

SOME ASPECTS
OF THE SLOVAK LANGUAGE
AND CULTURE FROM
THE PERSPECTIVE
OF COGNITIVE ETHNOLINGUISTICS

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**Some aspects of the Slovak language and culture from the perspective
of cognitive ethnolinguistics**

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PREFACE

Current research on Slovak language, literature, and culture encompasses a wide range of themes, scholarly perspectives, and methodological frameworks. These approaches foster dialogue between the national scholarly tradition and international research. This dynamism enables a more precise and theoretically grounded understanding of Slovakia, including its spiritual culture, language, history, traditions, and national identity. These aspects are examined within a broader European and global context across time and space.

Perhaps the most significant characteristic of these scholarly efforts is the gradual emergence of continuity with one's own ethnicity and personal identity. Although such continuity often goes unrecognized, individuals perceive the surrounding world through the lens of their culture, traditions, and, above all, their native language. In this frame, a distinctive worldview is reflected not only in the semantic structures of its lexicon but also in the principles encoded in its grammatical categories and in the ways those categories are organized, evaluated, and hierarchized. Such an interpretation of reality, embedded in language and linguistic expression, reveals a mentality, needs, and perspective. This volume argues that linguistics, still not fully recognized by society, can illuminate the cognitive dynamics of individuals as members of a nation or ethnic group, dynamics that may act as drivers of fundamental socio-cultural change.

The key impulses in this approach trace back to the early 1960s, when psychology experienced a conceptual shift away from the behavioral analysis of observable human behavior measured using empirical methods toward a cognitive paradigm focused on the content and meaning of human behavior in everyday life (rather than on patterns of behavior). The essence of this cognitive turn was not to oppose behaviorism but to identify more precisely the meanings that people construct as they interact with the surrounding world. This development, commonly described as the “cognitive turn,” subsequently influenced language research, given the intrinsic interconnection between natural language and cognition.

In cognitive linguistics, Noam Chomsky, the founder of generative grammar, contributed significant impulses to the development of cognitive lin-

guistics by defining formal means for describing the conceptual system of language. In his framework, the core of language lies in an abstract representation of the sentence, which is independent of its semantic content. Some linguists have opposed a strict separation between semantics and syntax, arguing that no fundamental dichotomy exists between the syntactic and semantic apparatus.

Many of these scholars, originally working in generative linguistics, later aligned with the Lakoff–Langacker tradition of cognitive linguistics, or, at least, drew on its insights. A major shift in this respect occurred in 1987, when two seminal works presenting a cognitivist perspective on language were published: *Foundations of Cognitive Grammar* by Ronald Langacker and *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things* by George Lakoff.

In cognitive linguistics, some scholars did not feel the need to distance themselves from generativist approaches and instead drew on broader linguistic traditions. This trajectory is particularly evident in Polish research, which established its institutional base at Maria Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin under Jerzy Bartmiński. His research team has continued to expand with additional domestic and international collaborators who study language not only in linguistics but also in literary studies, pedagogy, philosophy of language, ethnology (or ethnolinguistics), sociology (or sociolinguistics), and related disciplines.

Their research departs from structuralist formalism and its emphasis on exactitude, foregrounding an interpretative perspective that enables the recognition of new relationships. From this perspective, the philosophical foundations of structuralism and pragmatism, appear insufficient. Structuralism tends to privilege systemic relations, while pragmatism often treats truth in terms of usefulness and practical effect. Influences from the phenomenology of Husserl, Heidegger, and Arendt underscore language as a constant, natural dimension of human existence, intrinsic to every speaker of a given language. This does not imply subjectivism or individualism; rather, it highlights the anthropocentric character of language and the significance of the human body and perspective in the vocabulary of individual languages, grammatical categories, phraseology, and folklore texts, among others.

With an emphasis on these considerations, research on the Slovak language, literature, and culture is grounded in cognitive ethnolinguistics. This publication presents its fundamental principles, methods, terminology, and

the approaches of principal researchers, primarily linguists. The monograph builds on extant knowledge and on the corpus of prior analyses of individual languages and cross-language comparative studies, supplemented by further observations, experiments, syntheses, and generalizations. The research program is extended by findings derived from the study of distinctive features of the Slovak language, documented through interpretative investigations.

The monograph comprises three parts, presented in a logically coherent sequence, and positions cognitive ethnolinguistics as an interdisciplinary method capable of enriching contemporary Slovak studies with fresh insights and extended reach. The first part outlines the subject's profile and the methodological foundations of the research and elaborates the formation of cognitive ethnolinguistics from broader cognitive and ethnolinguistic inquiries. The third part is organized around key terminology, the understanding of which constitutes the basis for interpretative investigations into cognitive-ethnolinguistic research on the Slovak language and culture. Structured and developed in this manner, the monograph may serve as a valuable resource for ongoing scholarly work in linguistics, literary studies, ethnology, and cultural studies. It is expected to be of value to students of philology and cultural studies, as well as to researchers and educators.

I. ETHNOLINGUISTICS IN ANTHROPOLOGY AND CULTURAL STUDIES

1 ANTHROPOLOGICAL FOUNDATIONS

Ethnolinguistics examines language as an expression of a particular culture. In this framework, language functions as a carrier of cultural values and as a means of conceptualizing and categorizing the surrounding world. It may also be argued that language shapes human thought and perception, while cognition and the environment are reflected in linguistic expression. Since language is a human creation, it is inherently anthropocentric, although this anthropocentrism manifests itself differently across individual languages.

Alongside *ethnolinguistics*, several related terms¹ are also used in the field of *anthropological linguistics*, focusing on the relationship between language and culture (*cultural linguistics*, *linguoculturology*), or on the relationship among human beings, culture, and language (*anthropological-cultural linguistics*, *anthropological-cultural semantics*). However, only the Greek prefix *ethno-* explicitly refers to human beings as members of a specific ethnic group (nation) with its own language and culture. According to J. Vaněk (2014, p. 11), these interdisciplinary approaches are not the only anthropocentrically oriented approaches in language research. Other approaches, such as *psycholinguistics* (focused on the relationship between language and individual), *sociolinguistics* (investigating the relationship between language and the society to which the individual belongs), as well as linguistic pragmatics (language as activity) and *cognitive linguistics* (language and human consciousness, thinking, cognition, and conceptualization of the world) also play a role.

¹ In other instances, these designations are regarded as synonymous, where “the choice of designation is perhaps a matter of preference for a more explicit or motivationally most transparent expression,” (Orgoňová – Bohunická (2011, p. 6).

Contemporary linguistics is characterized by dynamic interactions among multiple approaches to language and culture, and ethnolinguistics itself remains highly diverse in its methods, themes, and objects of study. In general, two main groups of ethnolinguistic approaches can be identified. The first comprises ethnolinguistic studies closely linked with sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, and, to some extent, linguistic pragmatics. These studies investigate forms of linguistic communication in cultural context. This approach, known as the *ethnography of speech* (communication-oriented ethnolinguistics), examines the functions of speech in various ethnic and social groups, the relationship between linguistic expression and social status, a range of ritualized communicative situations (Vrhel, 1981, p. 99–101).

The second research area comprises strands of American ethnolinguistics that, to varying degrees, adopt the theory of linguistic relativism (the premise that the native language significantly shapes perception and understanding of the external world), and thus investigate the reflection of cultural experience in language. L. Mandelíková (2014) characterizes the linguistic relativism as “If people use different languages, they develop different interpretations of the world around them. Different ways of perceiving reality lead to different conceptual systems, which in turn result in differences in human behavior. Languages thus shape perception and behavior. This hypothesis highlights the importance of the native language in shaping our perception of the world.”² (L. Mandelíková, 2014, p. 15) Although ethnolinguistic approaches are now well established in Europe (e.g., in France, Poland, and Russia), their origins lie in the early twentieth century in the United States, through the work of E. Sapir (1884–1939) and his student B. L. Whorf (1897–1941), who studied the connections between language and world view in Indigenous Maya and Hopi communities. The Sapir–Whorf hypothesis gained prominence in European linguistics only in the late 20th century. This shift coincided with the gradual decline of unified political ideology, efforts to preserve and express national or regional identities, and increasing critique of structuralist thought (which treated language as a systemic and closed form expressing logical processes). As a result, attention shifted toward language as a phenomenon

² Ak používame odlišné jazyky, disponujeme odlišnými hodnoteniami na okolitý svet. Ak odlišne vnímame svet, tak i odlišne máme utvorený systém pojmov a to následne vedie k odlišnostiam v správaní ľudí. Jazyky relativizujú vnímanie a správanie. Táto hypotéza zdôrazňuje markantný význam materinského jazyka, ktorý je významný pre naše vnímanie sveta“, ako charakterizuje podstatu jazykového relativizmu (Mandelíková, 2014, p. 15).

situated within social, cultural, and psychological contexts. These socio-political factors have strongly influenced ethnolinguistic research, especially in Poland, Russia, and Bulgaria, where closely connected schools formed, each with its own specific features and methodologies.

2 ETHNOLINGUISTIC AREAS

In the context of global changes, ethnolinguistic questions retain high relevance. Over recent decades, increasing international interconnectedness across culture, trade, economics, and politics has collapsed temporal and spatial constraints, accelerated communication and transport, and tended to raise living standards. Although globalization brings notable benefits, it is increasingly subjected to critical scrutiny, with arguments that it embodies advanced capitalism which erodes local traditions and regional differences and yields a more homogenized global culture. The reduction of cultural differences is most evident in developed metropolitan areas, where purchasing power is high and transportation networks are sophisticated. On the other hand, social tensions and episodes of riots have been linked to pronounced cultural differences, as well as to assertive globalization efforts. We live in a multicultural Europe diverse in languages that reflect varied perspectives on many aspects (or objects) of the surrounding world, sometimes similar and sometimes markedly different. Engagement with one's native language often illuminates not only one's own perspective but also the self, thereby facilitating meaningful dialogue with other cultures.

Therefore, in recent decades, major ethnolinguistic centers have been established in Poland (Lublin), Russia (Moscow), and Bulgaria (Sofia), based on the view that language cannot be separated from its social, cultural, and psychological context. Ethnolinguistic research conducted within individual national languages, as well as in cross-national comparison, yields insights that span theory and everyday life, particularly when encountering different, unfamiliar, or even foreign worldview.³ Although individuals may not

³ The relevance of the categories of otherness and foreignness is addressed not only in the social sciences, cultural studies, political science, and intercultural psychology, but is increasingly penetrating linguistic research as well, specifically a subdiscipline known as xenolinguistics. Evidence of the emerging field of linguistic xeno-Slovak studies is the collective publication *Foreignness – Language – Society* (2015).

always be conscious of it, the world around us is perceived through the lens of our native language. Language, manifest not only in its lexical semantics but also in its grammatical categories, embodies a distinctive conceptualization of the world and its components, together with the ways these elements are organized, evaluated, and hierarchized. This interpretation of reality, embedded in language and linguistic expression, reveals a nation's mentality, needs, and perspective. It refers to the representation of the world inscribed in both cultural memory and contemporary national consciousness, shaped by a unique worldview.

Moscow ethnolinguistics, whose most prominent representative is Nikita Iljič Tolstoy (1923–1996), conceptualizes language and culture as an indivisible unity. Therefore, culture is examined in close connection with language, using linguistic methods and terminology. For instance, terms such as synonymy, homonymy and syntagmatic and paradigmatic relations are used not only to describe linguistic phenomena but also to interpret culture. In this framework, reference is often made to the notion of cultural grammar, or a grammar of culture (Bauerová, 2016, p. 9). Moscow ethnolinguistics is characterized by applying the semiotic dimension of language to culture, which is perceived as a form with its own morphology (rules), signs (elements), and semantics (meanings). A strong influence from the work of literary scholar and cultural theorist Jurij M. Lotman is evident, as well as a continuity with the Russian formalists, the Prague Linguistic Circle, and the work of Mikhail Bakhtin. The central interest of Moscow ethnolinguistics is traditional Slavic spiritual culture preserved in language, folklore, religious beliefs, and rituals across Slavic nations. Since 1971, the periodical *Slavjanskij i balkanskij folklor* has been published, focusing primarily on theoretical issues in ethnolinguistics. Among the corpus of Russian ethnolinguistics, particular attention is given to the five-volume ethnolinguistic dictionary *Славянские древности* (Slavjanskije drevnosti) (1995–2012), in which each entry is treated as a cultural sign that, in the cultural sphere, acquires a new symbolic meaning (in contrast to its everyday meaning).

In Poland, ethnolinguistics is understood as a linguistically oriented reconstruction of culture. Its aim is to reveal, across all variants of the national language (and its resources) on both diachronic and synchronic levels, the mentality of its speakers and their ways of perceiving and conceptualizing the world. In this framework, Polish ethnolinguistics concentrates

on concepts such as the linguistic worldview, the linguistic stereotype, and the axiological concept. Jerzy Bartmiński's research program has produced a substantial body of work published by Maria Curie-Skłodowska University Press in Lublin, and, notably, in the journal *Etnolingwistyka* [Ethnolinguistics], which has been published since 1988. Among Polish ethnolinguistic works, attention falls on the seven-volume *Słownik stereotypów i symboli ludowych* (1. Kosmos, 2. Rośliny, 3. Zwierzęta, 4. Człowiek, 5. Społeczeństwo, 6. Religia, Demonologia, 7. Czas, przestrzeń, miary, kolory) [Dictionary of Folk Stereotypes and Symbols (1. Cosmos, 2. Plants, 3. Animals, 4. Human, 5. Society, 6. Religion, Demonology, 7. Time, Space, Measures, Colors)], which has been published since 1996 and presents a reconstruction of the worldview and the human being in Polish folk culture on the basis of various texts and ethnographic documentation.

Alongside the Moscow (Slavic) and Lublin (cognitive) ethnolinguistic traditions, the Sofia school (ethnolinguistics of folk terminology) represents another significant center in Europe. The Sofia school focuses primarily on Bulgarian national terminology. Its work is reflected in several lexicographic publications. *Речник на българската народна духовна култура* (*Rečnik na blgarskata narodna duchovna kultura*) [Dictionary of Bulgarian Folk Spiritual Culture] reconstructs the traditional Bulgarian worldview. Another work, *Тематичен речник на термините на народния календар а Човешкият живот* (*Tematičen rečnik na terminite na narodnija kalendar a čoveškijat život*) [Thematic dictionary of the terms of the folk calendar and human life], based on dialectal material, identifies terms as components in the semantization of folk beliefs and rituals. A further publication, *Раждане, сватба, погребение. Тематичен речник на семейната обредност* (*Raždane, svatba, pogrebenie. Tematičen rečnik na semejnata obrednost*) [Birth, Wedding, Funeral. Thematic dictionary of family ritual practices] is structured into three anthropological cycles, which are divided into thematic sections (Kitanova, 2015).

Each of these schools, in distinct ways and to varying degrees, tends toward a specific methodological orientation of ethnolinguistics. In ethnolinguistics, three principal orientations can be distinguished: dialectological ethnolinguistics, etymological ethnolinguistics, and cognitive ethnolinguistics (Orgoňová – Bohunická, 2011, p. 6–7). Although ethnolinguistics in Poland and Russia are not inherently opposed, notable differences can be

identified. In a simplified formulation, the Moscow (Slavic) ethnolinguistic school investigates the relation (or rather connection) between humans and their culture primarily through dialects and the history of Slavic languages, whereas Polish (cognitive) ethnolinguistic school grounds its research in the core features of cognitive linguistics,⁴ examining transitional phenomena among linguistic categories, emphasizing the concept of *langage* (as employed by F. de Saussure), and applying interpretative methods to explain linguistic phenomena. Language is thus understood as a medium through which humans are embedded in the world through the subjective experience of their own body.

In Slovakia, ethnolinguistic research is primarily ethnographic, drawing on traditional cultural sources and the rich Slovak history of collecting and folkloristics (Žeňuchová, 2014; Pácalová, 2015; Bocánová, 2015, et al.). The textual corpus derived from the extensive work and monumental oeuvres of P. E. Dobšinský, J. F. Rimavský, S. Cambel, F. Šujanský, J. Polívka, A. H. Škultéty, A. P. Záturecký, and others constitutes a database that not only fulfilled nation-formative objectives but also provides valuable insight into the close interconnection among language, traditional spiritual culture, and national mentality in the context of Slovak and Slavic studies. It should be noted that further development of other aspects of Slovak ethnolinguistic research remains a priority, as reflected in VEGA project 2/0045/17 *Stav a perspektívy etnolingvistického výskumu na Slovensku* [The condition and perspectives of ethnolinguistic research in Slovakia] (Žeňuchová, 2017, p. 18).

The increasingly intensive adoption of cognitive methodology in Slovak linguistics enables the examination of the synchronic state (alongside diachronic linguistic changes) in the conceptualization of traditional values and concepts in the consciousness of Slovaks, with an emphasis on regional influences (e.g., Dudová, 2014; Dudová, 2016; Korina – Dudová, 2016). Consequently, Slovak cognitive ethnolinguistics emphasizes the semantic dimension of contemporary language, the investigation of transitional phenomena among linguistic categories, a focus on *langage* (as used by F. de Saussure), and the use of interpretative methods that emphasize an intersubjective (i.e., socially and culturally shared) rather than a subjective perspective. This is illustrated, for example, by lexicalized metaphors associated with the lexeme

⁴ Its establishment was facilitated by the so-called cognitive turn, which emerged in the early 1960s in psychology and, in the 1980s and 1990s, likewise manifested in linguistics, where it led to a disengagement from structuralism and, to some extent, from pragmatism.

heart (of a bell, a family, society, Europe, etc.). In this interpretive framework, language is central to human embeddedness in the surrounding world, which individuals engage with daily within their cultural milieu.

3 PRINCIPLES OF COGNITIVE ETHNOLINGUISTICS

Several key aspects must be outlined, as they decisively shape the character of cognitive ethnolinguistics. Foremost among these is the relationship between **language and culture**, the interpretation of which is not straightforward. These are autonomous disciplines that exhibit similarities and mutual interdependence, as each is deeply embedded in a particular environment. Tolstoy (1990, p. 230–238) maintained that both are highly organized, semiotic, universal, and exhibit “structural isomorphism.” This implies that they may be investigated using similar methods or described in the same conceptual frameworks. On the one hand, language may be regarded as an equivalent component of culture alongside literature, art, religion, customs, and myths. On the other hand, Charbonniere (1961) contends that language occupies a *primus inter pares* position, the most sophisticated of all cultural systems, one that conditions culture, since without its participation in culture or social life becomes impossible; it is a prerequisite for the development of culture (Sapir, 1957).

The binary relationship between language and culture proves insufficient for elucidating the formation of ethnolinguistics. A three-part relationship is more appropriate, in which an indispensable element is the **human subject** who experiences and acts; a person, an individual, but also a community, a collective subject, an ethnic group, a nationality, a nation that upholds values associated with a given object. A community is constituted on the basis of specific practical, cultural, and moral values (so-called “shared values”). For example, values such as peace, freedom, prosperity, and wisdom are central to Slovak and other European cultures. Values lie at the core of culture; they form the foundation of language and constitute the fundamental component of discourse as a unit (Głowiński, 1986).

The three-part relationship among language, culture, and the subject enables the inclusion of both core and peripheral features within reconstructed linguistic meanings, including not only central features and strong connotations but also weaker, more peripheral ones present in the social semantic

norm. For instance, *water* is not only a “colorless liquid,” but also something that “quenches thirst,” “purifies,” a source of life, and a symbol of baptism in Christianity. Likewise, *mother* and *father* are not only individuals of a given gender who have a child; rather, the mother is conceptualized as one who loves, nourishes, and raises children, while the father is associated with firmness, authority, and disciplinary dimensions, among other facets.

Analyses of individual lexical items (e.g., home, mother, sun, water, fire) and broader reflections on the role of language in conceptualization of the world reveal the anthropocentric character of language and the diverse manifestations of its subjectivity. Subjectivity permeates all forms of language use, including those that may appear to be impersonal pairing of linguistic forms with the external world. Beneath the semantic content of a linguistic sign lies a speaking subject who determines how the object is represented in linguistic expression.

Numerous manifestations of **anthropocentrism** appear in language. The most easily observable is the abundance of expressions and phraseological units relating to humans. Among these, particular attention is given to lexical units that have their equivalents referencing realities from the animal world. In Slovak language, distinct lexical items denote parts of animals’ bodies, —for example, *ústa* [mouth] – *pysk*, *rypák*, *papuľa*, *tlama* [snout, muzzle, maw]; for actions *jesť* [to eat] – *žrať* [to devour], *umrieť* [to die] – *zdochnúť* [to croak]. A second set of items primarily refer to animals but secondarily to humans, and therefore regularly acquire expressive negative evaluative connotation: *stádo* [herd], *štekať* [to bark], *nora* [burrow] etc., as well as animal names: *sviňa* [pig], *krava* [cow], *baran* [ram], *osol* [donkey], *opica* [monkey], *hyena* [hyena], which take on pejorative connotations when applied to humans. According to Z. Kempf (1985, p. 2–3), this pejorative tendency reflects a sense of human superiority, pride, self-worth, and the devaluation—even contempt—of all that lies outside the human sphere. Positive connotations occur only rarely and are typically derived from religious texts (often involving diminutive suffixation): *ovečka* (little sheep), *baránok* (little ram), *jahniatko* (lamb/little lamb), *ovčín* (sheepfold).

Ethnolinguistics is based on the premise that language functions as a key marker of a nation differentiating it from others. The **representative function** of language is commonly interpreted in two ways: as a cognitive (ideational) function, which evokes a linguistic worldview and linguistic image of the

world; and as a communicative (interpersonal) function, oriented toward the text, as the central unit of communication. The interconnection of these cognitive and communicative functions as expressions of national representation leads to a deep relationship between the text and the linguistic worldview.

In ethnolinguistics, the **text** holds central importance as the basic unit of communication and thus constitutes the primary object of linguistic research. Smaller units, sentences, words, morphemes, and phonemes, are extracted from the text as a part of a larger, coherent whole (Malinowski, 1965 [1935]), and their linguistic description may omit addressing several significant issues. A text differs qualitatively from sentences in that it is directly linked to the speaking subject. Its intentional communicative function may be described as stylistic.

The more advanced a culture, the greater the diversity and richness of styles and genres exhibited by its language. The **colloquial style** may be regarded as the core of the stylistic system of a national language, being the most frequently employed and richest in expressive means. Other styles, such as the artistic, academic, journalistic, administrative, rhetorical, and various secondary styles, derive from this core (Bartmiński, 1991b, p. 33–48). Our analysis proceeds from the premise that individual functional styles are identified not only through formal indicators at all levels of language: phonetic, morphological, lexical, syntactic, and textual, but also through deeper stylistic qualities, such as values, worldview, and stance. For instance, the artistic style is closely associated with a contemplative stance, whereas the academic style is linked to an epistemological stance oriented toward objective reality. The colloquial style is associated with an anthropocentric and practical worldview, in which everyday experience is verbalized, in accordance with everyday reasoning. This colloquial foundation forms a shared cultural basis from which other discourses with specific stances emerge and interact.

The relationship between style and genre is indisputable: genres themselves are products of social convention and reflect the internal richness of culture. Genre marking characterizes every utterance, consequently, the repertoire of genres is open and historically conditioned, reflecting diachronic changes. Under the influence of new forms (popular songs, sophisticated poetic structures, novels, aphorisms, or manifestos, etc.) even the oldest and most universal genres undergo changes while retaining their poetics and status. Traditional canonical forms are accompanied by an expanding array of genre variations. Since the times of tragedy, epic or the novel, numerous

prose, and verse subtypes (e.g., the limerick) have gained prominence in the artistic style. Authors may also combine genres and create “polyphonic” texts. The academic style includes not only the treatise, lecture, or review, but also the abstracts and related forms.

This dynamism is evident in the colloquial style, which includes not only a wide range of conversations, dialogues, riddles, and jokes, but also modern forms such as mobile text messages and chats. For ethnolinguistics, a significant area of research is **the identification of genres characteristic of a given national, regional, or local culture**: the Jewish psalm, the German saga, the Russian bylina, etc. The characterization of each genre has many aspects, as it should integrate the semantic aspect with both communicative and formal perspective; it must consider the text’s formal features, situational factors, the typical roles of sender and recipient, and the subject.

In linguistics, two principal approaches to the text can be identified: the compositional and the holistic. In the compositional approach, texts are perceived as constructions in which smaller units, sentences and words, can be analyzed in relation to their contexts, syntagmatic combinations, and paradigmatic relations.

From the ethnolinguistic perspective, the holistic approach to the text (Humboldt, 1836; Malinowski, 1965 [1935]; Bakhtin, 1986) is central, as it assumes that the text itself is a highly organized linguistic and communicative unit with its own principles, interpretative rules, grammar, and semantics. **Stereotypical texts** are regarded as holistic, socially recognized units: groups of texts repeatedly reproduced and yet remain stabilized in social memory; they form a repertoire of collective memory, preserve collective knowledge, document group mentality, and can be organized into “lexicons” *sui generis*. In the framework of oral tradition, these are folklore texts that exhibit maximum naturalness and activate the basic mechanisms of perception and memory. Their structure and semantics are particularly functional from the perspective of human neurophysiology and psychology (Niebrzegowska-Bartmińska, 2007). This is evident in communicative situations in which encoding and decoding occur simultaneously, the transmission of the message cannot be interrupted, and speech production and its auditory perception proceed in parallel.

A key position in ethnolinguistic research is held by the **lexicon**, which provides access to the conceptual sphere, the ideas and images that are sig-

nificant within a given culture. Through lexical meanings, language is deeply embedded in culture, as evidenced by various cultural images and symbols of spiritual culture: Boh, anjel, peklo, bohyňa, bosorka, zlí duchovia, ale aj strom, zviera, človek, choroba, zdravie a pod. [God, angel, hell, goddess, witch, evil spirits, but also tree, animal, human being, illness, health, etc.]. The organization of entire lexical-semantic fields is particularly interesting (napr. farba, priestor, čas, citové a hodnotové pojmy) [e.g., colour, space, time, emotional and value – oriented concepts], axiological or semiotic oppositions (my – oni, blízke – vzdialené, dobré – zlé a pod.) [we – they, near – distant, good – bad, etc.], and the semantic content of individual lexical units, especially cultural key words or “collective symbols.”

Lexical meanings in a language may be uncovered through the cognitive definition, which is systematically implemented in ethnolinguistic dictionaries. In the ethnolinguistic research program, grammatical categories have become central to contemporary semantics (Langacker, 1987; Wierzbicka, 1988; Grzegorzczkova, 2001). In addition to grammatical categories (syntactic, morphological, word-formation), there are lexical categories (names of actions, instruments, places), phonological categories, and semantic or conceptual categories, which are hierarchically highest (processes and states, actions; humans, objects, animals; quantity, time, space, etc.). Conceptual categories are crucial for understanding language and its functioning. They may be expressed phonetically, grammatically, lexically, or through word formation, and all of them function as exponents of the same semantic content.

We may illustrate this using the conceptual category of PERSON, which in Slovak is strongly encoded as an inflectional category in verbal conjugation: (ja) hovorím [I speak], (ty) hovoríš [you speak], (on/ona/ono) hovorí [he/she/it speaks]; in the plural (my) hovoríme [we speak], (vy) hovoríte [you speak], (oni/ony) hovoria [they speak]. Differences in the verb forms indicate that the principal distinction is between the first and second persons on the one hand, and the third person on the other. This differentiation is also reflected at the lexical level in the system of pronouns. The first two persons, expressed by the pronouns ja [I] and ty [you], have a different communication value from that of the third person, which is not a participant in the fundamental dialogic relation necessary for a communicative event. The third person is not a communicative partner but an object, and it is differentiated for gender:

on/ona/ono [he/she/it]; oni/ony[they], whereas the first and second persons are not differentiated by gender.

The category PERSON is also lexically encoded through a series of nouns referring to human. These include general terms (*muž, žena, dieťa*) [man, woman, child], kinship terms (*otec, matka, brat*) [father, mother, brother], and the extensive category of anthroponyms, such as given names, surnames, nicknames, pseudonyms etc. At the interface between lexicon and grammar lie the word-formation exponents of the category of PERSON i.e., personal nouns derived by suffixation from occupations, professions, characteristic traits, family relations, places of origin, among others. Other conceptual categories realized through a range of formal and linguistic means may be described similarly. Since different languages categorize the world in different ways, categories are relative. Categorization forms part of the broader process of conceptualizing reality, involving the construction of its linguistic and cognitive representations, which are specific to individual languages and to their internal varieties.

4 TERMINOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

The methodological framework of cognitive ethnolinguistics consists of several key terms, presented here in a taxonomic sequence:

1. linguistic worldview
2. subject and object of perception
3. cognitive definition
4. prototype
5. connotations
6. concept and conceptualization
7. profiling
8. value and evaluation

All of these terms are interrelated and collectively form a coherent framework for scientific inquiry. They have been the subject of extensive discussions at conferences addressing linguistic, cultural, and ethnological questions. Central to these discussions is the speaker's mentality, closely tied to the culture within which it is embedded. Some scholars employ these terms outside the cognitive-linguistics framework, while for others the framework has opened

new dimensions of comparative semantic research. As a distinctly semantic approach, cognitive linguistics integrates all subsystems of language, thereby providing a holistic and integrative description that avoids fragmenting language into isolated subfields.

II. COGNITIVE ETHNOLINGUISTICS IN THE DYNAMICS OF LANGUAGES AND CULTURE

1 LANGUAGE AS A MEDIUM OF THE LINGUISTIC WORLDVIEW

In cognitive ethnolinguistic research, the concept of the linguistic worldview occupies a central position. It has been most systematically developed in Polish cognitive ethnolinguistics (as presented in the works of J. Bartmiński⁵ and in studies co-authored with V. Chlebda⁶), in research on the semantics of values in language (conducted in Lublin⁷ since 1985), and in comparative studies of the linguistic worldview in Slavic language contexts.⁸ Since

⁵ The following publications may be cited: Jazykovoj obraz mira. Očerki po etnolingvistike. Moskva: Indrik 2005; Językowe podstawy obrazu świata. Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu M. Curie-Skłodowskiej 2006; Stereotypy mieszkają w języku. Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu M. Curie-Skłodowskiej 2007; Aspects of Cognitive Ethnolinguistics. London: Equinox Publishing Ltd 2009; Jezik – slika – svet. Beograd: SlovoSlavia 2012. [The Linguistic Worldview. Essays in Ethnolinguistics.” Moscow: Indrik, 2005; Linguistic Foundations of the Image of the World.” Lublin: Maria Curie-Skłodowska University Press, 2006. Stereotypes Live in Language.” Lublin: Maria Curie-Skłodowska University Press, 2007 Language – Image – World.” Belgrade: SlovoSlavia, 2012.]

⁶ For instance: Jak badać językowo-kulturowy obraz świata Słowian i ich sąsiadów? In: Et-nolingwistyka. Problemy języka i kultury, 2008, y. 20, n. 1, p. 11–27. [How to Study the Linguistic-Cultural Image of the World of the Slavs and Their Neighbours?” In: Ethnolin-guistics. Problems of Language and Culture, 2008, vol. 20, no. 1, p. 11–27.]

⁷ For instance: Bartmiński, Jerzy: Projekt i założenia ogólne słownika aksjologicznego. In: Ję-zyk a Kul-tura, 1991, č. 2, p. 197–209. [Bartmiński, Jerzy. “The Project and General As-sumptions of the Axiological Dictionary.” In: Language and Culture, 1991, no. 2, p. 97 – 209]

⁸ Research with this focus has been published in the volume: Komparacja systemów i funk-cjonowania współczesnych języków słowiańskich. Red.: Stanisław Gajda. Opole: Wydaw-nictwo Uniwersytetu Opolskiego 2000. In this volume, the contributions are predominantly academic studies: Chlebda, V.: *Plaszczyzny oglądu językowego obrazu świata w opisie se-mantycznym języka*, p. 163–178 a Bartmiński, J.: *Językowy obraz świata Polaków w okresie przemian*, p. 179–195. [Comparison of the Systems and Functioning of Contemporary Slavic Languages. Ed. Stanisław Gajda. Opole: University of Opole Press, 2000. Chlebda, V.: Pla-

2009 research on the linguistic worldview has expanded to a broader international and intercultural level, supported by a network of collaborators from 15 countries,⁹ including Slovakia¹⁰.

1.1 International Research Platform

The organizational platform for international research on the linguistic worldview is the project **Językowo-kulturowy obraz świata Słowian i ich sąsiadów na tle porównawczym** (EUROJOS) [The linguistic and cultural image of the world of the Slavs and their neighbours in a comparative perspective], established in 2001. Since 2004, the project has been supported by the Committee for Linguistics of the Polish Academy of Sciences (PAN) and, internationally, by the International Congress of Slavists, which has significantly expanded the network of collaborators. Under the leadership of J. Bartmiński, EUROJOS has been part of the research program of the Institute of Slavic Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences (PAN) since 2009.

Several international institutions participate in the EUROJOS project, comprising numerous Polish institutions (including Maria Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin; the Universities of Opole, Wrocław, Warsaw, and Silesia; the Jagiellonian University; and Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań) as well as institutions from other countries (the Institute of Slavic Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences in Moscow, Ural State University in Yekaterinburg, Belarusian State University in Minsk, Charles University in Prague, Ivan Franko National University of Lviv, Humboldt University of Berlin, Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Novi Sad, Vilnius University, Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv, National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Zagreb, Institute for Bulgarian Language at the Bulgarian Academy

nes of Viewing Linguistic Worldview in the Semantic Description of Language, p. 163–178, and Bartmiński, J.: The Linguistic Worldview of Poles in a Period of Transformation, p. 179–195.]

⁹ These are research institutions from the following countries: Belgium, Belarus, Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Greece, Croatia, Lithuania, Germany, Russia, Slovakia, Serbia, Sweden, Ukraine, and the United Kingdom.

¹⁰ This information originates from the scholarly article: Bartmiński, Jerzy – Bielińska-Gardziel, Iwona: *15 lat konwersatorium EUROJOS*. In: *Etnolingwistyka*, 2016, roč. 28, č. 1, p. 319. [Bartmiński, Jerzy – Bielińska-Gardziel, Iwona. “15 Years of the EUROJOS Seminar.” In: *Ethnolinguistics*, 2016, vol. 28, no. 1, p. 319.]

of Sciences in Sofia BAS, the University of Portsmouth, Ghent University, Stockholm University, and Constantine the Philosopher University in Nitra) (Bartmiński – Bielińska-Gardziel, 2016, p. 319).

In the period 2012 – 2015, the project received financial support from the Ministry of Science and Higher Education through the grant NPRH 0132/NPRH2/H12/81/2012. Its comparative linguistic component, *Metody analizy językowego obrazu świata w kontekście badań porównawczych* [Methods for the Analysis of the Linguistic Image of the World in a Comparative Research Context] aimed to prepare the multi-volume *Leksykon aksjologiczny Słowian i ich sąsiadów* [An Axiological Lexicon of the Slavs and Their Neighbours] (LASIS). During the project, a series of working meetings were held in Warsaw, Lublin, and Puławy, involving discussions among collaborators aimed at developing a shared theoretical and methodological framework to enable comparative analyses of selected axiological concepts (entries) across national languages. The results were published in volumes 21–24 of the journal *Etnolingwistyka*, and in *Wartości w językowo-kulturowym obrazie świata Słowian i ich sąsiadów. I* (2012). [Values in the linguistic and cultural image of the world of the Slavs and their neighbours. Vol. I. (2012).]. The working meetings culminated on 13 October 2015 in the EUROJOS XI conference in Warsaw, at which the editors of individual LASIS volumes (J. Bartmiński, W. Chlebda, M. Abramowicz, and P. Sotirov) presented the current state of research in the preparation of this multi-volume publication (each volume represents a single entry).

Since 2016, EUROJOS has been succeeded by EUROJOS-2,¹¹ an ongoing program coordinated by the Ethnolinguistic Commission of the International Committee of Slavists, the Institute of Slavic Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences, and the Institute of Polish Philology at Maria Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin. EUROJOS-2 continues earlier semantic analyses in Slavic and other languages (with the aim of cross-language comparison). The research agenda includes the semantic analysis of additional axiological concepts (e.g. *zdravie*, *rodina*, *sloboda*, *demokracja*, *spravodlivost'*, *národ* etc.) [health, family, freedom, democracy, justice, nation], which occupy a central place in the contemporary worldviews. The research on the conceptualization of these values, shared by speakers of Slavic national (especially folk)

¹¹ Stanisława Niebrzegowska-Bartmińska discusses the preparatory phase of this project, for example, in her contribution Projekt badawczy (ETNO) EUROJOS a program etnolingwistyki kognitywnej. In: *Ethnolinguistics*, 2013, vol. 25, no. 1, p. 271.

culture, relies on a common methodology and a shared database, consisting (in continuity with the EUROJOS-1) of systemic, questionnaire-based, and textual data.

International research on the linguistic worldview in the EUROJOS program is based on the methodology of cognitive ethnolinguistics and operates at two levels: 1. the theoretical level (the development of terminology related to the linguistic worldview and the delineation or differentiation of related terms such as *lexeme*, *notion*, *concept*, *idea*, *value*, *profiling*, etc.); and 2. the analytical level (the reconstruction of specific fragments of the LWV in selected languages).

1.2 Methodological Approaches

In accordance with the semiotic conception of the linguistic worldview (LWV), two principal and mutually interrelated methodological approaches are employed: 1. the semasiological approach, which proceeds from the linguistic sign (language) through its semantic content (notion, concept, idea, etc.) toward the designated referent; 2. the onomasiological approach which proceeds from the referent (designatum) toward its meaning and linguistic sign (Bartmiński, 2015, p. 15). In the semasiological approach to the LWV, several key questions arise in relation to a given linguistic sign (primarily the lexeme): how the word is interpreted in lexicographic definitions; which attributes it exhibits and which are ascribed in such definitions; and what the lexical unit “communicates” to us both in commonly used collocations and in longer texts.

In onomasiologically oriented LWV research, attention is directed to the linguistic representation of objects of reality and their mental representation. Philosophically, objects possess different kinds of identity; they may be mental objects, real and ontologically independent entities (a plant, an animal, or geographical objects), **conceptually constructed** entities [forest, people, mother], or **entire conceptual constructs** (work, democracy, freedom, honor).

From a linguistic perspective, the issue of synonymous and quasi-synonymy arises, contributing to the analysis of names for both physical entities (moon, luna) and abstract entities (dignity, honor, respect; work, labour; freedom, liberty; sovereignty, independence). This raises the question whether such expressions denote a single object/concept under different names or

distinct objects/concepts. Absolute synonyms refer to the same real entity and serve to profile its mental representation by highlighting its specific features from a given cognitive perspective. However, not all entities can be unambiguously identified, and in such cases a hierarchical model distinguishing between superordinate (super-categorical) and subordinate concepts (Mikołajczuk, 2009).

The onomasiological approach further entails the investigation of the motivation behind lexical naming and its etymology. For instance, *dobrá myseľ*, *pamajorán*, and *oregano* [a good mind, marjoram and oregano] are synonymous designations for a single object with the botanical designation wild marjoram (lat. *Origanum vulgare*), each motivated differently: psychologically (good mind – purifies the soul and facilitating forgiveness); locationally (oregano—from the Greek „oros“ – “mountain” hence “origanum, the ornament of mountains”); and morphologically (marjoram – reflecting its association with marjoram in the same botanical family, Lamiaceae).

1.3 Types of Data

The semasiological and onomasiological approaches in LWV research rely on diverse linguistic data and textual materials that together inform the description of cultural concepts. The principal corpus for reconstructing the LWV includes three types of data, each distinct in character yet mutually complementary. This material includes systemic (lexicographic) data, textual data, and data obtained through questionnaire surveys, a combination explicitly proposed by the Lublin school of ethnolinguistics (e.g., Bartmiński, 2014).

Systemic data (S) are derived from lexicographic analyses of the concept under study. They provide foundational information. They represent a primary resource for ethnolinguistic research, serves to critically evaluate dictionary definitions and to illustrate entries with textual exemplars. The typology typically includes explanatory dictionaries (semantic definitions of lexemes), etymological dictionaries (etymology), morphemic dictionaries (derivational structure), and phraseological dictionaries (phraseological units), among others.

Textual data (T) considerably expand the foundational features (as well as aspects) of the investigated concept; however, they are so extensive and heterogeneous that they pose the challenges of how to avoid being over-

whelmed by a vast number of texts, genres, and axiological or ideological orientations, etc. The Slovak National Corpus, an electronic corpus (categorized stylistically and chronologically), offers access to a large database of contexts through lexical queries, yet the sheer quantity of excerpts retrieved from the electronic corpus often rely on random sampling. Contexts drawn from corpora may be frequently too limited to reveal particular features or aspect, making longer, continuous texts essential in some cases. Addressing these concerns requires a balanced approach to text selection across different styles, genres, and historical periods, as well as careful alignment with the concept as formulated in ethnolinguistic research (i.e., reflecting a person's real-life experience and its changes).

Questionnaire data (D) provide direct access to ordinary linguistic awareness and yield non-linguistic data relevant to communication process and conventional behavioral patterns. The questionnaire method functions across disciplinary linguistic fields, appearing in sociolinguistics and psycholinguistics, and supports the view that word meaning is open and non-fixed (its inner form). A questionnaire survey may be oriented toward semasiological or onomasiological analysis and can begin with a word (its meaning, combinability, oppositions, metaphorical uses, evaluation, etc.), a sentence (possible completion or transformation), a notion (relations of superordination, subordination, implication), or even an object (designation of the object) (Bartmiński, 2014, p. 287).

Two questionnaire formats are commonly employed: open-ended and closed-ended. Open-ended items are more challenging to interpret, yet they provide deeper access to speakers' linguistic awareness and reveal a broader spectrum of functions attributed to the object, as well as how deeply specific features are embedded in speakers' awareness (as reflected in frequency lists). Open-ended, cognitive-type questions are particularly conducive to reconstructing the LWV, with prompts such as: *Ked' hovorím X, myslím tým ...*, *Čo je podľa teba X*. [When I say X, I mean ...; What, in your view, is X.] Closed-ended items are easier to evaluate but carry a latent risk of designer bias in respondents' answers. A well-known closed-ended questionnaire is Osgood's semantic differential (1957), which positions a given components (concept, object, name) on two bipolar scales characterized by opposing evaluative features (e.g. *dobrý – zlý*) [good – bad], activity (e.g. *rýchly – pomalý*) [fast – slow], typically on a seven-point scale.

Although questionnaire data also provide access to systemic data, but they reveal additional attributes that are absent from dictionaries as well. While lexicographic data are necessarily limited in scope and textual data highly heterogeneous (due to their genre, stylistic, and axiological diversity), questionnaire data:

1. corroborate and, more importantly, enrich lexicographic definitions with additional qualitative attributes of the concept;
2. enable the determination of the degree of intensity of an attribute attributed to the object based on responses from a sufficient number of participants who identify that attribute;
3. describe the range of attributes of the given object;
4. distinguish between dominant (central) attributes and peripheral (less fixed) ones.

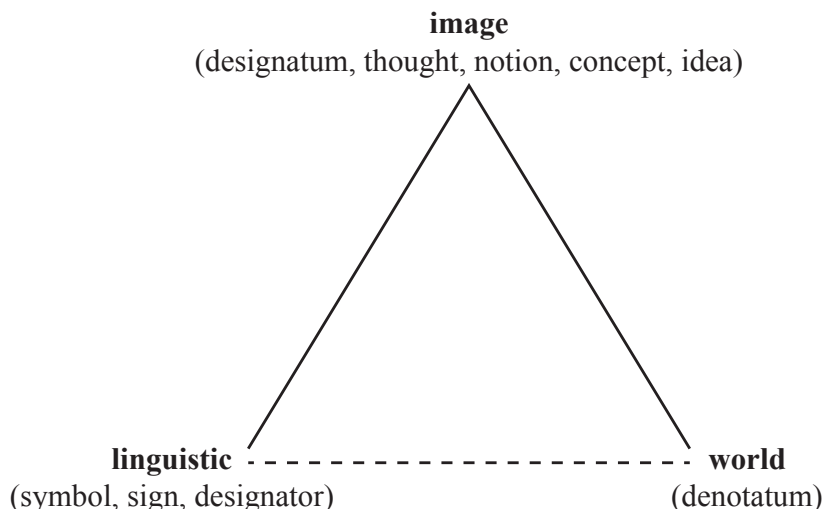
Questionnaire data therefore provide valuable insight into the image of the object from the ordinary language user's perspective; however, these insights can be somewhat simplified. There are tendencies suggesting that partial world-images should be distinguished based on the data type used, e.g., a textual image of the world (Brożyna, 2010), a discourse-based image (Czachur, 2011), or a phraseological image of the world, each representing a variant or profile of the fundamental linguistic worldview (Niebrzegowska-Bartmińska, 2015).

1.4 The Semiotic Structure of the Linguistic Worldview (LWV)

The theory of the linguistic worldview (LWV) lies within broadly conceived research in cognitive ethnolinguistics, addressing the human being, their language, and their culture. The term linguistic worldview (LWV) consists of three components, each indicating a distinct domain: language, image (the conceptual and representational sphere), and reality (the objectively existing world).

The relations among these three components – language + image + reality – are explained by J. Bartmiński (2015, p. 15) on the basis of the Ogden–Richards semiotic triangle (1946, p. 11), which points out that the term LWV functions as a linguistic sign, with each of components correspond to one of the triangle's vertices: the linguistic symbol (sign), the denotatum in the virtual or real world, and the image (a semantic correlate situated between the denotatum and the symbol), the image is referred to by N. I. Tolstoy as

a mental correlate (1995, p. 10) and by J. Horecký as a conceptual system, or system of concepts (1987, p. 207).



The semiotic character of the linguistic worldview thus highlights three key components, among which language and image are the most central for cognitively oriented ethnolinguistic research.

1.4.1 The Language Component of the LWV: Lexical and Grammatical Subsystems

Language, as a carrier of a fragment of the image of reality, constitutes the object of LWV research. Languages differ from one another in the aspects of reality to which speakers attend, which they foreground, and which they perceive in a more differentiated manner. The LWV reflects the semantic interpretation of reality from the perspective of the ordinary (average) user of a given national language and its varieties; it represents the speaker's mentality, aligns with their cognitive needs, and selects those aspects of reality that are central to everyday life.

A set of experiences and the categorization of the world specific to a given ethnic group can be identified, and subsequently interpreted across all linguistic subsystems, in which it differently manifests as the linguistic world-

view (LWV). The LWV is therefore often defined not only as the everyday interpretation of reality embedded in language, revealing the mentality, needs, and perspective of the average language user (Bartmiński, 2007, 12–14), but also as a set of regularities encoded in grammatical categories (morphological and syntactic), in word-formation, and in the semantic structures of the lexicon, which in the given language indicate a specific conceptualization of parts of the world, their organization, evaluation, and hierarchical structuring (Tokarski 2001, p. 366). It may also encompass phenomena that exist, function, and are formed outside of language, yet simultaneously entering into its structure (Bugajski & Wojciechowska 2000, p. 154). According to other scholars, the LWV is a conceptual structure embedded in the language system and realized through texts and utterances (Grzegorzczkova 1999, p. 41).

It is first necessary to distinguish those components of the image of the world that are manifested in specific grammatical attributes of the language, in an abstracted and concentrated form. As N. Korina states, the grammatical level reflects the deep- and base-level structures of linguistic categorization of reality, which change only very slowly (Korina 2014, p. 171), and even these structures adapt to the human view of the world. Such basic intralinguistic structures include the formation of paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations, which combine with varying levels of referentiality and are realized in linguistic categories such as nominal gender, verbal tense (Kačala 2014, p. 30–38), person (Gallo 2014, p. 108–119), or grammatical types of verbal clauses with articulated and non-articulated predicative nuclei (e.g., Tibenská 2014, p. 39–46). These and other related categories point both to social factors of an extralinguistic form (e.g., social organization), and to the operation of universal linguistic principles (analogy, economization, modification, and individualization).

The word-formation attributes of lexemes likewise reveal the world-perception, as derivatives manifest particular attributes of real-world objects. The worldview, however, is most clearly manifested in the lexicon and its attributes, which represent the most dynamic level of the language system, and changes are thus most evident there. Notions, values, and concepts are encoded in lexical units and in their word-formation attributes. Similarly, „phraseology is regarded as a repository of concepts from which the national mentality may be inferred”¹² (Kováčová 2015, p.162).

¹² „frazeeológia sa považuje za uchovávateľ a konceptov, z ktorých možno dedukovať mentalitu národa“ (Kováčová, 2015, p. 162).

1.4.2 The Image Component of the LWV: Notion, Concept, Stereotype, and Idea

The central and superordinate component in the linguistic worldview (LWV) is the image, i.e., the conceptual and representational sphere, which is the most difficult to define because of its ambiguity and its strongly subjective colouring. It may be characterized as a domain of thought reflecting human cognitive experience. Although it does not belong to the language system proper, it is manifested within that system in the form of a subsystem of semantic features (Horecký, 1987, p. 207). In linguistics, this representational sphere has found expression in several non-synonymous terms, such as notion, concept, idea, and stereotype.

According to Horecký, **notions** are supra-linguistic and universal, and form part of cognitive thought grounded in the gradual process of abstraction from sensory, that is, undifferentiated, cognition to conceptual thinking (Horecký, 1982, p. 22). In the effort to mediate them to others, and by virtue of various logical operations, notions acquire meanings specific to a given language and language community, thus becoming part of communicative cognition. Horecký's semiotic interpretation of the notion as a form of generalization containing a set of several, not entirely identical, extralinguistic objects (Horecký 1982, 17) aligns with the perspective of cognitive linguistics. In this framework, notions are understood as conceptual structural units of mental organization, forming cognitive structures, and functioning as "the building blocks of our cognitive system, enabling us to efficiently store and process subjective experience by categorizing information according to specific features"¹³ (Schwarzová 2009, 72). We organize the multitude of stimuli from external reality into these conceptual units, understood as mental invariants that can be recognized across different times and places, as well as across various objects on the basis of their shared attributes.

In relation to such units of the conceptual system, J. Horecký introduced into Slovak linguistics the term [conceptualizers]¹⁴ (as opposed to concepts), a term that points emphatically to the close interrelation between language and the world of thought. The system of conceptualizers consists of means

¹³ „stavebné kamene nášho kognitívneho systému umožňujúce ekonomickým spôsobom ukladať a spracovávať subjektívne skúsenosti tým, že sa informácie rozdelia do tried podľa určitých rysov“ (Schwarzová, 2009, p. 72).

¹⁴ konceptualizátory (Horecký 1987, 207–213).

designed for the linguistic representation of extralinguistic reality; these are those components of language which Horecký identifies as situational categories, shaping the situation itself (e.g., in Slovak, prepositions are primarily used to locate objects in space and time), and nominational categories, shaping objects in a situation (including traditional grammatical categories, but also more general linguistic categories such as substantiality, processuality, quality and quantity) (Horecký 1987, 207–213). In Polish ethnolinguistics, the term *conceptualizer* is employed in a different sense, referring to the creator of the concept, that is, a specific subject of perception (Tabakowska 2004, 50).

While a notion is characterized by an ideal or abstract form, the **concept** foregrounds a specific subject of perception — the creator (conceptualizer). The emphasized role of the conceptualizer separates the concept from the notion, which is linguistically stabilized, universal, and objective, and which has a conventional linguistic expression and is present in language by virtue of convention. The term *concept* entered linguistic terminology in the early 20th century as an object of interest in Anglo-American, German, and Russian linguistics. It has been described as a condensed idea summarizing the community and culture's experiences, as well as a linguistically expressed idea distinct from other mental phenomena and easily perceived by consciousness (Hallig & Wartburg 1963, 269). In the Ogden–Richards semiotic triangle (1946, 11), the concept occupies the same position as the notion, stereotype, or idea, linking extralinguistic reality on one side to representation in language and culture through a lexeme on the other. Langacker, a leading figure in cognitive grammar, understands concepts, ideas, and thoughts as non-linguistic “coarse conceptions” with broad semantic scope, independent of linguistic expression (Langacker, 1994, p. 69). As Z. Kováčová states “concepts are not isolated; rather, they are mutually combinable, capable of cooperation, and can be layered upon one another”¹⁵ (Kováčová 2017, 27).

Although a concept represents a “fixed meaning in human cognition”¹⁶ (Kováčová 2015, 145), it cannot be equated with **the idea**, since the main source of a concept is a person's real-life experience and its changes, whereas an idea is an ideal and unchanging model of life (e.g., the good or beauty) that a person gradually achieves. A concept is characterized by multi-aspectuality, that is, by the possibility of perceiving an object holistically and from

¹⁵ „koncepty nie sú izolované, ale naopak, sú navzájom kombinované, môžu spolu kooperovať, resp. sa môžu na seba vrstviť“ (Kováčová, 2017, p. 27).

¹⁶ „fixovaný význam v poznaní človeka“ (Kováčová, 2015, sp 145)

several perspectives. This sharply distinguishes it from **a stereotype**, which is a schematic, one-sided, and socially stabilized mental image of a person, a social group, objects, the cosmos, animals, or plants (Bartmiński, 2009b), though not of mental entities such as honour, love, truth, freedom.

For instance, stereotypical ideas of foreign ethnic groups are reflected in the semantic and word-formational derivatives which originated from the names of these groups. In Slovak, the ethnonym *cigán* and its derivatives such as *cigánka*, *cigánsky*, *cigánstvo* illustrate a focus on the appearance of a Roma figure and their lifestyle — a dark-skinned, dark-haired person who leads a nomadic, unsettled life. Alongside occasional positive evaluations associated with freedom and liberty, the Roma figure is also associated with lying and deceit; this is reflected in negatively evaluative expressions such as *cigániť*, *cigánstvo*, *ocigániť*, and *cigánsky* [to lie, lying, to deceive, gypsy].

The terms lexeme and concept should not be confused. As N. Gryshkova (2014) observes, while a word provides access to a concept, its meaning (the seme) does not encompass the full semantic richness of the concept; a lexeme expresses only a subset of concept's fundamental attributes. Therefore, a concept may be verbalized in language not only by a single lexeme but by several lexemes, or it may remain entirely non-verbalized (as demonstrated by cross-linguistic research). This indicates that the concept differs in form and structure from linguistic meaning. In contrast to lexical meaning, a concept is holistic, internally structured into categories (not hierarchically arranged from general to specific) and encompasses connotations (emotions and experiences). „People not only think about concepts, but also experience them, concepts are objects of emotion, sympathy, antipathy, and sometimes even conflict” (Gryshkova, 2014, p. 43).

2 LINGUISTIC MEANING AS A SET OF CULTURALLY EMBEDDED KNOWLEDGE ABOUT AN OBJECT

Within the framework of structuralist semantics, semantic interpretations of words have been employed that consider either an objective, scientifically grounded classification of phenomena or, alternatively, the approaches characteristic of particular disciplines. However, these approaches have been constrained by the evolving state of knowledge and by varying levels of

scholarly expertise. In semantic interpretations of words, researchers have tended to rely on employing the classical logical definition (encyclopedic as well as linguistic).

The encyclopedic definition describes the designatum, that is, the object itself, and accords with the aims of scientific description; therefore depends on the current state of knowledge about the given subject. By contrast, linguistic definitions inquire into the meaning of the word (they are nominal definitions), what meanings exist and how many meanings it encodes (Wierzbicka 1993). Nevertheless, linguistic definitions may vary across dictionaries. Differences can be evident, for example, in the choice of hyperonymy (i.e., the placement of the lexeme in a particular lexical-semantic class), which conditions the referent's characterization in different ways and producing distinct **"images"** of the same object. This variability relates to differences in the number and quality of attributes, producing semantic inconsistency and an impression of arbitrariness. Some scholars have described the corpus of dictionaries as giving rise to a "polyphonic narration about the world" (Chlebda, 2010, 15).

Limiting the meaning of a word to its essential features in structuralist semantics can impede deeper interpretation of numerous linguistic phenomena, especially text-bound lexical items that are not commonly used in everyday language. This has led to the distinction between two types of lexical meaning description: the definition, which equates the definiendum (the term being defined) and the definiens (that by which it is defined), and the open explication, which focuses on a specific text or corpus of texts and, to the greatest extent possible, records the semantic nuances present in textual contexts (Bartmiński – Tokarski, 1993).

2.1 The Role of Semantic Connotation in the Cognitive Formation of Meaning

If we wish, on a semasiological basis, to identify and reconstruct further properties of an object, we must rely on such "linguistic evidence" (Wierzbicka, 1993 as takes into account not only the secondary and metaphorical meanings of a lexeme, but also its etymology, the meanings fixed in derivatives, in established word combinations (collocations), phraseological units, paremias, and in individual texts. In the non-arbitrary and methodologically

controlled selection of an object's attributes (their quantification as well as qualification) the cognitive definition considers the experience, knowledge, and shared understanding of the communicative community as a whole. Unlike encyclopedic or scientific definitions, the cognitive definition incorporates a body of collective knowledge. Its primary aim is to select those characteristics attributed to a given object that are embedded in collective awareness and reflected in particular texts/linguistic practices. It does not seek to distinguish a given object from other denotata according to the rules of logical classification, as scientific definitions do; rather, it attempts to capture the object's full semantic scope. In contrast to the scientific definitions, the selection of the superordinate category („genus proximum”, which determines the perspective on a given phenomenon and delimits the viewpoint adopted), follows an interpretative orientation aligned with the awareness of the communicative community. Both the “*genus proximum*” and the specific configuration of the object's additional attributes in a cognitive definition are grounded in the perspective and viewpoint of the language user, that is, of the communicative community.

Whereas the cognitive definition is expanded, considering all linguistically relevant semantic components together with an interpretative perspective corresponding to the competence of language users (Bartmiński, 1988, p. 173), it also incorporates the **connotational attributes of the object**. These broaden the set of obligatory distinctive features by including less frequent and more elusive features belonging to the so-called second semantic plane (Tokarski 1988). Within the cognitive definition, the two components of lexical meaning, semantic connotation and designation, constitute two overlapping, linguistically encoded ways of structuring the world (Tokarski, 1999, p. 65). This means that the content of a cognitive definition presented in the cognitive definition of a given lexeme should not be reduced to the semantic core of an expression (i.e., to its prototypical and basic attributes), since such a reduction does not exhaust its full semantic potential (Bogdanowicz 2013, 11).

The reduction of meaning exclusively to distinctive features (although necessary in communicative practice) precludes a deeper interpretation of numerous linguistic phenomena, ranging from conventional lexicalized metaphors, through the internal semantic motivation of phraseological units to complex modes of world representation in literary texts. The meaning of an expression may be therefore understood as “what people think (or have in

mind) when they use a given word” (Wierzbicka 1999, 409), or, extending this formulation, as “what people may think when they use a given word” (Tokarski 2007, 14). In other words, “meaning is the result of a linguistically expressed interpretation of the world and is culturally determined” (Vaňková, Nebeská, Saicová-Řimalová & Šlédrová 2005, p. 82).

A lexical unit may thus actualize, in specific contexts, secondary (facultative) features with varying degrees of stability, and in some cases even petrification, as in phraseological units. The essence of semantic connotation lies precisely in this potential character (Tokarski 2007, p. 14), as may be illustrated by the lexeme *slnko* [the sun]. *Slnko vychádza každé ráno.* [The sun rises every morning.] activates the standard definition of the sun as a celestial body that radiates heat. In contexts such as *To je nad slnko jasnejšie!* [That is clearer than the sun!] or *Ty si také slnko/slniečko!* [You’re such a sun/sunshine!], additional semantic features are activated with varying degrees of stability, for example: ‘úplne jasné’ [absolutely clear] and, metaphorically, ‘a kind, pleasant person’ [ty si milý (usmiaty, príjemne pôsobiaci) človek’]. Slovak paremiology offers further examples, such as *Ešte slnce naveky nezapadlo* [The sun has never set forever] and *Po búrke býva slnce* [After a storm comes sunshine] (Záturecký 1974, p. 354), in which the sun functions as a symbol of hope and a positive outlook. Around the central invariant meaning, systemic connotations thus emerge according to their degree of stability, while more peripheral features, although not necessarily present in everyday communication, remain culturally and textually significant. In the broader cultural context, for instance, the sun is also associated with ‘wisdom’[múdrosti], ‘knowledge’ [poznania], ‘guidance’ [rady], and ‘help’[pomoci], as reflected in K. J. Erben’s fairy tale ‘The Three Golden Hairs of the Wise Old Man’ [Tri zlaté vlasy deda Vševeda] and its Slovak adaptations (e.g., the film fairy tale *Plavčík a Vratko*, 1981; Janíková 2009, etc.).

2.2 The prototypical Structure of a Notion

This approach leads us to the conceptual structure of a lexical unit (Tokarski 2007, p. 20), a structure that is inherently open, lacks rigid boundaries, and contains components that may emerge only in highly individual and subjective interpretations. The stratified character of this structure, the heterogeneity of its components, and the openness of the definition establish a close

connection between semantic connotation and the prototypical organization of a notion.

Prototype-based categorization differs significantly from classical, matrix-based categorization, which assumes an equal status among category members and clearly delimited boundaries between them. Prototype theory, by contrast, adopts a graded structure in which the most representative exemplars occupy the centre, while progressively less typical members are distributed toward the periphery. This type of categorization is connected with psychological theories that emphasize human creativity, according to which openness of perception, originality of thought, tolerance of cognitive contradictions, and the capacity to engage with such contradictions enhance creative potential (Trzebiński 1981, 9).

A central attribute of the conceptual structure of the word is the identification of a prototypical referent, understood as a preferred mental representation of a given entity (Dolník 2010, 46), one that embodies the set of features forming its lexical meaning. Central positions are occupied particularly by open categories such as language, art, family relations, or celestial bodies. Within a cognitive definition, those attributes that most frequently documented, especially in folkloric texts, are foregrounded. Ivanová states that frequency functions as a key factor in categorization, making it possible to identify a central prototype (a^*) and to classify other members according to the degree of their similarity between a and a^* (Ivanová 2013, 85–86). The prototype represents the most typical and, in a sense, ideal exemplar of a category, characterized by the optimal presence of its defining attributes. Thus, the prototype of bird may be understood as a small bird [vtáček] with wings, a beak, feathers, capable to fly, sing, and lay eggs. In Slovak, such a prototype is most commonly represented by species such as the sparrow or the tit, whereas more peripheral members include the swan, the stork, or the penguin. Prototypes are to a considerable extent formed through connotations that are intersubjectively shared and embedded in the linguistic system.

The expansion of meaning through increasingly marginal or individual features cannot proceed arbitrarily, as such a procedure would risk destabilizing the conceptual structure of the word. The governing principle here is the predictability (i.e. the internal motivation) of its connotational features. All even weak or text-specific connotations should be derivable from features that are firmly established and located close to the semantic core, that

is, close to the prototype. Each semantic component should therefore form an integral part of the conceptual structure, rather than constitute an externally appended components through mere conjunction. Within a cognitive definition, a semantic component overlooked in an earlier stage is not merely added in a later phase of analysis; rather, the openness of the cognitive definition may thus be understood as residing in the possibility of transformation (concretizing, specifying, or expanding) and further specification of previously established components.

In Slovak, the semantic core of the colour term *červene* [red] is constituted by its relation to blood *majúci farbu ako krv* [having the color of blood]. From this core there emerges a highly conventionalized network of connotations encompassing both positive associations, such as (*zdravie, rodinné väzby, city*) [health, kinship, emotions] and negative ones (*strach, hnev, hrôza, nespokojnosť*) [fear, anger, terror, discontent]. These connotations are reflected in a wide range of lexicalized expressions and phraseological units: *mať niečo (už) v krvi* [to have something in one's blood] (inherited, innate); *nezaprie svoju krv, potomok z jeho krvi* [he/she does not deny his/her blood, a descendant of his blood], (blood relative, lineage), *dievča krv a mlieko* [a girl of blood and milk] (beautiful and healthy); *krv nie je voda* [blood is thicker than water], (a person is ruled by emotions/family ties); *uraziť niekoho do krvi, zbiť niekoho do krvi, preliať krv, piť niekomu krv, robiť zlé krv* (to cause ill feeling, to provoke discord) [to offend someone to the blood, to beat someone to the blood, to shed blood, to drink someone's blood, to make bad blood] (to cause dissatisfaction) *krv mu tuhne v žilách* [blood runs cold] (to experience terror); *krv v ňom zovrela* [the blood boiled], (to become angry).

The principle of semantic motivation ensures that evaluative connotations extend to the colour *červená* [red] produce both positive associations, for example vitality and emotional warmth: *červený ako ruža, malina* [red as a rose, a raspberry]; *zaliaľ ho červen* [a redness swept over him] (he blushed from shame); *mať červenú tvár, nos, uši* [to have a red face, nose, ears] (from anger, agitation, shame, or cold); in the fields of human health care and education: the Red Cross and the Red Crescent movements (international medical and humanitarian organizations) as well as *červený diplom* [honors diploma]. Conversely, negative associations too, such as fear, dissatisfaction, terror, and misfortune: *červené čísla* [red figures] (negative figures in the economy), *červená karta* [red card] (used in sport to expel a player for inap-

propriate behavior), červená mágia [red magic], červený kohút zakikiríkal [the red rooster crowed], (there is a fire), mávať pred niekým červeným súknom [to wave a red cloth in front of someone] (to provoke somebody). In socio-historical contexts, *red* also acquires symbolic meanings related to political ideologies, especially socialism and communism: červená zástava [red flag], červená šatka [red kerchief], červený komisár [red commissar], červená knižka [red book], červený kohútik [red rooster].

From this central semantic core of *červene* [red], a series of additional semantic connotations radiate outward in Slovak, and in a graded structure, with those most firmly entrenched occupying positions closest to the centre and more context-dependent or stylistically restricted meanings situated at the periphery. Farther from the center, textual connotations emerge creative language use (poetic idiolect or literary texts), these peripheral connotations remain connected to prototypical features such as emotion, health, and disturbance.

2.3 Radial Organisation of Connotations and the Prototype in the Grammaticalised Lexicon

The identification of a prototype and radially organized connotations apply not only to autosemantic lexical units, which possess full lexical meaning, but also to the grammaticalized lexicon. In such cases, originally autonomous lexical units have undergone diachronic developments that resulted in the expression of abstract grammatical meanings (or, alternatively, grammatical units may have developed into grammatical units with a higher degree of abstraction of grammatical meaning) (Múcsková 2016, p. 13). Such lexis includes the modal verbs. as Hansen (2005) demonstrates, provide a particularly instructive example of this process, since they exhibit an unstable semantic grammaticalisation ranging from maximal polysemy to monosemy.

Traditional approaches to modal polysemy do not appear fully to capture the systematic relations and motivating principles underlying the multiplicity of meanings involved. Although attempts have been made to identify a common semantic core (or set of meanings) such cores often prove too abstract and vague to explain either the internal organisation of meanings or the mechanisms of their motivation whether shared motivation is present or it is accidental (Ibarretxe-Antuñano, 1999, p. 32–33). From this perspective, the cognitive-linguistic approach offers a more productive explanatory

framework, since it makes it possible to relate semantic structure to embodied human experience and to the processes by which that experience is conceptually organised.

Cognitive linguistics is concerned with uncovering meanings grounded in human perceptual and cognitive experience. Concrete bodily interaction with the world constitutes the basis of categorisation and gives rise to prototypical features that form the source domains of polysemous expressions. These source domains (a natural category) make possible the conceptualisation of more abstract target domains through processes of metaphorical projection (Lakoff, 2006, p. 403).

Prototypical meanings thus generate radial categories (Lakoff 2006, 426), consisting of a central category (or, in certain cases, two) along with systematically motivated non-central extensions. These extensions of the central meaning are not random but are motivated by the central model and by general principles of semantic extension. As a result, there are one or two representative meanings that expand from the essential meaning and subsequently form a radial construction (Ibarretxe-Artunano, 1999, p. 33–34). The polysemy of modal verbs can therefore be understood in terms of networks of prototypical meanings and their subsequent extensions.

This phenomenon is well illustrated by the modal verb *mat'* [to have]. Its evidential meaning (evidentiality) in Slavic languages appears to derive from the possessive verb *mat'* [to have] (Polish *mieć*, Czech *mít*, Upper Sorbian *měć*).¹⁷ The original meaning of the modal verb in Slavic languages is therefore specific and referential: to keep something with oneself as a possession. The meaning grounded in the experience of physical possession, or appropriating the world to oneself appears as the entry point into further cognitive processes, functions as a source domain for subsequent abstraction. Bodily experience with the world thus enables the conceptualisation of non-physical domains (target domain) (Janda 2002, p. 2). Such an abstract concept may be illustrated by the opinion of another person rather than one's own, since it becomes intelligible only when mediated through direct experience of what one possesses.

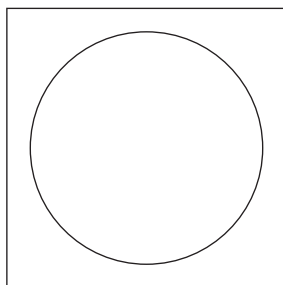
The mapping from the source domain to the target domain is based on a set of metaphorical models determined by humans' everyday orientation in

¹⁷ The original meaning of German *sollen* is different, namely 'to owe' (Hansen, 2005, p. 91).

the world and corresponding to our physical experience (Lakoff 2006, p.422; Vaňková 2005, p. 105).

As is evident, the verb *mat'* [to have] occurs in numerous proverbs and idiomatic expressions that metaphorically encode non-physical phenomena grounded in somatic processes: Kto nemá v hlave, musí mať v nohách [If you don't have it in your head, you must have it in your feet] Hladné brucho nemá uši [A hungry belly has no ears], Králi majú dlhé ruky [Kings have long arms], Lož má krátke nohy [A lie has short legs], Nestrkaj nos, kam nemáš [Do not stick your nose where it does not belong], Strach má veľké oči [Fear has big eyes], Zlé správy majú krídla [Bad news has wings]. These examples suggest that the conceptualization of possession in the source domain is realized through the metaphorical "container" model (Lakoff, 2006, 401), grounded in an awareness of the interior, the boundaries, and the exterior of the human body.

In cognitive-linguistic theory, the "container" model is schematically represented as follows (Lakoff, 2006, 441):



The semantic potential of these phraseological expressions suggests that the contents of the "container" which an individual possesses tend to expand so as to encompass further possessions of a specific type (bread, friends, money, etc.) and, subsequently, also of an abstract type (acuity, satiety, speed, discretion, courage, etc.): Kto má veľa, chce **mať ešte viac** [He who has much desires to have still more], Kto neriskuje, nemá [He who does not risk, does not have], **Mať svätú trpezlivosť** [To have saintly patience], Kto je bohatý, **má veľa priateľov** [He who is rich has many friends], Všetko **má svoj čas** [Everything has its appointed time], Hlúpi **majú šťastie** [Fools enjoy good fortune], Kto má **moc, má i právo** [He who has power also has

right], Klamár musí mať dobrú pamäť [A liar must have a good memory], and Kto kupuje čo netreba, **nemá** potom **na chleba** [He who buys what he does not need will afterwards have no money for bread].

This conceptualization in the source domain demonstrates that the meaning of possession, grounded in the human body, serves as motivating source for further radial categories, namely obligation or necessity, and the possibility of performing an action. In the metaphorical structuring of the verb *mať* ('to have'), grounded in the "container" schema, the central category is expressed by the full lexical verb, while the non-central extensions correspond to meanings characteristic of the auxiliary modal verb. All phraseological constructions of *mať* [to have] + *appellative/proprial noun* with a conventionalized meaning can be reformulated as states or processes expressed by *byť* [to be], *je bohatý*, *je trpezlivý*, *je obľúbený*, *je pokojný*, [to be rich, to be patient, to be popular, to be calm] etc. Building on this shift, examples (1) and (2) illustrate variations or extensions of the central category by additional modes of possession. The object of possession is no longer an additional substance, but rather the actual realization of the event itself (actualized or non-actualized) which may be rejected (negated) or admitted by the speaker.

1. V budúcnosti by sme mali čosi urobiť pre pamiatku našich mŕtvych. [In the future, we ought to do something for the commemoration of our dead.]
2. Ako má zamestnávateľ motivačne pôsobiť na zamestnanca? [How is an employer supposed to exert a motivational influence on an employee?]

As examples (1) and (2) demonstrate, the modal verb *mať* exhibits a semantic complementarity between the exclusion of an alternative realization of the event, understood as necessity, and its admission, understood as possibility. Whereas sentence (1) excludes the possibility of not doing something in honor of the deceased (emphasizing the necessity of such an act), sentence (2) admits the possibility of a motivational influence on the employee. The admission of one possible realization of the event may thus be understood as presupposing the exclusion of another. This relation is illustrated by the equipollently oppositional relationship between the Slovak verbs *môcť* (admitting an additional possibility of event realization) and *musieť* (excluding such a possibility). In certain Slavic languages, this opposition is reflected in semantic equivalences of the type: *môcť* = *nemusieť* [to be able to = to not

have to] *musieť*’ = *nemôcť*’ [to have to = to not be able to], as illustrated in example (3) and (4).

3. *Aj rímske židovské spoločenstvo muselo platiť*’ (= *nemohlo neplatiť*) *veľkou cenou*. [Even the Roman Jewish community had to pay (= could not fail to pay) a high price.]
4. *Nemusíš ma znova klamať*’ (= *môžeš ma neklamať*). [You do not have to deceive me again (= you may refrain from deceiving me)]

The modal verb *mať* behaves in a similar way in sentences (1) and (2).

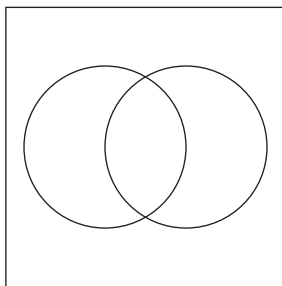
1. *V budúcnosti by sme mali niečo urobiť*’ (*musíme niečo urobiť*’ = *nemôžeme nič neurobiť*) *pre pamiatku našich mŕtvych*. [In the future, we ought to do something (we must do something = we cannot refrain from doing anything) for commemoration of our dead.]
2. *Ako má zamestnávateľ motivačne pôsobiť*’ (*ako môže pôsobiť*’ = *ako nesmie nepôsobiť*) *na zamestnanca*? [How is an employer supposed to exert a motivational influence (how can he exert such influence = how must he not fail to exert such influence) on an employee?]

In sentences (1) and (3), the speaking subject rejects the extension of content of the “container” toward another possible realization of the event, displays no tendency to appropriate it, and „closes” the container. By contrast, in sentences (2) and (4), the speaker actively seeks further possible realizations of the event, displays a tendency to expand the content of the “container” by adding further content, and thus “opens” it. If one proceeds from the source domain of possession, motivated by the conceptualization of the human body as a container, the target domain of possibility may be interpreted as the expansion of one’s possessions or resources, whereas the target domain of necessity may be understood as the cancellation of any tendency to enlarge the “container” by means of further possessions.

These two modes of knowing/possessing the world (in its eventive and stative aspects) complementarily elaborate the central model and thereby participate in the formation of the so-called radial category. Evidence supporting the radial systematization of possibility and necessity in the polysemy of the modal verbs *môcť*’, *musieť*’, and *mať*’ [can, must and to have] may be found, for instance, in the etymology of the verb *mať*’ [to have], which

derives from the Old Church Slavonic *imamъ* (Indo-European *imā-mi*) and is reflected in related forms such as Old Church Slavonic *iměnyje*, Slovene *imétje*, Slovak *majetok* [possession], Czech *majetek* [possession], and Polish *majątek* [possession]. Similarly, the modal verb *môcť* [can] appears to derive from *mog-otъ* (Machek 1968, p. 371), from which forms such as Czech *mohutný* [mighty, powerful], *mocnější* = weathier, and related derivatives may also be traced, including *velmož* [magnate], an archaic title for a ruler or magnate, as well as the Proto-Slavic expression *zmotati se na* meaning to achieve something with difficulty, or Old Church Slavonic *въз-мошти* “to gain strength”. Conversely, Moravian Slovak *nemoha* signifies lack of strength or laziness; while in Old Czech, *nemoc* denotes incapacity. This appears to represent the negative form of the meaning associated with the verb *musieť* [must], in its older forms (*mositi*, *mušěti*), fluctuation between the vowels *u/o* occurred, referring to the foreign vowel *ü* in the German verb *müssen*. Among the three modal verbs under analyzed, *musieť* is the only modal expression in contemporary Slovak that no longer possesses a full lexical meaning, (although its meaning is still reflected in forms such as *nemoc* [illness] and *nemohúcnosť* [incapacity]).

The additional meanings of the modal verbs *môcť*, *musieť*, *mať* [can, must, to have] indicate that possibility and necessity represent merely the target domain (that is, the projected outcome — A') of the container model A. At the same time, meanings relating to strength and intensity of conviction appear to originate in container model B, while their projections (B') form a subclass of A' (Lakoff 2002, 442).



The area in which the two metaphorical container models overlap corresponds to the source domain of possession. This is clearly illustrated by Slovak proverbs, which associate certainty exclusively with the exclusion

of any alternative realization of the event (the speaker refuses to enlarge the content of the “container”), as was shown earlier in relation to the modal verb *musieť* [must]:

Kde máš dobrý sed, tam sed! [Where you have a good seat, stay seated!]; *Kde ti je dobre, tam buď!* [Where you feel good, stay there!] – *Kde ti je dobre, tam čuś!* [Where you feel good, keep quiet!]; *Kde ti je dobre, tam sed!* [Where you feel good, stay put!]; *Kde ti je dobre, nehl'adaj lepšie!* [Where you feel good, don't look for anything better!]; *Ked' ti je dobre, nehl'adaj lepšie.* [When things are good for you, don't look for anything better.] (Záturecký, 2005, p. 356). A similarly high degree of certainty is expressed by the modal verbs *musieť* [must] and *nemôcť* [cannot], as illustrated in examples (5) and (6).

5. *Musel byť veľmi unavený, keď tak rýchlo zaspal.* [He must have been very tired, since he fell asleep so quickly.]
6. *Nemohla mu nepomôcť* (= *musela pomôcť*). [She could not fail to help him (= she had to help him).]

By contrast, *môcť* [can], which presupposes the admission of an additional alternative (an expansion of the content of the container), signals a lower degree of speaker certainty.

7. *Mŕtve telo mohlo plávať vo vode asi dva kilometre.* [The dead body could have floated in the water for approximately two kilometres.]

As is evident, a high degree of certainty is associated with a closed container. The more the container is opened to the inclusion of further possibilities, the more markedly the degree of certainty is weakened. This gradual ‘opening of the container’ and the corresponding weakening of certainty in the modal verb *mať* (as in *má sa vrátiť o päť minút* [he is expected to return in five minutes]), is closely related to the meaning of phraseological forms with the full lexical verb *mať*: *Kto má len jedny nohavice, vždy vie, ktoré si má obliecť* [He who has only one pair of trousers always knows which ones he should put on]; *Kto má zdravie, pokoj, chleba, ten má všetko, čo mu treba* [He who has health, peace, and bread has everything he needs]; *Dost' má, kto je s málom spokojný* [He has enough who is content with little]; *Kto má,*

tomu zhynie [He who has something can also lose it]; *Kto má veľa, ten chce mať ešte viac* [He who has much wants to have even more]; *Bohatý nemá nikdy dosť* [A rich man never has enough]. The verb *mať* thus exhibits a tendency towards ‘opening’ of the container, towards a weakening of possession and certainty that extends even to the point of self-alienation in the meaning of another’s opinion:

8. *O dva roky tu má byť* (= *vraj bude*) *postavených niekoľko nových domov*.
[In two years, several new houses are to be built here (= allegedly will be)]

These radiations of the specific (original) meaning of possession are also confirmed by findings in diachronic linguistics, which show that degrees of certainty and conviction have, in many languages, developed from the meanings of possibility and necessity (Lyons 1995, 334; Ligara 1997, 68). As Večerka (1984, 168) observes, modal meanings expressing certainty were less developed in Old Church Slavonic than those expressing possibility or necessity. The lower frequency of the verbs *môcť* [can], *musieť* [must], and *mať* [to have] in epistemic meanings, as compared with their use in expressing possibility and necessity, remains characteristic even today.

The cognitive theory of prototypes extends the traditional investigation of the polysemy of modal verbs by exploring the natural relations among their various meanings. The grammaticalization process has contributed to the recovery of the original function of the full lexical verb *mať* [to have] and of its specific lexical meaning. The semantic core of possession and ownership is also confirmed by the etymology of the other modal verbs *môcť* [can] and *musieť* [must]. A wide range of phraseological usages has shown that this original meaning (functioning as the source domain) is grounded in the human body’s experience of the world in which one lives.

Identification of the prototype thus serves as the semantic basis for grasping its additional connotational features, as well as for formulating a definition whose central aim is to encompass the broadest possible body of collective knowledge about a given phenomenon— its experience-based, cognitive, and socially shared knowledge. The key task is to capture the way in which meanings are systematically (non-arbitrarily) organized under the same lexeme on the basis of shared motivation.

3 THE SPEAKER'S SUBJECTIVITY

Given the anthropocentric orientation of ethnolinguistics, the linguistic expression of the speaking subject has come to occupy a central place in research. It has become increasingly clear that the semantic aspect of language cannot be examined independently of the speaker; and that the semantics of linguistic units must be investigated in relation to the speaking subject as the producer of utterances. At the same time, the emphasis placed on the speaking subject (or on the subjectivity of the utterance) is by no means limited to contemporary cognitively oriented scholarship. It is already present in earlier functionally oriented work associated with the Prague Linguistic Circle, particularly in the writings of V. Mathesius, as well as in the subjectivist conceptions of modality formulated by Ch. Bally, V. Šmilauer, and S. Karcevskij (Đurovič, 1956, p. 18–21). Within these approaches, the speaking subject is understood as a general and holistic expression of the human factor (is it not associated with specific semantic features).

3.1 The Subject and Object of Perception within the Category of Point of View

The subject and object of perception are interconnected in the category of the point of view (*punkt widzenia*),¹⁸ which shapes how an object is spoken about, that is, how it is categorized and which of its features are selected for expression in a given utterance (Bartmiński, 1990, p. 111–112).

In this sense, the category of point of view represents a semantic value that relates not only to what was said and to the manner in which it is expressed through the linguistic means available (Przybylska, 2004, p. 149), but also to the identity of the speaker. The speaking subject is therefore the decisive determinant of the point of view, which, as Tabakowska (2004, p. 51) observes, is manifested on three levels: 1) the subject selects a particular

¹⁸ The broader notion of perspective (*perspektywa interpretacyjna / perspektywa oglądu*) differs from the category of point of view, as it encompasses various aspects of perception that unfold before the observer (Bartmiński & Niebrzegowska-Bartmińska, 2004, p. 338). It represents a set of semantic properties of words that, in a certain sense, result from the point of view and are correlated with it. Perspective may be open, distant, or blurred, but also closed; one may perceive from a frog's perspective, a bird's-eye view, and so on (Bartmiński & Niebrzegowska-Bartmińska, 2004, p. 338).

object of consideration; 2) it observes events or entities as elements of the represented world from a given perspective; 3) it perceives them in specific spatio-temporal parameters. This perceiving subject is, in most cases (though not invariably) also the conceptualizer, that is, the one that transforms perceptual experience into notions that subsequently acquire the character of linguistic expression (Tabakowska, 2004, p. 50).

Within linguistic worldview (LWV) research, the speaking subject is conceived as a specific (socio-culturally situated) semantic category, that determines two fundamental research premises: alongside the category of point of view, there stands the linguistic worldview (*das sprachliche Weltbild*), from which the notions of the ‘subject of seeing’ and ‘object of perception’ may be derived. While the point of view is linked to an individual perspective and the research focus thus falls primarily on **the subject of seeing**, the linguistic worldview implies the result of this seeing, that is, the object of perception itself. In this conception the subject (with its corresponding point of view) and the object (understood as the linguistic worldview) constitute two interrelated categories. The linguistic worldview may therefore be classified according to its creator, such as the worldview of a child (Niesporek-Szamburska, 2004), the artist’s worldview (Kowalewska-Dąbrowska, 2006), the European’s worldview, or the adult’s worldview. In this context, one may speak of a subject-oriented reconstruction of the linguistic worldview (Bartmiński, 2007, p. 76), one that reveals the interpretation (projection, representation) of the world embedded in the language—its grammar, lexicon, and conventionalized linguistic units—while at the same time emphasizing the active role of human cognition and of language itself in relation to the objectively existing world.

The point of view may thus be understood as a subject-oriented factor that is deeply anchored in the cultural specificity of a given community, one that determines the way in which an object is spoken about: its categorization, the selection of its onomasiological base (motivation) in the process of naming, and the determination of its semantic attributes. The point of view adopted by the subject of seeing operates as a set of foundational assumptions and principles that shape the lexical content and semantic structure of words, while also influencing the criteria by which functional styles and genres are identified (Bartmiński, 1990, p. 111).

3.2 Aspectual Characteristics of the Object from a Perceptual Perspective and in the Conceptual Profile

At the metalinguistic level, which regulates grammar, the system of lexical-semantic resources, and the functioning of suprasentential structures, there is also the **category of perspective**, understood as broader than point of view itself (Bartmiński & Niebrzegowska-Bartmińska, 2004, p. 338).

Point of view, which determines the initial categorization of the object, forms the perspective through which that object is perceived linguistic worldview. Perspective may be understood as a set of features in the semantic structure of a word which, in a certain sense, result from the adopted point of view and remain correlated with it.

Conversely, perspective encompasses the various aspects (angles, facets) of viewing which the speaker arranges, in a non-arbitrary manner, into a specific configuration that constitutes the profile of the concept. A useful illustration of perspective is provided by evaluative prepositions such as *with regard to* [so zreteľom na], *with respect to* [v súvislosti s] as used in contexts like: *inteligentný človek so zreteľom na prírodné vedy a techniku, ale menej vzhľadom na humanitnú oblasť*, [an intelligent person with regard to the natural sciences and technology but less so in the domain of the humanities]; *Slovensko má vo svete prvenstvo v súvislosti s bohatým zdrojom pitnej vody, najväčšie mesto s ohľadom na počet obyvateľstva a veľkosť územia* [Slovakia ranks first globally in connection with its rich drinking-water resources, the largest city with respect to population and territorial size.]. Perspective thus appears as the complex effect of perceiving an object from multiple sides several sides or viewpoints which complement one another (Bartmiński, 2007, p. 84). Consideration is given to those aspects of the object that are central to the conceptualizer (i.e., the language user), and that form an objectively preserved and internally coherent structure of the concept. In the analyses conducted by the Lublin ethnolinguistic school, when elaborating conceptual entries such as *práca* [work], *česť* [honour], *sloboda* [liberty], *dom* [home], *zdravie* [health], there is a systematic attempt to reveal the aspectual (both categorial and subcategorial) interconnections among the attributes assigned to a given entity, as well as to determine the number of such aspects, their sequencing, and the global structure of categories and subcategories (facets).

Within the Lublin ethnolinguistic school, profiling is understood as the formation and perception of concepts through a specific perspective, that is, by means of a particular (and not any other) set of viewpoints (aspects) of a given object, which speakers consider and organise into a specific configuration, corresponding to their communicative intentions, accepted hierarchy of values, or adopted point of view (Bartmiński & Niebrzegowska, 1998, p. 212, 217). Profiling is therefore a subjective linguistic–conceptual operation (i.e., one that has its subject, namely the speaker), which captures the image of the given object (or of the concept, notion, lexical meaning, semantic structure) on two levels: first in its specific aspects, and second, in their substantive concretizations.

Profiling provides, not only a set of the object's perceived features, but also the identification of structural patterns (Bartmiński, 2007, p. 89) through which these semantic qualities are systematized.

The underlying basis of such patterns is prominent interdependence of language and culture (Tolstoj, 1990, p. 238–253). In this framework, the selection of an object's attributes and of the aspects forming its structure is understood as being shaped by specific cultural factors (e.g., a culture's value system or its mode of rationality), as well as by the adopted point of view and by experience. This experiential framework encompasses the structures of perception, cognition, and semantics, that is, everything that is embedded in present experience and in individual and collective memory. It includes not only what is perceived visually or conceptualized cognitively, but also what is preserved in culture in the form of routinized behavior, belief, emotion, and evaluative stance (Bartmiński & Niebrzegowska, 1998, p. 213).

Different profiles represent different ways of structuring the semantic content of a concept. They are derived from the prototypical set of an object's semantic features and are closely connected with the subject of seeing. The distinction between profiles is a crucial tool for studying intralinguistic cultural diversity, since within a community of speakers of the same language one encounters multiple profiles, or variants of the linguistic worldview (Zinken, 2009, p. 4). One profile of the same linguistic worldview may be manifested in phraseology, another in cultural discourse, another in artistic texts, and yet another in youth discourse.

3.3 The Subject of Seeing in Youth Discourse (Questionnaire Survey)

Within the present inquiry, the subjects of perception¹⁹ are university students aged 19–25, from whose perspective the multi-aspectual notion of health²⁰ is reconstructed by means of a questionnaire survey designed to determine the number of relevant aspects, the resulting profile, and the overall conceptual structure (Dudová, 2021).

Young people, and university students in particular, represent a specific age and social group of respondents who, on the one hand, have broad opportunities to acquire extensive knowledge about health within their peer circles and through the media; but whose efforts are, on the other hand, constrained by factors characteristic of today's young generation, including a fast-paced lifestyle, the drive to get new experiences, an active nightlife, and poor mental well-being.

Since higher education is most readily accessible to young people without serious psychological or physical difficulties, it is natural that they are less aware of the absence of health than members of the working population. The mindset of the younger generation is predominantly oriented toward the present moment, or toward what their current health capacities can offer them in the future as they build their careers. Less attention is therefore paid to the fact that the quality of health may change over time and, not infrequently, deteriorate.

These general observations were compared with the results of a questionnaire survey conducted on a sample of 130 respondents (abbrev. N) studying

¹⁹ The term subject of seeing is used here as a technical designation for the perceiving and conceptualizing subject in the conceptual domain of SEEING.

²⁰ *Health* is characterized in explanatory dictionaries of the Slovak language as a state of the organism without impairment of physical or mental functioning (Krátky slovník slovenského jazyka 2003) or as the condition of a living organism that is not affected by any illness (Slovník slovenského jazyka 1965). Because dictionary data are exceedingly sparse, questionnaire-based inquiry becomes essential; it provides access not only to systemic information but also to additional features that are not recorded in dictionaries. Such questionnaire data confirm—but, above all, enrich—dictionary definitions by introducing new qualitative properties of the concept; they make it possible to determine the intensity of a property attributed to the object on the basis of an adequate number of respondents indicating that property; they delineate the range of properties associated with the given entity; and they distinguish dominant (central) properties from peripheral (less stabilized) ones (Bartmiński 2014).

humanities and technical disciplines at the Faculty of Arts and the Faculty of Education of Constantine the Philosopher University in Nitra, as well as at the Faculty of Security Engineering of the University of Žilina. The respondent group consisted of:

- a) 74 women (152 citations) and 56 men (83 citations);
- b) 71 students living in urban areas (106) and 66 students living in rural areas (129);
- c) 57 respondents from Western Slovakia²¹ (97), 49 from Central Slovakia²² (99), and 24 from Eastern Slovakia²³ (39);

In the questionnaire, Slovak students responded to the open-ended question *Čo rozumieš pod slovným spojením skutočné (opravdivé) zdravie?* [What do you understand by the phrase real (authentic) health?]. The responses yielded 233 citation segments (W). In cases of semantically similar or identical responses, a meta-expression (descriptor) was formulated in order to capture in condensed form their shared content; by this procedure, 66 descriptors (D) were abstracted. The degree of stereotyping present in 27 of the citation segments (Ws) relating to Slovak conceptualizations of health proved to be relatively high.

Slovak students perceive health through physiological (F), psychological (P), existential (E), social (S), and biological (B) aspects, as evidenced by the following citations below together with their percentage frequencies.

1. good physical and mental condition (balance) (F); 34 / 14.5%

zdravie človeka po psychickej aj fyzickej stránke [a person's health in both the psychological and physical aspect] 12; *fyzická a duševná rovnováha* 6 [physical and mental balance]; *psychická a fyzická pohoda* 6 [psychological and physical well-being]; *dobrý fyzický a psychický stav* 3 [good physical and mental condition]; *duševné a fyzické zdravie* 4 [mental and physical health]; *byť psychicky a fyzicky v poriadku* 3 [to be mentally and physically well];

2. no illnesses or problems (F); 29 / 12.4%

stav bez choroby a ochorení 7 [a state without illness or disease]; *človek bez choroby* 5 [a person without illness]; *nemať zdravotné problémy* 5 [to

²¹ Bratislava Region – BaK; Trnava Region – TaK; Trenčín Region – TeK; Nitra Region – NK.

²² Žilina Region – ŽK; Banská Bystrica Region – BbK

²³ Prešov Region – PK; Košice Region – KK

have no health problems]; *netrpieť vážnymi život ohrozujúcimi chorobami* 4 [not to suffer from serious, life-threatening illnesses]; *netrpieť chorobou* 8 [not to suffer from illness];

3. balance and contentment (P); 21 / 8.9%

spokojnosť 5 [contentment]; *spokojnosť so životom* 5 [contentment with life]; *byť spokojný sám so sebou* 5 [to be content with oneself]; *človek je spokojný* 3 [a person is content]; *spokojnosť a vyrovnanosť* 3 [contentment and balance];

4. feeling well (P); 19 / 8.1%

dobré sa cítiť 10 [to feel well]; *človek sa cíti dobre vo svojom tele* 9 [a person feels good in their own body];

5. mental health (P); 17 / 7.2%

duševné zdravie 9 [mental health]; *zdravý po duševnej stránke* 8 [to be healthy mentally];

6. happiness (P); 17 / 7.2%

byť šťastný 12 [to be happy]; *šťastie* 2 [happiness]; *radosť zo života* 2 [joy in life]; *nešťastný nemôže byť skutočne zdravým* 1 [an unhappy person cannot be truly healthy];

7. life without stress and worries (E); 9 / 3.8%

bez stresu 5 [without stress]; *odolávať stresu* 2 [to withstand stress]; *nemať starosti* 2 [to have no worries];

8. without medication and visits to doctors (B); 9 / 3.8%

nenavštevovať často lekára 5 [not to visit the doctor often]; *bez umelých prostriedkov a liekov* 4 [without artificial means and medication];

9. physical activity (sport) (F); 8 / 3.4%

pohyb 4 [physical activity]; *športovať* 4 [to do sports];

10. strong (unthreatened) health/vitality (N); 7 / 3%

vitalita 3 [vitality]; *pevné zdravie* 2 [robust health]; *zdravie nie je ohrozené vonkajšími javmi* 2 [health not threatened by external factors];

11. lifestyle (F); 7 / 3%

správna životospráva 2 [proper lifestyle]; *zdravá strava* 3 [healthy diet];
dostatok spánku 2 [sufficient sleep];

12. physical health (F); 6 / 2.6%

fyzické zdravie 5 [physical health]; *vysoký vek* [old age]

13. without limitations (A); 6 / 2.6%

nebyť obmedzený 4 [not to be limited]; *žiadna prekážka v rôznych životných oblastiach a aktivitách* 2 [no obstacles in various areas of life and activity];

14. without pain (F); 5 / 2.1%

bez bolesti 3 [without pain]; *nič ma nebolí* 2 [nothing hurts me];

15. lifestyle (E); 4/ 1.7 %

zdravý životný štýl 2 [a healthy lifestyle]; *žiť zdravo* 2 [to live healthily];

16. achieving one's goals (S); 4 / 1.7%

uskutočňovanie svojich cieľov 3 [achieving one's goals]; *plnenie snov* [fulfilling one's dreams];

17. loving and caring for oneself (A); 4 / 1.7%

starat' sa o seba 2 [to take care of oneself]; *mať rád seba* 2 [to love oneself];

18. enjoying life (E); 4 / 1.7%

užívať si život 2 [to enjoy life]; *aktivity, ktoré dopomáhajú k príjemnému životu* 2 [activities that contribute to pleasant living];

19. checking one's health (S); 3 / 1.3 %

preverenie zdravia kompletným vyšetrením 2 [health check through a complete medical examination]; *stav podložený lekárom, nie našimi domnienkami* 1 [a condition confirmed by a doctor, not by our assumptions];

20. healthy judgment and a healthy thinking (P); 3 / 1.3%

zdravý úsudok a racionálne myslenie 1 [healthy judgment and rational thinking]; *pevná myseľ* 2 [a strong mind];

21. immunity (F); 3 / 1.3%

dobrá imunita 3 [good immunity];

22. having family and friends (A); 3 / 1.3%

človek má rodinu, priateľov [a person has family and friends]; *prežívať spoločné chvíle s rodinou, priateľmi* 2 [spending shared moments with family and friends];

23. being strong (P); 3 / 1.3%

silný na tele i na duchu [strong in body and spirit]; *odhodlanie nerezignovať na život* [determination not to give up on life]; *schopnosť prekonávať prekážky* [ability to overcome obstacles];

24. doing well / being well off (P); 2 / 0.9%

človek sa má dobre 2 [a person is doing well]

25. fitness (F); 2 / 0.9%

byť v dobrej kondícii 2 [to be in good physical condition]

26. helping others (S); 2 / 0.9%

vie pomôcť iným 2 [to help others]

27. valuing one's health (N); 2 / 0.9%

ceniť si to, že sme zdraví 2 [to value being healthy]

It is natural that, from the perspective of Slovak students, the physiological aspect (F) is elaborated most extensively, followed by the psychological aspect (P). From the physiological point of view, the most dominant feature is good physical and mental condition, i.e., a state of equilibrium, as reflected in formulations such as *zdravie človeka po psychickej aj fyzickej stránke*; [a person's health in both the psychological and physical aspect]; *fyzická a duševná rovnováha* [physical and mental balance]; *psychická a fyzická pohoda* [psychological and physical well-being]; *dobrý fyzický a psychický stav* [good physical and mental condition]; *duševné a fyzické zdravie* [mental

and physical health]; *byť psychicky a fyzicky v poriadku* [to be mentally and physically well].

The most important psychological indicator of health is balance and contentment, as evidenced by responses such as *človek je spokojný* [a person is content]; *človek sa vie vyrovnat' so situáciami rôznych druhov* [a person can cope with different kinds of situations]; *človek je v živote vyrovnaný* [a person is balanced in life]; *spokojný so svojou prácou* [content with one's work]; *dlhodobé zdravie je základom spokojného života* [long-term health is the basis of a contented life]; *byť vyrovnaný a spokojný so svojím životom* [to be balanced and content with one's life] etc. From this perspective, health in Slovak linguistic context appears to be conceptualized as a state of balance between physical and mental well-being, primarily reflected in the absence of serious illness, problems, or pain.

This state is achieved through adequate physical activity, a healthy lifestyle, strong immunity, good physical condition, emotional balance, contentment, happiness, joy in life, inner strength, and sound judgment. At the same time, health in Slovak is profiled from several additional perspectives, namely existential (E), biological (G), social (S), and socio-psychological (A). The existential perspective shows that one of the most important conditions of health is a life without stress and worries, as reflected in statements such as *človek sa vyhýba stresu* [a person avoids stress]; *dokázať zvládnuť stresujúcu situáciu, s prehľadom ju zvládnuť, nepodľahnúť jej* [to be able to handle a stressful situation, to deal with it calmly and competently, not to succumb to it]; *odolávať stresu* [to withstand stress]; *nie je pod zbytočným stresom* [not to be under unnecessary stress]; *nemať veľké starosti* [not to have major worries]; *ľudí postihujú rôzne choroby stresom* [people are affected by various stress-related illnesses].

Closely related to this is the emphasis placed on a healthy lifestyle, as reflected in expressions such as *keď človek žije zdravo* [when a person lives healthily]; *aktívny životný štýl* [an active lifestyle]; [a healthy lifestyle]; [a health-conscious lifestyle] as well as related formulations referring to health-conscious ways of living, as well as in the ability to enjoy life, expressed, for example, in *užívať si život* [to enjoy life]; *aktivity, ktoré dopomáhajú k príjemnému žitiu* [activities that help to a pleasant and fulfilling way of living].

The social and socio-psychological dimensions of health are rooted, on the one hand, in the expectation that individuals should value and care for

themselves while maintaining independence from others (*mať rád seba* [to like oneself]; *mať rád svoje telo* [to appreciate one's own body]; *ak sa človek o seba naozaj stará, počúva svoje telo* [when a person truly takes care of themselves, they listen to their body]; *dostatok spánku* [sufficient sleep]; *nebyť závislý na nikom* [not being dependent on anyone]). On the other hand, importance is likewise attached to good relationships within the family and friends, to communication, and to helping others as reflected in responses such as *keď človek má rodinu priateľov* [when a person has family and friends], *prežívať spoločné chvíle s rodinou, priateľmi* [experiencing shared moments with family and friends], *komunikovať* [communicating]; *robiť radosť iným; vie pomôcť iným* [bringing joy to others; being able to help others].

The respondents also perceived health through the superordinate expressions such as *pevné zdravie* [sound health], *vitalita* [vitality], *oceniť zdravie* [to value one's health]. These expressions frame health as a positive value (*oceniť zdravie*) [to value one's health], as an indicator of human vitality (*vitalita*), and as a key component of overall life quality (*pevné zdravie*) [sound health]. By real (genuine) health, young Slovaks mean a state encompassing both physical and mental well-being (neither physical health alone nor mental health alone) but rather *rovnováhu fyzického a psychického zdravia* [a state of equilibrium between physical and mental health] (14,5%). This semantic dominant has two principal dimensions: physical health, signaled by a state *bez choroby a problémov* [without illness or problems] (12.8%), and mental health, manifested primarily in the fact that a person is *vyrovnaný* [emotionally balanced] (8,1%), *spokojný* [content], *cíti sa dobre* [feels well] (8.1%), and *šťastný* [happy] (5.6%). Beyond this semantic core (below 4%) there are weak connotations associated with undesirable external factors that affect the quality of health. These include primarily stress and worries (3.8%), medication and doctor visits (3.8%), pain (2.1%), and restrictions (2.1%). However, there are also beneficial external factors affecting health, such as physical activity (sport) (3%), good lifestyle habits (2.6%), a healthy lifestyle (1.7%), the pursuit of one's goals (1.7%).

Among the young generation of Slovak men and women, health is perceived exclusively as a positive value, which is not linked only to an individual's physical condition but rather to its balance with the mental (inner) state. Health, then, encompasses a broad range of inner processes that are reflected outwardly. Equally important are the external factors that affect an

individual. Rather than being a single momentary feature, health should be seen as a long-term process, a way of living. In the worldview of the young generation, health is anthropocentrized, meaning it is associated exclusively with the human being and not with other living organisms. It represents an essential component of a person's full-value existence both in basic social relations and within the broader society. It enables individuals to develop a more convincing awareness of themselves and their own value. The concept of health, in the view of Slovak university students, is highly stereotyped; their questionnaire responses do not exhibit a more pronounced habitual dimension associated with the awareness of absent or impaired health.

In addition to the worldview profiled from the perspective of young people, the linguistic worldview may, within a single national language, assume several distinct variants, including the scientific worldview, the poetic worldview, and the child's worldview, among others, in all of which both the subject and the object of cognition remain essential (Niesporek-Szamburska, 2004, p. 23 – 24). Individual languages differ in the aspects of reality to which their speakers attend, which they foreground, and which they perceive in a more differentiate way. Therefore, the linguistic worldview reflects the semantic interpretation of reality from the perspective of an ordinary subject, expresses that subject's mentality, corresponds to cognitive needs, and selects what is relevant to everyday life. This worldview is shaped by selective perspectives on one's environment and is reflected in a particular language and its linguistic means.

3.4 The Universal (Unspecified) Subject of Perception in the Anglo-American Concept of Profiling

Given that the Lublin school of ethnolinguistics developed independently of the Anglo-American tradition, its understanding of profiling can be seen as broadly comparable to that proposed by Langacker, even though the conceptual core of the term differs substantially in the two frameworks. The notion of profiling is thus employed differently in American cognitive grammar (Langacker, 1987) and in anthropological-cultural linguistics as developed by the Lublin ethnolinguistic school (Bartmiński, 1990). Whereas Langacker's approach is primarily oriented towards the description of universal operational semantic processes, Bartmiński's framework directs the analysis of

meaning, understood as a reflection of the speaker's knowledge of the world, towards the reconstruction of the image of the world encoded in a particular language and viewed from the perspective of a socio-culturally situated subject, not as an individual consciousness, but as a member of a given community or culture (Zinken, 2009, p. 3).

Within Slovak linguistics, Horecký's concept of the **logical spectrum** (Horecký, 1982, p. 18) closely corresponds to such an understanding of profile. As Horecký observes, the transition from sensory perception to conceptual understanding does not proceed directly but is mediated by a logical level of thought (Horecký, 1982, p. 19) and is therefore not direct. At this level, there occurs (in Horecký's terminology) a "description of the various diverse features of an object,"²⁴ in which individual attributes are expressed in the form of judgments and "sets of predicates are constructed,"²⁵ thereby forming the logical spectrum. By way of illustration, Horecký cites the word *parketáreň* [a parquet-making facility], whose logical spectrum may be outlined as follows: 1) place – a specific location, 2) function – something is manufactured there, 3) organization – the manufacturing process is organized in a particular way, 4) product – the items produced are parquet floors (Horecký, 1982, p. 18). In this way, an excessively generalized and non-linguistic notion remains represented at the level of thought through logical operations and statements. This logical spectrum then forms the profile of the given object, understood as a configuration of four aspects.

Consideration of profile and profiling as an organized and non-arbitrary arrangement of an object's aspects clarifies the importance and function of the term *schema*. In contrast to the profile, which reveals structural patterns linked to a specific culture and its language, the schema has a more universal character and does not arise from any specific subject of perception.

Together with the notion of a *prototype*, it derives from psychological research on perception and memory. Memory processes are guided by knowledge structures (schemas), understood as abstract patterns (mental planes or organized frameworks) formed by past experiences and influencing both the perception of further experiences as well as the problem-solving skills (Roeckelein, 1998, p. 68). The past functions here as an organized unit (rather than as a collection of isolated components), one that is apprehended as

²⁴ „opísaniu najrozličnejších znakov predmetu“ (Horecký, 1982, p. 18).

²⁵ „konštruujú sa súbory predikátov“ (Horecký, 1982, p. 18).

a general impression from which individual details are subsequently constructed. A schema may therefore be understood as a structured set of general concepts stored in memory and associated with objects, situations, events, and actions. General knowledge is grounded in schemas, which represent knowledge at all levels, from ideas and cultural facts to the meaning of individual words. Schemas encompass a network of relations among concepts and reflect their semantic structure (Rumelhart, 1980).

These knowledge structures may be represented in the form of networks, in which the individual concepts forming the network are interpreted as variables (Schwarzová, 2009, p. 75–76). The event schema is understood as a cognitive invariant (nem. *Prototypische Ereignisschemata* [*prototypical event schemas*] / pl. *schemat zdarzeń* [*event schema*]), one that may be expressed in various ways through the syntactic resources of language (Tabakowska, 2008; Pörings – Schmitz, 1999). According to Tabakowska (2008) and to Pörings and Schmitz (1999), seven fundamental schemas may be identified, each grounded in a prototypical verbal pattern: (*byť* [*to be*], *diať sa* [*to happen*], *robiť* [*to do/make*], *vnímať* [*to perceive*], *vidieť* [*to see*], and *mať* [*to have*]). The equivalents of these verbs are found across languages, reflecting the fact that the conceptualized event schemas are not limited by the symbolic inventory of any single language, but are rather of a universal character. These verbs are employed when inquiring into a specific type of event (e.g., in *Kto to je?* [*Who is that?*] – which corresponds to the verb *byť* [*to be*] and to the schema of being). The following event schemas are distinguished (Tabakowska, 2008, p. 116–125):

1. Schema of being (Who is it? What is it? What is someone like? What is something like?)
2. Schema of event (What is happening?)
3. Schema of activity (What is someone doing? What is someone engaged in?)
4. Schema of perception / experience (What does someone feel, see, etc.?)
5. Schema of possession (What does someone have / own?)
6. Schema of movement (Where / From where / To where is someone or something moving?)
7. Schema of transfer (Who/What gives something to whom?)

1. The prototypical verb *byť* [*to be*] functions both as an auxiliary and as a full lexical verb in the predicate of the schema of being. Within this schema,

the object occupies the primary position, which means that the principal participant of the event is the *patient* (understood as the bearer of a state). Depending on the semantic function attributed to the patient, the schema of being may be further specified as follows: a) object identification: *To vysoké pohorie za našim hotelom je Kľak* [The high mountain range behind our hotel is Kľak]; b) object classification: *Kľak je vrch* [Kľak is a mountain]; c) object characterization: *Kľak je vysoký 1351 m* [Kľak has an elevation of 1351 m]; d) object localization: *Ten vrch je v Malej Fatre* [The mountain is located in the Malá Fatra range]; e) verification of existence: *V Malej Fatre je nejaký vrch* [There exists a mountain in the Malá Fatra range].

In the **schema of being**, the semantic roles of the patient are expressed by the nominal component of the predicate to which the copular verb *byť* [be] is linked (as is the case in examples 1a, 1b, 1c). In example 1d, by contrast, the patient is located in space, and at this point *byť* [be] no longer functions as a copula but rather as a fully lexical verb denoting the existence of an entity. A similar interpretation applies to example 1e, where the existence of the given object (Kľak) within a certain space (in this case the Malá Fatra mountains) is being confirmed. The specific semantic role of the patient is therefore not decisive; what matters primarily is the expression of its existence itself (Tabakowska, 2008, p. 117).

2. The verb *diať sa* [to happen] functions as the prototypical verb of the **schema of event**. Within this conceptual schema, emphasis falls on the ongoing process and on its participant, who may or may not be actively involved, but who is not the initiator of the energy manifested in the unfolding event. This participant functions as an energy **recipient** (as a prototypical patient) whereas in the *schema of being*, the participant is viewed primarily as a bearer of a state. This role of the patient, realized in the position of the subject or clause nucleus, prompts the question: *Čo sa deje s objektom?* [What is happening to the object?] Illustrative examples include: a) *Počasie sa zhoršilo* [The weather has worsened], *Strom rastie* [The tree is growing] *Pripravuje sa voda na čaj* [The water for the tea is being prepared], *Pes šteká* [The dog is barking], *Matka pomaly starne* [The mother is slowly aging]. The schema of event also encom-

passes clauses with an unsegmented grammatical nucleus, that is, clauses not divided into subject and predicate: f) *Prší / Sneží / Ochladilo sa* [It is raining / snowing / It has become colder]. From the perspective of cognitive grammar, such one-member sentences contain an implicit patient/paciensa. In the sentence *Ochladilo sa*, the implicit object is *the weather* as is evident from the question *Čo sa deje s počasím?* [What is happening to the weather?]. Whereas in the sentences as *Prší* [It's raining], *Hrmí* [It's thundering], *Sneží* [It's snowing] the implicit object may be the very **location** of the event itself (Tabakowska, 2008, p. 117).

3. In the **schema of activity**, the prototypical verb is *robiť* [to do, to make], together with its equivalents. In a two-part clause, one participant functions as the initiator (as the agent) who intentionally produces the activity expressed by the verb. Within this schema, two limiting cases may be distinguished: on the one hand, the agent produces energy without any recipient (*Syn vstal skoro ráno* [The son rose early in the morning]). On the other, the agent both produces and transfers energy to an object (*Nakoniec svoju báseň roztrhal* [He eventually tore up his poem]). Between these poles lie a number of intermediate stages, as may be seen in the following examples: a) *Syn vstal skoro ráno* [The son got up early in the morning]; b) *Celý deň písal* [He spent the whole day writing] where the energy-receiving object is irrelevant; c) *Popísal veľa papiera* [He covered a lot of paper sheets with writing] where the effect on the object is evident⁴; d) *Napísal báseň* (He composed a poem] where the object is created; and e) *Nakoniec svoju báseň roztrhal* [He eventually tore up his poem], where the effect on the object is destructive.

The schema of perception/experience is formed by prototypical verbs of sensory perception and intellectual states, including full lexical verbs such as *vidieť* [to see], *vedieť* [to know], *cítiť* [to feel], *počuť* [to hear], *vnímať* [to perceive], and *myslieť* [to think], as well as the auxiliary *chcieť* [to want]. Within this schema, the participant does not play the passive role of a patient, nor the active role of an agent; but rather functions as the centre of sensory experience, emotional state, cognitive processes, and desires. This participant is referred to as the experiencer. Alongside the experiencer, clauses belonging to the schema of perception typically contain a second participant,

namely the patient, which may be expressed either as a material object or as another event, for example by means of a subordinate clause: *Žena vidí, že v izbe je zase neporiadok* [The woman sees that the room is messy again]; *The man feels his knee cracking* [*Muž cíti, ako mu puká v kolene.*].

5. The prototypical verb *mať* [to have] represents **the schema of possession**, which expresses the bond between a personal possessor and the possessed object. There is no actual transfer of energy from an agent to a patient, since the participant does not consciously perform an action; rather, that participant functions as the bearer of a state or as the possessor of an object. For this reason, the role of the possessor approximates that of a patient. Schema of possession displays several variants: a) possession of a physical object: *Starosta má veľký dom* [The mayor has a large house]; b) possession of an abstract object: *Výherca mal šťastie v lotérii* [The winner had luck in the lottery]; c) a bearer of a state possesses the cause of that state: *Dieťa má veľkú chrípku* [The child has a severe flu]; and d) an unit possesses one of its parts: *Dom má okná* [The house has windows]; e) Kinship relation: *Moja matka má štyri sestry* [My mother has four sisters].
6. The prototypical verb of this schema is *pohybovať sa* [to move]. The schema arises through a combination of the *event* or *working* schema with spatial elements, in which the beginning of an activity or state (the source), the space through which the object moves (the path), and the place toward which the object is directed (the goal) are all relevant. The source–path–goal schema is a synthesis of the spatial relations expressed by **the schema of movement** and each of its components is as important as the others. This is evident from the fact that they may each occur in independent clauses: *Ján vyšiel z izby* [John walked out of the room] (source). *Vystúpil po rebríku* [He climbed up the ladder] (path). *Prišiel na strechu* [He came onto the roof] (goal). The schema of movement may be understood literally, where it expresses spatial relations, as in *Ján vyšiel z prízemí na strechu*, *Ján vyšiel z prízemí po schodoch na strechu* [John walked from the ground floor to the roof; John went from the ground floor up the stairs to the roof], or temporally, as in *Vyučovanie trvalo od ôsmej hodiny ráno do tretej poobede* [The lesson lasted from eight o'clock in the morning until three in the afternoon]. At the same time, metaphorical and

more abstract meanings are also attested, for example *Počasie sa zmenilo zo zamračeného na slnečné sotva v priebehu hodiny; Katarína vyrástla zo škaredého dievčatka na skutočnú krásku* [The weather changed from cloudy to sunny in barely an hour; Katarína grew from an ugly little girl into a real beauty].

7. The prototype verb *dať* [to give, hand over] represents **the schema of transfer**. This schema integrates elements of the schema of *possession* with those of *event, activity, or motion*. It includes an initial state (in which the first participant – the possessor —is specified) and a final state (in which the participant who acquires the transferred by the first participant is identified), as in example *Starosta odovzdal prokurátovi všetky dokumenty* [The mayor handed over all the documents to the prosecutor].

The modification of each prototypical schema is determined by the way the event is conceptualized. The initial stage in the modification of a syntactic structure derived from an invariant event thus reflects the speaker's preferences as an integral component of the natural cognitive process.

4 THE CANON OF VALUES IN LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

The notion of a canon of values occupies a prominent place in ethnolinguistics, since it may be regarded as one of its fundamental conceptual points of departure. Although values and evaluative judgments permeate cognitive processes as a whole, the immediate relationship between language and values, together with the extent to which values may influence the structure and functioning of language, remains difficult to define with precision.

4.1 Conceptual Definition of the Term “Value”

A wide range of linguistic approaches addresses the functioning of values in language, the lexical designation of values, and the semantics of evaluative expressions. The term **value** itself is expressed through a variety of designations, including standard words (Pisarek, 2003) and collective symbols

(Fleischer, 2003). What appears to be crucial in this context is the fact that a value is constituted by a subject–object relation; that is, it is always linked both to the evaluating subject and to the evaluated object (Puzynina, 1997, p. 275). Such an individual or collective evaluative subject (Majer-Baranowska, 2003, p. 243) differentiates among extralinguistic entities by emphasizing their relevance to the subject itself and to its motivational world. This process of ‘meaning-enhancement’ is transferred into the subject’s mental representation of the object (entity), which is interpreted in axiology terms (through the identification of its attributes as ‘good’) and is subsequently projected into language (Dolník, 2010, p. 46 – 49). As an axiological term, the word *value* is ambiguous and highly general in meaning: it may denote ‘what is considered good’ (a positive value, or simply a value) but also ‘what is considered bad’ (a negative value, or an anti-value). According to Puzynina (2014), the concepts expressed by the words *good* and *bad* form the basis of all evaluation: ‘good is that which is as we wish it to be,’ whereas ‘bad is that which is as we do not wish it to be’ (Puzynina, 2014, p. 11).

The etymology of the word *dobrý* [good] (from Indo-European *dhabh-* ‘to put together suitably, suitable’ (Králík, 2015, p. 128)) indicates an original meaning of ‘appropriate’, ‘fitting’, or ‘as it ought to be,’ from which its later, more specific moral and psychological senses appear to have developed. By contrast, the word *zlý* [bad] (from Proto-Slavic *zъlъ-*, related to Old Indian *hvarate*) originally referred to something deviating from a straight direction, that is, from the proper course in the mental and moral domain (Králík, 2015, p. 686). In accordance with the principle that good is defined through its contrast with evil (Masłowska, 2014, p. 181), research on values in language and culture revolves primarily around the fundamental oppositions *good* versus *evil*, and *good* versus *bad*, oppositions that make possible the qualification of actions and attitudes.

If evaluation is connected with individual volition (which determines what is regarded as good or bad), variation in degree and orientation appears inevitable. People differ not only in their interests, but also in their philosophical, political, and religious views, and these differences give rise to difficulties in interpersonal relations. However, there are many objects of evaluation that tend to be assessed in a similar way by members of a given culture. Health, peace, tranquillity, and love are generally valued positively, whereas illness, war, and danger tend to be perceived negatively. The problem arises when

attention shifts to the semantic constitution of such objects, that is, when one asks what concepts such as love, goodness, or peace in fact mean.

Scholars likewise differ in their views on which concepts and linguistic expressions relate to the object of evaluation (to values). According to one approach evaluative meaning is embedded in every concept, encompassing everyday vocabulary, emotional terms, and culturally specific key lexical items (Wierzbicka, 1999, p. 522). Other approaches narrow the field to those linguistic expressions that denote values transcending mere feeling and arising from a relation of love towards another person, that is, from the fact of “being worthy”, as in the cases of love, favour, gratitude, and forgiveness (Zaron, 1985, p. 10). Still other scholars privilege the evaluation of primarily non-object entities, i.e., activities, states, and processes (Arutyunova, 1988). In J. Bartmiński’s view, the values that stand at the center of attention are those that are important from a national and social perspective, such as *matka, otcina, pravica – ľavica, dom, ľud, Nemec* [mother, homeland, the right–left political spectrum, home, people, German], among others. Such values form the foundation of every culture: they determine the direction of human actions, shape emotions, and motivate people to act (Bartmiński, 2006, p. 8), even though both their role and their linguistic designation may change over time. Values embodied in language and in texts (within this ‘second reality’), are therefore understood as cultural symbols linked to culture as a whole and characterised by strongly marked positive as well as negative connotations (Anusiewicz, Dąbrowska & Fleischer, 2000, p. 19).

A key feature of values is that their anthropocentric character, since they relate to objects that matter to the human being within either the physical or the spiritual domain. They enter into the relationship between the real world and its idealized model, that is, between reality and norms that are socially stabilized to varying degrees. The more firmly such norms are established within a society, the less prominent the role of the subjective factor becomes in individual act of evaluations. According to Arutyunova (1988, p. 60), values fulfil several functions: a) they coordinate the relationship between the human being and the objective world, b) they motivate and guide human behaviour, c) they operate as didactic and regulatory norms, and d) they belong to the sphere of stimuli produced by speakers and the corresponding responses of recipients.

4.2. Axiolinguistics

A number of theories have sought to explain the relationship between linguistics and axiology. Within linguistics itself, however, two principal approaches have achieved particular prominence, namely those associated with Jadwiga Puzynina and Tomasz Krzeszowski. Whereas J. Puzynina proceeds from a structuralist framework, in which values are treated as a set of facts that can be distinguished from language itself (Puzynina, 1997, p. 275), T. Krzeszowski approaches values from a cognitive perspective, regarding them as phenomena rooted in language (Krzeszowski, 1999, p. 12–13). Puzynina explains the relationship between linguistics and axiology by means of two guiding questions: whereas axiology investigates the essence of the concepts such as ‘hodnota’, ‘krása’, ‘dobro’[value, beauty, good], linguistics examines how speakers perceive the content of specific linguistic expressions within a given language and at a particular moment in time (Puzynina, 1982, p. 24–25). Building on the work of A. Martinet and his successors, T. Krzeszowski, by contrast, argues that axiology is identical with linguistic semantics, thereby implying a particularly close relation between value and meaning (Krzeszowski, 1999, p. 17–18).

According to J. Bartmiński, values constitute one of the central concerns of axiolinguistic research (Puzynina, 1992, 1997; Wierzbicka, 1985, 1999; Fleischer, 1998, 2003; Pisarek, 2002, 2003; Bartmiński, 2009c, etc.). They represent an essential and inherent component of language and of the linguistic worldview. Values are linked to viewpoint, to the perspective through which external reality is perceived, and indeed the linguistic worldview itself can be understood as deriving from a system of presumed values. Building on this basis, Bartmiński argues that values participate in the process of categorization and, consequently, in the conceptualization of reality (Bartmiński, 2003, p. 63). The study of language therefore makes it possible to investigate values, their hierarchy, the cultural orientation of the evaluative system, as well as the patterns and methods of evaluation characteristic of a given linguistic community.

Bartmiński further suggests that all values are connected with language in three principal ways: language preserves and transmits values; language communicates information about values; and language serves as a tool of evaluation (Bartmiński, 2003, p. 64–65). Each of these dimensions opens

up a different research perspective and, at the same time, a distinct research program.

The first of these concerns language as a tool of evaluation. Language offers a wide range of means suited to the formulation of evaluative judgments. Evaluation is realized not only through lexical expressions, which constitute the primary instrument of semantic evaluation (many words being exclusively or predominantly evaluative), but also through grammatical, textual, and phonetic means. A defining feature of purely evaluative expressions is that they operate through contrast, for example *good/bad*, *positive/negative*. Antonymic pairs (value versus anti-value) are formed across a number of lexical-semantic categories: ethical values (honest vs. dishonest), social values (friendly vs. hostile), cognitive values (true vs. false), hedonistic values (pleasant vs. unpleasant), and aesthetic values (beautiful vs. ugly). It is through their functioning within oppositional structures that the set of canonical (normative) values specific to a given culture can be identified. At the same time, evaluation may be explicit or implicit, manifest or concealed, and thus may display varying degrees of evaluative explicitness.

The second one concerns language as a source of information about the values accepted and internalized by participants in communication. From this cognitive perspective, the question is what language reveals about values and what kinds of information concerning values can be derived from it. Values are embedded in language: in word meanings, lexical combinations (collocations and phraseological units), proverbs, and ultimately in entire texts and utterances. The outcome of such research may be a reconstruction of the value system expressed in a national language at a given stage of its development and within a specific style or genre (e.g., conversational, journalistic, essayistic, political texts). Values are always the values of someone who conceptualizes and evaluates reality, that is, of a speaker and of the speaker's way of thinking. In this sense, the perspective in question opens up the possibility of anthropological-cultural research into language, understood as inquiry into the mentality and cultural formation of a given communicative community as a whole.

The third one concerns language as a bearer of values. Language may be examined in terms of the values attributed to it, the values manifested within it, and the values articulated about language itself. A language can be described as *pekný* [beautiful], *jasný* [clear], *presný* [precise], *elegantný*

[elegant], *dôstojný* [dignified], *každodenný* [everyday / colloquial], *melodický* [melodic], *obrazný* [figurative], but also, conversely, as *škaredý* [ugly], *hocijaký* [arbitrary], *agresívny* [aggressive], *vulgárny* [vulgar]. This way of understanding the language of values is relevant to researchers concerned with national languages from the perspective of linguistic practice, correctness, appropriateness of expressions, and codified norms.

4.3 The Value System and Canon of Values

Values belong to various semantic categories and their systematization helps to clarify what people value, what they reject, and what they condemn, whether in life, in thought, or in verbal expression. On this basis, J. Puzynina proposes a typology of values (Puzynina, 1992, p. 20–43):

1. vital values are fundamentally grounded in biology, yet they are also intertwined with human feelings: life and death, health and illness; ecological values and anti-values likewise fall within this category.
2. social values relate to those elements of society that are regarded as worthy or, conversely, as bad. Evaluative judgments in this domain vary widely, since some individuals value tradition highly, whereas others perceive it as limiting and unnecessary, or even ignore it entirely; similarly, some value democracy, while others regard it as a source of social ills.
3. cognitive values are linked to a particularly high evaluation of truth (in the epistemological sense), as well as of education, science, and skill.
4. moral values are based on the belief that individual is obliged to reject all forms of social and personal wrongdoing, injustice, misery, and consequently to act in ways that serve the genuine good of particular people and their life situations. This is connected with a high evaluation of responsibility, kindness, and truthfulness, and a correspondingly negative view of irresponsibility, indifference to human suffering and injustice, dishonesty, and lying.
5. aesthetic values are oriented toward the notion of beauty and toward sensitivity to forms of beauty in (literature, music, and the visual arts).
6. religious values possess a transcendental character and, according to certain perspectives, are orient toward an incomprehensible Mystery that exists and offers hope to humankind. Within monotheistic traditions, God functions as the central positive pole, while Satan represents the negative

counterpart; around these poles there is organized a complex network of positive and negative sacred values.

In lived experience, however, many values exhibit a syncretic character, in that they simultaneously belong to several of the categories outlined above. The family, for instance, represents a positive value linked to vital need for closeness, safety, security, and satisfaction, yet it is also frequently intertwined with religious and moral beliefs.

The axiological canon of any nation is formed by a system of fundamental values established during significant moments of socio-political life, and it serves as the foundation of documents in which such values are prominently articulated. At such moments, two facts appear to be of particular importance: first, which set of values is regarded as significant for a given ethnic group, culture, or nation; and second, how these values are hierarchically structured and what relations exist among them. The canon is a set of values characteristic of a given culture and structurally organized in a manner resembling a “magnetic field,” that is, one with bipolar as well as multipolar lines arranged around specific central axes (Kania, 1994, p. 39). The values that remain “alive” within a culture are not merely those perceived as important, but more significantly those that have been internalized and integrated into everyday life (Kania, 1994, p. 40). This means not only values that are verbally declared, but especially all those that are actually practiced. A canon of values is based, on the one hand, on stability and continuity, yet, on the other, it also allows for dynamism and development, since the canon itself forms part of culture and is therefore shaped by historical change.

The values taken into consideration are those that inspire, obligate, and guide the actions of society and of individuals, while also shaping behavior within a given national culture. Within the canon of values, various elements appear at several levels (Bartmiński & Grzeszczak, 2014, p. 25):

1. at the ontological level (declared values – practiced values)
2. at the chronological level (traditional values – more recent values)
3. at the modal level (values presented descriptively – values presented normatively)
4. at the level of scope (individual values – social values.)

The compilation of a canon of values faces several significant challenges. J. Szacki (2007, p. 6) draws attention to a number of these problems. The cultural canon is continually shaped by the pressures of collective ambitions and frustrations, expressed through various ideologies which, to differing degrees, recognize that cultural continuity is grounded in the existence of common and enduring values. At the same time, however, the value canon is necessarily changeable and exposed to constant comparison or criticism from various social subjects who distance themselves from it. The canon of cultural values necessarily belongs to someone: it belongs to the community or society that has formulated it and recognized it as its own. Yet such a community cannot easily be formed by an entity such as Europe, where differences, disputes, tensions, and conflicts remain open-ended, offering no clear starting point for the good life and requiring individuals to determine for themselves what suits them best, as Szacki critically observes (1994, p. 22).

A possible response to the situation created by such a society is offered by contemporary anthropological-cultural linguistics, which regards the simple opposition between the collective and the individual as inadequate. Instead of remaining at the systemic level common to all members of society, it becomes necessary to shift the focus towards participants engaged in a single type of discourse situated within a specific socio-cultural context (Bartmiński & Grzeszczak, 2014, p. 26).

Within discourse, values as axiological concepts represent integrated fields operating simultaneously on lexical, semantic, thematic, and ideological levels. This system of lexical-semantic fields is formed along two axes (Bartmiński – Grzeszczak, 2014, p. 38):

1. on the syntagmatic axis, formed on the principle of succession of complexes, collocations, and sets;
2. on the paradigmatic axis, formed on the principle of equivalence and opposition.

The intensive interconnection of concepts enables to identify all conceptual nodes and ultimately leads to the axiological core of the national language, that is, its nucleus formed by the most extensively networked concepts. Such an axiological core represents a central component of the canon, yet this does not imply the inclusion of values that lie beyond the core itself.

Three fundamental methods of reconstructing the canon of values may be distinguished, abstracted from analyses of the semantics of value terms. The first method builds on the analysis of the universal system of values formulated by J. Puzynina and T. Krzeszowski. This is a speculative method that encompasses universal values as well as fundamental oppositions (e.g., near/far, self/other, masculine/feminine) the ways in which these are manifested within particular national cultures. The second method is based on empirical research (especially questionnaire-based research; Bartmiński, 2014), in which open questionnaires is used, are preferred, whereas closed questionnaires, offering only a fixed choice of responses or limited space for one's own formulation, are regarded as less appropriate. The third method is based on the analysis of selected texts, which allows values to be identified through speech acts functioning as reflections of cultural values (Wierzbicka, 1999). In the sense of activity, evaluation is always realized in utterances and in the process of text production. In a text, on the one hand, evaluation represents the outcome of earlier evaluative acts embedded in previous discourse, and, on the other, it serves as a tool through which new evaluative interpretations are produced. It is preserved primarily within texts as products of speech and gradually becomes conventionalized. In this regard, its evaluative potential undergoes continual transformation.

For certain textual genres, evaluation is their primary function. Such texts include, for example, horoscopes and dream books, since research has demonstrated that one of the defining features of these genres is the evaluation of dream images (objects, events, and their qualities) according to the fundamental good–bad dichotomy. In other textual genres, evaluation is shaped by historical and socio-cultural conditions, by the author's worldview, opinions, and attitudes, and, in the case of literary works, by their poetics. Different styles carry different degrees and forms of axiological load. If evaluation is understood in its emotional dimension, it is most strongly manifested in everyday behavior and colloquial speech, whereas official, scientific, and formal linguistic expression tends to present itself as value-neutral. At the same time, however, there also exists intellectual evaluation. Although scientific discourse is by nature non-emotive, it follows its own system of values, i.e., cognitive values connected with the concept of truth, as well as heuristic, pragmatic, moral, and at times even aesthetic values (Gajda, 2001). Likewise, the impersonal style of official documents, which does not permit

expressive language, tends toward precision and is grounded in values such as justice and the maintenance of social order among citizens and institutional members (Wojtak, 2001).

III COGNITIVE ETHNOLINGUISTICS IN SLOVAK RESEARCH STUDIES

1 WORK AS A TRADITIONAL VALUE AND ITS CURRENT FORMS

As Ján Stanislav observes, the terms *práca* [work] and *robota* [labour] „contain within them a fragment of our social history”²⁶ (Stanislav, 1950, p. 43). It may therefore be argued that the relationship of Slovaks to work, across the various phases of the nation’s history, has had a decisive impact both on the quality of personal and family life, as well as on the broader level of the country’s social development. Work is likewise an anthropocentric notion, one that is linked, across all spheres of social life, to the human being and to the capacities inherent in human nature. As the Catechism of the Catholic Church states, “the fundamental value of work depends on the person himself, who is both its source and its goal”²⁷ (2013, p. 584). The individual participates in a variety of domains for which personal responsibility is assumed, and in this sense, conscientious work contributes to the good of others and of society as a whole, while at the same time being understood as serving the improvement of the world. From this perspective, work may be viewed as a value with a rich semantic structure embedded in the collective consciousness of the nation.

1.1 WORK as a Value in Slovak Language Dictionaries

Contemporary Slovak language dictionaries (e.g., *Krátky slovník slovenského jazyka* [Short Dictionary of the Slovak Language] and *Slovník slovenského jazyka* III [Dictionary of the Slovak Language III]), do not draw any particularly marked distinction between *práca* [work] and *robota* [labour],

²⁶ „sa skrýva kus našich sociálnych dejín“ (Stanislav, 1950, s. 43).

²⁷ Základná hodnota práce závisí od samého človeka, ktorý je jej pôvodcom i cieľom (Catechism of the Catholic Church, 2013, p. 584).

indeed, the two terms are presented as near-synonymous and are characterized by the following semantic features: [1] to make physical or mental effort upon something; [2] a social phenomenon: a source of income, employment; [3] intentional activity directed toward the achievement or production of something; [4] effort or exertion as such; [5] forced unpaid labour; [6] the result of a work process; [7] activity, operation or functioning; [8] a completed product, the result of work, a work; and [9] a physical term: the product of force and the distance across which that force overcomes resistance.

These dictionary definitions are oriented more towards the content of meaning than towards its range; they aim at a closed and self-contained description, offering the information necessary for work to be factually identified and distinguished from other phenomena of the world (Vaňková et al., 2005, p. 79). If, however, the aim is to apprehend *work* as a value, attention must be directed to its fullest possible semantic scope and depth. A valuable resource in this respect is provided by Slovak proverbs and sayings, that is, by the paremiological corpus of Slovak, which has been remarkably preserved through the lifelong collecting work of Adolf Peter Zátarecký.

1.2 Semantic Aspects of the Concept of Work in Zátarecký's Collection of Slovak Proverbs and Sayings

Since 1863 (the year in which Matica slovenská was founded), A. P. Zátarecký, an outstanding educator and, above all, a collector of Slovak folklore, collected an extensive paremiological corpus (comprising approximately 13,000 units) and organized this material into proverbs and sayings²⁸, of which roughly 120 units relate to work and labour.

The specific folkloric, but especially semantic, values embodied in these proverbs are grounded in the experiences of earlier generations and reflect their customs, traditions, and ways of life, that is, the archetypes patterns associated with the Slovak context. These units consist primarily of prov-

²⁸ Zátarecký's Slovak Proverbs, Sayings, and Idioms was first published in Czech in Prague in 1897. Another Slovak editions were published in the years 1965, 1974, 1975, 2005. The most recent edition contains a completely new section on Slovak riddles with their solutions..

erbs²⁹ and sayings³⁰, which fall within the scope of two academic disciplines: paremiology and phraseology.

Possessing the structure of a sentence or a compound sentence, these units function as texts exhibiting distinct genre-specific features (Ološtiak – Ivanová, 2013, p. 205). Their considerable quantitative range at the same time points to a broad semantic spectrum, which may be observed across several semantic domains (aspects): the physical, social, existential, psychological, and locational, temporal, ethical, religious, and national.

The physical aspect (F) of the concept of work is associated primarily with the means through which labour is performed. It may refer to parts of the human body, especially the hands (*Ide mu práca od ruky* [The work goes smoothly from his hand] (Záturecký, 1974, p. 265); *Má plné ruky práce* [He has his hands full of work] (ibid., p. 265); *Dal boh vtákom krídla a ľuďom ruky* [God gave birds wings and humans hands] (ibid., p. 258)), or the feet (*Rúčky vyrobili, nôžky vybehali* [Hands crafted it, feet fetched it] (ibid., p. 260)), which remain essential even when additional tools are employed, as suggested by (*Dobry stroj v ruce – polovic práce* [A good tool in one's hand is half the work] (ibid., p. 369)). Slovak proverbs also refer to body parts associated not with physical labour, but with mental activity (*Pracuje až sa mu jazyk potí* [He works so hard that even his tongue sweats] (ibid., p. 268)). Such activity, however, does not bring the expected profit, as (*Peniaze jazykom nevysekáš* [You won't carve out money with your tongue] (ibid., p. 260)), makes clear, nor is it regarded as real work, but rather as idle talk, as suggested by (*Menej hovor a viac rob - Poviac rob a pomenej hovor. Poviac rob a pomenej vrav - Menej vrav, viac sprav!* [Speak less and work more – Work more and speak less. Work more and talk less – Talk less, do more!])

²⁹ For the proverb, a generalizing statement with a didactic intention and a generalizing conclusion is characteristic, within which a command, prohibition, advice, or recommendation is expressed. Therefore, it always has an imperative form and contains delimiting pronouns (e.g., *nijaký* [no/none], *každý* [everyone], *všetci* [all], *nikto* [no one], etc.), which emphasize the gnomic nature of the proverb. No component of a proverb can be changed, and no components can be inserted into it.

³⁰ A saying (*porekadlo*) is characterized by greater specificity and immediacy to a given situation, as if a certain matter or a less generalized life situation were simply being stated; therefore, the didactic intention in a saying is either completely absent or only implicit. Linguistically, it often employs the past tense of the main verb. Sayings are characterized by relative openness, and their verbal components may be modified. The most characteristic clauses in sayings is *aký – taký* [as... so...].

(ibid., p. 431), *Kto nemá roboty, začne si klebety*) [Those with no work begin to gossip] (ibid., p. 443)).

By contrast, it is above all manual labour that gives a person a sense of fulfilment, as in (*Robí, len mu tak práca v rukách horí* [He works so eagerly that the work burns in his hands] (ibid., p. 266)) and that brings a tangible and meaningful result, as expressed in (*To som si ja týmito hriešnymi rukami vyrobil* [I made this with these sinful hands of mine] (ibid., p. 266)). At the same time, such labour is often physically demanding, as is evident from (*Robí, dobre si tie ruky nezoderie* [He works, he'll barely keep from wearing out his hands] (ibid., p. 266); (*Robí, dobre si tie ruky nezoderie* [He works, he'll hardly keep from losing his hands] (ibid., p. 266)), and it has a direct impact on the worker's health and vitality, as in (*Od roboty človek nestustne, iba jeho žily* [Work won't make a person fat, only his veins] (ibid., p. 258)); *Od roboty kone dochnú* [Horses die from work] (ibid., p. 259); *Na hore, na dole, krvavé mozole; kto neumie robiť, môž' na dol nechodiť* [Uphill, downhill, bloody blisters; whoever cannot work has no business walking the valley] (ibid., p. 264)). The worker therefore needs to rest as (*Po práci chuť odpočinok* [After work, rest tastes good] (ibid., p. 258)) indicates, and must regain strength through food, as suggested by (*Kto vie pilno pracovať, vie aj pilno jesť* [Who can work diligently can also eat heartily] (ibid., p. 261)). However, an individual's physical capacity for labour may remain unused or unnecessary, as in (*Mnoho rúk, málo práce* [Many hands, little work] (ibid., p. 264)).

Existential aspect (B): presents work as an essential part and prerequisite of life itself, as in the proverb *Robota je mati života* [Work is the mother of life] (ibid., p. 258), since it is understood as the principal means by which an individual secures everything necessary for survival (*Kto pracuje, má, čo potrebuje* [He who works has what he needs] (ibid., p. 260)); *Kto chce jesť, nech pracuje* [He who wants to eat should work] (ibid., p. 259); *Kto chce chleba, pracuj, čo treba* [If you want bread, work as needed] (ibid., p. 260); *Za kus chleba robiť treba – Za kus chleba skočiť treba* [For a piece of bread one must work – For a piece of bread one must hasten] (ibid., p. 260)).

A direct correlation is thus established between the quality of a person's work and the quality of that person's life, as reflected in formulations such as *Čo robíš, sebe robíš* [Whatever you do, you ultimately do to yourself] (ibid., p. 363); *Kto zle robí, sebe robí. Kto dobre, sebe dobre; kto zle, sebe zle* [He who works poorly harms himself; he who works well benefits himself;

good work brings good fortune, poor work brings misfortune] (ibid., p. 363); *Ako robíme, tak sa máme. Ako si kto robí, tak sa má* [As you work, so you fare. Our well-being reflects our labour. One's life turns out as one's work does (ibid., p. 363)]; *Kto ako robí, tak sa mu vodí. Kto ako robí tak mu pán-boh platí* [As one works, so one prospers]; As one works, so God repays him (ibid., p. 506); *Kto o čom robí, o tom chce žiť* [What one works for is what one wants to live for] (ibid., p. 260)). Work therefore creates the conditions for a good life: it enables a person to acquire possessions, as in (*Kto robí, vyrobí* [He who works, produces] (ibid., p. 260)), to enjoy it appropriately (*Roboty do soboty a peňazí do nedele* [Work until Saturday and have money until Sunday] (ibid., p. 248)) and to improve one's material condition, as in (*Kde je robota, tam je i med* [Where there is work, there is honey] (ibid., p. 260)).

At the same time, however, the relationship between work and existential security is not represented as unambiguous, since even hard work may lead to hardship rather than fulfilment, as the following examples (*Robím ako hovädo, a nemôžem k ničomu prísť* [I work like a beast and cannot get anywhere] (ibid., p. 248)), *Robota veľká a chova tenká, deň dlhý a v kapsi nič* [The work is heavy and the food meager, the day long and the pocket empty] (ibid., p. 248), *Len aby človek robil a na hmle žil* [A person works and works, yet lives on nothing but thin air] (ibid., p. 247)). In some cases, indeed, it is precisely such hardship that compels a person to work even more intensely, as in (*Núdzda do roboty zobúdzda* [Necessity awakens one to work] (ibid., p. 248)). By contrast, laziness and unwillingness to work are perceived negatively and are consistently associated with a diminished quality of life, whether in the inability to secure one's basic needs, as in (*Kto nepracuje, nech neje* [Who does not work should not eat] (ibid., p. 259), *Kto nepracuje, nemá* [Those who do not work have nothing] (ibid., p. 260); *Nerobme nič, nebudeme mať nič* [If we do nothing, we will have nothing] (ibid., p. 243)), in the inability to provide for a large family, as in (*Kde viac rúk do misy ako do práce, tam je bieda – Kde viac rúk do misy ako do práce, tam bývajú hladý* [Where there are more hands in the bowl than at work, there is poverty – Where there are more hands in the bowl than at work, hunger follows] (ibid., p. 264), *K mise mnoho, do roboty málo* [Many at the table, few at the task] (ibid., p. 263)), or in dependence on the property of others (*Kto nechce pracovať, bude skoro žobrať* [Who refuses to work will soon be begging] (ibid., p. 262), *Hanba kradnúť, ale nie pracovať – Nehanba praco-*

vat', lež kradnúť [It is shameful to steal, not to work – Work is no disgrace; stealing is] (ibid., p. 258)).

The locational aspect (L) emphasizes the environment in which work takes place. If a person fails to cultivate the home through work, as suggested by *Kto nemá práce, nech si pec zvala a znovu stavia* [One who has no work might as well topple his oven and rebuild it] (ibid., p. 261)), that person merely wanders about aimlessly and finds no meaningful occupation, as in (*Bez práce sa len tak tmlí po dome* [Without work he merely wanders idly around the home] ibid., p. 268)). In earlier periods, it was often necessary to leave one's familiar home and go abroad in search of labour and bread, as in (*Bárs i pôjde medzi Rusi, i tam za chlieb robiť musí – I na Rusi robiť musí* [Even if he goes among the Russians, there he must work for bread as well – Even in Russia he must labour] (ibid., p. 260)).

Temporal aspect (T): emphasizes that every activity has its proper time (*Ked' máš jest', jedz; ked' máš robiť, rob* [When it is time to eat, eat; when it is time to work, work] (ibid., p. 369)), and that work is no exception (*Rob, kým je čas*. [Work while there is still time] (ibid., p. 367)). Work is also embedded in the rhythm of the calendar year, as in (*Kto v lete nerobí, ten v zime nedrobí* [Those who does not work in summer does not crumble bread in winter] (ibid., p. 260)) and in the rhythm of the week, as in (*Drž sa roboty do soboty* [Keep to your work until Saturday]. (ibid., p. 262)). An individual's relationship to work is therefore shaped in his attitude toward the time at which the work ought to be done. On the one hand, a positive attitude to work is associated with timely action and an orderly alternation of labour and rest, as suggested by (*Čo urobíš v piatok, neostane ti na sobotu*. [What you finish on Friday won't burden your Saturday] (ibid., p. 369), *Dneská rob, zajtra hop!* [Work today, enjoy tomorrow] (ibid., p. 262), *Ráno rob, večer hop!* [Work in the morning, celebrate in the evening] (ibid., p. 262)), in such a case, working time passes quickly, as in (*Kto má prácu, tomu je čas nikdy nie dlhý* [For those who have work, time is never long] (ibid., p. 261), *Robí, drhne vo dne, v noci* [He works and labours tirelessly, day and night] (ibid., p. 266)).

On the other hand, a negative attitude to work is manifested in continual postponement, as in (*Kto nemiluje robotu, vždy svätí sobotu* [Those who dislikes work treats every Saturday as a holiday (ibid., p. 264), *Kto nerád robí, tomu je vždy sviatok* [For the one who dislikes working, every day is a holiday] (ibid., p. 264), *Robota neutečie, počká* [Work does not flee—

it simply waits] (ibid., p. 264)). Such postponement affects the quality of work itself, as expressed in (*Na zajtra kto odkladá, nedosiahne to, čo hľadá. – Odkladaná robota nikdy dobrá nebýva*. [Those who postpone tasks until tomorrow rarely achieve what they desire – Work postponed is never good work] (ibid., p. 368 – 369), *Práca odkladaná nebýva dokonaná* [Work that is postponed is never completed] (ibid., p. 369)). Temporally, the beginning of work is of particular importance, since the result depends to a considerable degree on its initial phase, as in (*Dobry počiatok – polovica práce* [A good beginning is half the task] (ibid., p. 369), *Polovičná práca, žiadna práca* [Half-done work is no work at all] (ibid., p. 354. 354)). Equally important, is the tempo of the work (*Chytrá robota dobrá nebýva* [Hasty work is never good] (ibid., p. 356), *Rob sám, za druhým nečakaj* [Work on your own—do not wait for others] (ibid., p. 369)), a tempo that is at times explicitly compared with the pace of eating through which the fruits of labour are consumed, as in (*Chytrý jedz, chytrý rob*. [Eat quickly, work quickly] (ibid., p. 261), *Kto je chytrý v jedení, je chytrý aj v robote* [One who eats quickly also works quickly] (ibid., p. 261)).

Psychological aspect (P): of work is associated above all with diligence, a quality that is highly valued in the worker and graded across a broad spectrum, ranging from skill and ease in performance, as in (*Ide mu práca od ruky* [The work flows smoothly from his hands] (ibid., p. 265), *Ide mu práca akoby páľil*. [He works as if on fire] (ibid., p. 265) even to the point of work addiction as in (*Robí, len sa mu tak kečka parí – Robí, len tak tečie z neho* [He works so hard that steam rises from his cap – He works until the sweat pours from him] (ibid., p. 266), *Robí, dobre sa nepretrhne* [He works so hard he might tear himself apart] (ibid., p. 266), *Vždy v práci zapriahnutý ako v gápli* [Always yoked to work like a draught animal] (ibid., p. 265)). This human trait is often compared with phenomena drawn from nature and social life, as in (*Ide ako osa do roboty – Ide ako žihadlo do roboty* [He goes to work like a wasp – He goes to work like a sting] (ibid., p. 265); *Robí ako kováč z ohňa* [He works like a blacksmith at the forge] (ibid., p. 266)). The opposite of the diligent worker is the idler, for whom (*Robota mu smrdí* [Work smells bad to him] (ibid., p. 268)), a figure who is eager to consume but reluctant to labour, as reflected in (*Pri jedle by sa roztopil a pri práci zmrzol* [At the table he would melt, but at work he would freeze] (ibid., p. 262), *Keď ješ', tak ješ', keď robiť, tak sa skryť* [When it is time to eat, he is present; when it is time

to work, he disappears] (ibid., p. 262), *Do roboty jaj! A jest' len daj!* [When it's work: "oh no!" but when it's food: "just give it to me!"] (ibid., p. 264), *Paráda na parádu, a robota v pekle* [All show and finery, while the work is left to burn in hell] (ibid., p. 264)). Such a person must be driven to work, as suggested by (*Musí ho tiskať do práce ako tekvicu/mechúr do vody* [He must be pushed into labour like a pumpkin—or a bladder—into water] (ibid., p. 268), *Do roboty ako za vlasy a do jedenia akoby páliť* [To work he goes as if dragged by the hair, but to eat he rushes as if aflame] (ibid., p. 264)), and even then tends to choose the least demanding task, as in (*Za tenší koniec prácu chytá* [He grabs the work by the thinner end] (ibid., p. 268)).

Among the psychological traits associated with the worker are interest in work, motivation (*Bez ochoty zlé roboty* [Without willingness, the work will be poor] (ibid., p. 264)), and cognitive ability (*Robí všetko od buka do buka* [He does everything from stump to stump] (ibid., p. 343), *Robí všetko voslep* [He works blindly] (ibid., p. 343), *Robí to ako stolček od Lucie* [He does it like Lucy's little stool] (ibid., p. 343)). Work is also represented as shaped by gender difference, as in (*Ženská robota a ženská reč nemá konca* [Women's work and women's talk have no end] (ibid., p. 48)), and by more general character traits, including carefreeness, stubbornness, determination, caution, and fearfulness. Carefreeness is reflected in (*Z celého sveta si nič nerobí*. [He takes nothing in the world to hear] (ibid., p. 387)); stubbornness and self-reliance (*Robil si na svoju päšť* [He worked on his own fist] (ibid., p. 363), and *Rob sám, za druhým nečakaj* [Do the work yourself—don't wait for others] (ibid., p. 369)), determination and self-discipline in (*Lahnúť ako ľahnúť, ale hore vstať* [It is easy to lie down, but hard to rise] (ibid., p. 258)), caution in (*Nerob nič huj, buj! – Nerob nič na bláznivosť – Nerob nič vospust sveta – Nerob paskalu, traťš na skalú* [Do nothing rashly – Do nothing foolishly – Do nothing recklessly – Don't do anything in haste; you'll run into a rock] (ibid., p. 358) and fearfulness in (*Kto zle robí, hoc ho aj nik nenaháňa, uteká* [He who does wrong runs away even if no one is chasing him] (ibid., p. 512)).

Social aspect (S): presents work as closely connected with social position, profession, gender differentiation, collective cooperation, and remuneration. Work is associated with a particular social class, as in (*Sedliak žene túka, do práce ju núka* [(The peasant nudges his wife, urging her to get to work] (ibid., p. 268)), and also with particular occupations, as in (*Šiť či párať, všet-*

ko práca [Whether sewing or unpicking, it is all work] (ibid., p. 258)). A distinction is likewise drawn between men's and women's work, with women's labour described in (*Ženská práca skrytá, ale sýta* [Women's work is unseen, yet sustaining] (ibid., p. 48)). Within a work collective, cooperation is understood as essential, since where it is lacking the result cannot be good, as the proverbs (*Jeden čihy, druhý hota, ký je to čert za robota! – Kde jeden čihy, druhý hota, tam nebyva dobrá robota* [One pulls one way, the other the opposite—what sort of work can that be! – Where one pulls this way and another that way, good work is never done] (ibid., p. 179)). An equally important element of the social functioning of work is the wage, as in (*Pracovník sa nájde, nech je len zárobok* [A worker can always be found, if only there is pay] (ibid., p. 179), *Hoden je robotník mzdy svojej* [The worker is worthy of his wage] (ibid., p. 259)), whereas labour performed without remuneration is construed as forced and of poor quality, as in (*Nútená robota zriedka býva dobrá* [Forced labour is seldom good] (ibid., p. 180)). Although work does not always bring the expected result, the opposite is never true: livelihood depends fundamentally upon labour, as expressed in (*Najprv práca, potom pláca* [Work first, wages after] (ibid., p. 260), *Bez práce, niet pláce* [Without work, there is no pay] (ibid., p. 260), *Nič bez práce* [Nothing comes without labour] (ibid., p. 260)), this principle applied without exception (*Žiaden bez práce neje koláče* [No one eats cakes without work] (ibid., p. 260)).

The level of reward is further understood to depend on the quality of the work itself, as in (*Aká práca, taká pláca* [As the work, so the pay] (ibid., p. 260)), and for this reason the worker must be accepted by the community and the labour performed must be positively evaluated, as suggested by (*Dobrá práca sama sa chváli* (ibid., p. 333), *Práca chváli majstra* [Good work speaks for itself] (ibid., p. 333)). By contrast, work rejected by society is light, effortless, and merely apparent, as in (*Lahká práca nebyva trváca* [Easy work does not last] (ibid., p. 258), *Robota ako v rukaviciach* [Work done as if wearing gloves] (ibid., p. 343), which quickly fall apart, proves faulty, or is carried out merely „for show“ (*Polovičná práca, žiadna práca* [A half-finished job is no job at all] (ibid., p. 354)). Such labour is not regarded as deserving any reward.

Religious aspect (R): of work is connected with faith in God, whom individuals sought to please through their deeds and their labour no less than through their relations with other people, as suggested by the proverb *Tak*

robme, aby to bolo i bohu i ľudu milé. [Let us work in a way that pleases both God and the people] (ibid., p. 503)). Even in the course of work, therefore, the individual did not forget God, but remained in continual contact with Him through prayer, as reflected in (*Mne je práca ako modlitba* [For me, work is a form of prayer] (ibid., p. 502)). In this sense, the Latin motto “*Ora et labora*” appears to have provided an important framework for everyday life, shaping not only the understanding of labour itself but also the attitude adopted towards the possessions thereby acquired, as in *Modli sa a pracuj, a čo vyrobíš, zavaruj* [Pray and work, and what you produce, preserve] (ibid., p. 277).

Ethical aspect (E): of work is closely linked to the religious worldview (*Tak robme, aby to bolo i bohu i ľudu milé*. [Let us work in a way that pleases both God and the people] (ibid., p. 503)). What is morally good or bad is therefore understood as directly affecting the quality of human life, as is evident from formulations such as (*Kto zle robí, sebe robí. Kto dobre, sebe dobre; kto zle, sebe zle* [He who works poorly harms himself. He who works well benefits himself; he who works poorly, works badly for himself] (ibid., p. 363); *Kto ako robí, tak sa mu vodí. Kto ako robí tak mu pánboh platí* [As one works, so one fares. As one works, so God pays him] (ibid., p. 506)). Acts such as deceit, dishonest labour, lying, and living at the expense of others are regarded as morally unacceptable, as in (*Hanba kradnúť, ale nie pracovať – Nehanba pracovať, lež kradnúť* [Stealing is shameful; working is not – It is no disgrace to work, but to steal] (ibid., p. 258)). Unjust living and dishonest work are, moreover, presented as self-punishing, since they deprive the individual of peace and condemn him to a life of fear (*Kto zle robí, hoc ho aj nik nenaháňa, uteká* [One who does wrong flees even when no one is chasing him] (ibid., p. 512)).

National aspect (X) is represented differently due to historical circumstances (he long period of foreign domination), Slovak proverbs do not reflect upon work in direct connection with the Slovak nation itself, nor with the nation exercising power over the Slovaks. Rather, the national aspect of work appears primarily in relation to foreign lands to which people travelled in search of labour and employment, as in *Bárs i pôjde medzi Rusi, i tam za chlieb robiť musí – I na Rusi robiť musí* [Even if one goes among the Russians, one must work for one's bread there too – Even in Russia one must labour] (ibid., p. 260)).

Slovak proverbs and sayings do not incorporate worldview concepts associated with, for example, the Enlightenment, Baroque quietism, chiliasm,

or related intellectual movements. In this context, work appears to possess an exclusively universal character and therefore does not seem to have been shaped in the consciousness of earlier generations by political or ideological influences. No specifically political view of work is presented here, whether in relation to legal or illegal labour, the payment of taxes to the ruler, rights, or laws. Nor do the paremiological units recorded by A. P. Záturecký reflect the military meaning of the term *work* identified by J. Stanislav (1950, p. 42) in relation to the understanding of work among the early Slavs before the year 1000. According to J. Stanislav, the term once formed part of military vocabulary, since the early Slavs spoke of *military work* and the word could also denote a defensive structure or watchtower (Stanislav, 1950, p. 42). Within Slovak paremiology, moreover, the value of work is not presented aesthetically, that is, as something beautiful or evoking an aesthetic experience or pleasure, which would represent the maximal semantic contrast to the term's earlier meanings of „trápenie“, „namáhanie“, or „boj“ [suffering, exertion, struggle], and later „námaha“ [effort] (Machek, 1968, p. 477; Stanislav, 1950, p. 42).

The Slovak proverbs and sayings documented by A. P. Záturecký present the concept of work as a value that is existentially essential and as the primary condition for acquiring income and property. This form of activity engaged primarily the individual's physical capabilities (especially the hands, or in some cases, the feet) and required great effort, at times even pain, along with diligence, prudent time management, and social recognition. Work was expected to be pleasing not only to other people but also to God; therefore; for that reason, it had to be morally good, honest, and never performed at the expense of another person's labour. Although it was associated primarily with the home environment, it was also carried out abroad.

1.3 The Contemporary Value of the Concept of Work in Slovak Paremiology

The question that remains is which of these semantic aspects have been preserved in the modern concept of work and which, under the influence of extensive-reaching socio-cultural and political change, have proved to be the most enduring. Although proverbs and sayings, as particular genres of paremias, belong to the category of petrified texts and no longer form part of the

core of contemporary language, their selection and frequency in everyday communication continue to signal those semantic components that remain, from an axiological point of view, most prominent within the nation's axiological consciousness. In order to determine which semantic aspects of the concept of work are most salient in the Slovak collective consciousness, a questionnaire-based survey was conducted.³¹

The respondents were university students of philological disciplines aged 21–28 who indicated in the questionnaire, that they had spent most of their lives in one of the three Slovak regions: Western, Central or Eastern Slovakia. The survey asked students to identify phraseological units (fixed expressions) containing the word *práca* [work]. This broader formulation of the question resulted from the intention to collect a more extensive body of material reflecting the ordinary, everyday, and long-term internalized conceptualization of work characteristic of the younger generation of Slovaks. For this reason, certain responses were excluded from the present analysis, included expressions such as: *pracovná príležitosť* [work opportunity], *pracovný čas* [working hours], *pracovný postup* [work procedure], *pracovné prostredie* [work environment], *pracovná príležitosť* [job opportunity], *pracovná zmluva* [employment contract], *robotný človek* [diligent worker], *seminárna práca* [seminar paper], *bakalárska práca* [bachelor's thesis], *sociálna práca* [social work], or *praceneschopnosť* [work incapacity].

Paremiological units including proverbs and sayings, are characterized by an especially high degree of conventionalization, indeed of petrification, while simultaneously retaining a figurative expressiveness. Out of 100 students surveyed, 64 respondents wrote at least one paremiological unit, while the highest number provided by a single respondent was nine. This suggests not only that such expressions (e.g., in the context of teaching) remain familiar to members of the younger generation, whether through formal instruction or broader cultural transmission, but also that respondents possess the communicative competence necessary to apply them, or at least to recognize their appropriate use, with varying degrees of frequency in suitable contexts.

³¹ The questionnaire was developed in collaboration with Natália Korina as part of our participation in the international research project of the Institute of Slavic Studies at the Polish Academy of Sciences, “Methods of Analyzing the linguistic worldview in the Context of Comparative Studies” [No. 0132/NPRH2/H12/81/2012], led by Prof. Jerzy Bartmiński. We conducted the questionnaire survey in the academic year 2013/2014.

The questionnaire material comprises thirty fixed phraseological units, (predominantly proverbs and proverbial sayings), they are listed together with the number of respondents who supplied each unit: *Bez práce nie sú koláče* [No pain, no gain] (54), *Práca šľachtí (človeka)* [Work makes one a better person] (29), *Aká práca, taká pláca* [You get paid according to how you work] (20), *Najskôr práca, potom pláca - Najprv práca, potom pláca* [First work, then pay] (6), *Najskôr práca, potom zábava - Najprv robota, potom zábava* [First work, then fun] (4), *Práca chvatná - málo platná* [Haste makes waste] (4), *Pracovať od svitu do mrku – pracovať od nevidím do nevidím* [To work from dawn till dusk] (3), *Práca – pláca* (2) [Work – pay], *pracovať/pracovný ako včielka* [to work / be hardworking like a bee] (2), *pracovný/pracovať ako kôň* [To work / be hardworking like a horse.] (2), *Komu sa nelení, tomu sa zelení* [Hard work brings prosperity] (1), *pracovať do nemoty* [To work until one drops] (1), *Žiadna práca, žiadna pláca* [No work, no pay] (1), *Nanič práca, žiadna pláca* [Useless work, no pay] (1), *Za dobrú prácu, dobrú plácu* [Good work deserves good pay] (1), *Najprv robota, potom zábava* [Work first, then fun] (1), *Kto rýchlo je, ten rýchlo pracuje* [Who eats quickly works quickly] (1), *Kto je do práce, je aj do jedenia* [Who is fit for work is also fit for eating] (1), *Kto nepracuje, nech ani neje* [Who does not work should not eat] (1), *pracovať ako drak* [to work extremely hard] (1), *pracovať ako otrok* [to work like a slave] (1), *Práca mu horí pod rukami* [The work flies under his hands] (1), *Dobrá práca sa sama chváli* [Good work speaks for itself] (1), *Práca chváli majstra* [A craftsman is known by his work] (1), *Práca buduje charakter* [Work builds character] (1), *Práca odkladaná, nebýva dokonaná* [Work postponed is rarely completed] (1), *Práca oslabuje muža a posilňuje ženu* [Work weakens a man and strengthens a woman] (1), *Polovičná práca, žiadna práca* [Half work is no work] (1), *Sizyfovská práca* [Sisyphean work/task] (1), *Robota mu smrdí/ nevoní* [Work stinks to him] (1).

In the responses of the surveyed students, work remains a social value primarily in relation to profit or reward. The connection here being both logical and one-directional: remuneration is understood as the consequence of work, that is, work is undertaken in order to secure benefits for oneself or for one's family, and never conversely. Such profit is predominantly material, but it may also relate to the worker's personal development. The existential aspect is reduced largely to the pragmatic value of work, that is, to the

manner in which it is performed and to its temporal aspect. In the era of open borders, the location in which work is performed is no longer of central importance. Nor is any marked emphasis placed on the distinction between physical and mental work, since both are regarded as equally real forms of work. Even where a bodily component involved in the performance of work is mentioned, it does not indicate any specific type of labour as in (*Práca mu horí pod rukami* [The work flies under his hands]), which simply suggests that the individual works efficiently and quickly. The quality of work and the diligence of the worker continue, however, to play a decisive role, since they are understood as directly affecting the reward received. By contrast, the religious aspect of work appears to have disappeared, while the ethical perspective is likewise largely absent. The psychological aspect of work occurs sporadically, for example in references to gender difference or laziness.

In the recorded responses of the participants, references to the demanding nature of work as something requiring self-sacrifice, involving hardship and pain, and potentially affecting an individual's health were only infrequent. The evidence indicates that this meaning, by comparison with the concept of work in Záturecký's proverbs and sayings, has weakened to such an extent that it has almost disappeared from contemporary understandings of work. The phraseological comparison *pracuje ako otrok* [to work like a slave] represents, in the awareness of young Slovaks today, only a faint echo of the original meaning of word *robotá*, which denoted feudal labour on the landowner's estate (*robotovat*, *robotiti* [to perform forced labour]), that is, forced labour (Machek, 1968, p. 514). Related terms such as Russian *robjatko*, Czech *robátko*, Slovak *parobok*, likewise, referred to socially degraded individuals who worked not for their own families, but for the families of others. According to J. Stanislav (1950, p. 43), in addition to its social connotation, that is, that of serf or slave, the term *rob*, *rab* [slave, serf] originally also possessed an economic nuance, being etymologically related to the verb *orat'* [to plough]. The phraseological simile *pracuje ako kôň* [to work like a horse] is historically connected with ploughing, an activity which among the early Slavs was not regarded as honorable work for men, but was performed by socially subordinate individuals, serfs and women. In Záturecký's collection, by contrast, there appears the proverb *Od roboty kone dochnú* [Horses die from excessive labour], which displays a substantially higher degree of metaphorical intensity and expressiveness than the later phraseological simile

pracujú/robia ako (dochnúce) kone [they work like dying horses]. If we accept the claim that metaphor evolves from simile [Žilka, 2006, 305], then the contrast between Záturecký's proverb and the respondents' phraseological simile reveals a certain developmental regression. It points, more specifically, to a continuing tendency towards the weakening of the original meaning of the concept of work, namely suffering, exertion, effort, and struggle.

This phenomenon can be explained if the concept of work in Slovak paremiology is examined from an axiological perspective. The speaker selects proverbs and sayings whose semantic aspect aligns with the normative state of "how things ought to be," that is, with his or her motivational world, preferences, interests, needs, and „hierarchy“ of values. Such selection may thus be interpreted as an expression of the evaluating subject's attitude toward work, represented by the semantic unit *to want*³² [chcieť]. This offers a relatively straightforward explanation of why those paremiological units whose basic semantic aspect is suffering, as one among the several multiple dimensions of the concept of work, are gradually disappearing from the awareness of the younger generation. Naturally, pain and suffering are not desired; they possess no value, produce no benefit, and tend to be perceived as meaningless. By contrast, individuals value the kind of work that yields the expected result: profit, material security, and, possibly, professional or personal growth, recognition, and success oriented towards the present. Once work ceases to possess such value, it becomes something undesirable. Proof of this is provided by several open-ended responses in another section of the questionnaire, in which participants were asked to define the essential form of work:

Povinnosti, ktoré ľudia chcú vykonávať. Mnoho ľudí v tejto dobe nemá svoju vysnívanú prácu, a preto svoju prácu berie ako povinnosť, nutnosť, námahu. [Tasks that individuals wish to perform. Many people today do not have their ideal job and therefore perceive work as an obligation, a necessity, or a burden.] (female respondent, 22 years)

Činnosť fyzického alebo duševného rázu. Vytvára ju jedinec na dosiahnutie svojho cieľa, ktorý môže mať charakter uvedomelej alebo neuvedomelej potreby. Prácou sa človek presvedča o tom, že jeho existencia má zmysel. Cez prácu človek hodnotí seba ako úspešného alebo neúspešného, schopného alebo neschopného. V súčasnosti je to niečo, za čo človek nedostane uznanie,

³² According to J. Dolník, the verb *to want* is an exemplar of the category of axiological reaction verbs—lexical items whose semantics are oriented toward axiological responses... [Dolník, 2008, 52].

a tak sa ako neúspešní a neschopní vidia skoro všetci, ale nikto si to nechce priznať. A čo vy? [An activity of a physical or mental shape, undertaken by an individual in order to achieve a goal that may arise from either a conscious or an unconscious need. Through work, a person is reassured that their existence has meaning. It is likewise through work that individuals evaluate themselves—as successful or unsuccessful, capable or incapable. In the present day, however, work is only rarely a source of recognition, with the result that many people come to perceive themselves as unsuccessful or insufficiently competent, although few are willing to admit as much. And what about you?] (female respondent, 24 years)

Na Slovensku je to otrokársstvo. Ľudia pracujú za minimálnu mzdu, platia vysoké dane zloďom, ktorí sedia v parlamente. [In Slovakia, it is like a servitude. People work for minimum wages and pay high taxes to those in parliament, whom they regard as thieves.] (male respondent, 26 years)

The selection and frequency of particular paremiological units make it possible to identify those semantic attributes of the concept of work that have remained preserved in the consciousness of the younger generation as ideal, most valuable, and worthy of transmission to future generations. What emerges most clearly is the social aspect of work, closely bound to its pragmatic-existential dimension. At the same time, a distinct temporal sequence is foregrounded: work – pay and work – fun. The psychological significance of work also remains important, although it appears to have been divested of its former ethical and religious connotations. The original association of the physical aspect of work with effort and suffering no longer carries an axiological charge, a development that may be understood as a consequence of the equal social recognition now accorded to both physical and mental forms of labour.

1.4 The Proverb “No Pain, No Gain” [Bez práce nie sú koláče] in Contemporary Slovak Culture

Phraseology represents a domain of specific, expressive linguistic means. Due to its expressiveness, evaluative elements, and metaphorical character, phraseology is a frequently used device for making especially artistic texts distinctive, while also holding an important position in prose texts and

journalistic discourse.³³ (Krošláková, 1996, p. 111) In this terms, Ema Krošláková (1936–2002) characterized the strong existential potential of a language's phraseological corpus, examining the text-forming capacity of phraseologisms from structural, etymological, and phraseosemantic perspectives, including their distribution into phraseosemantic macrofields. She notes that one of the most productive macrofields is the profile of human labour, which suggests that the existence of earlier generations was, from time immemorial, connected with labour and reflected in the spiritual and in material, that is, physical, domain of society as a whole. In the *Phraseological Dictionary – Man and Nature in Phraseology* (1996), this labour profile encompasses several thematic areas: the need and necessity of work; the diligent and the lazy person, the individual engaged in meaningless labour; the manner in which work is performed; the time at which it is performed; and work undertaken without undue haste (Habovštiaková – Krošláková, 1996, p. 58–64).

Contemporary song lyrics and journalistic texts suggest that, along the axes spiritual–material, ideal–real (tangible), and abstract–specific, semantic shifts have occurred in contemporary Slovak culture that reflect changing attitudes toward work. This is particularly evident in the phraseological unit *Bez práce nie sú koláče* [No pain, no gain] (HK, 1996, p. 58), which remains highly popular among the younger generation aged 21–28. The proverb appears to be so deeply embedded in Slovak cultural consciousness that it exists not only as a petrified unit occupying a key position in certain communicative situations or social contexts, but also as a vital element of present-day texts, dynamically adapting through changes at both the formal and semantic level. Following the terminology of J. Mlacko (1984, p. 106–112) and J. Glovňa (2015, p. 62–80), three existential forms of this phraseological unit may be identified, namely petrification, variation, and actualization, in which the dynamics characteristic of the concept of work in contemporary Slovak society are reflected.

³³ Frazeeológia predstavuje sféru osobitých vyjadrovacích jazykových prostriedkov. Pre svoju expresívnosť, hodnotiace zložky a metaforickosť býva frekventovaným prostriedkom ozvlášťujúcim najmä umelecký text, ale dôležité miesto má aj v prozaickom texte a v publicistike. (Krošláková, 1996, s. 111).

1.4.1 An Ethnological Probe into the Petrified Form of the Proverb

Although proverbs and sayings no longer occupy a central place in contemporary language, they frequently preserve semantic components that remain highly prominent in the nation's consciousness from an axiological perspective. This is reflected both in the selection and in high frequency of the proverb *Bez práce nie sú koláče* [lit. *Without work, there are no cakes*; idiomatically *No pain, no gain*] in questionnaire responses, and in its continued presence in everyday communication. In this context, work continues to function as an existential, social, and national value, primarily at the level of profit, the relationship being logical and one-directional: payment or reward is understood as the consequence of work, that is, Work is meant to support you and your family, not the other way around. Where labour is absent, the result in the form of a reward is likewise absent. The negation expressed both through the prepositional phrase (*bez práce* [without work]) and through the sentential form (*nie sú koláče*, [there are no cakes]) intensifies the didactic, indeed moralizing, force of the proverb, a force not matched by any corresponding positive formulation conveying the same meaning, such as (with work, there are cakes).

Within contemporary Slovak culture, a distinctly high degree of rigidity (petrification) may therefore be observed in relation to this proverb: in both oral and written texts, its formal structure remains unchanged, which suggests that the collocational potential of its key lexical component is, in the linguistic awareness of ordinary Slovak speakers, restricted to a single fixed form. The petrified form of the proverb *Bez práce nie sú koláče* [lit. Without work, there are no cakes; idiomatically No pain, no gain] occurs frequently in newspaper headlines, blogs, and commentaries, while consistently preserving its phraseological meaning that „good results or success come only after a certain amount of effort or exertion.” When used as a headline, the proverb typically introduces reflective or analytical articles addressing the highly topical issue of unemployment, thereby confirming gnomic validity of the meaning associated with the paremiological unit in question. In such contexts, the desired result or success, metaphorically represented by the “cakes”, is understood by the authors primarily as the attainment of appropriate employment, something that requires prior effort or the implementation of specific measures. A particularly illustrative example is provided by an analytical economic commentary published on the website of the Ministry of Finance of

the Slovak Republic under the title *Bez práce nie sú koláče* [lit. Without work, there are no cakes; idiomatically No pain, no gain] (November 2014):

Bez práce nie sú koláče [lit. Without work, there are no cakes; idiomatically No pain, no gain] /headline/ *Unemployment is Slovakia's most pressing economic issue. Over the last 20 years, the country's average unemployment rate has reached 14.5 percent, a figure considerably higher than that recorded in most European countries. The IFP has prepared an analytical report identifying the causes of persistent unemployment and proposing potential interventions. (...) Such measures should be directed towards improving the qualifications of unemployed Roma, educating Roma youth, and implementing policies of preferential support (positive discrimination) for this minority, while simultaneously educating the majority population in ways that would facilitate the integration of the Roma communities. In addition, European funding should be used to secure fundamental improvements in infrastructure in the least developed regions, to establish clear and binding rules for the support of direct foreign investment, to reduce labour costs for low-skilled workers, and to limit the inactivity trap by implementing the concurrent receipt of social benefits and income from work for the poorest households. (Machlica – Žúdel – Hidas, 2014). [Bez práce nie sú koláče /titulok/ Najvýznamnejší ekonomický problém Slovenska je nezamestnanosť. Priemerná miera nezamestnanosti dosiahla na Slovensku za posledných 20 rokov 14,5 percenta, čo je výrazne viac, ako vo väčšine európskych krajín. IFP pripravil analýzu, ktorá sumarizuje príčiny pretrvávajúcej nezamestnanosti a navrhuje možné opatrenia. (...) Opatrenia by sa mali zamerať na zvýšenie kvalifikácie nezamestnaných Rómov, vzdelávanie rómskej mládeže a politiky zvýhodňovania (pozitívnej diskriminácie) minority a vzdelávania majority smerujúce k integrácii rómskej populácie. Ďalej je potrebné pomocou európskych peňazí zásadne zlepšiť infraštruktúru najmenej rozvinutých regiónov, zaviesť jasné, záväzné pravidlá podpory priamych zahraničných investícií, znížiť náklady práce pre nízko kvalifikovaných a obmedziť pascu neaktivity zavedením súbehu dávok a príjmu z práce pre najchudobnejšie domácnosti. (Machlica – Žúdel – Hidas, 2014).]*

This understanding of work as a process bound up with the search for employment is further confirmed by numerous blog posts that reflect perceptions of the issue across Slovakia (and within its individual regions). The proverb *Bez práce nie sú koláče* (lit. Without work, there are no cakes; idio-

matically No pain, no gain) is placed in the most semantically exposed part of the text, the headline, where it functions in condensed form as the bearer of the central thematic content while simultaneously linking the reader to the text as a whole. Such usage appears, for instance, in an anonymous blog post:

Bez práce nie sú koláče (lit. Without work, there are no cakes; idiomatically No pain, no gain) /headline/ „Even in this challenging situation, we should try to make the most of our opportunities and, while searching for a job, work on improving ourselves—learning to use a computer, mastering double-entry bookkeeping... Let us not give a potential employer a chance at the interview to say “NO,” “WE ARE NOT HIRING YOU, WE DO NOT NEED YOU”! (Anonymous, 2010).

A comparable use may be found in a regionally oriented blog: ***Bez práce nie sú koláče koláče*** (lit. Without work, there are no cakes; idiomatically No pain, no gain) /headline/ A proverb well known to all of us, instilled in most of us from early childhood. Yet it can be exceedingly difficult to “bake” those cakes, since there is very little qualified work available in our town. (Malík, 2010).

The petrified form of the proverb *Bez práce nie sú koláče* (lit. Without work, there are no cakes; idiomatically No pain, no gain) demonstrates that folk wisdom is deeply embedded in the national consciousness as an ideal principle “work is the foundation of success / without effort and exertion good results cannot be expected” [práca je základom úspechu/bez námahy a úsilia nemožno očakávať dobré výsledky]. At the same time, among the individual components of the proverb in this fixed form, the noun “cakes” is perceived with particular acuity, since it represents the goal or outcome of labour and, by metonymic extension, food as a basic condition of human survival, as suggested by an example: „It is often claimed that Roma have music in their blood. Truth or nonsense? Perhaps there is something to the idea, I cannot say, but it seems rather to be nonsense. If it were true, we would have to admit that Jews and many others possess precisely the same in their blood. Moreover, unless one practices diligently, whatever one is “supposed” to have in the blood is of no use. ***Bez práce nie sú*** [without work] *you know the rest. ***Koláče**** [there are no cakes].“ (SNK, version: prim-7.0-public-sk)

This heightened sensitivity to the component ‘cakes’ affects not only the degree of lexical fixation of this paremiological unit, but also shapes its individual formal and semantic modifications. These in turn, introduce a dynam-

ic component into the conceptualization of both labour and the reward for labour, in both historical and contemporary contexts.

The original conception of reward for labour embedded in the proverb's petrified form is partially obscured; it may, however, be reconstructed with the aid of ethnological research (Stoličná-Mikolajová, 2001) and of other paremiological units in which work is perceived primarily as physical activity as in *Menej vrav, viac sprav!* [Talk less, do more!] (Z, 1974, p. 431), *Kto nemá roboty, začne si klebety* [He who lacks work begins to gossip] (ibid., p. 443), *Od roboty človek nestustne, iba jeho žily* [Work does not weaken a person, only his veins] (ibid., p. 258; HK, 1996, p. 62). Such labour is represented as being performed by means of parts of the human body, above all the hands and feet, as reflected in (*Má plné ruky práce* [His hands are full of work] (Z, 1974, p. 265), *Dal boh vtákom krídla a ľuďom ruky* [God gave birds wings and people hands] (ibid., p. 258), *Rúčky vyrobili, nôžky vybehali* [Little hands made it, little feet ran it] (ibid., p. 260), *Robí, len mu tak práca v rukách horí* [He works, the work burns in his hands] (ibid., p. 266), *Robí, dobre si tie ruky nezoderie* [He works, but not so much that he would wear out his hands] (ibid., p. 266; HK, 1996, p. 61), *Robí, dobre nohy nestratí* [He works, though not enough to lose his legs] (Z, 1974, p. 266), *Zaslúži si, aby mu ruky pozlátil* [He deserves to have his hands gilded] (HK, 1996, p. 61).

Labour was understood as a necessary part and prerequisite of life, indeed as the sole means by which an individual could secure the necessities of survival: *Kto pracuje, má, čo potrebuje* [Who works has what he needs] (Z, 1974, p. 260), *Kto chce jesť, nech pracuje* [Who wishes to eat must work] (ibid., p. 259), *Kto vie pilno pracovať, vie aj pilno jesť* [Who can work diligently can also eat diligently] (ibid., p. 261), *Kto robil, má na stole, kto zaháňa, hlad omáľa* [suchú labu líže] [Who has worked has food on the table; the idler is overcome by hunger [licks a dry paw]] (HK, 1996, p. 58), *Kto nepracuje, nech neje* [who does not work shall not eat] (ibid., p. 58), *Kto chce žať, musí siať* [Who wishes to reap must sow] (ibid., p. 58). As these proverbs suggest, survival meant above all having something to eat each day, whether in an unprocessed form, as in *Kde je robota, tam je i med* [Where there is work, there is honey] (ibid., p. 63), or in a modified form, as in *Kto chce chleba, pracuj, čo treba* [Who wants bread must work as needed] (Z, 1974, p. 260).

According to the ethnologist Rastislava Stoličná-Mikolajová (2001), food preparation such as baking never reached the same prominence in traditional

Slovak cuisine as did cooking, since baking was done only when the oven³⁴ had first been heated for bread-making. Baked bread thus was an everyday food of the broad lower strata throughout the 18th century, and especially in the 19th century, that is, in the period in which these proverbs were documented and collected by A. P. Záturecký and other Slovak collectors. The labour associated with bread-baking was extremely demanding and was regarded as one of the most important domestic tasks in traditional households. For this reason bread was held in particularly high esteem by earlier generations and was considered a “gift from God,” as evidenced by such proverbs as: *Kto chce chleba, pracuj, čo treba* [Who wants bread must work as needed] (Z 1974, 260), *Za kus chleba robíť treba – Za kus chleba skočiť treba* [For a loaf of bread one must work—For a loaf of bread one must hasten] (ibid., p. 260), and *Bárs i pôjde medzi Rusi, i tam za chlieb robíť musí* [Even if he goes among the Russians, there too he must work for bread] (ibid., p. 260). Bread was made from several types of flour combined in varying proportions. When flour was scarce, it was supplemented with dried and ground plants, such as beet or peas, though most commonly with potatoes.

By contrast, cakes occupied a far more exceptional place than bread in the diet of earlier generations and, correspondingly, in proverbial expression. Unlike bread, they were typically baked from high-quality wheat flour, with dough prepared using milk and sweetened first with honey and later with sugar. Cakes thus appeared only rarely in the kitchens of our ancestors, typically on festive occasions, a fact reflected in numerous folk names for cakes derived primarily from the particular circumstances in which they were baked, such as *boľastník* – for for a funeral, *štedrák* – at Christmas, *paska* – at Easter, *hodovník* – for feast days, among others. Whereas bread formed part of everyday food, cakes and pastries stood outside the daily routine and were prepared only on occasions significant either for the family or for the village community as a whole (Stoličná-Mikolajová, 2001, p. 47). Cakes therefore constituted, in the past, a distinctly festive and often rare reward for everyday hard labour. It is precisely this attribute of exceptional value that appears to be embedded in the original meaning of the component *koláče* [cakes] within the proverb *Bez práce nie sú koláče* [lit. *Without work, there are no cakes*; idiomatically *No pain, no gain*]. In contemporary reinterpretations of the

³⁴ The repertoire of baked foods expanded as stoves began to be used in households, as they made the work connected with baking easier. (Stoličná-Mikolajová, 2001, p. 27)

component “*cakes*,” as well as in other existential forms of this paremiological unit, the dynamics of conceptualizations of both work and the reward for work within Slovak society are reflected with particular clarity.

1.4.2 *Variants of the Proverb in Contemporary Texts*

Another existential form of the proverb *Bez práce nie sú koláče* [lit. *Without work, there are no cakes*; idiomatically *No pain, no gain*] in contemporary Slovak culture is its variability, most clearly manifested in lexically modified variants that preserve the original figurative meaning. The relationship between petrification (representing maximally limited variation) and the variability of the phraseological unit is not equipollent, but gradual (graded), with the boundary between the two remaining fluid.

From a formal perspective, the transition from the petrified form of the proverb to its variant form may be expressed, for instance, by placing the lexical modification in parentheses after the fixed version: *Dokedy budeme čakať, že sa naplní čarovná formulka: **Bez práce nie sú koláče (peniaze)?*** [How long will we wait for the magical formula to be fulfilled: Without work, there are no cakes (money)?] or *Kedy sa za prácu bude dávať aj adekvátna pláca?* [When will adequate pay be given for work?] (SNK, version: prim-7.0-public-sk). In other cases, additional lexical variants are simply attached to the fixed units, thus signaling the relationship between the petrified and the variant form of the proverb: „*Niet kráľovskej cesty ku geometrii, “ odpovedal mu Eukleidés a pripojil vetu, ktorá sa v učebniciach neuvádza, hoci je to tiež Eukleidova veta: „**Bez práce nie sú koláče, ani geometria.**“*” [“There is no royal road to geometry“, Euclid replied, adding a sentence not found in textbooks, although it is likewise attributed to Euclid: ‘Without work, there are no cakes, nor is there any geometry.’”] (SNK, version: prim-7.0-public-sk). Alternatively, the petrified form of the proverb may be followed by formally parallel utterances sharing the same syntactic structure, in which the verbal element is elided as a signal of fixedness: ***Bez práce nie sú koláče, bez vinice, dobrého hrozna a bez vinohradníckovej lopoty niet ani skvelého vína.*** *A víno Vilmy Žákovej bolo skutočne skvelé.* [Without work, there are no cakes; without a vineyard, good grapes, and the vintner’s toil, there is likewise no fine wine. And Vilma Žáková’s wine was indeed excellent.] (SNK, version: prim-7.0-public-sk) A particularly interesting manifestation of the transition from the petrified form to other modes of existence of the proverb

is the paronymic relation „koláče“ – „koláže“ [„cake“ – „collages“]: *Výstava Bez práce nie sú koláže bude verejnosti sprístupnená v Galérii Aura do konca mája*. [The exhibition “No cakes, No Collages” will be open to the public in the Aura Gallery until the end of May.] (SNK, version: prim-7.0-public-sk)

From a semantic perspective, the paremiological unit exhibits varying degrees of loosened lexical combinability. Within the broader semantic field of „positive result, reward, and success“, the combinability of synonymous lexical items appears to be expanding, although their degree of conventionalization remains comparatively low; such usage, however, does not modify the original meaning of the proverb. In contemporary variants of *Bez práce nie sú koláče* [lit. Without work, there are no cakes; idiomatically No pain, no gain], there appear, alongside the most conventionalized item *koláče* [cakes], less frequent lexemes such as money, progress, geometry, sceptre, products, and collages, whose mutual semantic relations are realized within a broader conceptual category. These relations are structured along axes formed by oppositions such as spiritual versus material, ideal versus real, and abstract versus concrete, oppositions that illuminate both the form of the reward for work and its contemporary conceptualization. It follows that, in present-day society, the reward for labour may also possess a spiritual, ideal, or abstract character, as indicated by the semantic component progress in the following example:

Rodina je miestom veľmi osobného prežívania vzťahov a podstaty ľudskej existencie. Rodina však aj „zabezpečuje“ fyzické prežitie ľudskej spoločnosti. Ak bude mať Európa zdravé rodiny, bude mať aj deti. A deti, to je budúcnosť. Pokora a pracovitosť. Pokora a pracovitosť veľmi úzko spolu súvisia. Pokora to nie je sebahodnotenie, ale prijatie pravdy o človeku. Každý človek má svoje slabé miesta. Je dobré ich poznať. Bez práce nie je pokrok. Žiaľ, mnohí o práci radšej hovoria, než konajú. Avšak prácu vidno skôr v činoch ako v slovách. Nádej. [The family is a place of deeply personal experience in human relationships and, indeed, of the very essence of human existence. Yet the family “ensures” the physical survival of human society. If Europe has healthy families, it will also have children, and children are the future. Humility and diligence are very closely connected. Humility should not be understood as self-deprecation, but as an acceptance of truth about the human person. Every individual has weaknesses, and it is good to be aware of them. **Without work, there is no progress.** Unfortunately, many prefer

to talk about work rather than act. Yet work is evident more in deeds than in words. Hope.] ((SNK, version: prim-7.0-public-sk)

A lower degree of abstraction is present where a phraseological variant contains a lexical item that carries both a specific and a symbolic meaning. In the excerpt in question, the term „sceptre“ is understood abstractly as a symbol of power and governance, something that the descendants of the Tajik president will acquire only through considerable effort and exertion:

*Takéto starosti nemá tadžický prezident Emomali Rachmonov. Pripravil si deväť nástupcov, aby bolo z čoho vyberať. Má však sedem dcér a len dvoch synov, čo sa v týchto zemepisných šírkach za veľký úspech nepokladá. Rachmonov sa napriek tomu tvári spokojne. Údajne im hovorí: „Zabudnite na to, že ste deti prezidenta. To nie je navždy.“ Je pravda, že sa o to, aby to navždy bolo, veľmi snažia, ale človek nikdy nevie. **Bez práce nie je žezlo.** Zdá sa, že aj keď potomkovia zdedili fyzickú podobu, politický talent, túžbu po moci, stranícka disciplína a schopnosť vládnuť mnohým chýba.* [The Tajik president, Emomali Rachmonov, appears to have no such concerns. He has prepared nine potential heirs, and there is therefore no shortage of possible successors. Yet he has seven daughters and only two sons, which in that region is not generally regarded as a particularly favourable outcome. Rachmonov nevertheless appears satisfied. He is reported to tell them: ‘Forget that you are the president’s children. That is not forever.’ They evidently seek to make it permanent, but nothing is certain. No work, no sceptre. It would seem that, although his descendants have inherited his physical features and political talent, many of them lack both party discipline and the capacity to govern.”] (SNK, version: prim-7.0-public-sk)

A more specific, monetary understanding of “reward” or “profit” is introduced in phraseological variants, such as **Bez práce nie sú koláče (peniaze)** [lit. Without work, there are no cakes (money)] (SNK, version: prim-7.0-public-sk) and **Bez práce nie sú euráče** [Without work, there are no euros] (SNK, version: prim-7.0-public-sk). The material form of the favourable outcome of labour or effort is most evident when the alternating component replacing „koláče“ [cakes] enters the domain of commerce and commodities, as in **bez práce nie sú výrobky** [without work, there are no products] (SNK, version: prim-7.0-public-sk) or the sphere of artistic artefacts and cultural events, as in *Emil Semanec’s exhibition* **Bez práce nie sú koláže** [Without work, there are no collages], held in the Aura Gallery (SNK, version: prim-7.0-public-sk).

Alongside substitutions involving components that replace *koláče* [cakes] within the semantic antonymic spectrum structured by the oppositions spiritual–material and abstract–concrete, there also appears a less common variant of the proverb in which a supplementary, facultative component enters the structure without altering its overall meaning, while nevertheless modifying it slightly and foregrounding the specifically material form of the reward for work: ***Bez práce nie sú /klobásovo-slaninové/ koláče*** [Without work, there are no/sausage-and-bacon/cakes] (SNK, version: prim-7.0-public-sk). Whether the word *koláče* is replaced altogether or merely expanded by means of an attributive modifier, reward remains, for contemporary speakers, the central object of attention and the principal aim of work.

These individual variants do not alter the original meaning or the communicative intention of the proverb as whole; rather, what occurs is only a partial formal modification, one which nevertheless initiates, within contemporary Slovak culture, certain shifts in the conceptualization of the reward for work. The outcome of work is thus understood not only as specific and connected with a basic physiological human need such as food, but also as something capable of acquiring different degrees of abstraction associated with the creation of a nation's cultural and spiritual values.

1.4.3 The Anti-Proverb *Bez práce sú koláče*

[lit. “Without work, there are cakes”]

In contemporary Slovak journalistic and online discourse, there also appears a transformation of the proverb that conveys the opposite meaning (the sequence *work and reward* is disrupted), so that reward is no longer presented as the result of work, and gain may be obtained even in the absence of labour. This reversal is contextually anticipated, for example, by the headline ***Bez práce nie sú koláče naruby*** [No pain, no gain turned upside down], in which the author indicates the obsolescence of the petrified form of the phraseo-texteme, that is, draws attention to transformed social conditions when compared with the lives of earlier generations: ***Bez práce nie sú koláče naruby*** [No pain, no gain turned upside down] /headline/ *Our ancestors lived under conditions that were seemingly different from ours because if they had not sown the fields or fed the livestock, they wouldn't have anything to eat. In earlier times, hunters first had to catch something, light a fire before they*

could feast. What is the situation today? Paradoxically, today the system allows us to obtain cakes [gain] immediately. Only afterwards is work required of us. Under certain conditions, there would be nothing wrong with this inverted way of functioning. After all, if a person voluntarily chooses a feudal way of functioning, that is their own choice. The main problem, however, is that the opportunity to get cakes [gain] immediately, without working, attracts a large number of people, often exceptionally intelligent ones. (Fedorik, 2011)

What is at issue here, however, is not merely the description of a semantic shift in the folk wisdom embodied in the proverb *Bez práce nie sú koláče* [lit. Without work, there are no cakes; idiomatically, No pain, no gain]. Rather, one encounters a modal variant situated along the affirmative–negative axis:

The owners of many enterprises have become individuals whose entrepreneurial vision has been reduced to the pursuit of getting rich as quickly as possible. Foreign investors with a vision are today still rather an endangered species in Slovakia. When foreign capital does arrive, however there are *bez práce sú koláče* [cakes without work]. The primary beneficiaries are those who do not face major problems of unemployment—Bratislava and Košice are mainly attractive for investment. Another problem is the absence of a housing market, resulting in the de facto inability of workers to move in search of employment, as is common in prosperous countries. (SNK, version: prim-7.0-public-sk)

Such a modal transformation of the proverb approaches the boundary of the third form of its realization, namely actualization. In this context, the term *antipríslovie* [anti-proverb] may also be employed (English *anti-proverb*, German *Anti-Spruchwort*, Russian *antiposlovica*), a term which, according to the relevant literature, was coined by the German paremiologist Wolfgang Mieder, who worked at universities in the United States. Within the Slovak linguistic context, however, the term has not become firmly established and appears only occasionally in listing of different types of paremias. The phenomenon of anti-proverbs was examined in greater detail by the Slovak linguist Jozef Mlacek (2009, p. 135–148), who pointed to the vagueness and lack of definitional imprecision of the term and limited its application to those units derived from a well-established and conventional proverb, to which the anti-proverb stands as in an oppositional relation (Mlacek, 2009, p. 142).

1.4.4 Actualization as the Third Existential Form of the Proverb

All the variations of the proverb documented so far indicate that it belongs to that stratum of the Slovak paremiological corpus whose semantic content remains deeply embedded in the national consciousness, and that, when confronted with contemporary socio-cultural and economic conditions, this embeddedness generates a need not only to preserve the meaning of the *paremia* in its petrified forms, or to modify it along the axis of material versus spiritual reward through variation, but also to transform, and at times even to deconstruct, it through actualization. In this way, actualized forms of the phrase emerge, in which the original idiomaticity is disrupted and reconfigured into a new form, resulting in the emergence of a new meaning. Context plays a crucial role in this process, since it transforms and innovates the original meaning of the proverb *bez práce nie sú koláče* [lit. Without work, there are no cakes; idiomatically, No pain, no gain] understood as „no work, no reward, no positive result“, and thus leads to the emergence of contextual actualizations (Glovňa, 2015, p. 74) including those in which „work causes physical pain and suffering to a person“.

Such an actualized form of the proverb may be observed, for example, in the expressively marked song *Bez práce nie sú koláče* [lit. Without work, there are no cakes; idiomatically, No pain, no gain] by the contemporary Slovak punk-rock band *Slobodná Európa*: *Do tmy budík zazvoní a ráno zuby vycerí /s červenými očami vyženieš deti z postelí/v rýchlosti ranná hygiena a obligátna hádka/hneď ako sa zobudí ich frustrovaná matka//potom kopneš panáka a na druhý pokus /sa ti možno podarí nastúpiť na ranný autobus //R: 2x Nevlákaj sa, /bez práce nie sú koláče/Nevlákaj sa, /bez práce nie sú koláče/tak sa nevlákaj //Hypotéka, odvody, električka, voda, plyn/dcéra šľape na piku a do toho ochorel syn/celé to držiš na pleciah, musíš vydržať, veď si chlap a z výšky sa ti rehoce pohľadavý mrakodrap/a tak kopneš panáka a na druhý pokus/sa ti možno podarí nastúpiť na ranný autobus //R: 2x Nevlákaj sa,/bez práce nie sú koláče (...)// (...) Arbeit macht frei.* [In the dark the alarm clock rings / morning bares its teeth/ red-eyed, you drive the children out of bed /a rushed wash, an obligatory fight / the moment their frustrated mother wakes // Then you down a shot, and on the second try/ you just might make it to the morning bus // Chorus 2x Don't idle away your life/ there is no pain, no gain// Mortgage, taxes, electricity, water, gas./ the daughter treads on crystal, the son has fallen ill/ you carry it all on your shoulders – endure,

for after all you are a man, while from above a scornful skyscraper laughs at you/ So you down a shot, and on the second try/ you just might make the morning bus // Chorus 2x Don't idle away your life / there is no pain, no gain (...)// (...) *Arbeit macht frei*.] (Slobodná Európa, 2014).

The syntactic structure of the paremiological unit fulfills the rhythmic and rhyming requirements of the lyrics while simultaneously occupying semantically salient positions within it, above all in the chorus, where it functions as the central thematic idea of the song. The strategy of actualization applied in this case works through a gradual intensification of the proverb's figurative meaning, ("work is the basis of a better life") up to the meaning associated with the inscription *Arbeit macht frei* ("work makes one free"), placed on the gates of Nazi concentration camps in Oświęcim, Dachau, Terezín, etc., where it symbolizes labour as a cause of death resulting from exhaustion and starvation.

In other cases, contextual actualization is linked to a modification of the lexical component, and thus the intentional external supplementation of the proverb's figurative meaning through context produces a humorous punchline: *Čo sa týka poriadkumilovnosti, patrí medzi tých ľudí, ktorí sa riadia heslom: „Bez práce nie sú otlaky.“* [With regard to tidiness, he belongs among those people who are guided by the motto: "No work, no calluses." (*Ale sem-tam utrie prach*) [Although he does occasionally dust]]. (SNK, verzia: **prim-7.0-public-sk**).

An example from the daily press may serve to illustrate a more complex actualization, in which two paremiological units with sharing semantic features are blended: *nikomu nepadajú pečené holuby do úst* [roasted pigeons do not fall into anyone's mouth] and *bez práce nie sú koláče* [lit. Without work, there are no cakes; idiomatically, No pain, no gain]. What arises here is a case of phraseological contamination (catachresis): *chceli, aby im bez práce padali do úst pečené holuby a koláče* [they wanted roasted pigeons and cakes to fall into their mouths without any work]. This represents a superordinate level of phraseme actualization (Glovňa, 2015, p. 75) and is perceived in contemporary language usage as a topical reconfiguration of existing phraseological units that shows no tendency toward conventionalization.

The petrified form of the proverb demonstrates that folk wisdom is deeply embedded in the national consciousness as an ideal state. Among all components of this conventional paremiological unit, the noun 'koláče' [cakes] appears to be the most salient, since it represents the outcome of labour. The

variant forms of the proverb reveal the the reward for work is no longer confined to material and concrete forms, as was more typically the case in the past, but increasingly becomes part of spiritual culture and acquires an abstract character. More far-reaching semantic shifts then lead to actualizations that reflect an understanding of the reward for work markedly different from that of earlier generations. The reward for work ceases to be evaluated exclusively in positive and long-anticipated terms and may assume a negative character, often with elements of humour and irony. In anti-proverbs, finally, the reward for labour is presented as automatic, as if it could arise without any prior effort or hard work.

2 THE CONCEPTUALIZATION OF SEEING IN CONTEMPORARY SLOVAK LANGUAGE

2.1 The Conceptual Profile in the Slovak Language

The general notion (concept) of SEEING is conceptualized in every language through the subject of vision (the ordinary language user) and their perspective, from which perception is structured. In Slovak, this basic framework is further extended by a series of associated aspects, most notably: the object of vision, the act of vision, the instrument of vision, and the field and planes of vision. This complex of aspects, which together constitutes the concept of SEEING is expressed in Slovak through resources of both the lexical and grammatical systems including free combinations and phraseological units³⁵, and in this way reveals a distinctive mode of profiling the concept in both individual and collective consciousness.

³⁵ The linguistic data are drawn from widely accessible Slovak explanatory dictionaries as well as from the Slovak National Corpus (abbreviations are provided below):

- 1) KSSJ 4 = Krátky slovník slovenského jazyka 4. Edited by J. Kačala, M. Pisárčiková, and M. Považaj. Bratislava: Veda, 2003. 988 p.;
- 2) SSJ = Slovník slovenského jazyka, vols. I–VI. Edited by Š. Peciar et al. Bratislava: Publishing House of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, 1959–1968.
- 3) SSSJ = Dictionary of Contemporary Slovak Language, Vols. I–III. Edited by K. Buzássyová, A. Jarošová et al. Bratislava: Publishing House of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, 2006–2016.
- 4) SNK = Slovak National Corpus – prim-7.0-public-vyv. Bratislava: Ľ. Štúr Institute of Linguistics, Slovak Academy of Sciences, 2016. Available online at: korpus.juls.savba.sk

In the Slovak language, the subject of vision is conventionally designated by nominal expressions such as *divák* [viewer], *pozorovateľ* [observer], and *špeh* [spy]. These are, as a rule, formed through word-formation processes based on the verbs *divať sa* [to look] and *pozorovať* [to observe], while conversely the verb *špehovať* [to spy] is morphologically motivated by the noun *špeh* [a spy]. A somewhat different status is occupied by the desubstantival noun *vizionár* [visionary] (one who has visions) and by the noun *hliadka* [patrol] (usually denoting a group engaged in reconnaissance or surveillance in the field), from which the verb *hliadkovať* [to patrol] is derivationally formed.

The subject of vision in Slovak is thus closely connected with active visual perception, as encoded by the verbs mentioned above. Slovak does not, by contrast, possess a lexeme designating a purely passive subject of seeing corresponding to verbs such as *čumieť*³⁶ [to gawk] (a non-standard, colloquial expression), *zízať* [to stare/to gape], or *civiť* [to gape/to stare] (to gaze fixedly, mindlessly) all of which denote the act of looking at someone or something. The superordinate designation of the subject in the linguistic representation of seeing, whose broad semantic scope encompasses all the nouns mentioned above, is the participial form *vnímajúci* [perceiving]. This most basic and general designation of the subject of seeing is then further profiled by means of additional associated expressions that foreground several parameters: the degree of activity as opposed to passivity of seeing (in Slovak, the subject of seeing is active) the distinction between real subjects (*divák*, *pozorovateľ*, *špeh*, *hliadka* [viewer, observer, spy, patrol]) or non-real subjects (*vizionár* [visionary]); and the subject's participation (*hliadka*, *špeh*) or non-participation (*divák*, *pozorovateľ* [patrol, spy]) in the observed event. The subject of seeing may be active not only at the sensory level, but also at the mental level, in which case it assumes the role of a commentator or interpreter.

As is evident, the subject of seeing is closely (both word-formationally and semantically) linked to the act of seeing. Its semantic structure is formed primarily by verbs that reflect different aspects of the basic concept of seeing. The phraseological material in which these verbs occur reveals several semantic distinctions of the act of seeing: 1. the perception of an event from the perspective of the perceiver, as in (*niekto vidí/pozoruje niekoho* [someone sees/observes someone]); 2. good as opposed to impaired vision, as in

³⁶ The KSSJ does not list the noun *čumil* at all; in the SNK (prim-6.0-public-all), we find only twelve uses of the expression: either as a proper name, as the designation of an artwork at the corner of Panská Street and Rybárska Brána, or in a colloquial context.

(*vidieť niečo ako cez hmlu* [to see something as if through fog], *niečo vidieť ako na dlani*, [to see something as clearly as the palm of one's hand], *vidieť ako v zrkadle* [to see as in a mirror], *vidieť ako sova* [to see like an owl]); 3. passive as opposed to active observation of visual stimuli, as in (*pozerá, ale nevidí* [he looks but does not see], *vidí toľko, koľko sova vo dne* [he sees no more than an owl does by day]) 4. unreflective act of seeing, as in (*pozerat' jak teľa na maľované vráta* [to stare like a calf at a painted gate]); 5. vision conceptualized in terms of temporal duration, as in (*mrkni sa na to* [take a look at it]; *prizri sa lepšie* [look more closely], *kontrolovať* [to check]); and 6. vision conceptualized in relation to emotions, as in (*vytriešťať oči* [to bulge one's eyes], *civieť* [to stare], *blysnúť očami* [to flash one's eyes], *pásť si oči na niečom* [to feast one's eyes on something]).

Verbs of seeing combine sensory and mental meanings, while at the same time acquiring a social dimension:

Nieko vidí zle/dobre [someone sees poorly/well] refers to visual ability, as such *Videl niečo na vlastné oči* [He saw something with his own eyes], denotes direct perception without the mediation of any instrument; *Zbadal ho kútikom oka* [He noticed him out of the corner of his eye], *Svoju budúcnosť videl ružovo* [He saw his future in rosy colors], expresses imagination or optimistic projection; *Vidím to ináč ako ty* [I see it differently from you] indicates a difference of opinion; *Sám vidíš, že to nie je také jednoduché* [You can see for yourself that it is not so simple], conveys understanding; *Nevidím v tom nič zlé* [see nothing wrong with it] expresses a non-negative evaluative judgment within social-communicative interaction; and *Nevideli sme sa už niekoľko mesiacov* [we have not seen each other for several months] functions as a social expression meaning, in effect, that the speakers have not met. A semantically particularly interesting prefix-derived verb is *prehliadnut'* [to overlook], which encodes two mutually opposed mental meanings: on the one hand, 'to examine thoroughly, to detect or uncover, and on the other, 'to fail to notice, to overlook.

The subject of seeing is also connected with the field of vision (in its breadth and in its degree of detail) which may range from very broad (macroscopic) to highly specific and detailed (microscopic). In the Slovak lexicon, the field of vision is reflected in nouns such as *výhľad*, *horizont* [view, horizon], as well as by phraseological units, such as *mať niečo ako na dlani* [to have something as if in the palm of one's hand], and fixed expressions

such as ... *kde len okom dovidíš* [as far as the eye can see]. From a linguistic perspective, first, second, third, and subsequent planes are distinguished by expressions such as *blízko* [near] *d'aleko* [far], and also *prvý*, *druhý* [first, second] ... *plán* [plan] in painting, drawing, or theatrical scene. This system also includes adjectival compounds such as *prvoplánový* [first-plan] and *druhoplánový* [second-plan], which are semantically related to the noun *pozadie* [background]. It is precisely the field of vision and the planes available to the speaker that anchor spatial relations in the way speakers of a given language organize space, determining what, from their perspective, is located in relation to something else. This aspect of the concept of **SEEING** is linked to two fundamental oppositions that organize spatial perception and its representation: center – periphery and front – back. The observer, situated at the center, organizes the spatial universe from their perspective into a center and a periphery (*here* where the observer is, that is, the proximal sphere, and *there*, where the observer is not, that is, the distal sphere) (Przybylska, 2004, p. 155). The starting point of the observer's mental and visual trajectory is the center, whereas the endpoint is the location occupied by the localized object.

Within the basic three-component LVW model (*who – sees – what*), the object of vision is situated both in the real (physical) world, where it is perceived sensorially, and in the linguistic-cultural domain, where it is the product of human cognitive activity. This suggests that the object of vision in the real world preserves its *form*, which is subsequently transformed into an *image* within linguistic-cultural reality. Although these two objects may be distinguished theoretically, in actual communicative practice they remain closely interconnected. Alongside Slovak lexical items such as *obraz* [image], *podobizeň* [likeness], and *vízia* [vision], there are also objects of seeing which, from the perspective of the speaking subject, possess the feature of mental representation without a corresponding real-world referent. These include entities denoted by the lexemes such as *vidina* [hallucination] and *strašidlo* [ghost]. The object of seeing may, moreover, evoke either interest, in the sense of curiosity or salience, or aversion, in the sense of repulsiveness or hideousness.

The sensory organ of sight (the organ of vision) is the eye, serves as the morphological base for verbs such as *okáliť* (expr. to look), *zočiť* (to catch sight of, notice, observe). The noun *oko* [eye] also forms part of phraseo-

logical units,³⁷ such as *vidieť niečo na vlastné oči* [to see something with one's own eyes] and *mať na niečo oko* [to have an eye for something]. This primary instrument of vision appears in numerous phraseological units in transferred, that is, metaphorical meaning, for example as an instrument of eating (*jesť očami* [to eat with one's eyes]), defense obrany (*streliť očami/pohl'adom* [to shoot with one's eyes / gaze]), blinking mihnúť (*mihnúť okom* [to blink an eye]), embracing (*objať pohl'adom* [to embrace with one's gaze]), or deception (*niekoho zaslepiť* [to blind someone]). The instrument of vision may itself be imperfect, as in (*mať klapky na očiach, mať beľmo na očiach* [to have blinders on one's eyes, to have a film over one's eyes]), and it may also be supplemented by additional instruments such as glasses, a magnifying glass, a microscope, or binoculars. Such instruments may modify the perceived image in specific ways, whether by colouring it, as in (*vidieť niečo cez ružové okuliare* [to see something through rose-colored glasses]) or by making it more detailed, as in (*mikroskopicky sledovať* [to observe something microscopically]).

These examples indicate that the individual aspects of the concept of **SEEING** are profiled in Slovak in the following way:

1. Subject of seeing: a) active, b) perceiving real or unreal phenomena, c) participating in, or detached from, the perceived event, d) active at both the sensory and the mental level.
2. Act of seeing: a) good or poor, b) passive or active, c) unreflective, d) temporally extended and emotionally involved, e) sensory, f) mental, g) social, h) detailed or superficial.
3. Field and planes of vision: a) broad (macroscopic), b) specific (microscopic), c) positioned on a particular plan in sequence, d) situated elsewhere, e) indicating movement in space.
4. Object of seeing: a) situated in the real world or unreal, b) evoking interest or aversion.
5. Instrument of seeing: a) the sensory organ itself (the eye), b) further strengthened by additional instrument, c) appearing in other semantic categories (embrace, defense, or eating), d) perfect or imperfect, e) capable of modifying the image by coloring it or adding detail.

³⁷ Research conducted by Jasna Uhláriková demonstrated a high level of correspondence between the Slovak and Serbian excerpted corpora of phrasemes containing the lexeme oko [eye] at the lexical, structural, and semantic levels (Uhláriková, 2014, p. 436–448).

2.2 The Concept of SEEING in Educational Communication

2.2.1 *The Subject of Seeing*

The concept of SEEING assumes a specific form when its subject is a child or an adolescent situated within a particular communicative sphere, namely educational communication, which is characterized by clearly defined social roles assigned to the teacher and the student (Chvalovská, 2015, p. 223). Although the teacher is generally regarded as the dominant subject in this context, attention is directed here to lower secondary school pupils, whose mental representations of their teacher are examined through questionnaire responses. This linguistically constructed perspective of the pupil reveals not only the ways in which the teacher is perceived in the pupil's consciousness (as the object of seeing), but also, simultaneously the pupil as the conceptualizer of this act of seeing. In addition to objective data such as age, gender, the questionnaire survey provides further information that makes it possible to characterize more precisely and profile the pupil as the conceptualizer of the seeing their teacher.

The questionnaire survey³⁸ included 43 respondents (23 girls and 20 boys) from three different classes, aged between 10 and 14, who provided written characterizations of their teacher in response to questions concerning how they (a) perceive the teacher at present, (b) perceived the teacher in previous grades, (c) believe their classmates perceive the teacher, and (d) think teacher is perceived by her parents, relatives, or friends. The scope of the responses was not predetermined; the pupils responded anonymously, and the entire class referred to the same teacher. From the questionnaires, 244 conceptually independent excerpts were obtained (boys: 113 excerpts; girls: 131 excerpts), taking the form of single-word responses, free word combinations of words, simple sentences, or complex sentences.

On the basis of these excerpts, the respondent (the pupil aged 10–14 years, and thus situated in the period of adolescence or puberty), may be examined as the conceptualizer of seeing within educational communication. The subject of seeing is analyzed through several aspects of SEEING, primarily the following:

1. the manner in which the pupil perceives the teacher (the act of seeing),

³⁸ The questionnaire survey was conducted during the 2015/2016 academic year at the Catholic Joint School in Rajec and at St. Michael's Primary School in Nemšová.

2. the perspective from which the teacher is perceived (the field and planes of seeing),
3. the temporal contexts in which the teacher is perceived (temporal parameters),
4. the attributes to which the pupil attends (the object of seeing).

The aim of the questionnaire research was thus not merely to demonstrate the pupil's ability to evaluate their teacher (which may be considered self-evident), but, rather, through the pupil's verbal behaviour associated with the concept of SEEING, to present a personality-based pedagogical-, and psychological characterization encompassing the semantic scope of features typical of the given age group.

2.2.2 The Act of Seeing

The pupil inevitably becomes a participant in the teacher's almost daily activity within educational communication, and this circumstance shapes perception in ways marked by specific features. The context in which respondents employed verbs such as *to see*, *to notice*, *to seem*, *to think*, *to evaluate*, and *to recognize* indicate that what is at issue here is primarily the pupil's mental activity. Sensory perception is by not means excluded, however, encompasses visual perception (*moji spolužiaci ju vidia z iného uhla pohľadu, keď sedia na inej strane ako sedím ja* [my classmates see her from a different angle when they sit on the opposite side from where I sit]; *má peknú priamu postavu* [she has a nice, upright figure]; *hlavu má valcovitú a tvár má usmievanú* [her head is cylindrical and her face is smiling]; *je vyššej postavy* [she is taller], *vždy chodí pekne vyobliekaná* [she always dresses neatly]), olfactory perception (*šíri sa od nej veľmi príjemná vôňa* [a very pleasant scent spreads from her]), as well as auditory perception (*veľa rozpráva* [she talks a lot]; *rada rozpráva* [she enjoys talking]; *tichá* [she is quiet]).

A further semantic differentiation of the act of seeing draws attention to the pupil's degree of activity. When the pupil is in a state of anticipation as to how the teacher will present herself, the act of seeing may be described as passive, though not wholly devoid of reflection (*nevedel som, čo mám od nej čakať*; *pôsobila na mňa veľmi zle* [I did not know what to expect from her; she made a very negative impression on me]). At this stage (particularly within the process of learning), the centre of activity shifts from the subject

of seeing to the object itself; from the pupil's perspective, the teacher is expected to be the more active participant (*veľa naučí* [teaches a lot]; *nevie nič naučiť* [cannot teach anything]; *všetko nám pekne vysvetlila* [she explained everything clearly]; *všetko vysvetlí, keď nevieme* [she explains everything when we do not know]; *vie vysvetliť učivo* [he can explain the curriculum]; *vie naučiť angličtinu* [she can teach English]; *dobre naučí* [she teaches well]. By contrast, a subject who invests a certain degree of energy or effort into perception may be understood as active (*môj názor ovplyvnilo to, že som ju bližšie spoznala* [my opinion was influenced by the fact that I got to know her better]), and thus comes to know the teacher with varying degrees of precision. The pupil's seeing may be imprecise or superficial, as in (*zdá sa mi, že...* [it seems to me that...]), unreflective (*hneď som si všimla, že...* [I immediately noticed that...]), relatively reflective (*myslím si, že...* [I think that...]), or overtly critical (*hodnotím ju* [I evaluate her]). The degree of such precision also affects the temporal duration of the act of seeing, as is evident in statements such as (*nezmenila som svoj názor na ňu* [I have not changed my opinion of her]; *mám stále názor, že...* [I still have the opinion that...]).

From the pupil's perspective, the act of seeing as a mental activity also acquires an evaluative dimension, since the perception of the teacher may be situated along the axis of good–bad (*spolužiáci ju vidia dobre* [classmates see her positively]; *väčšina ju vníma pozitívne* [most perceive her positively]; *chlapci: ja a moji kamoši (ju vidia) zle* [boys: my friends and I see her badly], *baby: väčšina dobre a niektoré zle* [girls: most see her well and some badly]). In the questionnaire material, this evaluative stance semantically overlaps with emotional expressions such as *mám rád(a)* a *nemám rád(a)* [I like (her)“ and „I do not like (her)"] (*mal som ju rád; moc ju nemám rád; nemusím ju; nemám na nej rád...*; *nemal som s ňou žiaden problém; je to hlúpa ukričaná bosorka* [I liked her; I do not like her very much; I do not care for her; there is something about her that I do not like...; I had no problem with her; she is a stupid, loud witch]).

The analysis of the verbally articulated act of seeing suggests that the pupil's perception during puberty (adolescence) acquires features characteristic of adult perception. Sensory perception represents the initial phase of cognition, but this phase is subsequently deepened by the child's mental activity. This is manifested in pupils through varying degrees of personal engagement in the educational process, whether at school (connected with the

teacher's influence and interaction with classmates) or outside school (especially in connection with the family). Accuracy and the span of attention gradually develop into an initial stage of abstract seeing (the perception of how others perceive), and further into evaluative processes associated with increasing critical attitudes toward the school and the teacher.

2.2.3 *The Field and Planes of Seeing*

For the pupil, the center of seeing is constituted by their own perspective (*väčšina ju vidí tak ako ja*) [most perceive her in the same way as I do], from which the perspectives of others extend (toward the periphery), as in (*podľa mňa ju majú radi* [in my opinion they like her;]; *niektorí ju vidia ako ja* [some perceive her as I do]; *moji spolužiaci sa jej podlizujú, iní ju neznášajú, iní asi tak ako ja* [my classmates flatter her, others hate her, and others probably perceive her similarly to me]; *chlapci: ja a moji kamoši ju vidia zle, baby: väčšina dobre a niektoré zle* [boys: my friends and I perceive her negatively, girls: most perceive her positively and some negatively;]; *niektorí kamaráti zo školy ju vidia ako „disco guľu“* [some school friends perceive her as a “disco ball”]). Although the questionnaires contained excerpts indicating that the teacher is perceived from multiple angles, it may nevertheless be said that a pupil aged 10–14 tends to perceive the teacher in a predominantly one-sided manner, oriented above all towards the self, as suggested by statements such as (*vždy mi odpovie správne* [she always answers my questions correctly]; *vie ma pochopiť* [she understands me]; *veľa ma naučila a dúfam, že ma ešte veľa naučí* [she has taught me a lot and I hope she will teach me much more]; *podľa mňa aj dobre vysvetľuje učivo* [in my view she explains the curriculum well]; *vymýšľa blbé výlety, ktoré ma vôbec nebavia* [she organizes silly trips that do not interest me at all]; *najlepšia učiteľka, ktorá mi vyhovuje* [the best teacher, who suits me]; *mám s ňou dobrý vzťah* [I have a good relationship with her]).

The pupil's perspective is shaped by an optic that focuses either on the object as a whole (a complex, but non-specific impact of the object of seeing) or on details associated with that object. A marked percentage difference between these two modes of seeing indicates that this subject of seeing is characterized predominantly by holistic perception (83%) rather than by detailed perception (17%). Macroscopic seeing encompasses imprecise or only minimally reflected characterizations such as *good, bad, kind, likeable, great,*

fine, normal, , etc., which do not require extensive cognitive activity and are associated with a relatively simple classification of the teacher. Detailed perception, by contrast, directs the pupil's attention to a single specific trait or to a distinctive manifestation of the teacher, as in (*poteší aj maličkosťou* [she can please even with a small thing]; *dáva dobré známky* [she gives good grades]; *kamošky sa často vadili a ona ich vedela vždy spriatelíť* [the girls often argued and she always knew how to reconcile them]; *požičia knihy, keď nemáme* [she lends books when we do not have them]; *keď ju máme na telocviku, tak sa vždy pýta báb, čo budeme robiť* [when she teaches us physical education, she always asks the girls what activities we will do]).

From the macroscopic and microscopic fields of seeing there derives, in turn, the pupil's ability to perceive the object only at the surface level (what appears in the foreground) or also to attend to what is not immediately apparent and thus to perceive second, third, and subsequent planes, (what lies in the background). Alongside questionnaire statements capturing evident facts (*je naša triedna* [she is our class teacher]; *učí slovenský jazyk a dejepis* [she teaches Slovak language and history]; *angličtinárka* [an English teacher]; *slovenčinárka* [a Slovak language teacher]; *dnes má dobrú náladu* [today she is in a good mood]) there also appear statements that reveal a deeper perception of the teacher and of her background, as in (*pani učiteľka, o ktorej píšem, by sa mi podľa týchto vlastností hodila ako učiteľka do škôlky* [the teacher I am writing about would, based on these qualities, be suitable for me as a kindergarten teacher]; *je celkom prísna, ale len keď ju nahneváme* [she is quite strict, but only when we make her angry]; *keď má dobrú náladu, je veľmi milá* [when she is in a good mood, she is very kind]; *je prísna, ale chce nám tým povedať, že sa máme poučiť od rozprávania na hodine* [she is strict, but by this she wants to convey that we should learn from talking during the lesson], etc.).

The questionnaires further revealed that pupils capable of perceiving the teacher on second and third planes were also able to characterize her within broader contexts. At first, pupils perceived the teacher within the framework of her professional qualifications (*vzdelaná a veľmi múdra* [educated and very intelligent]; *je dobre vzdelaná* [she is well educated]; *rozumie svojmu predmetu* [she understands her subject]), then within the context of other teachers at the school (*jej kolegyně či kolegovia s ňou nemajú žiadne problémy a majú ju radi* [her colleagues have no problems with her and like her]; *je lepšia ako*

iné učiteľky [she is better than other teachers]; *ona je niečím iná ako ostatné* [she is in some way different from the others]; *najlepšia učiteľka na škole* [the best teacher at the school]), and finally as a person living within her own family or in another out-of-school environment (*vie sa postarať o syna* [she knows how to take care of her son]; *nemá veľa kamarátov* [he does not have many friends]; *je milujúca matka, manželka, dcéra atď.* [she is a loving mother, wife, daughter, etc.]; *pribuzní a priatelia sa s ňou nehádajú a vždy sa dohodnú* [relatives and friends do not argue with her and always reach an agreement]; *pomáha aj ďalším ľuďom* [she helps other people as well]; *má rada deti* [she likes children]). They were also capable of perceiving her as someone living through particular joys and anxieties of life, as in (*občas má zlú náladu, ale je aj šťastnejšia* [she sometimes has a bad mood but is also happier]; *často hovorí o svojom otcovi, že bol veľmi chorý a nakoniec zomrel* [she often talks about her father, who was very ill and eventually passed away]).

The analysis and classification of the questionnaire excerpts from the perspective of the field and planes of seeing suggest that a child in puberty tends to focus primarily on their own visual perspective; a tendency that appears to reflect the egocentrism associated with the search for personal identity. The pupil seeks to belong to a peer group (classmates, friends, etc.), and to share with that group a common view of the teacher, which may often differ from the views held by other groups. alternative opinions do not correspond to the pupil's own perspective, they tend to be rejected. Since the pupil does not yet have sufficiently differentiated life experience, the perception of the teacher remains relatively nonspecific (overly holistic) and is formed on the basis of the pupil's own inner mental world.

2.2.4 Temporal parameters

Relevant linguistic means expressing temporal relations in the image of the teacher from the pupil's perspective include, alongside the verbal categories of person, tense, and aspect, such frequently used adverbs as *najskôr*, *potom*, *zo začiatku*, *stále*, *vždy*, *nikdy*, *teraz*, *dnes*, *často*, *občas*, *niekedy* [at first, then, at the beginning, still, always, never, now, today, often, occasionally, sometimes], as well as the expressions *prvýkrát*, *prvý raz* [for the first time], and temporal subordinate clauses introduced by the hypotactic conjunction *keď* [when]. It is precisely these linguistic indicators that reveal, to a considerable extent, the manner in which the temporal parameter shapes the optic

of seeing. What emerges here is not only the opposition between 1) temporal dynamics (including succession on the axis past – present – future) and 2) stability, but also 3) repetition across different temporal intervals.

1. Temporal dynamics manifests itself in the concept of seeing in two principal ways. On the one hand, it is the subject of seeing that changes over time, as in (*najskôr som ju nemala veľmi rada, ešte keď som bola na prvom stupni; najprv som si myslel, že je zlá, ale potom som zistil, že je dobrá; zo začiatku som nevedel, čo mám od nej čakať, ale potom sa jej tvár dobrá ukázala* [at first I did not like her very much, back when I was in the first stage of primary school; initially I thought she was bad, but then I realized that she is good; at the beginning I did not know what to expect from her, but later her positive side became apparent]). On the other hand, it is the object of seeing itself that changes over time, as in (*zmenila sa v jednej veci – je oveľa prísnejšia; keď som ju mal prvýkrát, myslel som si, že je milá, vtipná, všetko nám dovolila, no s ďalšími ročníkmi sa zhoršila, začala na nás kričať; prvý raz bola veľmi milá a snažila sa byť na nás dobrá* [she changed in one respect – she has become much stricter; when I had her for the first time, I thought she was kind and humorous and allowed us everything, but in subsequent grades she deteriorated and began to shout at us; the first time she was very kind and tried to be good to us]). At times, temporal movement is present simultaneously on the side of both the subject and the object of vision, as in (*veľa ma naučila a dúfam, že ma ešte veľa naučí* [she has taught me a great deal and I hope she will teach me much more]). In this way, both aspects of seeing (the subject and the object) enter into a relationship that determines their simultaneous temporal coexistence, as in (*chalani sú veľmi vtipní, a tak sa skoro stále smejú na blbostiach a práve vtedy sa učiteľka veľmi nahnevá a začne aj kričať; keď sme jej na konci štvrtého ročníka darovali pohár s našimi menami, tiekli jej slzy* [the boys are very funny, so they almost always laugh at silly things and at that moment the teacher gets very angry and starts shouting; when we gave her a glass with our names at the end of the fourth grade, tears flowed from her]).

Temporal dynamics is thus realized through succession along the past–present–future axis, with the present functioning as the dominant and initial temporal point of reference, as in (*Dnes je celkom v pohode* [Today she is quite fine]; *dnes bola dobrá* [today she was good;]; *dnes má dobrú náladu* [today

she is in a good mood]; *teraz, keď je mojou triednou učiteľkou* .. [now, when she is my class teacher ...]. In the pupil's consciousness, however, this present is perceived in relation to previous experience, as in (*viť nám ešte aj teraz poradiť* [she can still advise us even now]). When the teacher is perceived in the past, temporal succession becomes significant, and the child responds sensitively to its absence, as in the statement *last year the respondent did not know her very well*. No questionnaire excerpt occurred, however, in which either the object or the subject of seeing was projected into the future.

2. Stability is represented in cases where the object of seeing appears temporally invariant, as in (*pani učiteľka sa za štyri roky vôbec nezmenila* [the teacher has not changed at all over four years]; *pani učiteľka sa nezmenila, stále je milá* [the teacher has not changed and she is still kind]; *nič sa s ňou nezmenilo* [nothing has changed about her]; *vždy mi odpovie správne* [she always answers me correctly]; *vždy sa správa* [she always behaves properly]; *vždy sa prispôsobí* [she always adapts]; *má vždy dobrú náladu* [she always has a good mood]; *príbuzní a priatelia sa s ňou nehádajú a vždy sa dohodnú* [relatives and friends do not argue with her and always come to an agreement]; *keď za ňou prídem s nejakým problémom, vždy mi poradí* [when I come to her with a problem, she always advises me]). Such temporal invariability may also be observed on the side of the subject of seeing, as in (*nikdy sa na moju triednu pani učiteľku nesťažujem* [I never complain about my class teacher]; *nezmenila som svoj názor na ňu* [have not changed my opinion of her]; *mám stále názor, že ...* [I still have the opinion that ...]).

3. Repetition across various temporal intervals is associated primarily with the object of seeing. The pupil perceives both positively and negatively evaluated aspects of the teacher's behavior, as well as particular character traits, with an indefinite temporal frequency (*niekedy je nechápavá* [sometimes she does not understand]; *niekedy kričí* [sometimes she shouts]; *niekedy je staromódna* [sometimes she is old-fashioned]; *niekedy zlá* [sometimes she is hostile]), with a lower degree of recurrence (*občas je prísna* [sometimes she is strict]; *občas zákerná* [sometimes she is malicious]) or, conversely, with a high degree of frequency across shorter temporal intervals, as in (*často zlá, prísna, ale aj dobrá* [she is often hostile, but also good]; *často dáva poznámky* [she often gives a disciplinary note]).

The analysis of linguistic means expressing temporal parameters suggests that temporal data are not particularly central for the pupil in the perception of the teacher. During adolescence, the present (now, today) remains the most important temporal reference point; unlike earlier developmental stages, however, it appears to encompass a broader temporal scope, including not only the immediate moment, but also the current month or school year. The pupil is capable of perceiving the object within the flow of time, within a given temporal sequence, and from this perspective is likewise capable of perceiving the self. At the same time, the ontogenetic development of memory allows the teacher to be perceived in the past only in a limited way, that is, primarily as present or absent, known or unknown, and the like.

2.2.5 *The Object of Seeing*

The typical object of a pupil's seeing in the school environment is a person in the role of teacher or educator. According to the questionnaire research, pupils perceive their teacher from several perspectives, most notably in pedagogical, psychological, social, and biological terms. At the same time, however, all respondents included in their responses an evaluation of the teacher's overall (holistic) impact, articulated along the axis of good–bad.

The pupil's subjective evaluation of the teacher's overall impact constituted 20% of the recorded excerpts. These responses consisted primarily of positively evaluative adjectives modifying nouns such as *osoba* [person], *žena* [woman], *učiteľka* [teacher]: for example *sympatická* [likeable], *milá* [kind], *dobrá* [good], *dobrosrdečná* [kind-hearted], *láskavá* [affectionate], *príateľská* [friendly], *kamarátska* [mate-like], *normálna* [normal], *usmievavá* [smiling], *prijemná* [pleasant], *spoľahlivá* [reliable], as well as evaluative adjectives with a psychological nuance, such as *slušná* [polite], *sebavedomá* [self-confident], *cieľavedomá* [goal-oriented], *nevulgárna* [non-vulgar], *rozvážna* [thoughtful], *všímavá* [observant].

Such a comprehensive evaluative perspective was also expressed through colloquial linguistic means, especially the indeclinable adjectives *super* and *fajn* [super, fine]. In the respondents' answers, positive evaluation was frequently intensified by adverbial modifiers such as *very* and *quite*. In the case of negative evaluation of the object of seeing, by contrast, the examined group of pupils displayed a markedly narrower repertoire of linguistic means. Alongside the adjectives *zlá* [bad] and *bezcharakterná* [unprincipled], there

also occurred the statement *nemá charakter* [she has no character]. Some respondents formulated their evaluation through contrast, for example *veľmi zlá a aj veľmi milá* [very bad and also very kind], thereby revealing the dynamics of seeing connected with certain temporal changes within which both the subject and the object of seeing operate.

The pupil also notices the teacher's relationship to them both within the instructional process and outside it. The teacher's educational and psychological orientation significantly affects the pupil's perception of them, as is evidenced by 12% of the excerpts drawn from the questionnaires. For pupils, it is particularly important whether the teacher is able to understand and accept them (*vie ma pochopiť* [she understands me]; *každého vie nejakým spôsobom pochopiť a rešpektovať* [she can understand and respect everyone in some way]; *je nechápavá* [it lacks understanding]), whether the teacher likes them (*má nás rada* [she likes us]; *má rada tých, ktorí ju poslúchajú* [she likes those who obey her]) and whether the teacher helps them, primarily through advice, encouragement, or other forms of support (*keď potrebujeme poradiť, pomôže nám* [when we need advice, she helps us]; *rada aj pomôže, keď niečo potrebujeme alebo keď niečo nevieme* [she is also happy to help when we need something or when we do not know something]; *keď niečomu nerozumiem, tak viem, že sa nemusím báť opýtať sa* [when I do not understand something, I know that I do not have to be afraid to ask]; *ochotná pomôcť, poradiť* [willing to help and advise]; *keď niečo potrebujem, vždy mi pomôže* [when I need something, she always helps me]; *každému vždy ochotne poradí a pomôže* [she is always willing to advise and help everyone]; *keď máme nejakú súťaž, určite nás podporí, povzbudí, drží nám palce a hlavne dopraje nám to* [when we have a competition, she definitely supports us, encourages us, keeps her fingers crossed for us, and above all wishes us success]; *ústretová* [she is supportive]; *požičia knihy, keď nemáme* [she lends books when we do not have them]). In this way, the teacher becomes for the child a close figure, a mediator of conflicts, and an initiator of a positive classroom atmosphere, as reflected in (*vždy všetko vyrieši* [she always solves everything]; *kamošky sa často vadili a ona ich vedela vždy spriatelíť* [the girls often argued and she always knew how to reconcile them]; *poteší aj maličkosťou* [she can bring joy even through small gestures]; *dá sa jej zveriť s problémami* [one can confide in her with problems]). At the same time, pupils are aware that the teacher's relation to them depends recipro-

cally on their own relation to her, as indicated by responses such as (*vždy sa správa tak, ako my k nej* [she always behaves toward us as we behave toward her]; *má rada tých, ktorí ju poslúchajú* [she likes those who obey her]; *dáva poznámky, keď sme ako trieda zlí* [she gives a disciplinary note when we, as a class, misbehave]; *mám s ňou dobrý vzťah* [I have a good relationship with her]). The pupil's responses suggest that the teacher's educational and psychological relation to pupils is, from the perspective of the subject of seeing (especially in the case of girls), semantically markedly differentiated and specified. This is evidenced by longer, more elaborated utterances, often formed as coordinate and subordinate complex sentences containing adverbial, attributive, and object clauses.

For both girls and boys, the teacher's ability to teach them something is of equal importance, as is evidenced by 9% of the recorded excerpts. In such cases, pupils, rather from the position of a passive subject of seeing, notice what the teacher has taught them (*vie naučiť angličtinu* [she can teach English]), and the extent of the knowledge they have acquired from her, which they express by means of indefinite quantifiers such as *a lot*, *little*, *enough*, or the pronoun *nothing* combined with a perfective verb (*dokáže veľa naučiť* [she can teach a lot]; *nevie nič naučiť* [she cannot teach anything]; *veľa ma naučila a dúfam, že ma ešte veľa naučí* [she has taught me a great deal and I hope she will teach me much more]; *vie toho dosť naučiť* [she can teach enough]; *chce svojich žiakov čo najviac naučiť* [she wants to teach her pupils as much as possible]). At other times, pupils evaluate this ability either more objectively, as a basic pedagogical and professional competence (*vie naučiť* [she can teach]; *vie vysvetliť učivo* [she can explain the curriculum]; *vie vysvetliť učivo, aj ho precvičiť* [he can explain the curriculum and also practise it]), or more actively, as a quality of the teacher's explanatory performance, signalled by adverbs (*dobre naučí* [she teaches well]; *všetko nám pekne vysvetlila* [she explained everything clearly]; *podľa mňa aj dobre vysvetľuje učivo* [in my view she also explains the curriculum well]). This is especially important to pupils when they do not understand something: (*všetko vysvetlí, keď nevieme* [she explains everything when we do not know]; *naučila ma dobre, čo som nechápal* [she taught me well what I did not understand]; *keď sme niečomu nechápali, bola ochotná nás doučiť* [when we did not understand anything, she was willing to tutor us]). For some more self-aware pupils, the teacher ceases to be perceived as the one who simply provides

all knowledge and instead assumes the role of an important facilitator of the pupil's own learning activity, as in (*snaží sa nám pomôcť s učením* [she tries to help us with learning]). Where such effort on the part of the pupil is absent, however, the teacher's pedagogical ability loses its relevance, as suggested by (*dokáže naučiť, ale mňa nie* [she can teach, but not me]).

Among other characteristics attributed to the teacher, accounting for 6% of the responses, is the level of demands placed on the pupil. This concerns different degrees of strictness (*je prísna* [she is strict]; *je celkom prísna* [she is quite strict]; *trochu prísna* [a bit strict]), which are connected either with respect, as in (*je prísna a mám pred ňou respect* [she is strict and I respect her]; *je prísna, teda mám pred ňou respect* [she is strict, therefore I respect her]) or with educational influence, as in (*je prísna, ale chce nám tým povedať, že sa máme poučiť od rozprávania na hodine* [she is strict, but through this she wants to convey that we should learn from talking during the lesson]). From the pupil's perspective, strictness is not evaluated exclusively negatively and therefore does not stand in clear opposition to an overall positive evaluation, as in (*dobrá, ale aj prísna* [good, yet also strict]). Pupils thus tend to perceive the teacher primarily as someone who demands something of them, rather than as someone who might demand still more or be even stricter. For this reason, insufficient demandingness appears in only 3% of the responses: *nedáva poznámky* [she does not give a disciplinary note]; *je moc mäkká dať niekomu zápis alebo poznámku* [she is too soft to give someone a written warning or a disciplinary note]; *všetko nám dovolila* [she allowed us everything]; *skoro všetko nám odpustila* [she forgave us nearly everything]; *rozmažnávala nás* [she spoiled us]; *všetko uverí* [she believes everything]; *je dôverčivá* [she is trusting].

Justice, which accounts for 6% of the excerpts, is understood both as impartiality in decision-making, as in *vždy všetko spravodlivo rozhodovala* [she always decided everything fairly]; *spravodlivá učiteľka* [a fair teacher]), and as the objective assessment of all pupils. In the questionnaire material, this dimension proved to be particularly salient, especially for boys, who were notably sensitive to manifestations of partiality: (*má slabosť pre niektorých spolužiakov* [she has a weakness for some classmates]; *mala svojich obľúbencov* [she had her favourites]; *nadržiava druhým* [she favours others]; *niektorých nemala rada* [she did not like some]; *polovičku triedy nemala rada* [she did not like half of the class]; *keď ju máme na telocviku, tak sa*

vždy pýta báb, čo budeme robiť [when she teaches us physical education, she always asks the girls what activities we will do]). These are often descriptive statements expressing a perceived lack of fairness, even where the concept of justice itself is not explicitly named.

Pupils are similarly attentive to whether the teacher is entertaining, a feature likewise represented in 6% of excerpts, to the character of the teacher's extracurricular social relationships, which account for a further 6%. In the former case, pupils either perceive the teacher's sense of humour in a relatively detached way (*veselá učiteľka* [a cheerful teacher]; *vtipná* [funny]; *vie sa zasmiať* [she can laugh]; *nevie sa zasmiať* [she cannot laugh;]; *má zmysel pre humor* [she has a sense of humour]; *zábavná* [entertaining]), or present themselves as participants in this dimension of the relationship: (*dá sa s ňou zasmiať* [one can laugh with her]; *vie potešiť a pobaviť* [she can bring joy and entertain]). With regard to social relationships, pupils refer in their responses to: a) family relationships (*vie sa postarať o syna* [he can take care of her son]; *často hovorí o svojom otcovi, že bol veľmi chorý a nakoniec zomrel* [she often talks about her father, who was very ill and eventually passed away]) b) relationships with colleagues (*jej kolegyně či kolegovia s ňou nemajú žiadne problémy a majú ju radi* [her colleagues have no problems with her and like her]), c) relationships with friends (*je dobrá kamarátka* [she is a good friend]; *nemá veľa kamarátov* [she does not have many friends]). At the same time, pupils also characterize the teacher within these relationships and are able to imagine how she behaves within them (*pribuzní a priatelia sa s ňou nehádajú a vždy sa dohodnú* [relatives and friends do not argue with her and always come to an agreement]; *osoba, ktorá vždy pomôže, ale nie vždy jej to je vrátené* [a person who always helps but is not always reciprocated;]; *pomáha aj ďalším ľuďom* [she also helps other people]; *má rada ľudí*; *má rada deti* [she likes people; she likes children;]; *dobrá kuchárka* [a good cook]).

Among other characteristics noticed by the subject of seeing is the teacher's physical aspect, which accounts for 5.65% of excerpts and includes a relatively description of external appearance (figure, height, hair colour, etc.), as well as the teacher's manner of dressing. The pupil also perceives the teacher's expressive abilities and communicative competence, represented in 5% of the responses, as indicated by *verba dicendi* (*veľa rozpráva* [she talks a lot]; *rada rozpráva* [she likes to talk]; *dá sa s ňou normálne rozprávať*

[one can communicate with her normally]; *dobre sa s ňou dá porozprávať* [it is easy to talk with her]; *dá sa s ňou komunikovať* [one can communicate with her]; *vie toho dosť narozprávať* [she can talk quite a lot]). Pupils' perspectives are also directed toward the teacher's education, professionalism, and intellect, which together account for 4% of the excerpts and are associated almost exclusively with positive evaluation (e.g. *vzdelaná a veľmi mudra* [educated and very intelligent]; *rozumná žena* [a reasonable woman]; *múdra osoba* [a wise person]; *profesionálny pedagóg* [a professional educator]; *je dobre vzdelaná* [she is well educated]; *rozumie svojmu predmetu* [she understands her subject]; *vždy mi odpovie správne* [she always answers my questions correctly]).

The pupil's perception of their teacher also includes comparison with other educators a feature represented in 3% of the excerpts. This comparison is expressed either through comparative and superlative adjective forms (*je lepšia ako iné učiteľky* [she is better than other teachers]; *najlepšia učiteľka na škole* [the best teacher at the school]; *najlepšia učiteľka, ktorá mi vyhovuje* [the best teacher for me]) or through periphrastic constructions such as (*ona je niečím iná ako ostatné* [she is in some way different from the others]; *patri medzi moje obľúbené učiteľky* [she is among my favourite teachers]; *keby som mal inú p. učiteľku, bol by som úplne iný* [if I had a different teacher, I would be completely different]). Pupils devote an equivalent degree of attention to the teacher's mood, likewise represented in 3% of the material, which they perceive either as stable (*má vždy dobrú náladu* [she always has a good mood]), or changeable (*občas má zlú náladu, ale je aj šťastnejšia* [sometimes she has a bad mood, but she is also happier]; *dnes má dobrú náladu* [today she is in a good mood]). According to pupils, the teacher's mood influences her further behaviour toward them, as in (*keď má dobrú náladu, je veľmi milá* [when she is in a good mood, she is very kind]), although they also perceive the opposite causal relation, that is, the way in which pupil behaviour affects the teacher's mood (*rozčuluje sa, keď nestíhame s učivom, keď nie je v škole tri mesiace* [she becomes upset when we do not keep up with the curriculum, when she has been absent from school for three months]; *keď ju spolužiaci naštvú, je nahnevaná* [when classmates irritate her, she becomes angry]). The teacher's professional role or position, which also appears in 3% of the material, likewise forms part of the set of characteristics selected by the subject of seeing, as in (*je mojou triednou učiteľkou* [she is my class teacher];

p. učiteľka, o ktorej píšem, by sa mi podľa týchto vlastností hodila ako učiteľka do škôlky [based on these qualities, the teacher I am writing about would be suitable for me as a kindergarten teacher]).

In the questionnaires further yielded isolated pupil statements relating to the teacher's professional specialization (2%), gender categorization (2%), grading method (1%), creativity (1%), modernity (1%), as well as their leisure-time interests (1%). Taken together, all of these features form the linguistically constructed mental image of the teacher. On the basis of this selection of characteristics pertaining to the object of seeing, it may be concluded that pupils perceive their teacher primarily from pedagogical and psychological perspectives, to which additional social and biological characteristics are attached. The prominence of characterizations relating to the teacher's overall impact suggests the predominance of a holistic worldview with a relatively low degree of differentiation, something that may be understood as a consequence of both the quantity and the quality of adolescent experience. At the same time, the selection of characteristics attributed to the teacher is influenced by further traits of the pupil's own personality, as these emerged from the linguistic analysis of the individual aspects of pupil seeing, especially the act and the perspective of seeing.

The Pupil as the Subject of Seeing in Educational Communication

The material obtained from 43 completed questionnaires provided a rich corpus of linguistic expressions centred on a common theme, namely the perception of the teacher. The producer of these texts is an adolescent pupil who, as the subject of seeing, is profiled through the manner of perception (the act of seeing), the perspective from which the teacher is perceived (the field and planes of seeing), the selection of the teacher's characteristics (the object of seeing), and the temporal relations within which the teacher is perceived (temporal parameters). The pupil's linguistic expression is characterized by specific features which, especially in the domains of lexis and syntax, have a colloquial and not infrequently also an expressive character.

The questionnaire responses demonstrated that such texts form a specific discourse type with a clearly defined author, theme, and relation to the surrounding environment (the educational institution of a school discourse, such as, the classroom). Within this type of discourse, multiple perspectives coexist which, on the one hand, continually reveal new aspects of the perceived object and thereby enrich its image, but which, on the other hand,

may also generate a certain mismatch, communicative barriers, misunderstandings, and even conflict. In connection with earlier research (Bartmiński – Niebrzegowska-Bartmińska, 2004, p. 344–345), four types of relationships between subjects and objects of seeing may be distinguished:

1. the same subject changes perspective and thus creates a new image of the same object;
2. different subjects capture different aspects of the same object, thereby creating a more complex discourse at a higher level;
3. the perspectives of several subjects are layered upon one another, with one encompassing another;
4. different subjects, each operating from their own perspective, create contradictory images of the same object that do not coincide.

1. The individual questionnaires showed that it is neither easy nor self-evident for respondents to indicate a change in their own perspective. The pupil often finds it difficult to acknowledge that their perception of the teacher may change and most frequently remains with a single opinion shaped by the initial impression (Respondent no. 16: *Pani učiteľka bola na prvom stupni skôr taká „detská“. Určite je aj teraz taká, ale ... Neučí ma. Nevie.* [In the first stage of primary school, the teacher was rather “childish”. She is certainly still like that now, but ... She does not teach me. I do not know.]). In some questionnaires, however, we recorded changing optics of seeing, realized mainly in connection with the temporal parameter (Respondent no. 3: : *Najskôr som ju nemala veľmi rada, ešte keď som bola na prvom stupni. Pôsobila na mňa dosť zle a dúfala som, že nebude moja triedna. Teraz ju mám rada a som šťastná, že je naša triedna. Je aj celkom priateľská. Rada aj pomôže, keď niečo potrebujeme alebo keď niečo nevieme.* [At first I did not like her very much, back when I was in the first stage of primary school. She made a rather negative impression on me and I hoped she would not become my class teacher. Now I like her and I am happy that she is our class teacher. She is also quite friendly. She is willing to help when we need something or when we do not know something]; Respondent no. 28: *Najprv (v 1. ročníku) som si myslel, že je zlá, ale potom som zistil, že je dobrá.* [At first (in the first grade) I thought she was bad, but then I realized that she is good.]). A similar shift may also arise when

one's own perspective is confronted with that of others: (*Zlá, ale pre nich dobrá*. [Bad, but good for them.]).

2. When several subjects perceive the same person, an effect of perspectival multiplicity may arise. Within the discourse examined through the questionnaire survey, conducted among classmates sharing one and the same object of seeing, several distinct characteristics of a single teacher were revealed. Each pupil in the class perceives the teacher from a particular aspect, and in this way the discourse acquires a more complex form. Some respondents focused primarily on the teacher's communicative abilities (*dá sa s ňou komunikovať* – [one can communicate with her] – respondent no. 15), others on her professional role (*by sa mi podľa týchto vlastností hodila ako učiteľka do škôlky* [based on these qualities, she would be suitable as a kindergarten teacher] – respondent no. 16), others on gender categorization (*je ženská* [she is female] – respondent no. 17), others on her psychological relationship to pupils (*dá sa jej zveriť s problémami; kamôšky sa vadili a ona ich vedela spriateliť; keď máme súťaž, podporí nás, povzbudí, drží nám palce ...* [one can confide in her with problems; the girls argued and she knew how to reconcile them; when we have a competition, she supports us, encourages us, and keeps her fingers crossed] – respondents nos. 18, 20, 21), others on her sense of fairness (*mala svojich obľúbencov* [she had her favourites] – respondent no. 8), others on her sense of humour (*má zmysel pre humor* [she has a sense of humour] – respondent no. 24), others on extracurricular social relationships (*pomáha ďalším ľuďom* [she helps other people] – respondent no. 27).
3. The questionnaire responses also contain situations in which the perspectives of individual pupils within one class converge and are layered upon one another, thereby creating a harmonious image of the teacher. This may be observed, for example, in the following responses from pupils in a single class: *Hlavu má valcovitú a tvár usmievavú*. [Her head is cylindrical and her face is smiling.] (Respondent no. 37), *Je usmievavá* [She is smiling.] (Respondent no. 29) *Za milým úsmevom vidno biele zuby*. [Behind the kind smile, white teeth are visible.] (Respondent no. 33), *Má vždy dobrú náladu ...* [She always has a good mood ...] (Respondent no. 32), *Dobre sa s ňou dá porozprávať a zasmiať* [It is easy to talk and laugh with her.] (Respondent no. 35).

4. At other times, the perspectives of individual subjects of seeing may be not only differ, but may lead to contradictory images of the same object.

Respondent no. 14: *Svoju triednu učiteľku vidím ako hlúpu ukričanú bosorku, ktorá je rada, keď niekomu na niečo príde. Keď som ju mal prvýkrát, myslel som si, že je milá, vtipná, všetko nám dovolila. No s ďalšími ročníkmi sa zhoršila, začala na nás kričať.* [I perceive my class teacher as a stupid, loud witch who is glad when she can catch someone out. When I had her for the first time, I thought she was kind and humorous and allowed us everything. However, in the following grades she got worse and started shouting at us.];

Respondent no. 2: *Dnes ju vidím ako vzdelanú a veľmi múdru ženu. Veľma naučila a dúfam, že ma ešte veľa naučí.* [Today I perceive her as an educated and very intelligent woman. She has taught me a great deal, and I hope she will teach me much more.];

Respondent no.3: *Najskôr som ju nemala veľmi rada, ešte keď som bola na prvom stupni. Pôsobila na mňa dosť zle a dúfala som, že nebude moja triedna. Teraz ju mám rada a som šťastná, že je naša triedna. Je aj celkom priateľská. Rada aj pomôže, keď niečo potrebujeme alebo keď niečo nevieme.* [Initially, I did not like her very much, when I was still in the first stage of primary school. She made a rather negative impression on me, and I hoped she would not become my class teacher. Now I like her and I am happy that she is our class teacher. She is also quite friendly. She is willing to help when we need something or when we do not understand something.];

Respondent no. 1: *Teraz, keď je mojou triednou učiteľkou, myslím si, že je menej prísna, ale dokáže veľa naučiť. Je lepšia, ako iné učiteľky.* [Now that she is my class teacher, I think she is less strict, yet she is able to teach a great deal. She is better than other teachers.];

While respondents nos. 1, 2, and 3 construct a positive image of the teacher as (friendly, educated and intelligent, having changed for the better), respondent no. 14 perceives the same person in an entirely different way as (conflictual, stupid, bad, changed for the worse).

2.4 Profile of the Conceptualizer of SEEING

The questionnaire research made it possible to reconstruct the profile of the adolescent child in relation to the teacher on the basis of the linguistic artic-

ulation of the act of seeing. From the perspective of the act of seeing itself, of the field and planes of seeing, of the selection of the teacher's characteristics, and of the perception of time, the pupil may be profiled by means of the following features:

1. From the perspective of the ACT OF SEEING: a) the pupil is mentally active, b) the pupil displays varying degrees of perceptual accuracy, c) the pupil's perception is evaluative and critical, with a strong emotional coloring;
2. From the perspective of the FIELD AND PLANES OF SEEING: a) the center of the pupil's perception is the pupil's own perspective, b) the pupil's perception is predominantly macroscopic and oriented towards the whole, c) the pupil observe not only what appears in the first plane (in the foreground), but also to what lies in the background (showing an interest in broader contexts);
3. from the perspective of the TIME OF SEEING: a) the pupil perceives time both as flowing and as repetitive, b) over time, the pupil observes both change and stability on the part of the subject as well as of the object;
4. From the perspective of the SELECTION OF THE OBJECT'S ATTRIBUTES: a) the pupil observes the object's (teacher's) overall impact, b) the teacher's educational, psychological, and pedagogical relationship to the pupil, c) the teacher's personal competences.

The pupil thus profiled produces a specific type of discourse, one of a dynamic character, manifested in the various relationships established between individual subjects and the shared object of seeing. School discourse can significantly influence the further formation of the adolescent's personality, first in the role of pupil and later in that of student. For this reason, its investigation through spontaneous linguistic utterances recorded from pupils in questionnaire responses appears equally necessary. Although the results presented here were obtained through research conducted in Slovak schools, they may also serve as valuable comparative material in other national contexts.

CONCLUSION

In recent years, contemporary Slovak studies have engaged with foreign ethnolinguistic and cognitive-linguistic research at both interpretative and the theoretical levels. There nevertheless remains considerable scope for a more comprehensive and systematic approach to the issue through the integration of cognitive ethnolinguistics with the broader objectives of Slovak studies, an approach pursued in the present publication. The specificity of the Slovak language and literature, as well as Slovak culture, history, and tradition, opens up possibilities for perspectives and angles of view that have remained either unnoticed or marginal within research on other languages, including the Slavic languages. Some of these were identified in previous partial studies, while others were revealed through the interpretative probes presented in the third part of this publication and through the explication of cognitive-linguistic terminology in its second part. Many more, however, remain and “await” the patient efforts of researchers to reconstruct individual fragments of the distinctive worldview embedded in Slovak cognition.

Youth discourse and traditional folk discourse may be regarded as two boundary domains between which movements into other communicative spheres of social life take place, including media, religious, cultural-artistic, and political discourse, among others. In this respect, the subject of seeing is of central importance, since it determines perspective and angle of view. It is both possible and to be expected that, when the subject of seeing changes in relation to the same object, the angle of view, the aspects of seeing, and indeed the entire profile of the object will also be modified. The dynamics of the value system likewise appear particularly significant, as they are shaped by social change and indicate the vitality of a given value, as has been demonstrated in the case of the value *práca* [work].

Cognitive ethnolinguistics represents a promising methodological framework capable of identifying numerous implicit features present in Slovak vocabulary, grammar, and in both traditional and contemporary texts. For those who wish to become acquainted with its possibilities, the present monograph offers supporting material that can and should be further expanded and deepened by subsequent research. The dissemination of these findings into the awareness of the general language user should appear self-evident in

practice, however, it encounters a number of predictable difficulties. There are several ways of addressing these difficulties, but they should begin above all at the level of primary education, and partly even pre-primary education, and continue throughout the subsequent stages of primary and secondary schooling. What is involved here, above all, is the gradual cultivation of awareness of one's own identity and the formation of a personality capable of adopting a responsible attitude toward personal life as well as toward the quality of existence of the community and the nation; capable of entering into meaningful dialogue in situations in which differing opinions and attitudes generate conflict; and, finally, capable of preserving integrity within a pluralistic society.

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