or the in-depth structure. For example, the idiom as much idea of something as a donkey has of Sunday does not entirely correspond on the lexical level to the Croatian *razumjeti se u što kao magarac u kantar/petrusimul/muziku*. The underlying meaning is the same (lack of competence in a specific matter), yet the

⁸ Jelaska (2014) provides an overview of animal idioms of biblical provenance.

elements of the idioms differ (Sunday vs. steelyard balance/parsley/music). The largest number of idioms exhibit differences on both levels; however, they share the same denotational meaning. Such results may be attributed to differences in culture-specific experiences.

5. CONCLUDING REMARKS

This analysis of idioms shows certain differences in the conceptualizations of the donkey in English and Croatian, which can be attributed to the differences in culture-specific experiences (e.g. the donkey may have played a more or less important role as a domestic animal in different areas). The proverbial stubbornness and stupidity of the donkey are reflected in idioms in both languages.

The comparison with the horse, another member of the Equidae family, is what caused the donkey the most injustices, which is also reflected in some idioms in this analysis⁹. Bough (2011: 17) explains that “to be mounted on the horse confers power and authority on the rider; to ride a lowly donkey implies penury, lack of status, even stupidity”. Examples of idioms reflecting such notions of the horse as a prestigious animal and the donkey as a being of inferior status include: *pasti s konja na magarca* ‘lit. to fall from a horse onto a donkey’¹⁰, *nije za magarca konjsko sedlo* ‘lit. a horse’s saddle is not intended for a donkey’, *bolje imati svoga tovara nego tuđega konja* ‘lit. it is better to have one’s own donkey than another person’s horse’. Comparable English examples include: better be the head of an ass than the tail of a horse, better an ass that carries you than a horse that throws you, they earn it like horses and spend it like asses, etc.

A proverb says that a donkey’s bray does not reach heaven, it is also possible that “the donkey did not bray loud enough, or that people have turned a deaf ear” (Vincek–Ernoić & Ozimec, 2002: 59). A number of statues have been erected to honour this noble animal in Croatia and Herzegovina, “which is the best indicator the donkey is slowly disappearing, because rarely does one get a monument in their lifetime” (Kunac, 2009: 7). Official numbers support this claim as well. In 1937, there

⁹ A contrastive analysis of horse and donkey idioms in Russian, Croatian and German is provided in Hansen-Kokoruš (1996).

¹⁰ Turk and Spicijarić Paškvan 2014 note that this idiom might have emerged under the influence of the German language (*vom Pferd auf den Esel kommen*) and note that German could have been the intermediary language (from Latin *canterio vectum post mulum conscendere*).

were 40,000 donkeys in Croatia (Ivanković–Caput–Mioč & Pavić, 2000: 100), whereas in 2018, there were 3,683 registered donkeys, according to the Annual Report for Equidae Breeding issued by the Croatian Ministry of Agriculture. This paper will hopefully be a humble contribution to the growing number of tributes to this noble animal in various scientific disciplines, and it shall be concluded with the hope that donkeys in Croatia will not be reduced exclusively to motifs of souvenirs.

Iva Grubišić Ćurić

TOVARNA ŽIVOTINJA: KONTRASTIVNA ANALIZA ENGLSKIH I HRVATSKIH
FRAZEMA SA SASTAVNICAMA *DONKEY* I *MAGARAC*

Rezime

Cilj je ovoga rada ustanoviti sličnosti i razlike između engleskih i hrvatskih frazema sa sastavnicom *ass/donkey* te magarac/magare/tovar. U tu je svrhu na temelju rječničke građe te popisa u Vuković (2013) i Kunac (2009) izrađen korpus od 54 frazema. Analiza prema Turk & Opašić (2008) pokazuje da među analiziranim frazemima prevladavaju razlike, odnosno slučajevi u kojima izostaju podudarnosti u smislu leksičkih sastavnica i pozadinske slike (50 %). Djelomičnu podudarnost pokazuje 22,22 % uzorka, a potpuna podudarnost identificirana je u 27,77 % frazema. Istraživanja ukazuju na različite mogućnosti pri tumačenju podudarnosti, pri čemu se podudarnosti identificirane u ovome radu vjerojatno mogu pripisati ljudskom iskustvu i uporabi magaraca tijekom povijesti te porijeklu frazema, a razlike je moguće istumačiti različitim, odnosno specifičnim, iskustvima govornika pojedinog jezika.

Ključne riječi: frazemi, magarac, engleski, hrvatski, kontrastivna analiza

REFERENCES

- Apperson, G. L. (2006). *Dictionary of Proverbs*. Ware: Wordsworth Editions Limited.
- Barčot, B. (2017). *Lingvokulturologija i zoonimska frazeologija*. Zagreb: Hrvatska sveučilišna naklada.
- Berce, S. (2008). *Engleski frazeološki rječnik*. Translated by Jelena Đukić, Zagreb: Mozaik knjiga.
- Blagus Bartolec, G.–Kovačević, B.–Kurtović Budja, I.–Matas Ivanković, I. & Rittgasser, S. *Baza frazema hrvatskoga jezika*. (2020) Available at: <http://frazemi.ihj.hr/>
- Bough, J. (2011). *Donkey*. London: Reaktion Books Ltd.
- Cambridge Dictionary*. (2020). Available at <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/>

- Cresswell, J. (2010). *Oxford Dictionary of Word Origins*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Dobrovol'skij, D. (2000). Contrastive idiom analysis: Russian and German idioms in theory and in the bilingual dictionary. *International journal of lexicography*, 13 (3), 169-186.
- Ernoić, M.–Ozimec, R. & Vincek, D. (2002). Quo vadis, magarče? *Hrvatski zemljopis*, 65, 56–59.
- Fisiak, J. (1981). Some Introductory Notes Concerning Contrastive Linguistics. In: Fisiak, J. (ed.) (1981). *Contrastive Linguistics and the Language Teacher*. Oxford: Pergamon, 1–9.
- Fink Arsovski, Ž. (2002). *Poredbena frazeologija: pogled izvana i iznutra*. Zagreb: FF press.
- Fink Arsovski, Ž.–Kovačević, B. & Hrnjak, A. (2017). *Bibliografija hrvatske frazeologije: Frazeobibliografski rječnik*. Zagreb: Knjigra.
- Gläser R. (1984): The translation aspect of phraseological units in English and German. *Poznań Studies in Contemporary Linguistics*, 18, 123–134.
- Hansen-Kokoruš, R. (1996). Magarac i konj u svjetlu njihovih frazeoloških osobina: na materijalu ruskoga, hrvatskoga i njemačkoga jezika. *Filologija*, 27, 43–52.
- Hrvatski jezični portal. (2020). Available at <http://hjp.znanje.hr/index.php?show=main>
- Ivanković, A.–Caput, P.–Mioč, B. & Pavić, V. (2000). The Phenotype Features of Donkeys in Croatia. *Agriculturae Conspectus Scientificus*, 65 (2), 99–105.
- Jelaska, Z. (2014). Animalistički frazemi biblijskoga podrijetla u hrvatskomu i drugim slavenskim jezicima. In: Vidović Bolt, I. (ed.) (2014). *Životinje u frazeološkom ruhu: zbornik radova*. Zagreb: Filozofski fakultet. 1-22. Available at [http://animalisticki-frazemi.eu/images/frazemi/zbornik_radova/Jelaska%20za%20WEB%20\(1\).pdf](http://animalisticki-frazemi.eu/images/frazemi/zbornik_radova/Jelaska%20za%20WEB%20(1).pdf)
- Kontić, J. (2015). *Sinjanje: riči, izreke, poslovice, ricete*. Sinj: Hit radio d.o.o., Grad Sinj, Viteško alkarsko društvo, Županija splitsko-dalmatinska.
- Kunac, A. (2009). *Magare*. Makarska: Gradski muzej Makarska.
- Leko, K. (2007). Magarac i kulturna animalistika (tovaru, oslu, sivcu, ćuši, kenjcu, bjestiji – s poštovanjem). *Konferencija o izvornim pasminama i sortama kao dijelu prirodne i kulturne baštine: knjiga sažetaka*. Zagreb: Državni zavod za zaštitu prirode, 153-159.
- Levanat-Peričić, M. (2010). Književno breme “Našega tovara”. *Croatica et Slavica Iadertina*, 6 (6), 265–288.

- Makkai, A. (1972). *Idiom Structure in English*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Matvejević, P. (1991). *Mediteranski brevijar*. Zagreb: Grafički zavod Hrvatske.
- Matvejević, P. (2006). Pohvala magarcu. *Zeničke sveske – Časopis za društvenu fenomenologiju i kulturnu dijalogiku*, 4, 175-177.
- Mel'čuk, I. A. (2015). *Semantics: From meaning to text (vol. 3)*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Menac, A.–Fink Arsovski, Ž. & Venturin, R. (2014). *Hrvatski frazeološki rječnik*. Zagreb: Naklada Ljevak.
- Nunberg, G.–Sag, I. A. & Wasow, T. (1994). Idioms. *Language*, 70(3), 491-538.
- Omazić, M. (2015). *Phraseology through the looking glass*. Osijek: Josip Juraj Strossmayer University, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences.
- Partridge, E. (2006). *The Routledge Dictionary of Historical Slang*. Taylor & Francis e-Library.
- Posavi, M.–Ozimec, R.–Ernoić, M. & Poljak, F. (2003). *Enciklopedija hrvatskih domaćih životinja*. Varaždin: Katarina Zrinski.
- Stone, J. R. (2006). *The Routledge Book of World Proverbs*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Strauss, E. (1994). *Dictionary of European Proverbs (Volume 1)*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Turk, M. & Opašić, M. (2008). Supostavna raščlamba frazema. *Fluminensia*, 20(1), 19–31.
- Turk, M. & Spicijarić Paškvan, N. (2014). Kontrastivna raščlamba kao postupak otkrivanja podrijetla frazema (na primjeru frazema sa zoonimskom sastavnicom). In: Vidović Bolt, I. (ed.) (2014). *Životinje u frazeološkom ruhu: zbornik radova*. Zagreb: Filozofski fakultet. 1-14. Available at [http://animalisticki-frazemi.eu/images/frazemi/zbornik_radova/Turk_Spicijaric%20za%20WEB%20\(1\).pdf](http://animalisticki-frazemi.eu/images/frazemi/zbornik_radova/Turk_Spicijaric%20za%20WEB%20(1).pdf)
- Vidović Bolt, I. (2014). Životinja kao (ne)inteligentan čovjekov prijatelj. In: Vidović Bolt, I. (ed.) (2014). *Životinje u frazeološkom ruhu: zbornik radova*. Zagreb: Filozofski fakultet. 1-12. Available at http://animalisticki-frazemi.eu/images/frazemi/zbornik_radova/Vidovic_Bolt%20za%20WEB.pdf
- Vidović Bolt, I.–Barčot, B.–Fink Arsovski, Ž.–Kovačević, B.–Pintarić, N. & Vasung, A. (2017). *Rječnik hrvatskih animalističkih frazema*. Zagreb: Školska knjiga.
- Vrgoč, D. & Fink Arsovski, Ž. (2008). *Hrvatsko-engleski frazeološki rječnik*. Zagreb: Naklada Ljevak.

- Vuković, M. (2013). *Magare gre u raj: Izbor priča, poslovice, aforizama i pjesama o tovaru*. Split: Naklada Bošković.
- Weinreich, U. (1969). Problems in the Analysis of Idioms. In: Puhvel, J. (ed.) (1969). *Substance and Structure of Language*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 23-81.
- Wilkinson, P. R. (2002). *Thesaurus of Traditional English Metaphors*. NY: Routledge.