

Table of Contents

Dirk Geeraerts	
Romantic and Rationalist Models of Linguistic Diversity	2
Bogusław Bierwiaczonek	
People as points of reference.	
How famous and infamous individuals become part of language	20
Adam Głaz	
On foci, contexts, figures, and grounds	34
Agnieszka Uberman	
Knowledge-related metaphors and proverbs in English and Polish	48
Ewa Gieroń-Czepczor	
National cultural values in folk wisdom:	
The Indulgence (versus Restraint) Dimension in Polish proverbs	59
Bogdan Pavliy	
Bilinguals and multilinguals in a foreign language environment:	
A case study on the language use of Ukrainians in Japan	78
Aleksandar Trklja	
Distributional semantics and the study of (a)telicity	93
Agnieszka Grzaśko	
To devour one's love:	
The concept of TASTE in the world of endearments	118
Karolina Kurowska	
The continuous dissemination of stereotypes¹ or	
a stride towards gender equality? Some remarks on the image of the	
contemporary woman and man in women's press (on the example of	
<i>Women's Health</i>)	130

¹The question of whether the magazine disseminates stereotypes or not can be better addressed by referring to some common social stereotypes of women and men in America (cf., for instance, Hinton 2020).

Romantic and Rationalist Models of Linguistic Diversity

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Applying the notion of "cultural model" as customary in Cognitive Linguistics to the ideology of language (and specifically, the evaluation of language diversity, both from an intralinguistic and an interlinguistic perspective), the paper argues that four basic ideologies may be identified: a rationalist and a romantic one, and a nationalist and a postmodern one. The two initial ideologies are underlying, antithetically related models. The two final ones are both syncretical models, in the sense that they try to transcend the initial antithesis. The paper explores the internal logic of the models, the discursive rhetoric that accompanies them, and (specifically for the two synthetic models) their internal tensions.

Key words: *cultural model, language variation, romantic, rationalist, nationalism, postmodernism*

1. Introduction

The question I would like to address in this brief, highly synthetic paper involves the social conceptualization of language variation and linguistic uniformity: what are the cultural models that shape our thinking about language variation, what is their internal logic and their mutual relationship, and how did they evolve through time? The points I intend to make are the following; these will also determine the structure of the text:

- there are two basic cultural models of language variation: a rationalist and a romantic one;
- these have an oppositional and to some degree dialectical relationship to each other;
- in two different historical stages in the evolution of the modern world, ideological attempts to reconcile the models have emerged, but these – a nationalist one and a postmodern one – do not entirely resolve the intrinsic tension between both models.

The immediate background of the present paper is my 2003 article “Cultural models of linguistic standardization”, in which I first presented the mirroring rationalist and romantic views of language variation. Geeraerts (2008) contains an abridged version of this model of models, with specific attention for their contemporary, postmodern versions. The present article will give a succinct and schematic introduction to the models that emphasizes their irreducible relationship. The paper will overlap substantially with the 2003 and 2008 papers, but I will add a number of new elements: additional quotations illustrating the various positions, a systematic description of the argumentative relationship between the models, an improved description of their combination in nationalist and postmodern ideologies, and a brief overview of the reception of the 2003 paper.

As a first preliminary remark, let me specify the notion of ‘cultural model’. As used in Cognitive Linguistics, cultural models are cognitive models active within a culture: possibly competing frames of construal used for conceptualizing realities, that have a social presence within a community (see e.g. Lakoff 1996, Dirven, Hawkins and Sandikcioglu 2001, Dirven, Frank and Ilie 2001). This naturally implies that cultural models may be culturally variable. In the present article, this variability takes a historical form, but apart from that, I will not be

looking into the question whether there is cultural variability in the language models. While it is definitely part of the approach to assume that some cultures or communities may lean more towards the romantic or more towards the rationalist viewpoint, a more radical form of variation would be if the twin models in their dialectic relation are themselves culturally specific, i.e. if some linguistic communities confronted with language variation employ radically different models that do not even remotely fall within the romantic-rationalist spectrum. The very fact that I am referring to ‘romantic’ and ‘rationalist’ models that emerged in the 18th century indicates that they have a culture-specific background, and accordingly, it is legitimate to question their universal validity. But an answer to that question clearly lies beyond the scope of the present article.

As a second preliminary remark, I should place the topic in the broader context of my work. Within the multi-faceted framework of Cognitive Linguistics, I have repeatedly argued for the incorporation of a social conception of language – what I have called the ‘sociosemiotic commitment’ of Cognitive Linguistics, as complementary to the ‘cognitive commitment’ (Geeraerts 2016). The implementation of that commitment takes the form of Cognitive Sociolinguistics as the study of ‘variation of meaning and the meaning of variation’ (Kristiansen and Dirven 2008, Geeraerts 2018). The second dimension of the double perspective involves the way in which language users categorise language variation, that is to say, the way in which they perceive, identify, and evaluate different forms of language behaviour. Roughly speaking, we could then say that the cultural models we are discussing here constitute the high end of a schematic cline of language attitudes. When we are looking at implicit linguistic attitudes, we are basically observing how language users evaluate specific speakers in terms of their linguistic habits. One step higher, we can investigate the explicit opinions that speakers have with regard to specific language varieties, like whether a specific dialect is beautiful not, or whether a specific style is appropriate for a given occasion. On the highest level of abstraction, the level where the current argumentation plays out, we consider the categories and evaluations with which people target, not individual language varieties or the speakers producing those varieties, but language variation per se.

2. A conceptual characterization of the models

As a first major step, let us now look at the basics of the two models. I will first present two older quotations that may serve to introduce the two positions. Next, these positions will be presented in detail in analytic fashion, and their philosophical background will be illustrated.

In (1), Henri Baptiste Grégoire addresses the Convention, the revolutionary French parliament, to persuade them to abolish the use of dialects and minority language, and to only accept French as the national language. The argument frames language as an instrument of communication, and linguistic diversity as an impediment to mutual understanding. Such communicative efficiency is not just a goal in itself. As shown in (2), it specifically also serves a sociopolitical purpose: as the language of instruction, it educates the uncultivated, and at the same time contributes to their political emancipation, by ensuring that they can fully participate in the political process.

- (1) On peut assurer sans exagération qu'au moins 6 millions de Français, surtout dans les campagnes, ignorent la langue nationale ; qu'un nombre égal est à peu près incapable de soutenir une conversation suivie ; qu'en dernier résultat, le nombre de ceux qui la parlent purement n'excède pas 3 millions, et probablement le nombre de ceux qui l'écrivent correctement est encore moindre. Ainsi, avec 30 patois différents, nous sommes encore pour le langage à la Tour de Babel, tandis que pour la liberté, nous formons l'avant-garde des nations.

(...) Mais au moins on peut uniformer le langage d'une grande Nation de manière que tous les citoyens qui la composent puissent sans obstacle se communiquer leurs pensées. Cette entreprise, qui ne fut pleinement exécutée chez aucun peuple, est digne du peuple français, qui centralise toutes les branches de l'organisation sociale, et qui doit être jaloux de consacrer au plus tôt, dans une République une et indivisible, l'usage unique et invariable de la langue de la liberté.

[We can affirm without exaggeration that at least 6 million French, specifically in the countryside, ignore the national language; and that more or less the same number is not capable of entertaining a longer conversation; as a result, that the number of those who speak it properly does not exceed 3 million, and that the number of those who write it correctly is even smaller. Thus, with 30 different dialects, we are linguistically still at the Tower of Babel, whereas with regard to liberty, we form the avant-garde of the nations . (...) But we can uniformize the language of a great Nation in such a way that all the citizens that constitute it can communicate their thoughts among each other without problems. The French people must take care, in a Republic that is one and indivisible, to consecrate the unique and invariable usage of the language of freedom.]

L'abbé Grégoire, *L'unité de langue* 4 juin 1794

- (2) Tous les membres du souverain sont admissibles à toutes les places; il est à désirer que tous puissent successivement les remplir, et retourner à leurs professions agricoles ou mécaniques. Cet état de choses nous présente l'alternative suivante: si ces places sont occupées par des hommes incapables de s'exprimer, d'écrire dans la langue nationale, les droits des citoyens seront-ils bien garantis par des actes dont la rédaction présentera l'impropriété des termes, l'imprécision des idées, en un mot tous les symptômes de l'ignorance? (...) Ainsi l'ignorance de la langue compromettrait le bonheur social ou détruirait l'égalité.

[All members of the sovereign people are eligible for all positions. It is desirable that all may successively fill these positions, and afterwards return to their agricultural or industrial professions. This state of affairs yields the following alternative. If the positions are taken up by men incapable of expressing themselves or of writing in the national language, will the rights of the citizens be safeguarded by laws that are characterized by improper choice of words, by imprecise ideas, in short by all symptoms of ignorance? (...) Thus, ignorance of the language either compromises social happiness or destroys equality.]

L'abbé Grégoire, *L'unité de langue* 4 juin 1794

In (3) and (4), by contrast, language is not framed as an instrument of mutual understanding, but primarily as expressing an identity. It embodies the common customs, the

look on life, the shared history of a people. As such, language in Herder's conception is just as much a sociopolitical factor as in Grégoire's, but crucially, the causality goes in the opposite direction. In Grégoire's rationalist view, the community results from the use of a common language. People become a body politic because they use a mutually understandable language to decide on their common fate; by using the common language, individuals may become a fully fledged member of the democratic community (even though language will not be the only relevant factor, to be sure). In Herder's romantic view, community membership precedes language choice: people opt for a specific language because they already belong to the people that finds its identity embodied in the language. Simplistically, in one case, community membership follows from language use, in the other, language use follows from community membership.

- (3) Der schönste Versuch über die Geschichte und mannigfaltige Charakteristik des menschlichen Verstandes und Herzens wäre also eine philosophische Vergleichung der Sprachen; denn in jede derselben ist der Verstand eines Volks und sein Charakter geprägt

[The most beautiful investigation into the history and the manifold nature of the human mind and heart would then be a philosophical comparison of languages, because in each of them the mind of a people and its character are expressed]

Johann Gottfried Herder, *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit* 9.II 1784-1791

- (4) Hat wohl, zumal ein unkultiviertes Volk, ein Volk etwas Lieberes als die Sprache seiner Väter? In ihr wohnet sein ganzer Gedankenreichtum an Tradition, Geschichte, Religion und Grundsätzen des Lebens, alles, sein Herz und seine Seele. Einem solchen Volk seine Sprache nehmen oder herabwürdigen, heißt, ihm sein einzig, unsterbliches Eigentum nehmen, das von Eltern auf Kinder fortgeht

[Does a people, especially an uncultivated people, cherish anything more than the language of their fathers? In it lives its whole wealth of ideas about tradition, history, religion and principles of life, everything, its heart and soul. To deprive such a people of its language, or to disparage it, means to take away its only, immortal property, which goes from parents to children]

Johann Gottfried Herder, *Briefe zur Beförderung der Humanität* II.10 1793.

Given this initial acquaintance with the two perspectives, they can now be systematically characterized along three dimensions: a semiotic dimension involving the nature of language; a social dimension involving the role of language in society; and an ethical dimension, involving the contribution of language to empowerment and social emancipation. Importantly, the two perspectives are straightforwardly antithetical with regard to each of the three dimensions.

In the rationalist view,

- the proper essence of language is communicative, as a medium of interaction;
- specifically, it is a neutral medium for communicating in a (political) community – neutral in the sense that differences among interlocutors are neutralized;

- as such, it is an instrument of participation and emancipation in a democratic society
- accordingly, any citizen has the right to gain access to that instrument through education.

In the romantic view,

- the proper essence of language is cognitive, as a medium of expression;
- specifically, it expresses an individual or collective identity – identity in the sense of a particular way of seeing the world;
- as such, linguistic variation stands for authenticity and freedom of expression;
- accordingly, any citizen or group has the right to claim respect for their language.

If we delve a little bit deeper into the philosophical background of the basic 18th century perspectives, it can be seen that they are associated with different views on the emergence of language. In a rationalist perspective, language originates as an interpersonal communicative gesture, while in a romantic perspective, language originates as the expression of a world view or a specific experience of the world. The latter may be illustrated by (5), in which Herder describes the birth of language: the passage explains how man, in giving names to the animals (in this case, a sheep) identifies and expresses a specific salient feature (in this case, the sheep's bleating). Language, in other words, involves an experientially grounded cognitive act of categorization.

Herder's story may be contrasted with Condillac's view about the origins of language in (6). Whereas Herder looks for the origins of language in a cognitive, epistemological urge to identify things (and more specifically, to identify them in a specific way that reflects man's understanding of the things in question), Condillac points to a communicative situation. In his story about two children, he describes how a cry for help by one is recognized by the other, and is gradually conventionalized as a specific sign.

- (5) Weiss, sanft, wollicht – seine besonnen sich übende Seele sucht ein Merkmal, – das Schaaf blöcket! sie hat Merkmal gefunden. Der innere Sinn würket. Dies Blöcken, das ihr am stärksten Eindruck macht, das sich von allen andern Eigenschaften des Beschauens und Betastens losriss, hervorsprang, am tiefsten eindrang, bleibt ihr. Das Schaaf kommt wieder. Weiss, sanft, wollicht – sie sieht, tastet, besinnet sich, sucht Merkmal – es blöcket, und nun erkennet sies wieder! 'Ha! du bist das Blöckende!' fühlt sie innerlich, sie hat es Menschlich erkannt, da sies deutlich, das ist, mit einem Merkmal, erkennet und nennet.

[White, gentle, woolly – its calmly searching soul is looking for a characteristic, – the sheep is bleating! It has found a characteristic. The inner sense works. This bleating, which make the strongest impression on it, which broke away from all other qualities of observation and touch, emerged, penetrated most deeply, remains with it. The sheep comes again. White, gentle, woolly – it sees, gropes, reflects, looks for a feature – it bleats, and now the soul recognizes it again! 'Ha! it is the bleating one!' it feels inwardly, it has recognized it humanly, since it clearly, that is, with a characteristic, recognizes and names it]

Johann Gottfried Herder, *Abhandlung über den Ursprung der Sprache* 1772

- (6) Celui qui souffroit parce qu'il étoit privé d'un objet que ses passions lui rendoient nécessaire, ne s'en tenoit pas à pousser des cris: il faisoit des efforts pour l'obtenir, il agitoit sa tête, ses bras, et toutes les parties de son corps. L'autre, ému à ce spectacle, fixoit les yeux sur le même objet; et (...) il souffroit de voir souffrir ce misérable. Dès ce moment il se sent intéressé à le soulager, et il obéit à cette impression, autant qu'il est en son pouvoir. Ainsi, par le seul instinct, ces hommes se demandoient et se prêtoient de secours (...). Cependant les mêmes circonstances ne purent se répéter souvent, qu'ils n'accoutumassent enfin à attacher aux cris des passions et aux différentes actions du corps, des perceptions qui y étoient exprimées d'une manière si sensibles.

[He who suffered because he was deprived of an object his passions rendered necessary for him, did not just send out cries: he tried to get hold of it, shook his head, his arms, and all the parts of his body. The other person, moved by this spectacle, fixed his eyes on the same object, and suffered from seeing the other suffer. From that moment on, he feels inclined to help him and gives in to this feeling to the best of his possibilities. But the same circumstances would not occur regularly, or they got used to associate the passionate cries and the bodily gestures with the views and perceptions they so sensitively expressed]

Etienne Bonnot de Condillac, *Essai sur l'origine des connaissances humaines* 1746

The characterization that I have given of Herder's position suggests a certain affinity between a Herder-like focus on language as experience-based cognition, and the cognitive linguistic attention for language as embodied categorization. At the same time, the converse perspective in which language is seen as a common communicative tool links up with a more socially oriented view of the language – what I referred to earlier as ‘the sociosemiotic commitment’. In this sense, my insistence on the importance of a sociosemiotic perspective complementing a more narrowly ‘cognitive’ one doubles the point I am trying to make about the joint relevance of a rationalist alongside a romantic model in the debate about language diversity.

3. A rhetorical characterization of the models

Now that the two basic models have been conceptually pitted against each other, a second major step can be taken: how do they relate rhetorically to each other? What types of argumentation are invoked for or against one or the other position? To bring some structure into the overview, it is useful to distinguish three kinds of argumentation: straightforward arguments in favor of one of views, dialectic counterarguments, in which the models are turned against themselves, and inverted arguments, in which the motivating perspective of one model is used to argue in favor of the other. The direct arguments for or against a rationalist and romantic model of language diversity follow fairly straightforwardly from the initial description in the previous section.

- The rationalist tendency to minimize linguistic diversity (or at least, to overarch it by a common language) invokes the usefulness of a shared language, the neutrality of a common language that belongs to all and does not betray a specific geographic or social identity, its

importance as a medium of social, political, economic participation, and its value for education and cultural emancipation.

- The romantic inclination to celebrate and protect linguistic diversity refers to the close link between language, culture, and identity, to the authenticity and naturalness of the identitarian language, to the importance of being respected in one's identity, and to the relevance of maintaining diversity.

The following contemporary quotations may illustrate some of these arguments. At the same time, they demonstrate that the two models are still alive in current debates, i.e. even if they find their origins in the 18th century, they still have current relevance. Both quotations are taken from interviews in quality newspapers.

- (7) El español no es seña de identidad ni emblema ni bandera ... La vieja lengua de mil años y miles de caminos no es vernácula ya en ninguna parte, ni siquiera en la vieja Castilla donde nació ... [ha] devenido en pura esencia lingüística, es decir, en un valiosísimo instrumento de comunicación entre
[Spanish is not a sign of identity, not an emblem or a banner... The old language of a thousand years and a thousand roads is nowhere a vernacular (a local language), not even in Castille where it was born. It has become a pure linguistic essence, that is to say, a most worthy instrument of communication between peoples and communities, a plurinational and multi-ethnic language]
Gregorio S. Caja, *El País* 1995
- (8) Because of colonisation, globalisation and the worldwide move to cities in the last 30 years, a handful of global languages increasingly dominates: (...) 40% of us speak one of just eight languages: Mandarin, Spanish, English, Hindi, Portuguese, Bengali, Russian and Japanese.
"We are losing the richness of human diversity, becoming more and more similar. The languages we speak define how we think and understand the world," says Mandana Seyfeddinipur, director of the endangered languages archive at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.
"The loss of human culture is frightening," says Loh. "Nearly all the threatened languages are spoken by indigenous peoples and, along with the languages, the traditional knowledge of these cultures is being forgotten."
Jonathan Loh, *The Guardian* 2014

The basic argumentative opposition between the two models is enriched by counterarguments dialectically subverting the main arguments or assumptions associated with a given position. This is most commonly the case with the rationalist position, which champions of diversity may expose as an ideology, i.e. as a conceptual cover-up of what is actually a mechanism of oppression and exclusion. Linguistic standardization and the propagation of a common language, it is argued, do not achieve the enlightened ideals they aim at but rather realize the reverse. Philosophically speaking, a critical stance of this type boils down to a demonstration that linguistic standardization exemplifies what Horkheimer and Adorno (1947) called the 'Dialektik der Aufklärung' – the (negative) dialectic of

Enlightenment. Horkheimer and Adorno argue that rationalist positions have a tendency to lead to their own dialectical counterpart, in the sense for instance in which a growing technical mastery of man over nature may lead to the destruction of the natural world. So how would this work in the case of language?

As an example, we may have a look at the alleged neutrality of standard languages. Standard languages, in contrast with dialects, are general in three different ways: geographically, in the sense that they overarch the more restricted areas of application of dialects; socially, because they constitute a common language that is not the property of a single social group but that is available to all; thematically, in the sense that they are not restricted in terms of the semantic domains they cover. But that is an ideal situation, and the actual realization of the ideal may contradict the ideal.

First, standard languages are supposed to be geographically neutral, but in actual practice, processes of standardization often have their starting-point in a specific region that is economically, culturally, and/or politically dominant. For people in the other, outer provinces, then, the standard language is not an impartial medium, but it rather affirms the dominance of the leading province.

Second, standard languages are supposed to be functionally general, but to the extent that a language community is not entirely standardized, they are typically used in cultural, educational, scientific, administrative, and political contexts. Thus, if the standard language is the language of public life, the non-standard varieties will be appreciated as the language associated with intimacy, familiarity, the personal rather than the public sphere. Or again, if the standard language functions in typically intellectual contexts like education and science, non-standard varieties will be invested with emotional values. Ironically, the functional generality of standard languages engenders a functional specialization, separating the public sphere from the personal, and the emotional sphere from the intellectual.

Third, standard languages are supposed to be socially neutral, but in actual practice, they are typically the language of an elite. If standard languages are typically used in cultural, educational, scientific, administrative, and political contexts, then those speakers of the language that act in these contexts will more easily learn the standard language or adopt it as their first language than speakers who remain foreign to these functions. While knowledge of the standard language contributes to social mobility, the real social distribution of standard language functions may turn the standard language into an instrument of discrimination. This may specifically affect the educational system. If the standard language is recognized as an instrument of oppression, discrimination, social exclusion, the educational system will likewise be rejected as contributing to such processes of social exclusion. Rather than seeing the school as an institution that spreads knowledge of the common language (and knowledge in general), creating possibilities for social mobility, it will be suggested that the educational system favors language users whose background makes them more familiar with the standard language, and thus reproduces rather than neutralizes social inequality.

In short, the alleged generality of standard languages actually takes the form of a series of specializations, and this may subvert the very ideal that standardization was supposed to serve. When that happens, the original ideal may be critically unmasked as an ideological pretence. In (socio)linguistic circles, this debunking of the rationalist project crystallizes round two notions: Standard Language Ideology, and linguistic ecology. The first primarily takes aim

at ideologies surrounding national, standard languages, while the second predominantly relates to the global landscape of dominant and minority languages. The notion of Standard Language Ideology (Milroy 2000) captures the idea that linguistic attitudes and language policies are often based on a misguided (and actually discriminatory) conception of standard languages as neutral and homogeneous. Lippi-Green (1997: 64) defines it as “a bias toward an abstracted, idealized, homogenous, spoken language which is imposed and maintained by dominant bloc institutions and which names as its model the written language, but which is drawn primarily from the spoken language of the upper middle class”. Linguistic ecology (Mühlhäusler 1995) investigates how languages interact in given places, and specifically also compete with each other, given that the interaction may involve global languages and local languages. Linguistic ecology may analyse the threat that globalisation poses to endangered languages as analogous to the threat posed by economic globalisation to biodiversity (Skutnabb-Kangas and Harmon 2018).

The popularity in sociolinguistic circles of such an ideological critique of the rationalist stance tends to obliterate the view on the romantic counterpart of the *Dialektik der Aufklärung* – the recognition that a romantic position may just as well turn into its own opposite. The critical logic takes into account that identities are not immutable, and that mere acceptance of diversity and freedom of choice is no empowerment if the choices for the individual are limited. Claiming that all language varieties are in principle equal ignores their real functional and attitudinal differences. In terms of their actual use in given social, cultural, economic domains, language varieties are not equal: the standard register is de facto required in many areas of public life. As such, taking away the normative incentive for non-standard language speakers to acquire the standard variety effectively locks those speakers into a disadvantageous position. Similarly, loosening the educational effort to teach the standard register to children who may be less familiar with it discriminates those children.

A characteristic formulation of this anti-romantic point of view is found in the following quotation, which comes from an op-ed in the Belgian newspaper *De Standaard*. The commentary takes issue with the negative sentiment w.r.t. the standard variety of Dutch.

- (9) Pseudo-progressieve volwassenen gaan tekeer alsof ze een freak show zien wanneer iemand nog mooi Nederlands spreekt. (...) Dat heeft niets met tolerantie en democratie te maken, het is integendeel het meest ondemocratische wat er bestaat. Je laat de cultuurtaal, en het zelfbewustzijn dat daarmee gepaard gaat, aan de elite. En je sluit „gewone” mensen, immigranten inclusief, op in een koeterwaals waarmee ze zich maar in een straal van een dertigtal kilometer begrijpelijk kunnen maken. Als je naar de culturele en intellectuele elite van Frankrijk kijkt, sta je vaak versteld hoeveel van die leidende schrijvers, acteurs, cineasten, filosofen enzovoort de kinderen van vaak doodarme immigranten zijn. Wat ze thuis niet konden krijgen, ontvingen ze echter wel van de ‘*école républicaine*’: een mooie taal, respect voor onderwijs en cultuur. Wat een verschil met onze profeten van het alleenzalgmakend dialect of van het verkavelingsvlaams. (...) Dat is pas een aanslag op de minderbedeelden.
[Pseudo-progressive adults rage as if they come across a freakshow when someone speaks standard Dutch. (...) That has nothing to do with tolerance and democracy. On the contrary, it is the most undemocratic thing imaginable. You leave the standard

language and the confident attitude that comes with it to the elite. And you lock up ordinary people, including migrants, in a gobbledigook that will serve them in a radius of 30 kms at most. If you look at the cultural and intellectual elite of France, it is a surprise how many of the leading writers, actors, directors, philosophers etc. are the children of poor immigrants. What they did not receive at home, they got from the 'école républicaine': a cultivated language, respect for education and culture. What a difference with our prophets celebrating the use of dialects or intermediate colloquial varieties (...) That is a real attack on minorities.]

Mia Doornaert, *De Standaard* 2003

A third type of rhetorical strategy (next to straightforward argumentation and dialectic ideological criticism) consists of inverted arguments, in which the underlying principle of each of the models is employed to argue for the other. This means, on the one hand, that a rationalist defense of a uniform common language is strengthened by an argument based on identity. Embracing the language or language variety that diminishes or overarches the linguistic diversity is then seen as the adoption of a new identity. The language that transcends the diversity embodies a superior identity, one that benefits the individual by broadening his horizon and opening his perspectives towards all those domains that are typical for standard language use. An example can be taken from John Stuart Mill's often quoted essay on nationalism. The first sentence in (10) specifies the rationalist communicative perspective: a united nation needs a common language. The second part of the quotation translates that idea in identitarian terms: with the new language comes a new identity.

- (10) Among a people without fellow-feeling, if they read and speak different languages, the united public opinion, necessary to the working of representative government, cannot exist. (...) Experience proves that it is possible for one nationality to merge and be absorbed in another: and when it was originally an inferior and more backward portion of the human race, the absorption is greatly to its advantage. Nobody can suppose that it is not more beneficial to a Breton, or a Basque of French Navarre, to be brought into the current of the ideas and feelings of a highly civilised and cultivated people - to be a member of the French nationality, admitted on equal terms to all the privileges of French citizenship, sharing the advantages of French protection, and the dignity and prestige of French power - than to sulk on his own rocks, the half-savage relic of past times, revolving in his own little mental orbit, without participation or interest in the general movement of the world.

John Stuart Mill, *Considerations on Representative Government* 1861

On the other hand, inverted arguments pro diversity take over the instrumental perspective of the rationalist model, and typically argue that respect for the mother tongue is effectively helpful from an acquisitional point of view. In an educational context, an attitude that is too negative with regard to the non-standard mother tongue is considered detrimental for the acquisition of the standard variety: treating the language of the children without respect is taking away their self-respect, and will not help them to acquire the standard language. An example is the quotation in (11), coming from a language teaching specialist.

- (11) Omdat we er ondertussen zijn achtergekomen dat als je kinderen eerst deftig hun moedertaal leert spreken, ze daarna des te sneller een andere taal zullen oppikken. Hoe beter je je eerste taal kent, hoe sneller je cognitieve verbanden zal leggen met andere talen. (...) Ongestoord je moedertaal mogen spreken, zorgt er ook voor dat kinderen zich beter voelen in de klas. Ze krijgen meer zelfvertrouwen omdat ze niet steeds op hun hoede moeten zijn dat ze de foute taal spreken.

[Because by now we have found out that if you teach children first to properly speak their mother tongue, they will then pick up more easily another language. The better you know your first language, the faster you will develop cognitive links with other languages. To speak the mother tongue freely in class also means that children will feel better at school. They acquire more confidence because they do not have to be on their guard that they might be speaking the wrong language]

Piet van Avermaet, *De Standaard* 2014

All in all, this survey of the rhetorical strategies associated with the two models illustrates the difficulty of deciding between them. Not only do arguments and counterarguments balance each other out, but it also appears to be possible to combine aspects of one model with the other. This leads to the broader question whether a synthesis of the models can be envisaged.

4. A historical characterization of the models

Two modes of synthesis need to be distinguished: one based on a disjunctive, exclusive logic, in which one language or language variety combines the communicative and the identitarian role, and one based on a conjunctive, inclusive logic, in which different languages or language varieties exist next to each other, embodying various functions and identities. In terms of historically salient ideologies, the first type of synthesis takes shape in the context of nationalism, the second in the context of a contemporary postmodern way of thinking. In both cases, though, the synthesis of the antithetical models is not entirely successful.

Conceptually speaking, nationalism can act as a point of convergence for the communicative and the identitarian models. On the one hand, rationalism has a universalist tendency: a maximally participatory, fully open society involves a universal nation and a world language. But for practical reasons, this is an ideal that is difficult to realize. For instance, the passage from Grégoire that I omitted from (1) reads as follows.

- (12) Quoiqu'il y ait possibilité et même probabilité de voir diminuer le nombre des idiomes reçus en Europe, l'état politique du globe bannit à jamais l'espérance de ramener les peuples à une langue commune. Cette conception formée par quelques écrivains est également hardie et chimérique. Une langue universelle est dans son genre ce que la pierre philosophale est en chimie

[Although it is possible and even probable that the number of languages in Europe may be reduced, the global political situation forever discards the hope of bringing all peoples together to a single language. Such an idea, suggested by a few authors, is at the same time brave and ephemeral. A universal language is in its genre what the philosopher's stone is for chemistry]

Accordingly, the practical realization of the rationalist programme requires a restriction of the universalist drive, a narrowing down of the community of practice within with the common language operates. By definition, that is the nation, if a nation is a community of people who share not only a given territory but also the institutions that organize society in that territory. Those institutions are not merely political or educational or cultural; in the rationalist view, the common language is one of them.

On the other hand, a similar reasoning applies to a romantic conception of language, though not surprisingly in the opposite direction. Romanticism in general has an individualist tendency: the ultimate identity is that of the individual person, and maximal diversity involves individualism. But a purely individual language – a language that is not shared and hence not understood – would fall short of its expressive intentions, and accordingly, to have a functioning expressive language to begin with, the scope of the language is enlarged to an ethnic or cultural group as the bearer of an identity, to a people or a nation, if nation is defined not in terms of sovereign political organization but as a group of people having common origins and traditions (and then of course, language). The link between the two basic models and nation building is in fact already present in the authors that we took as a starting-point for the discussion: Grégoire is arguing for a common language as an instrument for building France as a revolutionary nation, and Herder does not so much argue in favor of individual divergences than argue for the right of linguistically specific ethnic groups to build their own – internally monolingual – nation. (In the original 2003 article, I did not represent this link between nationalism and the initial formulations of the models with sufficient clarity. The paper suggested that the late 18th century formulations preceded the nationalist interpretation of the two perspectives, while voices like Grégoire's and Herder's actually already had nation building in mind.)

The restrictive movement of linguistic rationalism and the expansive movement of linguistic romanticism may so to speak meet in the middle, when the two meanings of 'nation' coincide. This is the essence of nationalism as a historical movement: nation states are the political organization of a people with a shared identity. The common language plays a double role in this nationalist ideal type: as a tool for mutual coordination, it is instrumental in the efficient working of state and society, and at the same time, it embodies the presupposed particularity of the community.

But the nationalist synthesis is obviously not without problems. In light of the foregoing, two problem types may be highlighted. On the one hand, there may be tensions between the rationalist and the romantic side of the synthesis. On the other hand, there is the dialectic danger of achieving the opposite effect from what is intended: of falling in the trap, so to speak, of the *Dialektik der Aufklärung* or its mirror image, the *Dialektik der Romantik* (if we may call it that way). I will illustrate these problems by focusing specifically on the role of identity within the nationalist synthesis.

First, the happy combination of functional and expressive roles only works properly if 'people' and 'state' coincide. As witnessed over and over again in the political history of the past two centuries, a romantic sense of group identity (and the accompanying claim for sovereignty) may be at odds with the existing state. We can see then that the nationalist

synthesis may in fact rely on two different conceptions of identity: the primary romantic one, which is based on a pre-existing ethnic, cultural, religious etc. group identity and which is evoked by Herder under (3) and (4), or the secondary enlightened one, which we encountered in Mill's statement under (10). In the latter case, the identity is an adopted one: membership of the nation implies a deliberate, voluntary adherence to its values. This perspective did not come to the fore quite explicitly in the passages from Grégoire that we cited, but it is present in the background: the specific identity of the French citizen is a revolutionary one. The same idea is expressed in Barère's speech to the revolutionary Convention that is often cited alongside Grégoire's:

- (13) Citoyens, la langue d'un peuple libre doit être une et la même pour tous. (...) Laisser les citoyens dans l'ignorance de la langue nationale, c'est trahir la patrie; c'est laisser le torrent des lumières empoisonné ou obstrué dans son cours; c'est méconnaître les bienfaits de l'imprimerie, car chaque imprimeur est un instituteur public de langue et de législation.

[Citizens, the language of a free people has to be one and the same for all. (...) To maintain the citizens in their ignorance of the national language is to betray the country. It permits the torrent of the enlightenment to be poisoned or obstructed in its course. It means disavowing the blessings of the printing press, because all publishers are public teachers of the language and the legislation.]

Bertrand Barère de Vieuzac, *Rapport du Comité de salut public sur les idiomes* 27 janvier 1794

The distinction between the two kinds of identity underlying the nationalist synthesis corresponds to the distinction that is made in political theory between 'civic nationalism' and 'ethnic nationalism'. On the one hand, civic nationalism is the conception of nationalism in which the nation derives its legitimacy from the active participation of its citizens, through a system of political representation. This is the liberal, rationalist conception of nationalism. On the other hand, ethnic nationalism is the conception of nationalism in which the nation derives its political legitimacy from the cultural identity of the people. This is the romantic conception of nationalism. And both conceptions, needless to say, may clash.

Second, the identity policy under nationalism tends to be homogenizing and oppressive. This occurs both in ethnic and civic nationalisms, with ethnic cleansing on one side and purges of dissident opinions on the other as painful historical examples of how wrong a focus on pure identities can go. Again, our initial examples can serve as an illustration. On the one hand, the impulse to homogenize public opinion in the revolutionary republic led to *la Terreur*; the same Barère who argued for a common language also welcomed revolutionary violence and called to 'put terror on the agenda'. On the other hand, Herder's view of language as essential for the natural character comprised a highly homogenizing conception of the nation (see Bauman and Briggs 2003). Diversity in the nationalist framework is inter-national, not intra-national. So, could there be a synthesis of the models that safeguards the latter?

In the postmodern synthesis of the basic models, the problematic choice for a single or dominant identity is avoided by accepting multiplicity as a point of convergence. From a romantic, identitarian perspective, people may entertain various identities, like feeling both Breton and French, or Scottish and British, or Flemish and Belgian. From a rationalist,

functional perspective, people may master different languages and language varieties, each with their own domain of practical relevance. Both interpretations of postmodern multiplicity come with their own rhetoric: a rhetoric of shifting, fragmented, flexible identities and the absence of a uniform perspective on the romantic side, and a rhetoric of functional differentiation and linguistic repertoires (either intralinguistically, in terms registers, or interlinguistically, in terms of multilingualism) on the rationalist side.

As an example, consider the *Guide for the Development of Language Education Policies in Europe* issued by the Council of Europe in 2003. The document defines and defends individual plurilingualism as an educational goal within Europe. Plurilingualism is introduced as in (14).

(14) Plurilingualism should be understood as:

- the intrinsic capacity of all speakers to use and learn, alone or through teaching, more than one language. (...) This ability is concretised in a repertoire of languages a speaker can use. The goal of teaching is to develop this competence (hence the expression: plurilingualism as a competence).

- an educational value that is the basis of linguistic tolerance: speakers' awareness of their plurilingualism may lead them to give equal value to each of the varieties they themselves and other speakers use, even if they do not have the same functions (private, professional or official communication, language of affiliation, etc). But this awareness should be assisted and structured by schools since it is no sense automatic (hence the expression: plurilingualism as a value).

Plurilingualism should be understood in this dual sense: it constitutes a conception of the speaker as fundamentally plural and a value in that it is the basis of linguistic tolerance, an essential element of intercultural education.

The two forms of the postmodern model are conspicuously present in the text. The romantic interpretation of postmodernism emphasizes the heterogeneity of identities, even for a single individual: speakers are 'fundamentally plural', and this plurality of identities is described as a value that needs to be recognized. The rationalist strand in the postmodern model reveals itself in the emphasis on the functional differentiation that may exist between languages or language varieties. We find, in other words, a double logic of multiplicity: from the romantic angle, the choice is not for one identity rather than the other, but for both (or more); and from the rationalist angle, the choice is not for one language or language variety rather than the other, but for both (or more).

The postmodern synthesis is far from removing all problems, though. Both problem types that we identified in the context of nationalism are now also present. First, the basic tensions between a rationalist and a romantic perspective may still appear. An acceptance of diversity will only work well if communicative functions and linguistic varieties are neatly demarcated. But that is far from being the case. Even if we accept that there is a plurality of languages and language varieties, there is no natural and undisputed way to determine the territory of each of them. What for instance should be the exact position of Global English in higher education in the European educational area? How far can the spread of English go? Is it okay for certain universities to use only English as a language of instruction and administration as is the case in some institutions in The Netherlands? Or should an effort be made to maintain

the traditional status of the national languages? A rationalist maximization of worldwide communication might favor the spread of English, but it clashes with an identitarian loyalty with regard to the national language.

Second, there is the danger of dialectic backfiring of positions and policies. For instance, romantically arguing for plurilingualism as a recognition of different identities should reckon with the fact that the opportunity to acquire a plurilinguistic repertoire is not the same for all. This is a variation on the point made by Doornaert in (9): non-standard languages may be incorporated in a linguistic repertoire, but the incorporation should not prevent the non-standard speaker from adding the standard to their repertoire, which could for instance be the case if educational opportunities are insufficient. As soon as this recognition prevails, the romantic attitude will have to be complemented by such a rationalist concept as a deliberate educational policy (for instance, as recommended in the *Guidelines* of the Council of Europe). Without such a conscious attempt to ensure equal plurilinguistic opportunities, the plurilinguistic stance may lead to the further discrimination of the monolingual speaker rather than to the recognition of their identity.

5. Conclusion

To sum up, there appear to be two basic cultural models of language diversity: a rationalist and a romantic one – language as communication and language as identity. These models have a consistent internal logic, and a mutually oppositional relationship that takes shape in various dimensions. Historical attempts to reconcile the models do not entirely resolve the intrinsic tension between them. The latter point in particular is important for the overall message I would like to convey: when discussing language policies and linguistic norms, it is crucial to keep both basic perspectives on language diversity in mind. This point has been taken up well in the reception of the original 2003 paper; see e.g. Edwards (2011: 127) and Berthele (2020), whose work on language policy and planning discourse in Switzerland reveals telling examples of “the tensions that systematically emerge when a positive-celebrationalist stance on linguistic diversity is taken”. By and large, the distinction between the two cultural models has been picked up in three lines of linguistic research.

First, diachronically oriented studies into standardization movements have discerned features of the rationalist and romantic points of view in the linguistic histories of a.o. Ukraine (Yavorska 2010), Luxemburg (Beyer et al. 2014), Chile (Rojas 2015), Portugal and Brasil (Soares da Silva 2015), Switzerland (Berthele 2010a, 2015), The Netherlands (Rutten 2019).

Second, whereas the Dutch case study that I included in the 2003 paper is concerned with the language-internal debate about the relationship between dialects, colloquial registers, and standard varieties, other scholars have applied the model to the linguistic effects of globalization, i.e. to multilingualism in its various guises: the spread of English (Polzenhagen and Dirven 2007, Sing 2007), language conflicts between international and minority languages (Dirven and Pütz 2007), and the linguistic situation of migrant ‘newcomers’ (Cornips 2020).

Third, while I have concentrated my analysis of the models on explicitly articulated opinions and high-level ideological reflections, a number of studies have used the framework to study linguistic attitudes in ordinary language users, distinguishing between attributes like

familiarity, emotionality, intimacy, authenticity on the one hand, and usefulness, clarity, formality, artificiality on the other. Examples are Mar-Molinero (2008), Lagos, Espinoza and Rojas (2013), and specifically Berthele (2008, 2010b), who goes into great empirical depth exploring the model-specific associative and metaphorical values of language varieties.

These references suggest that distinguishing between identitarian and communicative models yields an insightful perspective on linguistic diversity. The two models keep each other at bay, in conceptual and rhetorical terms: there is no obvious winner and no easy choice between preferring the identitarian drive towards variation and the functional propagation of uniformization and standardization. Accepting that uneasy balance may act as a corrective with regard to trends like the critical Standard Language Ideology discourse, which in itself is a corrective with regard to a rigid and coercive standardizing policy. In an era dominated by identity thinking and praise of diversity, it is relevant to be reminded of the rationalist position as a legitimate alternative in the debate.

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People as points of reference. How famous and infamous individuals become part of language

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In cognitive linguistics, anthropocentrism is considered an import aspect of language. The paper is a survey of numerous ways English uses proper names of people, i.e. anthroponyms, to designate various conceptual entities related to their referents. Two types of name-based expressions are discussed. The first one consists of name-based individual lexical items (either simplex or derived), while the other includes more complex multi-word syntactic constructions, such as the internationalized French à la X construction, prepositional constructions like according to X, a subcategory of the comparative prepositional like X construction with X standing for a personal point of reference, a subcategory of comparative as Adj as X construction, and the special anthroponymic genitive XYZ blend construction.

Keywords: *anthroponym, reference point, eponymy, metonymy, construction*

“Man is the measure of all things” (Protagoras, c.490 B.C. – c.420 B.C.).

One of the most important aspects of natural language is its anthropocentricity, i.e. the fact that people tend to construe and describe the world from their own, i.e. human, point of view. This special importance of human beings is often reflected in language, e.g. they motivate most gender and pronominal systems, they provide the prototypical grammatical subjects, etc. People, especially famous and influential people, are also an important aspect of what we usually mean by context. In fact, they are so important that they often become conceptual points of reference (cf. Langacker 1993) and their names become entrenched elements of languages. This paper is a survey of the numerous ways English uses proper names of people, i.e. anthroponyms, to extend its lexicon and other symbolic units of language. Two types of name-based expressions are discussed. The first one consists of individual lexical items (either simplex or derived) whose meaning is extended to designate various conceptual entities related to their referents, e.g. eponyms like (*Henry*) *Ford* (name) – *Ford* (Motor Company) – *Ford* (type of car), and morphological name-based derivations, like *Darwinism*. The other category includes more complex multi-word syntactic constructions, all using people as points of reference again, such as a number of prepositional constructions, clausal comparative constructions and the genitive XYZ construction.

1. Eponymous metonymy

Proper names are often used metonymically to designate various entities related to their basic human referent. From the conceptual point of view, such eponymous metonymies (cf. Bierwiaczonek 2013) are best described in terms of Langacker’s (1993) Reference Point Model, where the essential components are:

C- conceptualizer

R - reference point (an outstanding individual X)

T – target (an entity associated with X)

D – dominion

— ➔ mental path

The process of activation of the target meaning is represented as follows:

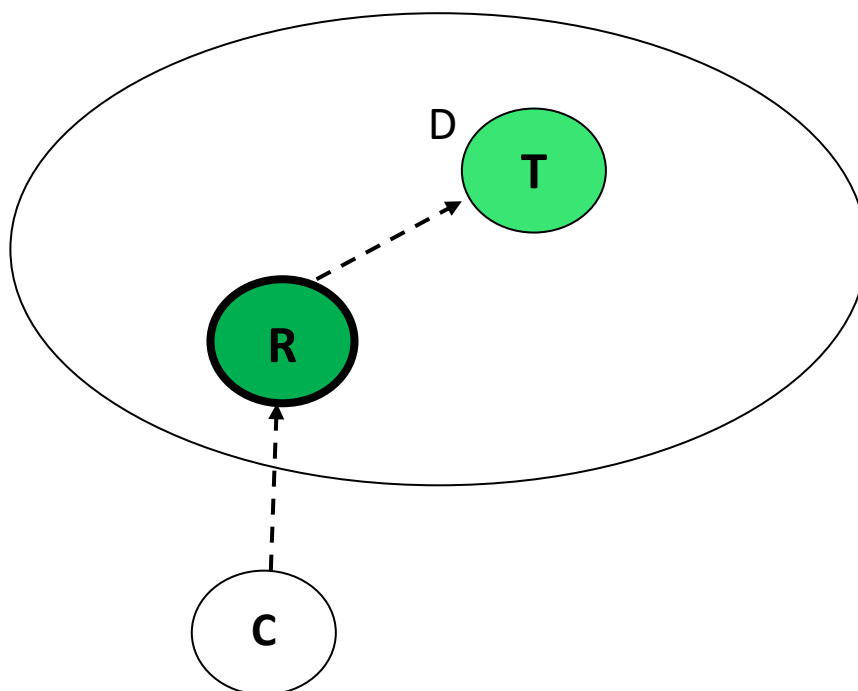


Figure 1. Activation of target meaning according to Langacker's Reference Point Model (1993)

Grammatically, this metonymic shift results in various kinds of conversions. There are several patterns of these conversions.

1.1 *Minor conversions: Proper nouns >> common nouns*¹ (Bierwiazzonek 2013, 2016)

This conversion is based on several kinds of metonymy:

A. NAME OF RESEARCHER/INVENTOR FOR A UNIT OF ENTITY

André-Marie Ampère – *ampère*, 'unit of electric current'

Daniel Gabriel Fahrenheit – *fahrenheit*, 'unit of temperature'

Heinrich Rudolf Hertz – *hertz*, 'unit of frequency of sound waves'

Isaac Newton – *newton*, 'unit of force'

B. NAME OF INVENTOR FOR INVENTION

Samuel Colt – *colt*, 'a revolver'

Mikhail Kalashnikov – *Kalashnikov*, 'automatic rifle'

Charles Mackintosh – *mackintosh*, 'waterproof coat'

W.H. „Boss” Hoover – *hoover*, 'vacuum cleaner'

C. DISCOVERER OF DISEASE FOR DISEASE

These often result from ellipsis of the full name of the disease to the name of its discoverer, e.g.

¹ The symbol “>>” should be interpreted as “converted to”, the particular metonymies are indicated by small capitals. See Dirven (1999) and Schönefeld (2005) for cognitive accounts of conversion.

Alois Alzheimer – *Alzheimer's Disease* – *Alzheimer*

Jakob Heine, Carl Oskar Medin – *Heine-Medin Disease* – *Heine-Medin*

John Langdon-Down – *Down's syndrome* – *Down*

James Parkinson – *Parkinson's disease* – *Parkinson*

In the case of *Alzheimer* and a few other metonymic names of diseases, the lexicalization is a matter of degree and register. Thus in formal and professional English either the full name *Alzheimer's* (or *Alzheimer*) *disease* or its abbreviated form *AD* is usually used; the metonymic *Alzheimer* being more common in informal spoken English.

D. CHAIN²: FOUNDER OF COMPANY FOR COMPANY FOR PRODUCTS OF COMPANY

These are special cases of metonymic chains, where the name of the founder of company is used not only for the company but also for its products. In the case of some companies, those products may be of different kinds, e.g. *Hewlett-Packard* may designate HP printers, computers, printer inks, etc.

Adam Opel – *Opel* (AG) – *Opel* (car)

Henry Ford – *Ford* (Motor Company) – *Ford* (car)

King C. Gillette – *Global Gillette* – *gillette*

William Hewlett and David Packard – *Hewlett-Packard* (company) – *Hewlett-Packard* (product) – *hp* (printer, computer, ink, etc.)

Hugon Junkers – *Junkers and Co. Warmwasser-Apparatefabrik* – *junkers*³

In the case of metonymic chains, Figure 1 must be extended to include the name's new designations, as shown in Figure 2:

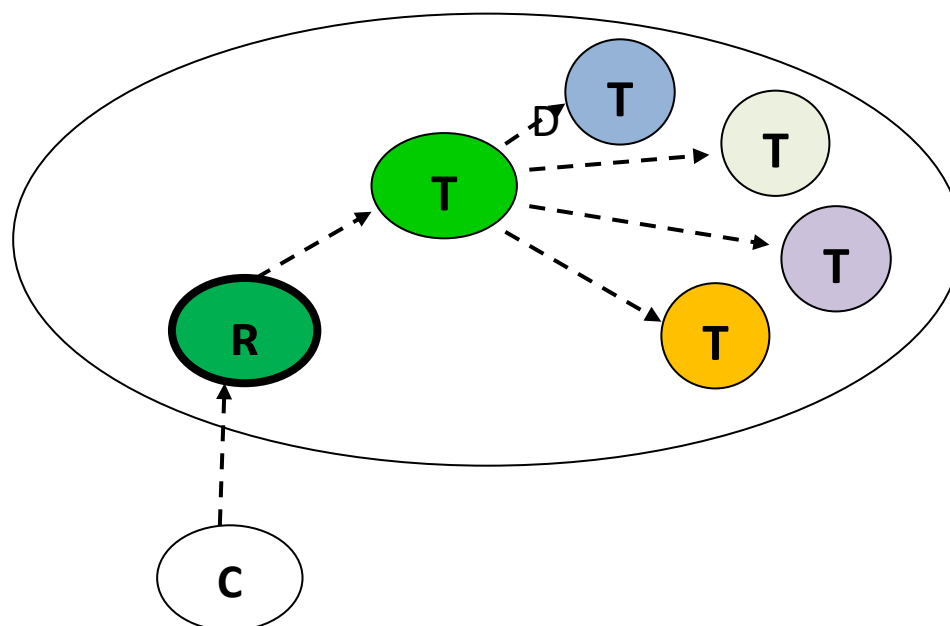


Figure 2. Reference-Point representation of metonymic chains (cf. Bierwiazzonek 2016)

² Metonymic chains are sometimes referred to as “serial metonymy” (cf. Nerlich and Clarke 2001).

³ In Polish *junkers* has undergone the process known as auto-superordination (cf. Cruse 2000) and now is often used in the general sense of ‘a gas hot water heater.’

1.2 Paragons as common nouns

Outstanding individuals may become paragons of excellence in their fields (Lakoff 1987) and stand for the whole axiologically marked subcategory, e.g. *Mozart* may stand for a subcategory of musicians, namely, EXTREMELY TALENTED MUSICIANS, *Hitler* stands for the subcategory of RUTHLESS DICTATORS. The transfer of meaning from the unique referent to a category is based on two metonymies, namely INDIVIDUAL X FOR X'S SALIENT PROPERTY and PARAGON OF CATEGORY C FOR WHOLE CATEGORY C.⁴ These two metonymies (or, "syntonymies", as they are called in Bierwiazzonek 2020), result in conversion of proper names to common nouns, which exhibit the standard definite-indefinite contrasts and may be pluralized, e.g. *We would need an Einstein to deal with that problem, Is this the Einstein you were talking about the other night? They are incredibly smart guys – there some real Einsteins among them.* The special status of paragons in relation to other members of the category they form is often used in the XYZ construction discussed in Section 2.3. below.

1.3 Major Conversions

Major conversions of anthroponyms change the grammatical status of proper nouns to other major grammatical categories. In English there seems to be only one but highly productive type of these conversions, namely, conversion from the proper noun to the verb. This conversion may take one of two different metonymic routes.

A. Proper noun>>verb

The conversion is motivated by the metonymy PERSON X FOR BEHAVIOUR/ACTIVITY ASSOCIATED WITH X.

A celebrated example of this type of conversion is the name of Captain Charles C. Boycott (1832–97), an Irish land agent who was opposed and ostracized, in an attempt instigated by the Irish Land League to insure fair rents, fixed tenure, and free sale. At present, according to the online *Cambridge Dictionary*, the verb *boycott* is used in two senses, explicated and illustrated below:⁵

- a) 'Refuse to buy a product or do business with a company',
e.g. *Motorists boycotted the company's gas stations and its share price crashed.*
- b) 'Refuse to take part in an activity as a way of expressing strong disapproval',
e.g. *Opposition parties boycotted the elections as unfair*

Furthermore, Kosecki (2005: Ch. 6) discusses a number of modern cases whereby the surnames of well-known people are converted to verbs, according to the same metonymic pattern. Here are a few relevant recent examples:

- ▶ They Khadaffi'd the USA Embassy.
- ▶ They Bin Laden'd Madrid.
- ▶ He's going to OJ his way out of the marriage. (discussed also by Gibbs 1999)
- ▶ He Raul'd the ball into the net.

B. Proper noun >> common noun>>verb

⁴ This is equivalent to Barcelona's (2004) proposal that the mapping from paragons to other members of the category is based on the metonymy IDEAL MEMBER FOR CLASS.

⁵ There is also a noun *boycott*, which seems to have been converted from the verb, with the sense 'an instance of boycotting' by means of the common metonymy ACTIVITY X FOR AN INSTANCE OF X, motivating a great number of other such conversions, e.g. *to walk*>>*a walk*, *to ride*>>*a ride*, etc.

In this case, the conversion from the proper noun to the verb is mediated by a minor conversion of the proper noun to the common noun, which reflects the metonymic chain PERSON X FOR DEVICE Y ASSOCIATED WITH X FOR ACTIVITY INVOLVING Y

A well-known example of this kind of chained development is the verb *guillotine*, based on the name of Joseph-Ignace Guillotin (1738-1814), a politician who promoted the use of guillotine in French Parliament. The actual inventor of the prototype was a man named Antoine Louis.

- ▶ “Go back to the seventeen-nineties, and the French Terror guillotined aristocrats just for being what they were” (COCA: Sean McMullen, *The Precedent*, Vol. 119, Iss. 1/2; pg. 230, 27 pgs, 2010 (Jul/Aug 2010))⁶

1.4 *Proper names in derivation*

Our frames of knowledge about particular individuals usually contain a number of elements, depending on the activities associated with those individuals. Different lexical constructions, and thus different affixes, may systematically activate different elements of those frames (cf. Dancygier & Sweetser 2014). However, they may also be restricted to particular groups of individuals.

1.4.1 *Minor name-based derivations*

Minor derivation derives a subcategory X' from another subcategory of the same category X, e.g. countable nouns like *chicken* or *duck* may become uncountable nouns when their meaning is construed as food (cf. Bauer 1983; see Brdar 2007 for cross linguistic corpus-based studies of ‘animal grinding’ and tree-wood names).

A. From proper nouns to abstract nouns:

X-ism, which derives abstract nouns from names of well-known philosophers and politicians, e.g. *Darwinism*, *Marxism*, *Maoism*, *Freudism*, *McCarthyism*, *Thatcherism*, etc. to denote ‘doctrines, systems of philosophical, religious, or political beliefs, intellectual or artistic movements’ (Bauer & Huddleston 2002 [henceforth B&H]:1702). Thus, the ultimate meaning of the derivation is a result of blending the general constructional schema of X-ism derivation with the frame activated by the anthroponym X. As an example, consider Figure 3 below, which shows the formal and semantic integration of the derivation *Darwinism*:⁷

⁶ In languages where conversion is less common (or, arguably, non-existent at all, cf. Szymanek 1998), like Polish, the verbs are derived morphologically through suffixation. The most common Polish verbal suffix having this function is *-ować*, e.g. noun: *gilotyna* >> verb: *gilotynować*.

⁷ For more on conceptual and formal aspects of word-formation, see Panther and Thornburg (2003) and Booij (2013).

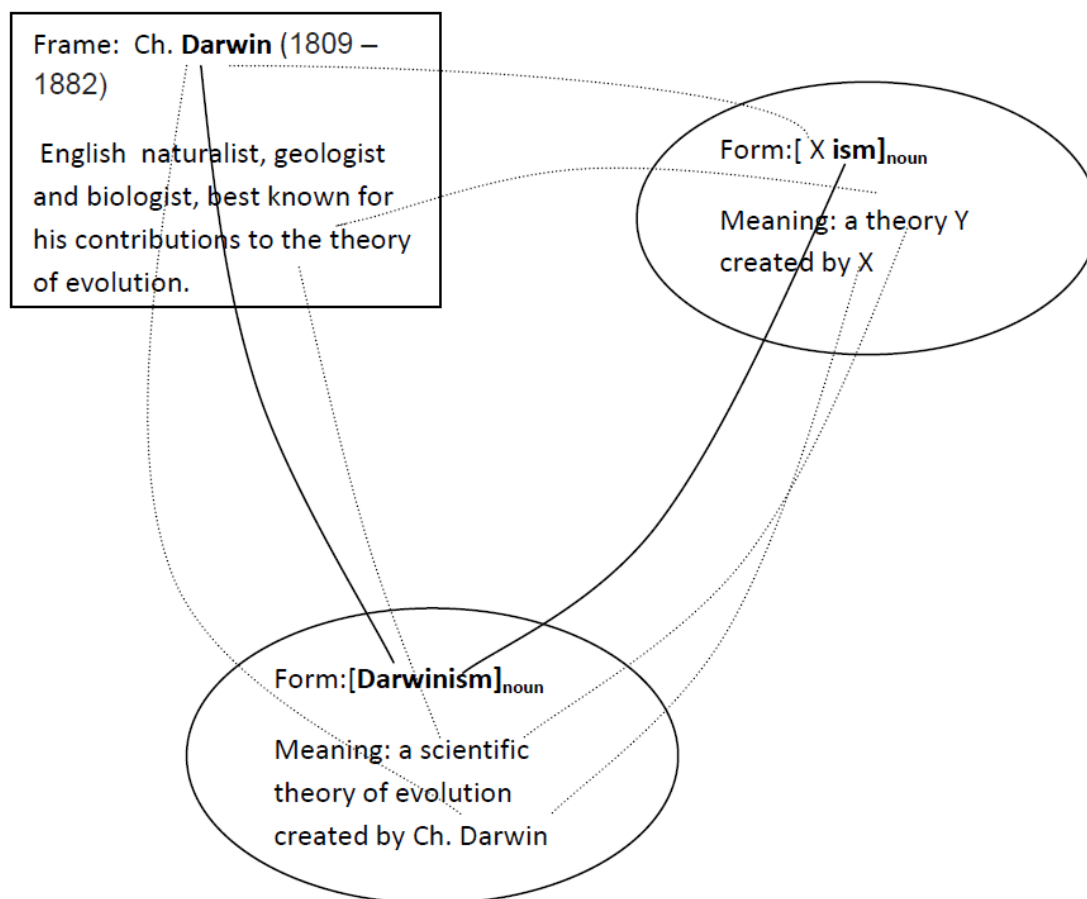


Figure 3. Formal and semantic integration of the derivation *Darwinism*. Note that the ellipses represent linguistic units, whereas the rectangle represents a conceptual frame of encyclopaedic knowledge.

The above meaning of *-ism* derivations can be easily extended. According to blog.oxforddictionaries.com, the new formation *Kardashianism*, based on the name of the well-known American celebrity Kim Kardashian, might mean something like ‘mindless way of speaking marked by an overuse and misuse and believed to be ruining the English language’, and, because of its implicit sexism and ageism, it may well develop another sense, namely ‘the hatred of the speech of young women’.

B. From proper personal nouns to other personal nouns:

X-ist – most of these derivations with X as a variable for person have *X-ism* counterparts and designate ‘a person holding beliefs associated with X-ism’, e.g. *Darwin* - *Darwinist*, *Marx* - *Marxism*, *Thatcher* – *Thatcherist*, etc.

- ▶ “Aldous Huxley was the grandson of a distinguished Victorian biologist and Darwinist who authored in 1932 a chilling indictment of progress gone mad - *Brave New World*.” (Google search: <https://www.ibtimes.co.uk/aldous-huxley-brave-new-world-john-f-524470>)

X-ite – B&H (2002) define its meaning as ‘follower or supporter of X’, derogatory ‘often coined by opponents’, e.g. *Darwinite*, *McCarthyite*, *Thatcherite*.

- ▶ “EXTREME FUNDAMENTALIST ATHEISTS – (The Darwinites) Atheists base their theories on a bed of communists quicksand.” (Google search: <https://contextout.blogspot.com/p/extreme-fundamentalist-atheists.html>)

C. From proper nouns to collective nouns

X-iana (derived from the X-ian adjectives, see Section 2.2 below) ‘the collected sayings, wisdom, or artefacts connected with X’ (B&H: 1692f), e.g. *Darwiniana*, *Shakespeariana*, *Burnsiana*. A well-known example of *darwiniana* is Asa Gray’s 1888 book *Darwiniana; Essays and Reviews Pertaining to Darwinism*.

1.4.2 Major derivations

Major derivations derive words of one major word-class (part of speech), such as noun, verb, adjective or adverb, from morphemes belonging to another major word-class by modifying its form with an appropriate affix, e.g. the noun *happiness* is derived from the adjective *happy* by attaching to it the nominal suffix *-ness*. In cognitive grammar terms, each derivational affix changes the conceptualization represented by the root, e.g. the suffix *-er* in English prototypically designates the agent of the process (action) designated by the base verb, e.g. *writer* or *reader* (see Panther & Thornburg (2003) for details).

A. From proper nouns to adjectives

X-an/ian, PROPERTY: ‘contemporary with X’, ‘proponent of X’ or ‘characteristic of X’, where X is a well-known individual, e.g. *Elizabethan*, *Lutheran*, *Darwinian*, *Baconian*; classical names: *Epicurean*, *Herculean*, *Caesarean*.

- ▶ “They violate the fundamental rules of Darwinian evolution. They tend to borrow genes from different places, Bachvaroff said” (COCA: Scientists map the genetic evolution of dinoflagellates for the first time, MAG: Phys.Org, 2017-01-26))

X-esque, again PROPERTY: either ‘in the style or manner of X’, or ‘resembling X’. The attested examples include e.g. *Kafkaesque*, *Queenesque*, *Faulkneresque*, *Reaganesque*.

X-ish, cognate and having a similar meaning and etymology to **X-esque**,⁸ i.e. ‘in the style or manner of X’, or ‘resembling X’. There are no examples in B&H (2002), but there are a few in corpora, e.g. *Trumpish*, *Chaucerish*, *Eliotish*.

- ▶ “The title sounds very Chaucerish! Like “The Wife of Bath’s Tale”! After all, Chaucer’s storytellers were on a religious pilgrimage.” (Google search: heliumsonglines.blogspot.com/2014/09/biblical-references-in-handmaids-tale.html)
- ▶ “The Old Days, on the other hand, did have a genuinely Eliotish flavour about it.” (Google search: topcatsalley.blogspot.com/2015/07).

X-ic, again having a similar meaning to **X-esque**, but more rare, e.g. *Byronic*, *Miltonic* (beside *Miltonian*), *Socratic*.

- ▶ “Socratic Dialogue is an open discussion between therapist and client with no pre-defined outcome other than exploration.” (Google search: <https://deploymentpsych.org/content/socratic-dialogue/2020/08>)

B. From proper nouns to compounds

⁸ According to *Online Etymology Dictionary*, they both, as well *-ic* discussed below, come from Proto-Indo-European **-iskos*.

X-like, meaning ‘resembling X’. B&H (p.1711) observe that “Such words can be formed as productively as the corresponding syntactic phrases *like X*.”⁹ These formations may be analysed as compound adjectives with two free components: the preposition *like* and the anthroponymic noun X. They may be classified as adjectives both on semantic and syntactic grounds: semantically, they denote gradable PROPERTIES, and syntactically, they never function as nouns (or prepositions) and are found in the positions typical of adjectives; in particular, in all the COCA examples I have found they are used attributively, as noun modifiers, but the first example shows that they may be used as predicative complements too.

- ▶ “Mark Wahlberg: ‘I played golf with Donald Trump. He was very Donald Trump-like” (Google search: <https://www.theguardian.com/discussion/p/556zq>)
- ▶ “Poland and Hungary returned fire Tuesday after former U.S. President Bill Clinton accused the two countries of thinking that “democracy is too much trouble” and wanting “Putin-like leadership”.” (Google search: <https://www.politico.eu/article/us-democracy-putin-like-not-us-say-poland-and-hungary-in-response-to-bill-clinton/>)
- ▶ “Donald Trump got Reagan-like support from union households” (Google Search: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/gdprconsent/?destination>)

X-style, by and large synonymous with *X-like*, but obviously related to the prepositional expression *in the style of X*, in which *style* functions as an ordinary noun. Thus, the whole unit should be classified as a regular endocentric N-N compound. Functionwise, however, *X-style* compounds are much more common as modifiers than nominal heads. To give just two recent examples: there are only two occurrences of the compound *Trump style* used as a nominal head in COCA vs. three its occurrences as modifiers, while the compound *Putin-style* does not occur at all as a nominal head and occurs twice as a modifier (*Putin-style bully* and *Putin-style authoritarian*). This may indicate a semi-adjectival status of this compound, similar to that of *X-like* discussed before. In the two Google returns below *Putin-style* and *Trump-style* are also used attributively.

- ▶ “Childish Rants or Putin-Style Propaganda?” (Google search: www.motherjones.com/politics/2017/07/trump-rants-propaganda)
- ▶ “Trump-Style Negotiation: Powerful Strategies and Tactics for Mastering Every Deal by George H. Ross” (Google search: www.goodreads.com/book/show/16792193-trump-style-negotiation)

2. Name-based syntactic constructions

There are a number of productive grammatical constructions, in the sense of construction grammar (cf. Goldberg 1995, 2007; Hoffmann & Trousdale 2013), whereby proper names function as conceptually central elements, although the constructions have different syntactic heads (cf. Bierwiazzonek 2016).

2.1. Prepositional Constructions

⁹ *Like X* construction is discussed in Section 2.1.D below.

Prepositional constructions, most of which are traditional prepositional phrases, consist of a preposition functioning as the head of a phrase followed by another phrase functioning as its complement, e.g. *on the plate*, *in the cellar*, *near the bank*. Prepositions are usually complemented by NPs or noun-like constituents, e.g. nominal clauses or *ing*-clauses, although they may be complemented by adverb phrases, other prepositional phrases or adjective phrases, as well (cf. Huddleston & Pullum, 2002). Like verbs, prepositions denote relations between a trajector and a landmark; unlike verbs, however, they denote relations which are atemporal: they do not develop in time (Langacker 1987). The unique property of the prepositional constructions we discuss below is that the landmarks of the relations designated by these constructions are people, often well-known people, referred to by their proper names, although, again, they often function also as conceptual points reference for further metonymic extensions.

A. Considerably internationalized French *à la X* construction, meaning ‘in the style or manner of X’. Although the value of X does not have to be a proper name of a well-known personality and it may be filled by other nominals too, e.g. its most common construct is *à la carte*, examples with anthroponyms are extremely common¹⁰. Here are a few examples:

- ▶ “Our guess is a simple one: he wants to end on a high note *à la* Logan” (COCA: Will HBO's GAME OF THRONES Leak Actually Affect The Show? MAG: Nerdist, 2017-08-16).
- ▶ “BOLLING# Talking about the one, the big one, the temporary moratorium on travel, *à la* Donald Trump. And that's the same 9th Circuit that decided incorrectly that it was unconstitutional.” (COCA: President Trump Comes Out Swinging In Paris, Defending His Son Donald Trump, Jr. Over His Meeting With Russian Lawyer Natalia Veselnitskaya; One Congressman Has Now Officially Filed An Article Of Impe, FOX TV, 2017-07-13)
- ▶ ““Rachel made her way to the arms of her beau-in-waiting, who was dressed to the nines in Scottish garb – kilt and all, *à la* Sean Connery.”” (Google search: https://r.search.yahoo.com/_ylt=AwrP4o0B1xBEgARR0zhgx)

B. *Before/After/Until X* construction.

The construction is based on the metonymy PERSON FOR TIME IN WHICH THEY ARE/WERE ACTIVE and is commonly used in various languages in their versions of the expression *B.C.*, i.e. before Christ. However, there is no shortage of its instances in modern English either. For instance, the recent internet *BBC Insight* article (Jan. 5, 2020) was entitled *Who will star next after Messi and Ronaldo*, where the names of the two footballers were used to define the whole period in which they have been active and considered the greatest players. The construction usually occurs with historically important characters but it may be used in more mundane contexts too, as in the *Sue* example below:

- ▶ “Take a walk around this city, and suddenly you are on Achilles Street or Socrates Street or the street named after Pindar, who wrote about the early Games, before Caesar, before Napoleon, before Juan Antonio Samaranch.” (Google search: <https://www.nytimes.com/2004/08/08/sports/athens-summer-2004-olympics-where-it-all-began>)

¹⁰ Exact statistics in English are hard to establish on the basis of the English corpora as the construction is often spelt without the diacritic on *a* and there are numerous French and Spanish texts in which the sequence *a la X* has other meanings and functions. However, it may be noted that in the Polish national corpus NKJP, there are 474 instances of this construction with hardly any X element *not* realized by a proper name.

- ▶ “Dean LIEBERMAN This man would take us back to where the Democratic Party was before Bill Clinton.” (COCA: Anybody-But-Dean Campaign: Is it Working?; Malvo Sentencing Verdict Reached, CNN_Politics, 2003-12-23)
- ▶ “Wales told The Chronicle. " Before Sue, we operated as a community club. Now we operate as a community club with sound management.” (COCA: Chris Cadelago, Chronicle Staff Writer, Online encyclopedia defines its future; Despite popularity, Wikimedia Foundation ties its value to education, not advertising, Main News; Pg. A1, 2008-08-24).
- ▶ “But, yeah, it's basically everything rolled into one, and especially because after John Paul II, Benedict the XIV hasn't traveled so much.” (COCA: The Papal Visit, a Blogger's Guide for the Curious, The Bryant Park Project 8:00-9:00 AM, 2008-04-14)
- ▶ “But this began long before Obama showed up, and I don't think it's going to change very much after Obama.” (COCA: Jonathan Tilove American-Statesman Staff, White Dems still lose ground, Austin American Statesman, MAIN; Pg. A1, 2014-12-07).
- ▶ “And Ronald Reagan-- Ronald Reagan compromised on everything. We thought until Obama he was considered the most ideological President of my lifetime.” (COCA: For November 7, 2012, CBS, CBS THIS MORNING 8:30 AM EST, 2012-11-07)
- ▶ “The post-Donut King era was never as eventful - until John Henry.” (COCA: Steve Woodward, Top trainers take different tacks to top, USA Today, 1990-10-26)

Interestingly and surprisingly, the PERSON FOR TIME IN WHICH THEY ARE ACTIVE metonymy motivating the temporal senses of proper names in the *Before/After/Until X construction*, does not allow them with another prototypically temporal prepositions *during*, so expressions like *during Obama* or *during John Paul II* are impossible.

C. According to X construction

The construction has an anthroponym as the value of X, functioning as the source of knowledge, based on the metonymy PERSON FOR THEIR STATEMENTS/OPINIONS/VIEWS. The construction is used either in order to evoke an external authority that supports Speaker's views or in order to implicate that Speaker does not share X's opinion.

- ▶ “Thus, according to Fletcher, the function of arrest, trial, and punishment is to overcome this dominance and reestablish the equality of victim and offender.” (COCA: Boeglin, Jack, A Theory of Differential Punishment, Vanderbilt Law Review, Nashville Vol. 70, Iss. 5, (Oct 2017): 1499-1559).
- ▶ “According to Gunnar Myrdal (1962) in An American Dilemma, a sort of market force was needed to challenge the status quo of racial discrimination.” (COCA: Ramrattan, Lall B, American Exceptionalism: An Appraisal--Political, Economic, Qualitative, and Quantitative, American Economist, Thousand Oaks Vol. 62, Iss. 2, (Oct 2017): 222-246).

D. A subcategory of the comparative prepositional *like X construction*, with X standing for a personal point of reference, e.g. *(to sing) like Freddy Mercury*.

An important aspect of this construction is that the paragon must be compatible with the domain activated by the verb. So, actually, we should probably propose a **Verb Y like Noun X construction**, where Activity Y is strongly culturally associated with X, who is the paragon of Y, as in the example below:

- ▶ “Nervous 13-Year-Old Girl Stuns Audience When She Sings And Performs Just Like Janis Joplin” (Google search: doyouremember.com/79095/courtney-hadwin-janis-joplin)

A related construction, with the interrogative pronoun *How* followed by an infinitive VP [Verb Y *like* Noun X], is common in advertising commercial courses offering to teach the activity Y on the level comparable to X. Here are a few representative Google returns:

- ▶ How to Sing Like Frank Sinatra/John Lennon/Michael Jackson/Tom Waits/Bob Dylan
- ▶ How to paint like Monet, Picasso, Van Gogh, Jackson Pollock, Kandinsky, ...
- ▶ How to play like
 - Ronaldo, Messi, Neymar, Stephen Curry, ...
 - Jimi Hendrix, Eric Clapton, BB King, Sanatana, Steve Vai

2.2 Comparative (as) Adj as NP construction¹¹

This construction is normally used with a whole range of possible points of reference culturally associated with the property designated by the adjective, some of which have become fully lexicalized idioms, such as *as black as a pitch*, *as blind as a bat*, *as busy as a beaver*, *as free as a bird*, etc. However, there are a few fixed constructs of this construction with proper names as well, some of them going back to the mythical or biblical characters, such as Croesus or Solomon in *(as) rich as Croesus* and *(as) wise as Solomon*, but COCA search shows that the construction is open for modern, and often local, paragons as well. Consider the following:

- ▶ “She didn't understand it. She was at least as pretty as Michelle Pfeiffer. Her figure was a million times better than Bridget Fonda” (COCA: Cherry, Kelly, Famousness. Fall2014, Vol. 57 Issue 4, p17-43. 27p.)
- ▶ “Nobody on True Blood is half as successful as Mad Men's Don Draper or half as smart as Breaking Bad's Walter White, but that's their whole appeal: Everyone's just like your uncle's best friend's cousin.” (COCA: Melissa Maerz, Dirty Pretty Things, Rolling Stone, June 24, 2010, , Iss. 1107; pg. 35)
- ▶ “Though he's not as rich as Gates or the Google guys, today Jobs is tech's biggest rock star.” (COCA: Paul Boutin, 25 Days That Changed Everything, PC World, March 2008)

2.3 XYZ blend construction

As I pointed out in Section 1.2 above, paragonic names often become recategorized as common names of axiologically marked subcategories to which the paragon belongs. These new taxonomies are regularly activated in the constructs of the XYZ blend construction, first discussed in cognitive terms by Fauconnier and Turner (2002). The blend may be illustrated with Ruiz de Mendoza and Galera Masegosa's (2014:114) example *Humboldt is the Shakespeare of travelers*. What is characteristic for the XYZ blends is that although they formally represent three elements represented by three NPs, in actual expressions, they conceptually evoke four elements with the missing element being evoked (and implied) by element Y of the blend. As argued in Bierwiazzonek (2020), in the example above, the proper

¹¹ Because of limitations of space other comparative constructions, such as e.g. *more/less Adj than NP* construction, have not been discussed. However, their general conceptual structure is analogous to the *(as) Adj as NP* construction. In particular, they also rely on the Point of Reference designated by NP, which is often expressed by names of paragons, e.g. *I hear his dad is richer than Rockefeller*.

noun *Shakespeare* is used as a paragon implying other outstanding playwrights, like Molière, Tchekov, Lope de Vega, etc. and the meaning of the blend consists in establishing correspondences between Shakespeare and other outstanding playwrights in the domain of playwrights and Humboldt and other travellers in the domain of travellers. Of course the relation may also involve particular individuals and other related entities, such as places or times, as in the following two COCA examples, in which *Hitler* is used as the paragon of evil:

- ▶ “WESTMORELAND: Well, I think he has probably six months. But I think he's got to articulate this. You know, here in the 1990s, Saddam Hussein is the Hitler of the Middle East.” (COCA: Persian Gulf Anti-War Dissent Grows in U.S., ABC Nightline, 1990-10-19)
- ▶ “Mr-GREEN: Hold on a second. This is the new Hitler of the '90s. Stand up there, Hitler. George Bush is the new Hitler of the '90s.” (COCA: PART III-ART, SMUT, AND CENSORSHIP, Ind Geraldo, 1992 1992-03-12).

The diagrammatic representation of the conceptual and formal integration of the expression *George Bush is the Hitler of the '90s.*, based on Hitler's and G. Bush's frames and formal representation of the XYZ construction, is given below in Figure 4.

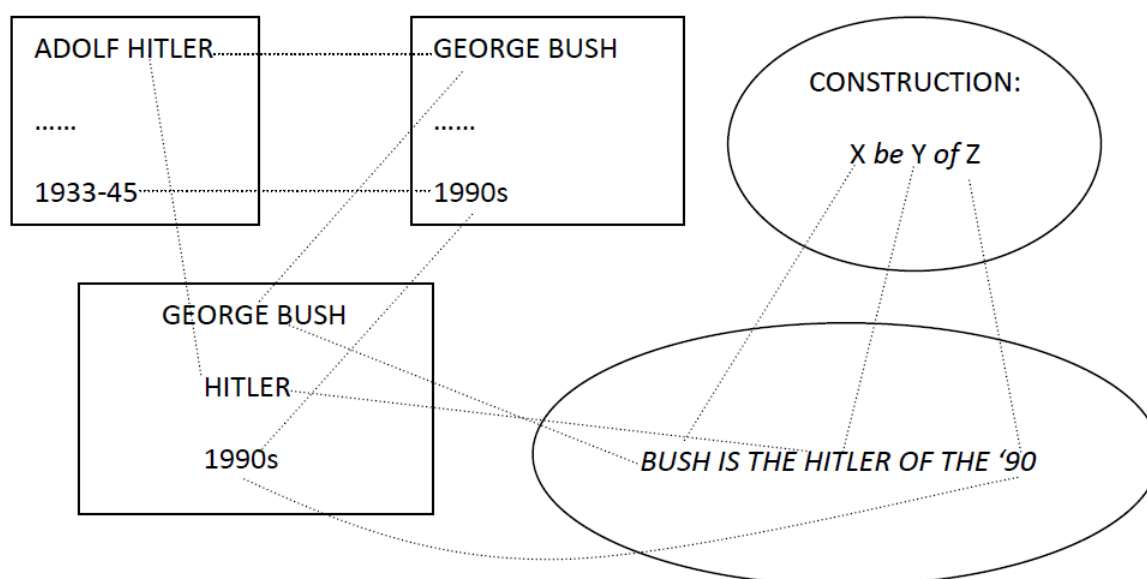


Figure 4. Conceptual and formal integration of the expression *George Bush is the Hitler of the '90s.*

3. Conclusions and final remarks

All the words and more complex constructions we have discussed show that people provide an important class of conceptual Points of Reference for our cognition and their names often become vehicles for new senses and/or entrenched lexical items by means of metonymically motivated extensions or derivations. This is hardly surprising given the importance of particular individuals in and for our history, science and art.

Thus, English has developed a number of linguistic means whereby anthroponyms may be used in the process of meaning construction. Some of these means are purely conceptual,

such as eponymous metonymies and extensions of names of human paragons to subcategories of people belonging to the category represented by the paragon. Others are name-based derivations marked formally by various affixes, which use rich representations of the shared knowledge about those outstanding individuals. The resultant meanings of such derivations may pertain to systems of thought, ideologies, followers of those individuals and even the everyday things they used and their favourite sayings, as in *Darwiniana*.

In addition, there are also a number of partly schematic grammatical constructions often “attracting” human Points of Reference, such as the *à la X* construction, *like X* construction, clausal comparative constructions, and the XYZ blend construction.

Needless to say, people are elements of the ever changing sociocultural and historical context of languages, subject to biological as well cultural limitations. In other words, they come and go and are often forgotten along with their names, only to be replaced by new names of new important individuals who become our new Points of Reference and sources of meanings. This is certainly true of various celebrities and passing stars of popular culture, sport and politics. But some of them, unpredictably, find a unique niche in the lexical network of a language and stay in it for good, and speakers use them like other words of their language, without even knowing that they were once names of people. The verb and noun *boycott* is certainly a case in point.

The conclusion is humanistic and mildly optimistic: In our technological, artifactual and digital world, people still matter – not only in life, but in cognition and language as well (even if some of them are bastards).

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On foci, contexts, figures, and grounds

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The assumption that meanings are (a) conceptual entities and that they (b) arise in and through context leads to an understanding of context as other minds (as developed by Talmy Givón). Based on Givón's framework, an approach is proposed here that combines the notions of context, focus, figure, and ground into primary-plus-secondary focus as a complex figure within contextual ground. Meanings and their dynamicity are attributable to interplays of and interactions between various elements of the configuration. These processes are illustrated with excerpts from two factual accounts of Africa in relation to Europe: Karen Blixen's Out of Africa/Shadows on the Grass and Paul Kenyon's I Am Justice. It is concluded that context as environment (the ecological understanding) does not stand in contrast to context as a mental construct but that it is re-conceptualized as an other-minds phenomenon.

Keywords: context, focus, figure, ground, Africa

Bricks, for all practical purposes, hardly mind what other things they are put with. Meanings mind intensely – more indeed than any other sort of things. (R. I. Richards 1936, *The Philosophy of Rhetoric*)

1. Towards a coherent model of contextual meaning

The theoretical discussion and analytical exercise below is an attempt to bring four key notions of FOCUS, CONTEXT, FIGURE, and GROUND into a coherent configuration. The wider territory investigated here certainly belongs to one of the most elusive phenomena in the study of language: the dynamicity of meaning.

Consider the following dialogue from a classic author:

- (1) A: *There must be something wrong with the oil line: the engine has started to balk.*
B: *Don't you mean "gas line"?*
A: *Yes – didn't I say "gas line"?* (Hayakawa 1967: 124)

To classify Speaker A's utterance as a slip of the tongue or generally a performance error might be correct but is certainly unsatisfactory: the question is not only why and how it could have arisen but how Speaker B manages to identify it and what happens between the two speakers when their positions come together in the third line.

We will consider this exchange, as well as several other examples, with the goal to modelling context, capitalizing on FIGURE/GROUND ORGANIZATION as a fundamental principle of cognitive alignment (Langacker 1987: 120, 2008: 58ff.; Talmy 2000, vol. I: 215-218), which ultimately goes back to early 20th-c. Gestalt psychology. By analogy, focus is to context as figure is to ground, where focus has variable prominence, which Langacker captures in terms of PRIMARY and SECONDARY FOCAL PARTICIPANTS (or simply foci) – cf. Figure 1 (thick lines in

figures mark primary focus).¹ The analogy is elaborated into a blended configuration,² where the notion of CONTEXTUAL GROUND covers two senses of ground postulated in Cognitive Grammar: (i) as an element in figure/ground organization, and (ii) as the discourse ground (including the speech event, participants, and situational setting). This configuration may depart from the canonical treatment in Cognitive Grammar but in proposing it I follow Langacker's (2016: 99) idea of constructing "a coherent story" where "everything fits".

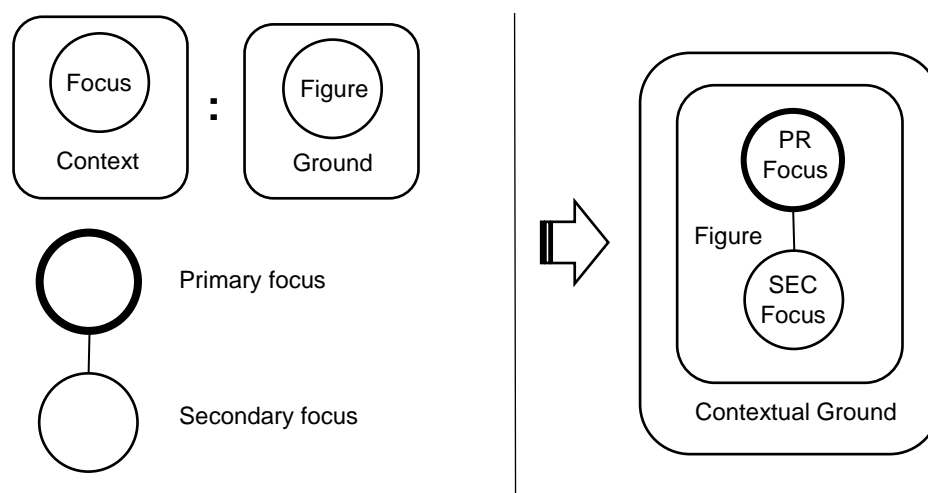


Figure 1: *Focus (primary and secondary), context, figure, and ground aligned*

How can the model help us handle Hayakawa's example (1)? First, Speaker A uses *oil line* as primary focus and *the engine* as secondary focus: together they form the figure in the context (contextual ground) of automechanics. Speaker A is in fact suggesting a hypothesis (*there must be something wrong*). Speaker B recognizes the relevant contextual ground (thanks to their knowledge of the subject matter) and realizes that the primary focus does not match the secondary focus, that is, they do not form a coherent alignment. The participants presumably share the knowledge of automechanics, so the mismatch must have to do with the foci within the figure. Therefore, B introduces something else as a candidate for a new primary focus (*gas line*) and the system falls in place. Speaker A readily acknowledges this and reconstructs their initial utterance into a new configuration (Figure 2).

¹ Primary and secondary focal participants are Langackerian constructs of trajector and landmark, which we will not be using for the sake of explanatory simplicity. Furthermore, in Langacker's diagrams and in his terminology, thick lines mark profiles against the base. While we are not referring to these notions, either, the idea of profiling a substructure within a larger configuration is basically parallel to that of identifying an element as primary focus.

² Although different in detail, this idea of a blended configuration certainly owes much to Fauconnier & Turner's (2002) Conceptual Blending theory.

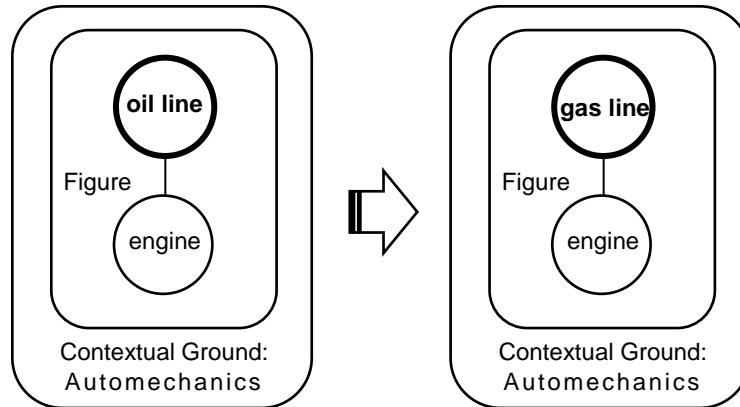


Figure 2: Example (1): change of primary focus

How does that shift proceed? I propose that it takes place thanks to context as OTHER MINDS, the idea developed, even if not originally devised, by Talmy Givón (2005).³ In that framework, context is not a shared situation but “the assumption that the mental representation that is currently activated in my mind is also currently activated in yours” (Givón 2005: 101). And so, the assumption shared by A and B about each other’s minds allows them to overcome the initial misunderstanding in their conversation. A’s starting point is legitimate: the speaker hopes that B will recognize the figure/ground alignment that is being constructed, which indeed B does. In fact, B does more: he/she recognizes the *misconstruction* of the figure/ground alignment and is able to correct it by not only making the right judgments of A’s mind but projecting what must have been *intended* by A. Thus, B can build a model of A’s *intended* primary and secondary foci and of the entire figure-ground configuration, despite its flawed execution on the part of A. The ability to do this is “the most profound adaptive strategy of a social species” (Givón 2005: 62) – it is in fact paradoxical because something as weak as an *assumption* of what another *thinks* can be expected to cause problems, rather than helping to overcome them.⁴

The reader will have realized by now that the bringing together of focus-vs.-context with figure-vs.-ground into a coherent model is not a new idea: if not earlier, it was proposed by William Hanks (1992) in his work on deictics (drawing, among others, on Bühler 1990 [1934]) and concisely summarized by the editors of the volume in which it appeared:

Describing what is being conceptualised as the *focal* event implies that it is in some sense more salient and noticeable than its *context*... there does seem to be a fundamental *figure-ground relationship* implicated in the organisation of context, with the *figure*, what we are calling the focal event, standing out from a more amorphous *ground* as the official focus of attention. (Duranti & Goodwin 1992: 32 [emphasis original])

Hanks’ approach well illustrates the meaning of *contextus* ‘a joining together’, bringing together various elements into one texture (from Latin *texere* ‘to weave’, ultimately from the

³ For a more comprehensive view on the issue, within and without language, cf. Malle & Hodges (2005), with one chapter also being co-authored by Givón.

⁴ It has been observed that depending on their experience, contextual clues, or otherwise relevant preferences, speakers can intentionally reverse figures and grounds (cf. Thiering 2011 for an exploration of the phenomenon in language), a process not fundamentally different from primary v. secondary focus reversal within the figure that we have here.

PIE root **tek-* ‘to weave, fabricate, make; make wicker or wattle framework’). The notion of interweaving in considerations of context also links with the notion of FRAME, defined in the same volume as something that is “placed around the actions and utterances of the participants which provides for the sense in which they are to be taken” (Kendon 1992: 326), and which goes back to the work of Erving Goffman (1963, 1974) (see also Fillmore 1982). Goffman’s frame analysis is based on the notion of RELEVANCE: focused interaction involves a particular “definition of the situation” shared by participants with regard to what is considered relevant or irrelevant in that situation. Ultimately, we have a view of contextual ground not as something that is “just there” but something that is “placed around” the focus with regard to what is considered relevant – it is a dialectic construct that involves the speakers’ projected focus (or foci) and their judgements of relevance.

How are we, in this light, to understand John Firth’s maxim that “each word when used in a new context is a new word” (Firth 1957: 190)? Let us revisit Hayakawa’s example (1). When *oil line* is used by Speaker A as the primary focus vis-à-vis the secondary focus of the balking of the engine, it acquires a new meaning. That new meaning strikes Speaker B as incongruent, given the contextual background of his knowledge of automechanics. As a result of this mismatch, Speaker B changes the primary focus from *oil line* to *gas line*, thus reshaping the entire configuration (because the semantics of any element in a configuration both draws on the configuration as a whole and has a bearing on it). It is the meaning of the whole that gives a word (or expression) the novelty status that Firth talks about: expressions do not activate meanings *in* context, they do so *along with* context; indeed, they *are* context to one another.

2. Contextual meaning in action

2.1 *The data*

We will explore how and to what effects primary and secondary foci interact with contextual grounds in literary discourse. Selected fragments of two books will be used for the purpose: Karen Blixen’s (Isak Dinesen’s) *Out of Africa* plus *Shadows on the Grass* (joint edition, Blixen 1985) and Paul Kenyon’s *I Am Justice. A Journey out of Africa* (2010). The former is a now classic early 20th-century memoir of a female Danish citizen who runs a coffee farm in Kenya. The latter is the story a Ghanaian teenager Justice Amin, who escapes from his native Ghana, through Libya and across the Mediterranean Sea to Europe. In many senses, they are very different accounts (not only because the former is a first-person, the latter a third-person narration). Blixen was an affluent European business person, active at a time when being a white farm owner in Kenya was a privileged position, available to few (although, admittedly, much harder for women, given the male-dominated environment at the time). In *I Am Justice*, Amin is a nobody: a teenage boy raised and abused by his shamanistic uncle. The mirage of Europe is for him the mirage of heaven. Amin repeatedly risks his life during escape, as well as risking the lives of his younger brother and sister, whom he leaves with his uncle with the hope of being able to eventually help them too. The differences between the books in terms of geography, time, the political and social contexts, relative statuses of the protagonists, and their individual life stories are stark. But both deal with Africa, both are written by European authors, and both are memoir-type literary accounts of real-life events, with a journalistic slant.

We will go through a selection of excerpts from the two narratives, discussing several types of processes that concern the various configurations of foci, figures, and contextual

grounds. Both the differences and the parallels between the books are the reason why they have been selected as sources of examples: the general subject matter is comparable⁵ but the details of context are sufficient to provide ample material for a discussion of variation. In a sense, the choice is arbitrary – but it is always better to support one’s theoretical claims with authentic than with made-up examples.

2.2 Overextension of contextual ground

The first type of process, overextension of contextual ground, can be illustrated with this fragment from the Front matter of Ryszard Kapuściński’s *The Shadow of the Sun*:

This is therefore not a book about Africa, but rather about some people from there – about encounters with them, and time spent together. The continent is too large to describe. It is a veritable ocean, a separate planet, a varied, immensely rich cosmos. Only with the greatest simplification, for the sake of convenience, can we say “Africa”. In reality, except as a geographical appellation, Africa does not exist. (Kapuściński 2001 [1998])

Africa is varied and heterogeneous but is not readily seen as such.⁶ It is the apparent “sameness” of the continent, not its diversity, that transpires in Blixen’s example (2):

- (2) *When you have caught the rhythm of Africa, you find that it is the same in all her music.*
(Blixen 1985: 23-24)

The primary focus in this music metaphor is “rhythm”, while “music” itself is secondary focus – in fact, it is the “music of Africa” (a rather abstract notion in itself), given that Africa acts as the contextual ground. But recall that Blixen’s experience of the continent is basically limited to her Kenyan farm and its neighbourhood: although she does periodically go away, she can hardly be said to travel throughout Africa.⁷ Rather, it is from her location in Kenya that she *extends* her context onto the whole land (a metonymy: FARM FOR AFRICA), with maximally low granularity of viewing and a holistic outlook. At the same time, this is a spatial, as well as a metaphorical kind of extension: Blixen takes the reader from the level of individual experience to that of the entire continent, plus from the music that she is familiar with to all other “kinds of music” that the African life may potentially involve.⁸

⁵ Especially as far as the English translation of Blixen’s memoir is concerned: cf. the parallel “out of Africa” in both titles (the original Danish title is *Den afrikanske farm*).

⁶ Similarly, the Cameroonian philosopher and historian Achille Mbembe says in an interview: “Africa [...] is as diversified as Europe, Asia, or the Americas – it’s just that the West prefers not to see that” (Mbembe 2019: 12; translated from the Polish: AG).

⁷ I ask the reader to excuse my conflating the author (Karen Blixen) with the protagonist of her text (specifically, her English text). It is a questionable move from the point of view of literary analysis but I believe it is rather harmless given the purpose of this study. Blixen, after all, does write about herself.

⁸ I cannot resist relating a personal experience at this point. When in early 1990s I was an exchange student at a university in Pennsylvania, the US, I was struck by the question the locals asked me: “How do you like it in Pennsylvania?”. In fact, I didn’t experience being in Pennsylvania as anything salient; rather, I saw and felt myself as being in the USA, across the ocean, and on the other hemisphere. This was, at the time, the only USA that I knew first-hand. When the locals focused their lives against the background of the state, I did so against the background of the entire country (or perhaps even the globe). I could only “deflate” my context from that broad

If Blixen looks at Africa in low resolution, the main protagonist in *I Am Justice* moves from low to high resolution.

2.3 Towards greater resolution: from figure to ground?

Consider the exchange in (3), between Justice and one of the people he knows, concerning his planned escape:

- (3) 'What about Europe?' Justice would say. 'Europe is my target.'
'Ah Europe! If I am able to. If God allows. There is no better place.' (Kenyon 2010: 31)

The figure is Europe, the implied contextual ground is Africa: when regarded in very low-resolution, the former is evaluated positively, the latter negatively. But then there is progression towards greater resolution and a more analytic view. Europe (or, for that matter, the world outside Africa), is no longer viewed as homogeneous but involves more and more details:

- (4) *Inside there were booths where customers, mainly African migrants, phoned home or browsed the internet. It was there, in the spring of 2007 that Justice began following world events with a new eye, acclimatising himself to the outside. He read about the kidnap of BBC journalist Alan Johnston, the disappearance of Madeleine McCann, the Virginia Tech massacre, events that no longer seemed far away. He studied the English premiership, and followed the match live as Manchester United beat Roma 7–1 in the Champions League. He was preparing the ground, making sure that by the time he arrived he would no longer be a stranger.* (Kenyon 2010: 130)

“The world” is contracted here to European and American matters – but because America is out of reach for the refugees, the main focus is on Europe. Also, although the kidnapping of Alan Johnston took place in the Gaza Strip, Johnston is a British journalist at the BBC, so the matter has an obvious European significance. On the whole, a number of specific events are mentioned that function as primary foci, regarded against the secondary foci of the countries where they take place, and against their relevant contextual grounds: sport or current affairs. The migrants hope that those details will become part of their regular everyday context – that they will, through familiarization and entrenchment, change their status from figure to contextual ground. (As it turns out in the book, these are largely futile hopes.)

Contextual grounds do not only provide context/grounding for a figure, they can also interact with one another.

2.4 Interaction between contextual grounds

scope to its portion when I began to travel around the US. This is a process reversed to what Blixen does and what Kapuściński and Mbembe allude to.

Blixen's "afrikanske farm" is her vantage point for regarding what lies beyond but it can itself be an object perceived from a bird's-eye-view:

- (5) *In the wildness and irregularity of the country, a piece of land laid out and planted according to rule looked very well. Later on, when I flew in Africa, and became familiar with the appearance of my farm from the air, I was filled with admiration for my coffee-plantation, that lay quite bright green in the grey-green land, and I realized how keenly the human mind yearns for geometrical figures.* (Blixen 1985: 17-18)

What Blixen calls here the "human mind" is of course the Western or the European mind. She is taking her own individual perspective, generalized, through her Western cultural and mental predisposition, into what she considers "human", thus excluding from her considerations the African mind (or eye), regardless of the respect that she has for Africans. It is doubtful whether the Africans actually yearned for geometrical figures to the same extent as the Dane or appreciated what the human hands had done to the land.

However, the import of this passage clearly lies beyond pure topography: it alludes to the political and social context of colonial land ownership, of shaping the land, exercising power over it, giving it a new quality in terms of landscape but more broadly in all those extended senses.

Apart from interaction between contextual grounds, there is also, quite predictably, a vivid dynamic between the two kinds of focus, primary and secondary, within the complex figure and relative to the contextual ground.

2.5 *Inversion of foci within complex figure (1)*

After her return to Denmark, Blixen receives a letter from her African servant Kamante, who writes in somewhat broken English:

- (6a) *Write and tell us if you turn. We think you turn. Because why? We think that you shall never can forget us. Because why? We think that you remembered still all our face and our mother names.*

She comments in her memoir:

- (6b) *A white man who wanted to say a pretty thing to you would write: "I can never forget you." The African says: "We do not think of you, that you can ever forget us."* (Blixen 1985: 66)

There is a contrast in the conceptual configuration constructed by "the African" vs. "the white man", the African's mental state and the white man's mental state, depending on which element is picked as the primary focus (Figure 3).

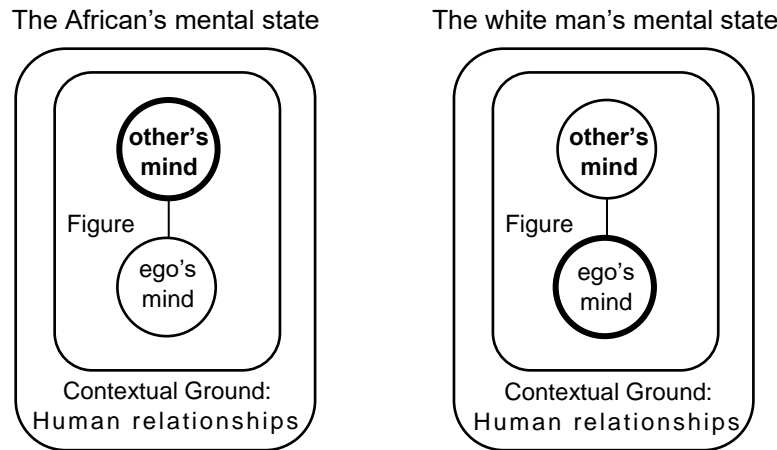


Figure 3: *Inversion of foci within the figure. Thick circles mark focal elements*

For the African, the primary focus is the other person's ("your") state of mind (*write and tell us, you shall never can forget us, you remembered*), while the state of mind of the conceptualizer, the ego, is secondary focus (*we think, tell us, forget us, all our face, our mother names*). For the European white man, it's the inverse: the primary focus is "ego", the conceptualizer's mental state, whereas the secondary focus is the other participant ("I can never forget you"). Both configurations are set within the contextual ground of human relationships.⁹

2.6 Inversion of foci within complex figure (2)

A perhaps even more telling instance of inversion is illustrated in (7):

- (7) *I had six thousand acres of land, and had thus got much spare land besides the coffee-plantation. Part of the farm was native forest and about one thousand acres were squatters' land, what they called their shambas. The squatters are Natives, who with their families hold a few acres on a white man's farm, and in return have to work for him a certain number of days in the year. My squatters, I think, saw the relationship in a different light, for many of them were born on the farm, and their fathers before them, and they very likely regarded me as a sort of superior squatter on their estates.* (Blixen 1985: 19)

Again, we are dealing here with two configurations of primary vs. secondary focus vs. contextual ground. Blixen's perspective is grounded in exercise of power: she owns the land, the native forest, together with the people on that land (*my squatters*). The people are the primary focus, the secondary focus is the conceptualizer herself, and the contextual ground is the land/farm as a legally certified possession. But those people also have a perspective and also perceive the land as "theirs": the white person is the primary focus, relative to themselves as the secondary focus, and relative to the farm as the place that they have always inhabited. This is not legally certified: indeed, the law requires them to work off their stay on the land. Thus, the two conceptualizations differ in what they select as their primary and secondary foci

⁹ If one can generalize from this example, which is of course somewhat risky, the import of each configuration is decisive as to what one might call the worldview, or the "philosophy of life" of each side.

but also in the nature of their grounds: the legally binding deed of ownership vs. the tradition of “always being there”.

However, notice that access to the perspective of “the Natives” is provided through Blixen’s consciousness (*I think, very likely*) and is therefore modal and intersubjective. We access the “minds” of the Africans as they are projected by Blixen, who apprehends their primary focus from her own perspective.¹⁰ That focus is Blixen herself (Figure 4).

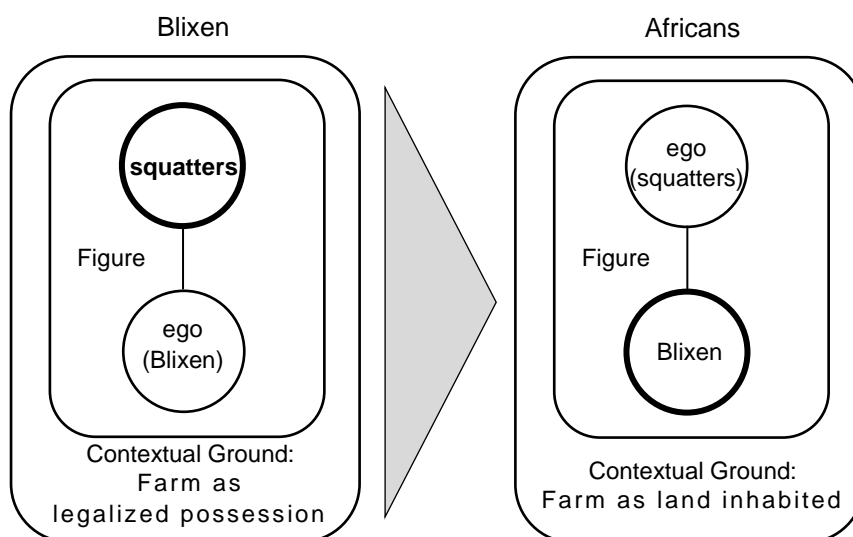


Figure 4: *Inversion of foci within the figure: Native African perspective through Blixen’s consciousness*

Example (7) is also a good illustration of the difference between ECOLOGICAL context, i.e. context as environment (cf. Matthiessen & Teruya 2016: 235) and Givón’s notion of context as “knowing other minds”. In other words, in contrast to understanding context as a pre-given container with entities *in it*, context might itself be a construction:

[A] context is not there objectively, waiting to be noticed. A context is construed on the fly, for the occasion. It is a *synthesis de novo*. (Givón 2005: 72)

Specifically, it is a *constructed mental process*:

the relevant social context during communication are neither the audible words nor the visible gestures, but rather the mental states of beliefs and intention of one’s interlocutor – whether present or presumed. (Givón 2005: 8)

That we see ourselves in part the way *they* see us is one consequence of our having developed the capacity to represent *their* mind; and conversely, to take advantage in our self-representation of their capacity to represent *our* mind. (Givón 2005: 236 [emphasis original])

¹⁰ In Simpson’s (1993) now classic classification, this is type A (internal, subjective 1st-person) narration, in which the narrator uses *verba sentiendi* (*think*) and probability judgements (*very likely*) in reference to the reality being experienced.

The relationship between Blixen and the Africans in example (7) is built precisely in accordance with that kind of intersubjective understanding of context as (i) what one side believes themselves to be, (ii) what they believe the other side to be, and (iii) what they believe the other side to think. Moreover, being a mental construction, context can be claimed to extend here beyond the conceptual ground and encroach on the figure and the foci within it: primary and secondary focus are mental constructions and so they *are context* with respect to each other. At the same time, they maintain their status as a complex figure with respect to the contextual ground relevant to a given conceptualizer: for Blixen it is the legal status of the land, imposed by Europeans, for the Africans it is their continuous, generations-long presence on this land.

2.7 Context: physical or mental

What has just been said about context, i.e. its status as a mental construct, does not invalidate its ecological role as a situational environment. Indeed, the two can contrast or coalesce, producing semantic effects. Note example (8):

- (8) *During my first months after my return to Denmark from Africa, I had great trouble in seeing anything at all as a reality.* (Blixen 1985: 335)

However, after some time back in her home country, Blixen's memories of Africa and her perception of Denmark change:

- (9) *I have not heard from Lulu, since I went away, but from Kamante I have heard, and from my other houseboys in Africa. It is not more than a month since I had the last letter from him. But these communications from Africa come to me in a strange, unreal way, and are more like shadows, or mirages, than like news of a reality.* (Blixen 1985: 64)

Blixen's journey out of Africa takes place in two domains: physical and mental; they act as relevant contextual grounds (or a complex contextual ground) in a single act of conceptualization (Figure 5).

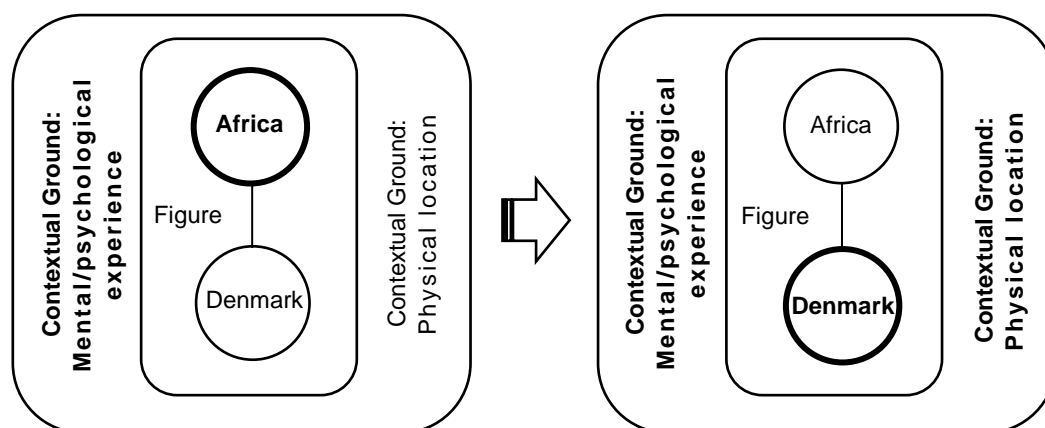


Figure 5: Shift of primary vs. secondary focus with respect to mental vs. physical contextual ground

Initially, upon her return, Africa is remembered as sharp and vivid, Denmark as fuzzy and vague: within the context of mental experience, Africa is primary focus and Denmark is secondary.¹¹ This is inconsistent with the physical domain because Blixen actually is *in* Denmark, although her state of mind overrides her physical location: what the mind produces counts more than what the eye can see.

With time, the arrangement reverses: Denmark begins to be focalized as clear, Africa becomes fuzzier and recedes into the role of secondary focus. Now the physical proximity to Denmark coincides with the clarity of its mental image, so that the primary-to-secondary focus configuration within the domain of mental experience is consistent with the physical contextual ground.

Finally, we will consider contextual ground in its capacity to invoke the (i) physical or geographical/topographical domain, (ii) the political domain, and (iii) the social domain in an excerpt from Kenyon's *I am Justice*.

2.8 Context: geographical vs. political vs. social

The excerpt portrays the situation of Justice Amin and other refugees some time after they had been rescued from the Mediterranean Sea. Their perilous and dramatic passage took them into Europe, across (A) the geographical/topographical *boundary* of the sea, as well as across (B) the political *border* between Libya and Italy, but they are still unable to break (C) the social *barrier*:

- (10) *It wasn't long before reality crashed in. They were homeless, jobless migrants. They couldn't speak the language. They knew no one, had no connections. They were spectators staring out from behind the gates of charity hostels or worse still, from the dark corners of railway stations where they'd bedded down for the night. They were in Europe, but not of it.* (Kenyon 2010: 241 [emphasis original])

The three kinds of contextual ground, three dividing lines that I propose to associate, respectively, with a boundary, a border, and a barrier, are of course axiologically non-neutral. A boundary is usually the outer limit or perimeter: *Oxford Collocations online* mentions *redrawing* or *crossing* a boundary; boundaries that *extend* onto something and boundaries being *pushed back*. Things can be *at* or *beyond* a boundary; one can *drive over* or *across* a boundary; a river may *form the boundary*. A boundary is thus something natural, something that belongs to the essence of a given entity. Borders and barriers are different from boundaries inasmuch as they seem to be human-imposed, but they are also different from each other: Underhill (2017: 37) has identified borders as at least potentially “good” and barriers as “bad”. According, again, to *Oxford Collocations online*, people usually *cross borders* or *drive/slip/escape/flee across/over borders* (e.g. *They slipped across the border at nightfall*). In contrast, one usually *builds/erects/installs* or *breaks through a barrier* (e.g. *The crowd managed to break through the barriers and get onto the pitch*). Borders mark a territory or provide safety can allow for mutual access; barriers are installed to separate, divide, and block access – they have to be pulled down to yield.

¹¹ A juxtaposition of a country with a continent is asymmetrical but it is facilitated by the metonymic extension of Kenya (Blixen's direct experience) onto Africa, as we saw in example (2).

This largely positive portrayal of borders is of course an idealization, it pertains to the semantic potential of the lexical item *border*, not the actual political practice. That practice is, of course, much less encouraging: borders are often assigned the barrier-like function of blockage, as we are witnessing (in 2020) in Europe, Australia, or the USA. (Anderson 2001 shows how the “bridge” and “barrier” facets of borders negate and contradict each other.)

Example (10) portrays the situation of the migrants when Europe as the outside becomes their new inside – but only in the (A) geographical and to some extent (B) political sense (the migrants are offered several integration and employment programmes), while (C) socially they remain outside it. With the sea behind them and the official political climate basically positive, their social status is that of outsiders. Indeed, to an extent they also stay aloof in the literal sense, cf. in (10) above: “They were spectators staring out from behind the gates of charity hostels or worse still, from the dark corners of railway stations where they’d bedded down for the night”. The migrants remain outside the “real” Europe: they are physically *on* the continent but not partaking *of* the continent. Belonging is not exhausted by the container metaphor: what the metaphor proposes (“they were *in* Europe”) suggests a new inside that is contradicted by the expression of (non-)belonging (they were “not *of*” Europe).

Example (10) also lends itself to an analysis in terms of foci, contexts, figures and grounds. Justice and the other refugees are primary focus against the secondary focus of Europe, with all the relevant differences being attributable to contextual grounds: (A) geographical/topographical (boundary), (B) political (border), or (C) social (barrier). The crossing that the refugees have made is successful in the first sense and partially in the second, political sense, but unsuccessful, or unrealized, in the last one (Figure 6).

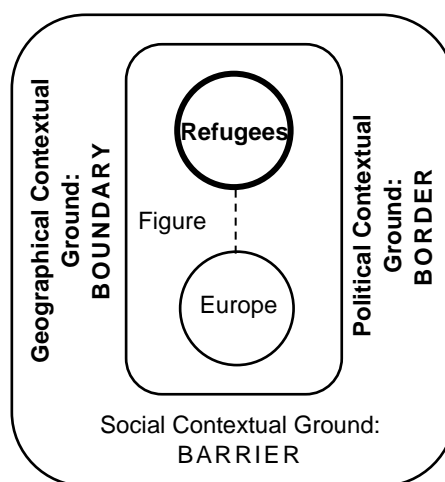


Figure 6: *Geographical boundary, political border, and social barrier as contextual grounds*

3. Recapitulation

Let us again refer to Givón and his view on context as environment (ecological context) and context as construction of others’ minds:

The adaptive-selectional mechanism proposed by Darwin [...] is founded upon the interaction of organisms with their *environment*; that is, their context. What is more,

the environment to which organisms adapt or “fit” is not a purely objective entity, but rather the *relevant* environment as *construed*, selectively, by the behaving-cognizing organism during adaptive interaction. This relevant environment is often social, and thus includes both the construed “objective” behavior and construed *mental states* of others, be they cooperative or hostile. (Givón 2005: 35 [emphasis original])

Note that Givón does not *oppose* the ecological understanding of context as environment and context as mental construal: he recasts the notion of environment as something mentally construed rather than objectively “given”. (Inasmuch as this is the case, we need to slightly update our analysis of example (7) above: “Farm as legalized possession” and “Farm as land inhabited” are mentally constructed environments for conceptualizations.) In *Out of Africa* and *I am Justice* the protagonists construe their conceptualizations with regard to comparable physical or geographical environments at the general level (Africa vs. Europe) but construed as *relevant* from very different perspectives and in different social conditions: with regard to who they are, what they want, etc. It is relative to those parameters that primary vs. secondary foci, figures vs. grounds, and contextual grounds are constructed, construed, maintained, set against each other, reversed, merged, and otherwise mentally processed.

Interestingly, the notion of relevance and the role of the conceptualizing subject is also appreciated in those areas of scientific inquiry that are to a far larger extent concerned with objectivity, hard facts, and measurable results. The scope of scientific inquiry thus includes, in a reflexive manner, those who perform it. The conceptualizing subject acts as the ultimate reference frame in a process where both the complex figure (with its internal configurations of foci) and the contextual ground are construed for the purpose of the entire configuration. Meaning-making in the use of language, but also in the sense of understanding the universe *sensu lato*, does not stem from the stasis of foci *in* context, or figure *against* contextual ground, but proceeds through the inherent dynamism of that configuration, which involves foci *along with* contextual ground.

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Knowledge-related metaphors and proverbs in English and Polish

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The present discussion is devoted to outlining the concept of knowledge and its linguistic representation in the contrasted languages, i.e. English and Polish. Selected, yet representative, examples of proverbs are introduced and embedded figurative meanings are compared in search for similarities and/or a diverse manner of the presentation of the concept in the analysed languages. The research study is intended to highlight corresponding lexical means as well as possible points of divergence in the way KNOWLEDGE is reflected in English and Polish. Moreover, the discussion shows which metaphors are employed in the analysed English and Polish proverbs. The observed dissimilarities are pointed out.

Keywords: *knowledge, lexicon, proverb, metaphor*

“The greatest enemy of knowledge is not ignorance, it is the illusion of knowledge”

Daniel J. Boorstin

1. Introduction

The concept of knowledge is one of the central human concepts. It is included in the ‘alphabet of human thought’ rendered as a mental/experiential predicate KNOW, which is a semantic prime found in human languages the world over (Wierzbicka 1992, 1996, 2006; Goddard & Wierzbicka 2002). Wierzbicka (2007: 49) points out that human societies have certain concepts and corresponding words which constitute “a framework of orientation in daily life and guide people’s judgement and behaviour. Sometimes speakers are conscious of some of these words and regard them as a badge of belonging. Sometimes, however, a “guiding word” is so ingrained in the thinking of the speech community that it is not perceived as distinctive, but rather taken for granted like the air that people breathe”. *Knowledge* can be considered this kind of concept that is routinely taken for granted. It is deeply rooted in literal as well as metaphorical language representation.

The present discussion aims at analysing selected knowledge-related proverbs in English, and their possible counterparts in Polish. Proverbs are considered to reflect the culture and worldview of a given speech community. They express the beliefs and truths that a particular group have about the reality and the world they live in. Proverb meanings will be considered to find out if they are based on similar imagery and what are the underlying conceptualisations of knowledge represented in English and Polish sayings.

2. Metaphors and proverbs: an interface

As noted by numerous researchers (Lakoff & Johnson 1980; Kövecses 2000; 2003; 2010; 2016; 2018), metaphor is commonly employed in communication. Cameron (2010: 7) states that “metaphor is [...] a multi-faceted phenomenon. [...] The attraction of metaphor as a research tool lies in what it can tell us about the people who use it. [...] linguistic metaphors in discourse can tell us something about how people are thinking, can indicate socio-cultural

conventions that people are tied into or that they may be rejecting, and can reveal something of speaker's emotions, attitudes and values".

As pointed out by Kövecses (2018: 124-125), Conceptual Metaphor Theory is a growing area of research and is prevailing in the study of metaphor. "Its dominance is in large part due to the fact that CMT made contact with a variety of disciplines and approaches in the study of the human mind and human behavior". A conceptual metaphor is therefore defined as "a systematic set of correspondences, or mappings, between two domains of experience" (Kövecses 2018: 125), or in more classical terms "the essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another" (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 5), i.e. understanding one domain in terms of another.

It is also essential to note that one can learn how members of a culture conceptualise reality by analysing the way they talk about it, i.e. "thinking for speaking" (Slobin 1996, quoted in Kövecses 2019). Kövecses (2019: 21) summarises this idea as follows: "we tend to think about a domain the way we speak about it. In other words, the language we use in relation to a particular subject matter indicates which aspects of that subject matter we routinely attend to. We talk about a large part of many subject matters by means of metaphors, which can thus serve as indicators of how we think about these topics". In the following discussion we shall attempt to analyse which metaphors are prevalent as a basis in proverbs concerning reference to the concept of *knowledge*.

Kövecses (2000: 216-223; 2010: 369-375) provides a list of metaphors where the concept of knowledge is the key component. These include: IDEAS ARE (VALUABLE) COMMODITIES; MEANINGS ARE OBJECTS; MENTAL ACTIVITY IS MANIPULATION; THE MIND IS A CONTAINER; KNOWING IS SEEING; IDEAS ARE FOOD; IDEAS ARE OBJECTS; IMAGINATION IS FIRE; LINGUISTIC EXPRESSIONS ARE CONTAINERS FOR MEANING OBJECTS; THE MIND IS A BRITTLE OBJECT; THE MIND IS A MACHINE; THE MIND IS THE BODY; THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS; THINKING IS COOKING; THINKING IS LOOKING and UNDERSTANDING IS DIGESTING.

Metaphors that are identified within the considered lexicon are to a large extent centred around most salient exemplars. It is interesting to note in this connection that this observation is in line with the "idea of the main meaning focus". As pointed out by Kövecses (2000: 82), in conceptual metaphor theory this notion is defined in the following way: "Each source is associated with a particular meaning focus (foci) that is (or are) mapped onto the target. This meaning focus (foci) is (are) constituted by the central knowledge that pertains to a particular entity or event within a speech community. The target inherits the main meaning focus (or foci) of the source".

The notion of 'central knowledge' is critical in the definition of the meaning focus and it represents "knowledge about an entity or event that is conventional, generic, intrinsic, and characteristic" (Kövecses 2013: 16). It is an aim of the present analysis to learn what such 'central knowledge' is for knowledge-related proverbs.

As noted in the literature on the subject, (Mieder 1996, 2004; Manser 2007; Stone 2006) proverbs reflect the worldview of the respective language communities. According to Speake (2008: 14), a proverb is defined as "a traditional saying which offers advice or presents a moral in a short and pithy manner", or "a saying, usually short, that expresses a general truth about life"; they are said to "give advice, make an observation, or present a teaching in a succinct and memorable way" (Manser 2007: ix). Stone (2006: xii) notes that "proverbs are common to nearly all cultures, both ancient and modern, literate and non-literate. Generally speaking,

proverbs are popular sayings that express commonly held truths, with their chief ingredients, [...] ‘sense, shortness, and salt’. They are [...] ‘the wit of one and the wisdom of many’.”

Mieder (1996: 597) succinctly summarises proverbs as “short, generally known sentences of the folk that contain wisdom, truths, morals, and traditional views in a metaphorical, fixed, and memorisable form and that are handed down from generation to generation”. They are deeply rooted in the tradition of most cultures around the globe. Their appeal lies in the fact that they “contain everyday experiences and common observations in succinct and formulaic language, making them easy to remember and ready to be used instantly as effective rhetoric in oral or written communication¹” (Mieder 2004: xi).

A crucial element of the defining formula for proverbs presented above (Mieder 1996: 597) refers to their metaphorical language use. This aspect of conceptualisation is the focus of the present discussion. We intend to discuss proverbs that directly refer to knowledge as well as those that are knowledge-related. However, owing to the abundance of such maxims in language, in the following we shall consider only selected, most representative examples.

3. Proverbs related to the concept of knowledge – a discussion

Obviously, it is unrealistic to consider all proverbs that are associated with the concept under consideration. An attempt will therefore be made to analyse as wide-ranging a collection as possible. English proverbs will be noted and Polish counterparts representing similar meanings will be provided wherever they exist. The analysis is based on various available lexicographic sources, such as *The dictionary of modern proverbs* (DMP), *The Facts On File dictionary of proverbs* (DP), *The Oxford dictionary of proverbs* (ODP), *The Routledge book of world proverbs* (RBWP), *The Penguin dictionary of proverbs* (PDP), *The Wordsworth dictionary of proverbs* (WDP), *NTC’s thematic dictionary of American idioms* (TDAI) *Księga przysłów* (KP) as well as *Przysłowia w 12 językach* (Świerczyńska 2019).

A large number of examples focus on the aspect of age with reference to knowledge. The English proverb *You can’t put an old head on young shoulders* (DP 2007: 313), (RBWP 2006: 492) designates the meaning “it is unreasonable to expect young people to be as sensible and knowledgeable as their elders”. Also, *An old man’s sayings are seldom untrue*, *Years know more than books*, *An old dog barks not in vain*, *No playing with a straw before an old cat* (PDP 1983: 172), as well as *Old foxes want no tutors*, *The devil knows many things because he is old* (PDP 1983: 172), *An old wise man’s shadow is better than a young buzzard’s sword*, *It is good sheltering under an old hedge* or *The best wine comes out of an old vessel* (PDP 1983: 173) all suggest that wisdom is more expected in older people. Hence, an Irish proverb *Good sense comes only with age* (RBWP 2006: 192) as well as *With age comes wisdom* (DP 2007: 304) mean that “people become more sensible and knowledgeable as they get older”. *Co dzień człowiek mądrzy* (KP 2008: 119) ‘A man is wiser every day’ or *Nauka zawsze z latami przychodzi* (KP 2008: 195) ‘Learning (wisdom) always comes with time’ can be considered Polish equivalents of the above-quoted proverbs. However, *There’s no fool like an old fool* (DP 2007: 265), *An old fool is the worst fool* (DP 2007: 209) or *Broda nie czyni mądrego* (KP 2008: 118) ‘Beard does not make one wise’, *Mądrość przychodzi i rośnie z laty, acz nie każdy jest mądry brodaty* (KP 2008: 129) ‘Wisdom comes and grows with time, but not every bearded

¹ Proverbs are also considered to “fulfil the human need to summarize experiences and observations into nuggets of wisdom that provide ready-made comments on personal relationships and social affairs” (Mieder 2004: 1).

man is wise' and *Nie każda głowa siwa bywa mądra* (KP 2008: 133) 'Not every grey head is wise' seem to go against the claim that with age people become more knowledgeable or older age is associated with knowledge, accumulated through experience.

Many experts believe the sooner one starts to learn, the better, and the longer lasting results can be expected. English proverbs *What is learned in the cradle is carried to the grave* (RBWP 2006: 254), *What is learnt young is hard to lose* (WDP 1993: 357), *Learning in one's youth is engraving in stone*; *What youth is used to, age remembers*; *Whoso learns young, forgets not when he is old* or *Learn young, learn fair* (PDP 1983: 75) are comparable to the Polish one *Nigdy z głowy nie wyhuczy, czego mama raz nauczy* (KP 2008: 196) 'It will never escape the head, what your mother has once taught you'. Incidentally, the mother mentioned in the Polish proverb is not to be treated as a representative of a particular gender, rather it is the young age of the learner that is foregrounded.

Everyone comes to this world empty-handed. This is true not only of possessions but also of knowledge and skills. *Nobody is born learned; bishops are made of men* (DP 2007: 202-203) is a proverb which can be interpreted as "education and scholarship are not innate qualities, and anybody can acquire knowledge or aspire to high office". In Polish, a similar meaning is expressed by the saying *Nikt się mądrym nie rodzi, ale staje* (KP 2008: 134) 'Nobody is born wise, but becomes wise', which also suggests that knowledge is acquired, not inborn. A proverb of Greek origin: *There's no royal road to learning* (DP 2007: 267) represents the meaning "knowledge and skills can only be acquired by hard work – there are no short cuts", and in Polish it is rendered by the maxim *Nie ma gładkiej drogi do wiedzy* (KP 2008: 133) 'There is no smooth road to knowledge'. The English proverb *Knowledge has bitter roots but sweet fruits* (PDP 1983: 75) as well as *Learn weeping, and you shall gain laughing* (PDP 1983: 75) can be considered equivalent to the above meaning. *It is never too late to learn* (DP 2007: 151) evidently means that "nobody is too old to acquire knowledge or experience"; *never too old to learn*. The Polish counterparts are *Na rozum nigdy za późno* (KP 2008: 133) 'For reason/intellect it is never too late' or *Na naukę nigdy nie jest za późno* (Świerczyńska 2019: 114) 'It is never too late for learning'.

In order to learn new things an inquisitive mind is needed. This is reflected in the following maxims. *He that nothing questions, nothing learns* (PDP 1983: 136), or an Irish proverb *Questioning is the door of knowledge* (RBWP 2006: 245) both seem to approve of inquiry techniques to accumulate knowledge. Similar meanings are expressed in the Arabian maxim *Search for knowledge though it be in China* or a Roman one *Prudent questioning is the half of knowledge* (RWBP 2006: 245). In Polish, a possible counterpart that can be quoted is *Bez ciekwości nie ma mądrości* (KP 2008: 118) 'Without curiosity there is no wisdom'. Essentially, when people are curious about some things they are much more willing to find out why certain things happen or learn more about particular issues and aspects of life and the surrounding reality. Both *Doubt is the beginning, not the end, of wisdom* (RBWP 2006: 114), (with its Persian variety *Doubt is the key to knowledge*) and *Respect faith (knowledge), but doubt is what gives you an education* (DMP 2012: 73) suggest that questioning truths or provided information is a good way to gain and develop awareness. A similar meaning is rendered by the Polish proverbs *Kto często powątpiewa, ten mądrości nabywa* (KP 2008: 125) 'Who often doubts, he gets wisdom' or *Bez ciekowości nie ma mądrości* (KP 2008: 118; WSFP 2005: 44) 'Without curiosity there is no wisdom'.

Merits of wisdom are stressed in the English maxim *A little learning is a dangerous thing; all flowers are not in one garland* as well as its variety of Portuguese origin: *A little knowledge is a dangerous thing* (RBWP 2006: 245), which represent the meaning "incomplete

knowledge can embarrass or harm someone or something” (TDAI 1998: 201); “it is often better to have no knowledge of something than to have incomplete or inadequate knowledge, which can lead to false convenience, wrong judgements, and disastrous mistakes” (DP 2007: 172). *Niedostatek wiedzy jest rzeczą niebezpieczną* (KP 2008: 196) ‘Insufficient knowledge is a dangerous thing’ and *Mędrzec to nietęgi, co ma rozum z książki* (KP 2008: 132) ‘He is not a sage, who has reason from a book’ may be considered as equivalent in Polish.

Knowledge is of great value, and it should be utilised wisely rather than shown off. Being reserved is praised in the saying *Wear your learning like your watch, in a private pocket* (DP 2007: 289) which means “do not make a show of your knowledge or education”. As noted in the reference source (DP 2007: 289), this maxim comes from a letter written by Lord Chesterfield in 1748 in which he noted: “Wear your learning, like your watch in a private pocket: and do not merely pull it out and strike it; merely to show that you have one”. Similarly, a maxim first recorded by Benjamin Franklin, *Tell not all you know, nor do all you can* (DP 2007: 259), is interpreted as “it is good policy not to reveal the full extent of your knowledge or capabilities”. Their equivalent in Polish is *Mądrym jest ten, kto umie trzymać język za zębami* (KP 2008: 131) ‘He is wise who can hold his tongue behind his teeth’. A similar meaning is also expressed by the proverb *Pomyśl dzisiaj, a powiedz jutro* (KP 2008: 135) ‘Think today, say tomorrow’.

A wise head makes a close mouth (PDP 1983: 261), means that wise or knowledgeable people say little, and it is equivalent to *Mądry nie powie, czego wprzód nie zważy* (KP 2008: 130) ‘A wise man will not tell what he does not consider first’. Lack of knowledge is visible where people brag about things or talk a lot, but have no real expertise, as reflected by the Polish proverb *Kto wiele szumi, niewiele umi* (KP 2008: 127) ‘Who talks a lot, does not know much’ or *Mądry wie, co mówi, głupi mówi, co wie* (KP 2008: 131) ‘A wise man knows what he is saying, a stupid man says what he knows’. The proverbs *Kto pokorny, ten i mądry* (KP 2008: 126) ‘He who is humble is also wise’ or *Kto pyszny, ten i głupi* (KP 2008: 126) ‘He who is haughty is also stupid’ are also related in meaning even though they employ pairs of adjectives with contrasting senses.

Wisdom is considered a valuable treasure. The proverb *Knowledge is better than money in the bank* (RBWP 2006: 245) praises wisdom more than any possessions, however valuable the latter might be. The same meaning is expressed by the Polish equivalent *Żadna rzecz nie jest cenniejsza od wiedzy* (KP 2008: 139) ‘Nothing is more valuable than knowledge’. *Learning is better than house or land* (DP 2007: 163) stands for “education and knowledge are of greater value than property ownership”. *Lepszy jest rozum niż złoto* (KP 2008: 127) ‘Reason/mind is better than gold’ and *Nauka i cnota są najpewniejszym bogactwem* (KP 2008: 194) ‘Learning and virtue are the most reliable wealth’ both express a comparable idea, namely the advantage of being knowledgeable over being rich.

The intellectual resources should be revised in order to be contained in long-term memory. The proverbs *Knowledge without practice makes but half an artist* (RBWP 2006: 18), *Practice makes perfect* (RBWP 2006: 338) as well as *Example is better than precept* (PDP 1983: 85) or *An ounce of practice is worth a pound of precept* (PDP 1983: 85) stress the importance of repetition and practice in acquiring knowledge. In Polish this meaning is expressed by the proverbs *Bez mistrza nie ma sztuki, bez przykładu nauki* (KP 2008: 192) ‘Without master there is no art, without example no learning’, *Nauczycielem wszystkiego jest praktyka* (KP 2008: 194) or *Praktyka nauczycielem wszystkiego* (KP 2008: 196) ‘Practice is the teacher of everything’. Similarly, practice is appreciated by *Długa droga wiedzie przez wskazówki, krótka i skuteczna przez przykłady* (KP 2008: 193) ‘A long road leads through hints,

a short and successful one through examples', *Przykład najlepiej nauczy* (KP 2008: 196) 'An example teaches best', *Powtarzanie jest matką nauk* (KP 2008: 196) 'Repetition is the mother of sciences/learning' or *Uczymy się na przykładach* (KP 2008: 197) 'We learn through examples'.

Human skills and abilities are essential to function well. Intellectual skills and resources enable holistic development, advancement and achievement of set goals. *Knowledge itself is power; For knowledge is itself power; He who has knowledge has power* (RBWP 2006: 245), *Knowledge is power* (DP 2007: 161) mean that "those who have knowledge can control or influence those who do not; sometimes used of a specific piece of information that gives one person an advantage over others". No direct Polish equivalent can be quoted for the above variety of proverbs associating knowledge with power. However, one might consider the saying *Żadna rzecz nie jest cenniejsza od wiedzy* (KP 2008: 139) 'No single thing is more valuable than knowledge' as expressing a comparable meaning. The most prominent praise of knowledge seems to be presented by the proverbs *Nauka to potęgi klucz, w tym rzecz, kto więcej umie* (KP 2008: 195) 'Learning is the key to power, the thing is who knows more', *Nauka – skarb drogi* (KP 2008: 195) 'Learning – a precious treasure' or *Wiedza jest potęgą* (KP 2008: 197) 'Knowledge is power'. *Know thyself* (DP 2007: 161), which was first recorded in English in 1387, means to "be aware of your own strengths and weaknesses". In Polish the same meaning is expressed in words *Mądrość największa każdego – znać dobrze siebie samego* (KP 2008: 129) 'The greatest wisdom of everyone – to know oneself well'.

Learning and knowledge are acquired from a variety of diverse stimuli and experiences. *Travel broadens the mind* (DP 2007: 278) is a saying suggesting that "people become more broad-minded and knowledgeable by visiting other countries and learning about the customs, culture, and lifestyle of those who live there". Its Polish equivalent is expressed in words *Kto się po świecie włóczy, wiele się rozumu nauczy* (KP 2008: 126) 'He who wanders around the world learns a lot of reason'.

Despite the fact that knowledge seems to be synonymous with wisdom, the common truth expressed in some proverbs appears to question the relation. *Knowledge and wisdom are far from being one* (DP 2007: 161) means that "knowledgeable people may lack the wisdom to make sound judgements". *Thinking is very far from knowing* (DP 2007: 270) stands for the meaning "opinion and conjecture are not the same as knowledge and certainty", which indisputably stresses the fact that knowledge is acquired with time and experience. No corresponding Polish proverbs can be found for the above quoted maxims.

It is essential to gather knowledge and skills through experience. It is foregrounded in the proverb *Knowledge and timber shouldn't be much used until they are seasoned* (DP 2007: 160), which stands for "knowledge is not useful until it is tempered by experience". Correspondingly, *Real knowledge is what you learn after you know it all* (DMP 2012: 135) indirectly evokes experience as the key to profound knowledge. A Yiddish proverb *A book gives knowledge, but it is life that gives understanding* (RBWP 2006: 43) clearly focuses on the importance of general life experience. An equivalent expression registered in Polish stresses the need of persistence, as expressed by the saying *Nie nabędzie mądrości, kto nie ma cierpliwości* (KP 2008: 134) 'He will not gain wisdom who is not patient'.

The advantages of possessing knowledge are also expressed in the following proverbs: *Experience is the mother/father of wisdom / knowledge*.

Experience is the mother of wisdom / knowledge (DP 2007: 82) represents the meaning "you cannot attain great wisdom or knowledge other than by practical experience and learning from your mistakes". Similarly, *Experience is the father of wisdom* (ODP 2008: 174) stands

for “experience is the beginning of knowledge”. As noted in the reference sources, the maxims are of ancient Greek origin, but are popular in English. In Polish the same sense is rendered by the following proverbs *Mistrz doświadczony rzadko pobiłdzi* (KP 2008: 132) ‘An experienced master is rarely mistaken’, *Doświadczenie mądrym człowieka czyni* ‘Experience makes a man wise’; *Doświadczenie – rzeczy mistrz* ‘Experience – a master of things’; *Doświadczenie jest najlepszym przyjacielem* ‘Experience is the best friend’ (KP 2008: 120) or *Kto nic nie doświadczył, mało wie* (KP 2008: 126) ‘He who has experienced little, knows little’.

It is not enough to passionately set one’s mind on reaching a goal. Failure is very likely, if one has no expertise. *Zeal without knowledge is like fire without light; Zeal without knowledge is the sister of folly* (RBWP 2006: 493) or *Zeal without knowledge is a runaway horse / (is the sister of folly)* (DP 2007: 319) suggest that “uninformed enthusiasm will only lead to disaster”. Equivalent Polish proverbs have not been registered.

Limited knowledge provides limited means of dealing with troublesome situations. *When all you have is a hammer, everything looks like a nail* (DP 2007: 295) is equivalent in meaning to “people with a restricted range of knowledge or options often try to apply the same solutions to every problem”. No equivalent proverb in Polish has been noted.

Ignorance is a quality that is condemned and should be avoided as it can cause trouble and misfortune. Proverbs *Blind is the bookless man* (RBWP 2006: 40) and an Irish version *Blind is everyone who lacks knowledge* (RBWP 2006: 245) warn against ignorance which is unwelcome and should be evaded. Similarly, the proverb of biblical origin *If the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into the ditch* (DP 2007: 135) represents the meaning “when ignorant and inexperienced people are guided by those no more knowledgeable than themselves, the result is disaster”. In Polish the meaning is rendered by the proverb which employs exactly the same imagery *Gdy ślepy prowadzi ślepego, obydwa wpadną do dołu jednego* (Świerczyńska 2019: 198) ‘If a blind man leads a blind man they will both fall into the same pit’.

Lack of knowledge is also criticised by proverbs such as *Ignorance is voluntary misfortune* (DP 2007: 141) or *Admiration is the daughter of ignorance* (DP 2007: 2) which is interpreted to mean “people often admire others about whom they have only incomplete knowledge”.

The proverb *Ignorance is voluntary misfortune* (DP 2007: 141), recorded as a regional expression in the United States, clearly means that “everybody has the opportunity to acquire knowledge, so you have only yourself to blame if you remain ignorant”. A stronger statement is expressed through Polish maxims *Głupota – najcięższa choroba* (KP 2008: 122) ‘Stupidity – the most serious disease/illness’ and *Na głupotę nie ma lekarstwa* (KP 2008: 132) ‘There is no cure for stupidity’.

Lack of knowledge or understanding is the cause of prejudice. This is the focal point in the proverb *Prejudice is the child of ignorance* (DP 2007: 226). People tend to fear or be apprehensive about others they do not know well, therefore learning more has a potential to reduce or eliminate bias. There is no comparable proverb recorded in the Polish corpus.

Even though lack of knowledge is not desirable, sometimes it can be a blessing, as illustrated by the proverb *Ignorance is bliss* (DP 2007: 141), which means that “it is often better not to have knowledge that would alarm or distress you”. A variant of the proverb, as noted by Manser in *The Facts On File dictionary of proverbs* (DP 2007: 141) reads *Where ignorance is bliss, ‘tis folly to be wise*. In Polish the equivalent is *czasami lepiej jest nie wiedzieć* ‘Sometimes it is better not to know’ or *lepiej nie wiedzieć* ‘It is better not to know’.

4. Conclusions

People use language to communicate and share ideas. Language users employ various forms of expression to best convey their intended meanings, whether of literal or metaphorical nature. Proverbs, which are a natural part of language, are the embodiment of the culture in which a given community is immersed. Similarly, the evoked associations that language users have with particular concepts reflect the language and culture reality they are an element and representatives of.

Not all English maxims have their direct or related equivalents in the Polish language, nevertheless, considering the analysed selection of proverbs it has to be noted that there are few differences in the way the concept is represented in both languages.

On the basis of the analysis of the selected proverbs in English and Polish one observation instantly proposes itself, namely: knowledge is essential in human life. It is desired and welcome, powerful and necessary. It is the basis for understanding not only others but also self. Both analysed culture and language communities also share a highly positive attitude towards experience. A large proportion of the proverbs stress the significance of being knowledgeable, possessing information and being learned. Insufficient knowledge, however, is negatively valued.

Some more specific observations, however, can be quite clearly noted: in English knowledge is associated with power, while in Polish it is more readily compared to riches, valuables and/or a treasure. The lack of knowledge, or simply put – stupidity, in Polish is compared to illness, while no such association is available in English, where it is equated with misfortune. Surprisingly, lack of knowledge does not have entirely negative connotations, as instantiated by the proverb *Ignorance is bliss*. Both languages highlight the significance of practice on the way to gaining knowledge, which comes with experience, a dose of curiosity and age.

The most prevalent metaphors represented by the folk wisdom contained in proverbs in both discussed languages are:

KNOWLEDGE IS POWER – e.g. *Knowledge itself is power; For knowledge is itself power; He who has knowledge has power; Knowledge is power; Nauka to potęgi klucz, w tym rzecz, kto więcej umie* ‘Learning is the key to power, the thing is who knows more’; *Wiedza jest potęgą* ‘Knowledge is power’.

KNOWLEDGE IS TREASURE – e.g. *Knowledge is better than money in the bank; Knowledge is better than riches; Mędrzec ze sobą nosi swe bogactwo; Żadna rzecz nie jest cenniejsza od wiedzy* ‘Nothing is more valuable than knowledge’; *Nauka – skarb drogi* ‘Learning – a precious treasure’; *Lepszy jest rozum niż złoto* ‘Reason/mind is better than gold’; *Nauka i cnota są najpewniejszym bogactwem* ‘Learning and virtue are the most reliable wealth’.

LACK OF KNOWLEDGE IS DARK/MISFORTUNE – e.g. *Blind is everyone who lacks knowledge; Blind is the bookless man; Ignorance is voluntary misfortune; Zeal without knowledge is a runaway horse; A little learning is a dangerous thing; all flowers are not in one garland; Niedostatek wiedzy jest rzeczą niebezpieczną* ‘Insufficient knowledge is a dangerous thing’.

EXPERIENCE IS THE KEY TO GAINING KNOWLEDGE – e.g. *Experience is the mother/father of wisdom / knowledge; Knowledge and timber shouldn’t be much used until they are seasoned; Real knowledge is what you learn after you know it all; Mistrz doświadczony rzadko pobłądzi* ‘An experienced master is rarely mistaken’; *Doświadczenie mądrym człowieka*

czyni 'Experience makes a man wise'; *Doświadczenie – rzeczy mistrz* 'Experience – a master of things'; *Doświadczenie jest najlepszym przyjacielem* 'Experience is the best friend'; *Kto nic nie doświadczył, mało wie* 'He who has experienced little, knows little'.

Additionally, LIFE EXPERIENCE is stressed in maxims *Travel broadens the mind*; *Kto się po świecie włóczy, wiele się rozumu nauczy* 'He who wanders around the world learns a lot of reason'.

PRACTICE IS THE KEY TO GAINING KNOWLEDGE – e.g. *Practice makes perfect*; *Knowledge without practice makes but half an artist*; *Example is better than percept*; *Bez mistrza nie ma sztuki, bez przykładu nauki* 'Without master there is no art, without example no learning'; *Nauczycielem wszystkiego jest praktyka* 'Practice is the teacher of everything'; *Praktyka nauczycielem wszystkiego* 'Practice is the teacher of everything'; *Długa droga wiedzie przez wskazówki, krótka i skuteczna przez przykłady* 'A long road leads through hints, a short and successful one through examples'; *Przykład najlepiej nauczy* 'An example teaches best'; *Powtarzanie jest matką nauk* 'Repetition is the mother of sciences/learning'; *Uczymy się na przykładach* 'We learn through examples'; *Nie nabędzie mądrości, kto nie ma cierpliwości* 'He will not gain wisdom who is not patient'.

One more metaphor is quite prevalent, namely DOUBT/CURIOSITY IS THE KEY TO GAINING KNOWLEDGE, as illustrated by the following instances: *He that nothing questions, nothing learns*; *Questioning is the door of knowledge*; *Respect faith (knowledge), but doubt is what gives you an education*; *Doubt is the beginning, not the end, of wisdom*; *Kto często powątpiewa, ten mądrości nabywa* 'Who often doubts, he gets wisdom'; *Bez ciekawości nie ma mądrości* 'Without curiosity there is no wisdom'.

Many proverbs consider the domain of ADVANCED AGE to be a guarantee for greater erudition, e.g. *With age comes wisdom*; *An old man's sayings are seldom untrue*; *Years know more than books*; *An old dog barks not in vain*; *No playing with a straw before an old cat*; *What is learned in the cradle is carried to the grave*; *Learning in one's youth is engraving in stone*; *What youth is used to, age remembers*; *Whoso learns young, forgets not when he is old*; *Co dzień człowiek mędrszy* 'A man is wiser every day'; *Nauka zawsze z latami przychodzi* 'Learning (wisdom) always comes with time'; *Nigdy z głowy nie wyhuczy, czego mama raz nauczy* 'It will never escape the head, what your mother has once taught you'. However, older age is not always synonymous with knowledge, as exemplified by an English proverb *There's no fool like an old fool* or the Polish maxims: *Broda nie czyni mądrego* 'Beard does not make one wise'; *Mądrość przychodzi i rośnie z laty, acz nie każdy jest mądry brodaty* 'Wisdom comes and grows with time, but not every bearded man is wise'; *Nie każda głowa siwa bywa mądra* 'Not every grey head is wise'.

In Polish, as opposed to English, the following metaphor can be noted:

LACK OF KNOWLEDGE IS ILLNESS – e.g. *Głupota – najcięższa choroba* 'Stupidity – the most serious disease/illness'; *Na głupotę nie ma lekarstwa* 'There is no cure for stupidity'.

Interestingly, even though *wisdom* is habitually considered synonymous with *knowledge*, it is not always treated so in English proverbial expressions e.g. *Knowledge and wisdom are far from being one*, *Thinking is very far from knowing*. No equivalents have been noted for this concept in Polish.

Wilkinson (2002: 121) rightly states that *Knowledge has no enemy but ignorance*. Whether it is lack of knowledge or illusion of knowledge enquiry, practice and experience seem to be the meaning focus and are universally considered central for knowledge acquisition in both analysed languages. Knowledge is a virtue and should be pursued with all might.

Abbreviations

DMP - *The dictionary of modern proverbs*
DP - *The Facts On File dictionary of proverbs*
KP - *Księga przysłów*
ODP - *The Oxford dictionary of proverbs*
PDP - *The Penguin dictionary of proverbs*
RBWP - *The Routledge book of world proverbs*
TDAI - *NTC's thematic dictionary of American idioms*
WDP - *The Wordsworth dictionary of proverbs*
WSFP - *Wielki słownik frazeologiczny PWN z przysłowiami*

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National cultural values in folk wisdom: The Indulgence (versus Restraint) Dimension in Polish proverbs

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This paper seeks to contribute to research into the relationship between language and culture. It tests correlations between the linguistic worldview (Bartmiński 2007; 2009) which emerges from paremiological evidence and the findings of social psychology with reference to national cultures (Hofstede, Hofstede & Minkov 2010) which indicate that one of the top characteristics of Polish culture is restraint. Analysis of thematically selected Polish proverbs is carried out in relation to conceptualisations which include social hierarchy, gender roles, the importance of friendship, and the value of work. What emerges from the didactic message of proverbs is an image of community and its norms. Expressions of proverbial wisdom are discussed in relation to the Indulgence (vs. Restraint) Dimension (Hofstede, Hofstede & Minkov 2010) as one of the cultural parameters applied in the World Values Survey (WVS). With a distinctly low score of 29 (out of 100), Poland seems to be a restrained culture which favours control of desires and impulses, undervalues leisure, discourages freedom of speech, prescribes clearly cut social roles and imposes traditional norms in public life. Linguistic evidence seems to confirm the result: Polish proverbs advocating prudence, caution and reticence, favour rigid rules which define the roles and rights of individuals. A high premium is placed on friendship understood in terms of mutual trust and support, as previously noted in cross-cultural pragmatic research (Wierzbicka 1997). Overall, the linguistic material corroborates the findings from wave 6 of the WVS (2010-2014) which show the family-work-religion triad as top priorities, relegating indulgence to fifth position.

Keywords: *proverbs, cultural dimensions, indulgence versus restraint, axiology in language, linguistic worldview.*

1. Introduction

Links between language, culture and cognition in paremiological stocks of different collectives are a challenging subject of investigation within a number of disciplines and paradigms. By means of proverbs every community retains and disseminates values to ensure that the norms it favours are respected and passed down to future generations. Linguistic analyses reveal cultural preferences and practices encoded in each layer of language, be it lexical, syntactic or prosodic. These seem to indicate the existence of "biocognitive urges to codify and comment on the state of the world relative to some ideal" (Honeck 1997) which result in the emergence of proverbs. With a focus on universal patterns, cognitive linguists have paid considerable attention to the embodied nature of conceptualisations which shape language (Lakoff & Johnson 1980; Johnson 1987; Gibbs 1994; Lakoff 1999), yet they also admit that experiential basis of language is not complete without the cultural context (Geeraerts & Cuyckens 2010; Kövecses 2015). The social setting and the cultural context determine metaphors (Kövecses 2017), which – in turn – effectively perpetuate beliefs and values leaving an imprint on collective consciousness (*conscience collective*, Durkheim 1997). Interdisciplinary approaches

to cognition conclude that it is "is embrained, embodied, encultured, extended and distributed" (Geertz 2010: 304). Culture-specific metaphors, schemas, and categories are consistently explored (Palmer 1996; Sharifian 2011; 2014a; 2014b; 2017) through investigation of semantic, syntactic and pragmatic meaning. With the assumption that language is a "collective memory bank" (Wa Thiong'o 1986: 15) of cultural cognition, this paper traces cultural metaphors understood as 'fossilized' conceptualisations (Sharifian 2014b: 482) in a sample of over 2,000 Polish proverbs.

While cultural cognition, which emerges from the interactions between members of a group (Goldstein 1999; Sharifian 2014a) is believed to be subject to renegotiation throughout history, actual societal changes tend to be slow. Research in history indicates that mentalities do not keep up with the pace of change and technological advancement (Le Goff 1985). For example, conceptualisations with origins in Antiquity are very much alive today in Western culture. In Poland, the peasant roots (Wasilewski 2011) and the Sarmatian ideas of the nobility (*szlachta*) constantly emerge in language and literature (Czapliński 2009; 2015) and with them, the conservative hierarchical models of society and family do not lose traction despite the official endorsement of Western ideals which accompanied the accession of the country to the EU.

2. Folk wisdom encapsulated in language

Language reflects and effects observance of social norms. Nowhere is this impact more evident than in proverbs and adages with their authoritative and regulative force, where observance of social scripts is explicitly prescribed under the threat of social exclusion.

The Lublin School of Ethnolinguistics (Bartmiński 1990; 2007; 2009; Głaz, Danaher & Łozowski 2013) posits that the language of a community encodes its interpretations of the world and instils values in future generations; as such it provides a descriptive and axiological insights into cultures. Linguistic worldviews are explicitly expressed in proverbs – appreciated for the high degree of cultural relevance they exhibit (Bartmiński 1996: 20; Wasiuta 2012) – and the so-called "key words" (Wierzbicka 1997) whose meanings, frequently untranslatable, express a unique picture of how members of the community perceive reality and human relationships, including what they find acceptable as well as what remains a taboo subject. One reason why this vision should be invoked nowadays is due to nostalgia for the vision of an orderly black-and-white world of the past, so vividly present in discourses and ideologies.

3. The roles and normative functions of proverbs

Proverbs play an important role in oral traditions in all cultures, preceding the oldest known records from around 3500 BC (Taylor 1975: 79), as a means of lore and preservation of local behaviours and beliefs. Today their value lies in the fact that they reflect the stereotypes perpetuated by the community (Awdiejew 1984: 107) and its unique worldview. Syntactically proverbs are simple concise statements, pragmatically related to other paremiological genres, such as maxims, Wellerisms, and proverbial phrases and comparisons, classified as "echoic utterance" (Sperber & Wilson 1986: 238-239), with the function of "echoing the thought of people in general" (Blass 1990: 106) in contrast to particular views held by individuals. While the main two functions of proverbs are the didactic (social axioms) and regulatory (situational)

functions (Szpila 2003: 43), there are also several other shared characteristics (Szpila 2003: 25-55): (a) the author is unknown; (b) they are mostly derived from folk tradition or literature (a fuzzy distinction and in the latter case the original becomes modified and de-authored), or (c) borrowed proverbs (Lehnsprichwörter, Palm 1997: 4) of Biblical origin or dating back to Antiquity (easily adapted due to their universal message); (d) the content expresses the values and norms to be observed in a given community and prescribes the appropriate mode of thought and action/interaction. The key areas of human existence described in proverbs include: friendship, work, honesty, loyalty, upbringing, bad habits, and crime. Axiologically, the interpretations are transparent, and the rules are based on a commonsensical system of law. Paradoxically, proverbs with contradictory messages, known as *paremiological antonyms*, are likely to be found in every language, which might suggest that, despite established rules, contextual adaptation of behaviour is acceptable.

4. Top national values identified and quantified

Social psychology research initiated by Geert Hofstede and continued by the Hofstede Insights team (www.hofstede-insights.com) looks into six dimensions of national cultures. Power Distance, Individualism, Masculinity, Uncertainty Avoidance, Long Term Orientation, and more recently, Indulgence (Minkov 2007) were recognised and measured for over 100 countries in the World Value Survey between 1981 and 2014 (Inglehart 2018) to provide insight into values which may shape organisational relationships and performance in corporate environments.

Hofstede (1991: 5) understands culture as "the collective programming of the mind that distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from others" which can be investigated for any collective. Its members share *values*, i.e. "broad tendencies to prefer certain states of affairs over others" (Hofstede, 2001: 5). These are explicit in proverbs as a succinct linguistic reflection of societal vision and axiology.

While the notion of a "national culture" may be challenged as vague and oversimplified, Poland seems a less controversial area for Hofstede's investigation. Despite globalisation, the country remains relatively homogeneous in terms of ethnicity, language and religion. In spite of disregarding social diversity and change, investigation into national cultures offers a synthesis of dominant worldviews as systems of comprehending and organising the realities of life. This paper seeks to look at selected values through the lens of a collection of Polish proverbs.

4.1 The 6-D Model for Poland

As the scores for 6 parameters measured in the 6-D Model (Hofstede Insights) indicate, Poland exhibits an extremely high degree of Uncertainty Avoidance (93), i.e. a tendency to preserve beliefs and rules of behaviour as well as intolerance of unconventional ideas and behaviour. Another characteristic indicated by the high UA score is "an inner urge to be busy and work hard" (Hofstede et al. 2010). A significant tolerance of perceived inequality in social hierarchies with Power Distance at 68, and a drive for success achieved in tough competition (64). Long Term Orientation ranks below the neutral threshold of 50, understood as a pragmatic approach in preparation for the future; the score of 38 for Poland suggests a preference "to maintain time-honoured traditions and norms while viewing

societal change with suspicion" (www.hofstede-insights.com/country/poland). Lastly, the lowest score (29) obtained for Poland is at the dimension of Indulgence (versus Restraint), which implies that:

Polish culture is one of Restraint. Societies with a low score on this dimension have a tendency to cynicism and pessimism. Also, in contrast to Indulgent societies, Restrained societies do not put much emphasis on leisure time and control the gratification of their desires. People with this orientation have the perception that their actions are Restrained by social norms and feel that indulging themselves is somewhat wrong. (*ibid.*)

These conclusions may require reconsideration in the light of more recent data obtained in the World Values Survey in 2012 (WV6 Results: Poland 2012) which indicate that free time is moderately or highly valued by 85.5% of respondents. The figures also show that friends and acquaintances are rather important for 55.2% and very important for 38.3% of the subjects, which would imply a substantial shift in interpersonal relationships. These results, however, may be affected by the geographical distribution of the participants. With all sixteen administrative regions (voivodeships) covered by the survey, more than a third of interviewees (34.9%) come from three regions with large urban areas: Masovia with the capital city of Warsaw (GDP per capita: 219.2% of the country's average), Silesia (103.6%), Greater Poland (109.1%). Economists consistently point out that the economic map of Poland reflects disparities resulting from the times of foreign occupation following the Partitions of the country (1772-1795). Another effect of the long-term annexation of Polish territories by Russia, Prussia and Austria and diversified cultural influence is the difference in the mindsets of Poles inhabiting different regions for generations. This is merely one of a host of variables to consider.

4.2 *The Indulgence (vs. Restraint) score for Poland*

The parameter of indulgence as a societal dimension grew out of research into subjective well-being (Inglehart 1997) which was later split into two by Minkov (2007) to investigate the level of Indulgence vs. Restraint (IVR) which is understood as "a tendency to allow relatively free gratification of basic and natural human desires related to enjoying life and having fun" versus the belief that they need "to be curbed and regulated by strict social norms" (Hofstede, Hofstede & Minkov 2010: 281).

Answers to questions such as: *Do you feel happy? How much freedom and control of life do you have? How important is leisure time for you?* provide information on attitudes to a wide range of subjects. These can include general norms, personal feelings, private lives, consumer behaviour, sex and politics. With reference to other parameters, a negative correlation is observed for Power Distance and Indulgence, i.e. hierarchical societies are known to be less indulgent. What is relevant for this analysis is the observation that a high degree of Restraint corresponds to societal cynicism which is the strongest in Eastern Europe (Hofstede, Hofstede & Minkov 2010); a negative view of others, while securing one's welfare and reluctance towards social engagement are among the main characteristics. Others include adherence to strictly prescribed gender roles and maintaining order in the community. Nations with high scores in this parameter generally exhibit high Uncertainty Avoidance levels, which is also the case for Poland. Restrictive rules are not frowned upon.

4.3 *The key characteristics of restrained societies*

To test the validity of the results in the IVR parameter for Poland, proverbs containing relevant keywords were selected to determine whether they correlate with manifestations of low Indulgence (a – h below) as indicated by Hofstede, Hofstede & Minkov (2010):

- (a) a low sense of life control: what happens to me is not my own doing:
keywords: *los* ('fate'), *Bóg* ('God'), *szczęście* ('good luck'), *fortuna* ('good fortune');
- (b) strictly prescribed gender roles: men, women and children know their place in the social and family hierarchy
keywords: *mężczyzna/chłop* ('man'), *kobieta/baba* ('woman'), *dziecko/dzieci/dziatki* ('child'/'children');
- (c) restrictive upbringing total obedience to father/parent, punishment is the best method in raising children
keywords: *dziecko/dzieci/dziatki* ('child'/'children'), *ojciec* ('father'), *matka* ('mother'), *kara* ('punishment'), *karać* ('to punish');
- (d) smiling is regarded as suspect: stupid people smile, dishonest people smile
keywords: *uśmiech* ('smile'), *śmiać się* ('to laugh') and *uśmiechać się* ('to smile') and their derivatives;
- (e) low importance of leisure work is a priority: leisure is of little/no importance
keywords: *praca* ('work'), *robotą* ('labour'), *pracowity* ('hard-working'), *odpoczynek* ('rest', 'relaxation'), *odpoczywać* ('to rest');
- (f) low importance of having friends: friendship is not important
keywords: *przyjaciół(e)* ('friend(s)');
- (g) thrift is important: money is to be saved, not spent
keywords: *pieniądze* ('money'), *oszczędzać* ('to save');
- (h) wariness of trusting others: nobody should be fully trusted
keywords: *ufać* ('to trust'), *wierzyć* ('to believe'/'to trust sb').

5. Conceptualisations of indulgence in Polish proverbs

In order to test the claim that restraint is favoured in Polish culture, this paper looks into the prescriptive and normative content of proverbs with their axiological charge and underlying conceptualisations. The following analysis is meant to determine whether the proverbial lore correlates with the low IVR parameter for Poland which suggests that restraint is favoured over indulgence.

5.1 Analysis: Materials and method

A total of 2,172 single-sentence paremiological units were selected from Krzyżanowski (1969-1978), a 4-volume printed academic collection of Polish proverbs. The basic criterion for the inclusion of a proverb into the corpus was its relevance for the identification of characteristics considered to indicate Indulgence or Restraint as a national value.

Table 1: IVR characteristics attested in Polish proverbs (Krzyżanowski 1969-1978)

IVR characteristics	keywords	no. of relevant proverbs/all proverbs	meaning	
			indulgent	restrained
low sense of life control	<i>los</i> ('fate')	19/22	1	18
	<i>Bóg</i> ('God')	384/550	0	384
	<i>szczęście</i> ('good luck')	118/132	1	117
	<i>fortuna</i> ('good fortune'/'fate')	41/57	0	41
strictly prescribed gender roles	<i>mężczyzna</i> ('man')	1/6	0	1
	<i>mąż</i> ('husband')	43/47	1	42
	<i>kobieta</i> ('woman')	19/68	2	17
	<i>żona</i> ('wife')	44/154	3	41
restrictive upbringing	<i>dziecko</i> ('child') + synonyms	72/120	0	72
	<i>ojciec</i> ('father')	31/59	0	31
	<i>matka</i> ('mother')	18/88	7	11
	<i>kara</i> ('punishment')	8/17	3	5
	<i>karać</i> ('to punish')	4/7	0	4
smiling people are suspect or stupid	<i>(u)śmiech</i> ('smile'/'laugh')	6/22	3	3
	<i>uśmiechać się</i> ('to smile')	0	-	-
	<i>śmiać się</i> ('to laugh')	20/55	1	19
low importance of leisure	<i>praca</i> ('work')	9/58	2	7
	<i>robota</i> ('labour')	6/70	1	5
	<i>pracowity</i> ('hard-working')	1/7	0	1
	<i>odpoczynek</i> ('rest'/'relaxation')	2/2	2	0
	<i>odpoczywać</i> ('to rest')	3/6	1	2
low importance of having friends	<i>zabawa</i> ('fun', 'merriment')	1/1	0	1
	<i>przyjaciel(e)</i> ('friend(s)')	27/123	23	4
thrift is important	<i>przyjaźń</i> ('friendship')	17/49	1	16
	<i>pieniądze</i> ('money')	20/162	3	17
wariness of trusting others	<i>oszczędzać</i> ('to save')	8/8	1	7
	<i>ufać</i> ('to trust')	5/5	1	4
	<i>zaufanie</i> ('trust')	1/2	0	1
	<i>wierzyć</i> ('to believe'; 'to trust sb')	27/54	6	20

Another was the transparency of meaning; significant as they might prove, allegorical proverbs are not included in this corpus, which is limited to proverbs with literal meanings. Next, relevant proverbs were matched with the key characteristics of restrained societies which are at the head of each section (5.2.1-5.2.8).

5.2.1 What happens to me is not my own doing

Proverbs reflect a strong conviction that human efforts are futile. Belief in predestination and God's omnipotence or the capriciousness of fate are frequently evoked:

- (1) *Bóg daje dzieci i Bóg je odbiera* ['God gives children and God takes them away'];
- (2) *Co dał los, to i bierze* ['What fate gave you, it takes it away'];
- (3) *Każde dziecko szczęście swoje ze sobą na świat przynosi* ['Every child brings its own luck into the world'].

Feminine personifications of fickle Fortune are common:

- (4) *Fortuna z ludźmi gry sobie wyprawia* ['Fortune plays games with people'];
- (5) *Fortuna się do niego uśmiechnęła* ['Fortune smiled at him'];
- (6) *Fortuna się do niego tyłem obróciła* ['Fortune turned her back on him'];
- (7) *Fortuna z niego zakpiła* ['Fortune mocked him'].

Admittedly, determinism is defied in a popular proverb:

- (8) *Każdy jest kowalem swego losu* ['Every man is the blacksmith of his own fortune'/'Every man forges his own future'].

This position is rare, however. An overwhelming number of 550 proverbs which include *God* (as attested in Krzyżanowski 1969-1978) unanimously point out his role as a driving force:

- (9) *Bóg tak chciał* ['God's will'];
- (10) *Człek sieje, a Bóg rodzi* ['Man sows, God gives life'];
- (11) *Człek układa, a Bóg włada* ['Man plans, God rules'];
- (12) *Człek zamysła, Bóg rozrządza* ['Man makes plans, God makes decisions'].

These proverbs, dated as they are, may not be a mere vestige of the past. As Inglehart (1997: 350) notes, Poland as "an intensely Catholic society, and the worldview of the Polish people emphasizes traditional cultural norms to a far greater extent than is true of [...] other industrial societies." This observation is consistent with the conclusions of Polish Catholic sociologist and priest Władysław Piwowarski, who claims that the process of industrialisation did not affect the Catholic Church in Poland which is "the Church of the People" (1996). As Olechnicki (2012: 362) points out, "Polish religiosity was and is very selective, incoherent and contradictory when it comes to teachings and doctrine of the Church." Among the dominant features of "traditional Polish religiosity" listed by Piwowarski (1996) a deep emotional attachment to the "faith of the fathers", a specific morality which emphasizes an attachment to rites and practical morality more than evangelical ideals, and ritualism are noteworthy in the light of the discussion here.

Trust and optimism in surrendering to God's will can also be detected, as in:

- (13) *Dał Bóg na dziś, da i jutro* ['God provided for today and will for tomorrow']
- (14) *Wszystko w ręku Boga* ['All is in God's hand'].

This commonsense folk philosophy and a declaration of optimistic fatalism can also be attested in what has become a popular catchphrase:

- (15) *Jakoś to będzie* ['Things will work out in the end'],

which is believed to represent a uniquely Polish lifestyle concept listed alongside Danish *hygge* and Swedish *lagom* (Chomańska et al.: 2017; Mecking 2017).

5.2.2 Men, women and children know their place in the social and family hierarchy

A patriarchal model of the family is dominant:

(16) *Biada temu domowi, gdzie żona przewodzi mężowi* ['Woe to the house where the wife leads the husband']

is known in 5 variants. Equally explicit is the message in the vivid imagery of:

(17) *Niedobrze tam, gdzie mąż w spódnicy, a żona w gatkach chodzi* ['It is no good if the man wears a skirt and the wife wears trousers']

with 15 variants attested in paremiological literature. The ideal wife is subservient to the husband:

(18) *Dobra żona, służa doma* ['A good wife serves the house']

and reticent

(19) *Jak drzwi, które nie skrzypią, tak żona, która milczy – najprzyjemniejsza* ['Like the door which doesn't creak, a quiet wife is the most pleasant'].

The wife needs supervision as she cannot be fully trusted

(20) *Nie wierz żonie w domu, a koniowi w drodze* ['Don't trust your wife at home or your horse on a journey'].

As a preventative measure, occasional beating is recommended for her own good:

(21) *Kiedy mąż żony nie bije, to w niej wątroba gnije* ['When a husband doesn't beat his wife, her liver rots'].

However, if the wife conforms to the expectations of her husband and other grown-up relatives (within the extended family model), the wife deserves respect equal to that shown to other distinguished members of the community:

(22) *Z żoną, doktorem i księdzem w zgodzie żyć trzeba* ['It is essential that you live in harmony with your wife, the doctor and the priest'].

Admittedly, the husband is also expected to meet high moral standards:

(23) *Żona ma być ukladna, a mąż przykładny* ['The wife is to be graceful, the husband flawless']

and set an example, since

(24) *Jaki pan mąż, podobnaż pani żona* ['Like husband, like wife'].

The wife's role is recognised in:

(25) *Mąż głową domu, a żona szyją* ['The husband is the head of the household, the wife is the neck'].

For this reason, as is the case with other social connections, a dose of caution is advocated:

(26) *Żonę kochaj, prawdy jej nie mów, a przyjacielowi nie wierz* ['Love your wife, don't tell her the truth, and don't trust your friend'].

5.2.3 *Stupid people smile; dishonest people smile*

As with the majority of post-communist countries in Central and Eastern Europe, Poland is repeatedly described as a country where smiling faces are relatively rare and individuals perceive smiles as an indicator of low intelligence or evil intentions (Bedford, Fallon & McAdam 2008; Szarota 2006; 2009; 2011). While more recent research brings a more cautious assessment of this reserve and its demonstration (Krys et al. 2014; 2016), a distrust of smiling faces and displays of happiness as such is a recurring motif in Polish proverbial lore:

(27) *Nie wierz niebu jasnemu ni człeku śmiejącemu* [Don't trust a clear sky and a smiling man].

As a culture-specific element of non-verbal communication, a smile does not necessarily reflect happiness, yet is naturally linked with a spontaneous expression of contentment and joy. This feeling however, let alone any demonstration of well-being, may be disapproved of. Polish proverbs consistently remind you that belief in good fortune is naive as good luck is short-lived and those who indulge in the temporary are the hardest hit by misfortune:

(28) *Gdzie szczęście panuje tam rozum szwankuje* ['Where happiness rules, the mind fails'];

(29) *Szczęście człowieka oślepia* ['Happiness blinds a man'].

Modesty and restraint in enjoying one's success is recommended:

(30) *Kto się w szczęściu nadyma, kurczy się w nieszczęściu* ['One puffed up with happiness shrinks in misery']

and a stroke of luck is perceived suspiciously. A windfall may not be seen as a godsend, nor does it gain you the community's respect:

(31) *Ma diabelskie szczęście* ['He/She has devilish/evil luck'];

(32) *Nie ufaj szczęściu* ['Do not trust good luck'];

(33) *Szczęście głupim sprzyja* ['Good luck favours fools'].

A sense of determinism is present in reliance on God for solutions to problems. It is coupled with the conviction of a lack of social support in times of misery:

(34) *W szczęściu każdy dopomoże, ale w złym razie tylko ty sam, Boże* ['Everyone will help out in happy times; in evil ones only you, God'];

(35) *Pan Bóg szczęściem władnie* ['God controls good fortune'].

5.2.4 Work is a priority, leisure is of little/no importance

A high axiological value of labour in Polish proverbs is undisputable. As with other aspects of the worldview emerging in this corpus of proverbs, work ethos is closely combined with religion:

(36) *Pracowitym Bóg pomaga, a próżniaków bieda smaga* ['God helps busy men and whips idlers'];

(37) *Kto lichy pracuje, ten lichy się modli* ['Who works poorly, prays poorly'],

which regulates the calendar of work and leisure:

(38) *Kto w święto poluje, diabłu służy* ['Who hunts on a holy day serves the Devil'].

In a study on Polish paremiology, Wyżkiewicz-Maksimow (2012: 125-126) notes that:

Diligence is a value exhibited alongside faith, patience, honesty, thrift, perseverance, fame and reason. The recommended way of doing a job is a thoughtful action that should be accompanied by focus, accuracy, devotion, stubbornness, uncompromising attitude, sacrifice, consistency, modesty, lack of publicity, counting primarily on one's own strength, without using others in the most difficult moments [...]. Inactivity is harmful and leads to unwise, senseless actions defying common sense [...]. All proverbs contain a clear message that work is connected with the presence and protection of God, idleness with the Devil's.

[translation mine]

The currency of proverbs about work is put to the test by Wołonciej (2012) who conducts a survey to conclude (ibid.: 266) that traditional values promoted in proverbs do not correspond to today's experience of work, especially those which refer to the spiritual dimension of reality. However, one's positive attitude to work and performance receives high values. Proverbs referring to time management at work (ibid.: 276) highlight the importance of commitment, moderation, consistency, and timeliness, placing purposeful and money-making activities high in the hierarchy of life and human values:

(39) *Robota nagle warta diabła* ['Speedy work is worth the devil/has no value'].

As to the work-leisure balance, only two proverbs recognize the value of the latter:

(40) *Po pracy nie wadzi się ucieszyć* ['There is no harm in fun after work'];

(41) *Po pracy miły odpoczynek* ['It is nice to have a rest after work'].

A less diligent attitude to work can be found in:

(42) *Robota nie zajac, nie uciecze* ['Work is not a hare; it won't run away'].

Mostly, however, a serious and humble approach is recommended:

(43) *Praca, umiar i spokój zamykają drzwi przed lekarzami* ['Work, moderation and peace keep the doctors away'];

(44) *Rozkoszy skromno zażywaj* ['Enjoy pleasures with moderation'];

(45) *Gdzie rozkosze panują, tam się cnota ostać nie może* ['Where pleasures rule, righteousness cannot remain'];

(46) *Kto się rozkoszami bawi, zgrzybieje przed czasem* ['He who indulges in pleasures will all too soon turn senile'].

The value of moral discipline is a recurrent topic. Acceptance of frivolous, reckless merriment is rare (merely 2 proverbs confirm such an attitude):

(47) *Jak się bawic, to się bawić, portki sprzedać, frak zastawić* ['If you have fun, have fun: sell your trousers, pawn your tailcoat'].

Notably, the entire collection of proverbs includes only a single mention of the noun *zabawa* ('fun', 'merriment') as a threat to one's reputation:

(48) *Zabawa - nie sława* ['Merriment does not bring glory/is a cause of infamy'].

Indulgence in alcohol consumption is discouraged as a rule, yet easily excused in festive circumstances:

(49) *Stary lacno odmłodnieje, gdy sobie trochę podleje* ['An old man will soon get younger when he pours himself a drop'].

Alcohol seems an important aspect of life with as many as 64 proverbs including *wino* ('wine'), 40 proverbs containing *gorzala* ('spirits'/'booze') and 31 including *wódka* ('vodka'). The Polish equivalents of spirits and vodka frequently appear in the form of derivatives, mostly augmentatives in warnings against excess, but also as diminutives in more tolerant versions. Overall, the prevalent opinion is that alcohol abuse brings on poverty, disease, and eventually death. This contrasts with occasional relaxed attitudes, as in:

(50) *Nie ma lepszego leku jak gorzalka po mleku* ['There is no better cure than booze after milk'].

Ambivalent valuation of drinking habits can be found throughout the corpus of proverbs investigated here:

(51) *Kto wino pije, ten zdrow żyje* ['One who drinks wine lives a healthy life'],

(51) *Kto wódkę pije ten niedługo żyje* ['One who drinks vodka does not live long'].

Light-hearted pleasures are subject to social norms, with age being a crucial factor:

(52) *Staremu się pisać nie przystoi* ['It is not appropriate for an old man to dance'].

Nie przystoi ('it is not appropriate') and its more common synonym *nie wypada* have a normative function which can be expressed without the use of a personal subject or object, and the absence of the addresser or an addressee create the impression of a universal undisputed

rule. In a similar way, impersonal forms such as: *nie można* ('one cannot/is not allowed'), *nie należy* ('one should not') do not denote the source or the reason behind the prohibitive phrase, making it non-negotiable. The linguistic repertoire of imposition includes the standard use of *musieć* ('must'/'have to') in advice and instructions instead of more tentative verbs and phrases. The direct normative functions of the Polish language are discussed by Wierzbicka (2003) and have a considerable impact on the communicative style as a reflection of cultural norms.

5.2.5 Total obedience to father/parent. Punishment is indispensable in raising children

Linguistic means and verbal patterns effectively help curb spontaneous behaviour in children, which seems an indispensable part of the traditional authoritarian Polish parenting style. This has been officially encouraged by conservative political parties and the Catholic Church which "promote the understanding that parents had a right to use corporal punishment as a natural element in the upbringing of children" (Non-violent childhoods: Moving on from corporal punishment in the Baltic Sea Region, 2017: 4). While a more democratic model of child-rearing seems to be on the increase - at least as declared by parents (Bereźnicka 2013) – in the 2017 survey by the Polish Commissioner for Human Rights, 52% of the respondents agreed that there are situations where children have to be spanked (ibid.: 5).

The instruction that can be drawn from Polish proverbs explicitly suggests that discipline and corporal punishment are part and parcel of upbringing. As many as 12 proverbs in Krzyżanowski (1969-1978) suggest that children, as low in the hierarchy of beings as animals, should be trained and punished for their own good. Strict rules, curbing of unruliness and controlling of impulses are the hallmarks of the child-rearing model advocated in proverbs:

(53) *Bez kary dziecko się nie wychowa* ['A child will not become well-raised without punishment']. There are as many as 11 variants of:

(54) *Nie kocha ten dziecięcia, kto różgi oszczędza* ['One who spares the rod doesn't love the child.' Eng. Spare the rod, spoil the child].

These proverbs illustrate an "organization and effectiveness of control" style of upbringing (Lorr & Jenkins 1953) characterised by "strict orderliness, enforcement, severity of penalties, pushing, coordination of household" (ibid.) and "inhibitory demands and discipline" (Slater 1962):

(55) *Cudzemmu dziecku i cudzemu psu nigdy się nic nie daje* ['Never give anything to someone else's child or dog'];

(56) *Dobre dziecko, które się wstydzi* ['A good child feels ashamed'];

(57) *Dzieci i pieski na ostatku* ['Children and puppies come last'];

(58) *Dzieci i ryby głosu nie mają* ['Children and fish have no voice'; Eng. Children should be seen and not heard];

(59) *Dziecko uparte niewiele warte* ['A stubborn child has little worth'];

(60) *Jak dasz dzieciom wolę, sam wleziesz w niewolę* ['If you let your children have their own way, you will end up a slave'];

(61) *Kto dzieci szkodzi, ten sobie pętlę na szyję gotuje* ['Be lenient with children and you knot a noose around your neck'].

This model of a strict, authoritarian, and punitive parent is consistent with that of the recommended proverbial paternal role in the family:

(62) *Słowo ojcowskie – słowo boże* ['The father's word is a holy word'].

Words of warning against insubordination resonate in multiple variants of proverbs, such as:

(63) *Kto nie słucha ojca, matki, tego wygnać za rogiatki* ['One who does not obey his father and mother should be driven out of town'];

(64) *Kto nie słucha ojca, matki, będą bić go własne dzieci* ['One who does not obey his father and mother will be beaten by his own children'];

(65) *Kto nie słucha ojca, matki, ten słucha psiej skóry* ['One who does not obey his father and mother will hear the dog's leather'¹].

The father's heavy hand is a precious 'tool' in responsible upbringing:

(66) *Nikogo nie znieważa ręka ojcowska, ale katowska* ['The father's hand does not humiliate anybody, the executioner's does'],

(67) *Ojcowska łagodność syna psuje* ['The father's leniency spoils the son'].

The same measure is recommended with reference to the wife (see: 5.2.2).

Today, social expectations of parental roles and men's attitudes are much more complex and largely depart from the strict patriarchal model (Włodarczyk 2014). The WVS6 shows a balance between traditional and progressive views. Among the qualities which Poles prize in their children are: tolerance and respect for other people (82.6%) and a sense of responsibility (81%). In contrast to the proverbial instruction, only a third of those surveyed put a premium on obedience; however, imagination and perseverance in children are not favoured with only 16.8% and 19.3% of mentions in respective categories. Opinions are divided as to whether self-expression should be encouraged (41% versus 59% against it).

5.2.6 *Money is to be saved, not spent*

An ambivalence can be identified in the approach to money and pursuit of financial success as indicated by the folk wisdom of the proverbs. On the one hand, guided by the self-preservation instinct, everyone would agree that:

(68) *Mądry bierze, a głupi daje* ['A wise man will take, a stupid one will give away']

and

(69) *Lepszy wróbel w garści niż gołąb na dachu* ['A sparrow in the hand is better than a pigeon on the roof'].

Hundreds of years of misery amongst the peasantry while under the rule of the nobility and aristocracy taught whole generations of Poles that thrift secures survival. Prosperity is viewed a sign of wisdom:

¹ Dog's leather refers to a belt as an instrument for corporal punishment.

- (70) *Kto ma pieniądze, ma i rozum* ('Where there's money, there are brains')
and a guarantee of happiness and respect is well-established:
(71) *Za pieniądze masz co serce żądze* ['With money you will have whatever your heart desires'],
(72) *Za pieniędzmi fortuna* ['Good luck follows money'],
(73) *Nie imię, tylko pieniądze zdobia człowieka* ['It is not the name but the money that adorns a person'].

Therefore, poor people are despised rather than pitied:

- (74) *Ten kiep, co pieniędzy nie ma* ['That simpleton who has no money'].
Wealth has its downsides as well:

- (75) *Wtedy cię nienawidzą, jak pieniądze u ciebie widzą* ['They hate you when they see your money'];
(76) *Pieniądze chytry złodziej wykrada* ['Money is stolen by a sly thief'].

More importantly, riches spoil people and attract the devil:

- (77) *Bogactw przybywa, cnoty ubywa* ['The greater the riches, the less virtue'].

Excess is therefore condemned, while modesty and frugality are praised.

- (78) *Co człowieka wzbogaca? - Wiara, rozum i praca* ['What makes a man rich? - Faith, brains and work'].

Again, the role of the father as the breadwinner, supporter and as a role model should be noted:

- (79) *Do ojca po grosz, do matki po koszulę* ['Turn to father for money, to mother for a shirt'].

His labour should be appreciated and possessions, even if modest, valued:

- (80) *Dobrze ten żyje, komu się błyszczy na skromnym stole ojcowska solnica* ['One who appreciates his/her father's salt shaker on his humble table lives a good/decent life'].

5.2.7 Friendship is not important

Testing this aspect of the IVR parameter poses a semantic problem. The meanings of *friend* and *przyjaciół* partly overlap with the English term although the latter has a wider scope which refers to both an acquaintance and a soul mate. *Przyjaciół*, in contrast, is involved in a relationship based on mutual trust developed over time and (mostly) shared experience, a person you can confide in and rely on. By definition, there are few people you can name a true *przyjaciół*. For more casual relations Polish has other terms (e.g. *kolega*, *znajomy*) which also belong to the semantic scope of *friend* in English. This conceptual and linguistic discrepancy should be borne in mind in the investigation of the concept of *przyjaciół* and its significance in the lives of Poles. As Wierzbicka (1997) claims, *przyjaciół* is a culture-specific term, a key word for the analysis of Polish culture and social relationships.

The following selection of conceptualisations of friendship established by Wyżkiewicz-Maksimow (2012: 117-121) – largely based on those proposed by Nowakowska-Kempna (1995) – in Polish (as well as Serbian and Croatian) paremiology

includes the following views on friendship:

- friendship is a desired commodity:

(81) *Przyjaciela zawsze trzeba, każdemu, jak wody, chleba* ['A friend is as essential as water and bread'];

- friendship is wealth:

(82) *Kto znalazł przyjaciela, skarb znalazł* ['Who finds a friend, finds a treasure'];

- friendship is tolerance:

(83) *Przyjacielskie wady znaj, a małe przebaczaj* ['Know your friend's faults, forgive the minor ones'];

- friendship is loyalty:

(84) *Dla przyjaciela nowego nie opuszczaj starego* ['Don't leave an old friend for a new one'];

- friendship is an alliance (tested in hard times):

(85) *Prawdziwych przyjaciół poznajemy w biedzie* ['A friend in need is a friend indeed'];

- friendship is sacrifice:

(86) *Za dobrego przyjaciela, choćby na śmierć, bagatela* ['It is a trifle to die for a good friend'];

- friendship is exclusive:

(87) *Kto przyjaciel każdemu, ten nikomu* ['A friend to all is a friend to none'];

(88) *Przyjaźń wielkiej liczby nie lubi* ['Friendship does not like big numbers'].

Friendship, as can be concluded, is a highly valued exclusive relationship. The general image of a friendship is that quality (loyalty and support) matters more than quantity, which explains the restricted semantic scope of *przyjaciel* in contrast to English *friend*. A purely transactional model of friendship also exists in terms of the exchange of services. Yet, limited trust is occasionally recommended:

(89) *Gdy pieniędzy wiele, wokoło przyjaciele* ['Lots of money means lots of friends'];

(90) *Tam są tylko przyjaciele, gdzie w piwnicy wiele* ['Friends are where the cellar is full'];

(91) *Przyjaciel się zmieni, gdy pusto w kieszeni* ['A friend will change when your pocket is empty'].

5.2.8 *Nobody should be fully trusted*

One of the distinctive features of nations with a low IVR parameter is limited interpersonal trust, including family and other in-group relations:

(92) *Nie ma rodziny we złe godziny* ['There is no family around in bad times'];

(93) *Nie każdemu ufaj* ['Do not trust everyone'];

(94) *Wierz, ale wiedz komu* ['Trust but make sure who you trust'];

(95) *Nie ufaj, nie będziesz zdradzony* ['Do not trust and you won't be betrayed'];

(96) *Ufać każdemu - szlachetnie, nie ufać nikomu - bezpiecznie* ['It is noble to trust everyone, it is safe not to trust anyone'];

(97) *Lepiej dojrzeć samemu, niż wierzyć drugiemu* ['It is better to see for yourself rather than trust another/someone else'].

Women belong to the same category of beings as dogs and horses, all of which cannot be fully trusted:

(98) *Nie wierz niewieście, by też i martwa była* ['Do not trust a woman even if she is dead'].

The popularity of this proverb can be attested in its 8 variants. Limited trust towards everyone is advocated, insincerity and hostile intentions should be watched out for at any time:

(99) *Kto się nisko kłania, temu patrzaj w oczy* ['Look into the eyes of the one who bows low'].

6. Conclusions

The attitudes reflected in Polish proverbs would seem to confirm the view that a low level of existential security manifests itself in the distrust of strangers, preservation of closely-knit social units, and obedience to figures in authority, as observed by Inglehart (2018). Indeed, many Poles feel that they have not received a fair share of the material benefits of the economic transformation that the country has undergone over the last few decades. This is consistent with Inglehart's findings that prosperity and security are prerequisites for social change. The shift from materialism to post-materialist values observed in the majority of the nations of the West is relatively slow and the distribution unequal in Poland. These economic factors carry over to the social dimension and mentality marked by strong adherence to conservative norms. Even if they clash with the realities of the present day, the black-and-white image of the world which they offer is attractive and influential.

The analysis of the paremiological material indicative of cultural values and social norms largely corroborates the results of the WVS in the category of Indulgence versus Restraint obtained for Poland. The values promoted favour restraint, caution and thrift, which stem from the actual experience of previous generations. The worldview retained in folk lore is predominantly pessimistic and sceptical. Low public trust and tolerance, popularity of conservative views, and acceptance of hierarchies are consistent with the other five dimensions investigated by Geert Hofstede. The only notable exception refers to the perception of friendship; Polish proverbs define it as a unique strong bond of loyalty, shared values and mutual support, bestowed upon those few who deserve to be trusted.

Taking into account (i) the worldview which emerges from the collection of proverbs, (ii) the recent political developments in Poland which reflect the success of conservative values, and (iii) the scores in the IVR and other WVS parameters, it may be assumed that the "shift from survival to well-being, which is the essence of "postmodernization"" (Inglehart 1997: 223), has not been successful in Poland's social and religious landscape.²

However, the role of proverbs in shaping core values is uncertain. A substantial number in the collection seem obsolete both in terms of the problems they address and the solutions they propose. The significance of proverbs as verbalisations of culture has been in decline for decades (Buttler 1989) which indicates socio-cultural change. The currency of proverbs is challenged by new technologies and online media. Parodying proverbs in memes and advertisements is symptomatic of disrespect for the restrictive norms of the days gone by.

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² Inglehart (1997) argues that there are predictable patterns of social development in which economy, politics and culture are related. Beliefs and values are linked with socioeconomic conditions as exemplified by the transition from industrial to post-industrial societies which triggered a change in social and gender roles. Ronald Inglehart cites quantitative data from the World Values Surveys (conducted since 1981) to support his claims.

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Bilinguals and multilinguals in a foreign language environment: A case study on the language use of Ukrainians in Japan

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This research aims to investigate the language situation among Ukrainians (Ukrainian-Russian bilinguals) in Japan and discover the factors which may bring forth changes in their language use. The empirical research on the language use can be conducted with more accuracy in a foreign country, where individuals are faced with the necessity of using other languages and do not have recourse to their native languages. These exploratory research data collected from the interviews with Ukrainians in Japan have shown that in the current situation among those Ukrainian nationals who live or lived in Japan for one year or more Japanese is highly prioritized as a language for daily use compared to the other languages. The peculiarities in the use of each of four languages are described and considered.

Key words: language choice, language use, multilingualism, sociolinguistics

1. Introduction

Life in a foreign country with its diverse language environment brings new communicative challenges for bilinguals and multilinguals. Depending on different factors, their former language priorities either stay constant or evolve when their academic or working environments change. As the language of use serves as one of the most important cultural markers for Ukrainians (Shulman, 1999; Kulyk, 2011), understanding of the language preferences of Ukrainians who use Ukrainian, Russian and the languages of the countries they live in may bring us a new insight.

The previous research of Pavliy and Lewis on the language priorities of Ukrainians in Twitter and Facebook showed that the Russian language, in general, prevails in online communities (Pavliy and Lewis, 2015, 2016, 2017). Moreover, this research has found that female users tweet in Russian much more than male users. No explanation could be provided but to suggest that females tend to accommodate their language to that of their followers (Pavliy and Lewis, 2017:99).

To explore that phenomenon, independent empirical research was conducted. This research showed that among Ukrainian nationals in Japan there is no tendency for females to accommodate their language to interlocutors more than males. Findings suggested that concerning the language accommodation, out of the three variables “gender”, “length of stay in Japan” and “region of birth/ formative years in Ukraine”, the last factor makes the most impact on the phenomenon of accommodating the language (Pavliy, 2018). Current research is a continuation of the previous research on the language use of Ukrainians in Japan (Pavliy, 2018, 2019).

2. Bilingualism and language preferences of Ukrainians

According to the Constitution of Ukraine (1996), Ukrainian is the only official language. However, in many districts of Ukraine the citizens still prioritize Russian in their daily communication. The peculiarity of the situation in Ukraine was in that the official language for a long time needed more protection and support from the state than the “language of minority”

(Russian). Shevchenko (2015) describes that Ukrainians need the support of the authorities for imposing Ukrainian, their official language. At the same time, this official language needs protection as a “minority language” (Shevchenko, 2015:222).

Russia put efforts to undermine its relations with Ukraine with the use of the “Russian-speaking population” (Laitin 1998: 263-265). The existence of Russian-speaking citizens in Ukraine helps Russia to deal with political and financial elite of Ukraine, and uphold its right to consider Ukraine a part of the “Russian world”. The priority for the Ukrainian language in daily life is important for Ukrainians because it clearly discerns them from Russians and other ethnicities of the former Soviet Union and shows that they belong to the Ukrainian nation. The term “nation” means here, first of all, a political nation; however, the same can be said about a cultural nation. As Shulman (2004) describes it: “Language is one if not the most important cultural marker separating Ukrainians from Russians, so perhaps it is not surprising that, to the extent that the people of Ukraine believe that ethnic Ukrainians have a special relationship to the Ukrainian nation, they think it is their language specifically that should be given privileged consideration” (Shulman, 2004:53-54). The stress on the priority of the Ukrainian language was partially ignored in Ukrainian society, especially in the South-East region of the state, while the national identities of Ukrainians shaped their language preferences. According to the results of the public opinion polls of the population of Ukraine in 2006-2007, in general Ukrainian speakers tended to choose pro-European positions (47% for and 17% against) while Russian speakers did not welcome European integration (30% for and 59% against). The same attitude was observed among Ukrainians towards Ukraine joining NATO: (Ukrainian speakers: 61% for and 23% against, Russian speakers: 15% for and 52% against). By contrast, Russian speakers saw the future of Ukraine in union with Russia (Russian speakers: 55% for and 17% against, Ukrainian speakers: 20% for and 63% against) Zalizniak (2009:149-151). Controversial tendencies in the language policy in Ukraine before and after Euromaidan, the 2013 Ukrainian protest movement which led to the ouster of President Yanukovych in February 2014, stimulated the necessity of changes among the population of Ukraine in favor of the Ukrainian language. The realization of that finally resulted in the political consensus on using Ukrainian as the only official language in Ukraine, which may be beneficial for the future of the Ukrainian nation.

Concerning bilingualism, there is no consensus among scholars on the degree to which an individual should be able to operate in both languages to be regarded as bilingual. Historically, bilingualism was defined as the ability to have “native-like control of both languages” (Bloomfield, 1933:60), but many researchers think that bilingualism is not limited to the native-like fluency in a language, and define bilinguals as those who obtain enough language skills in order to effectively communicate with speakers of one or more languages in a given society (Macnamara, 1967, Mohanty and Perregaux, 1997, Butler and Hakuta, 2004). Bilinguals can be classified as *folk* or *elite* in the social domains where languages are associated with different social status (Fishman, 1977). Depending on their age of language acquisition bilinguals can be *early* or *late* (Genesee et al., 1978). Depending on their functional ability they can be classified as *incipient*, *receptive* or *productive*. Depending on the organization of linguistic codes and meaning units they can be classified as *compound*, *coordinate* or *subordinate* (Weinreich, 1953).

Although the level of fluency in Ukrainian and Russian in governmental organizations and institutions, education, cultural and sport facilities, business, and media along with the internet resources differs depending on the region, both languages are mutually comprehensible for most of the population of Ukraine. Regarding the bilingualism in Ukraine, it can be said

that “Ukraine is, at its heart, bilingual and bicultural” (Petro 2015:31).

3. Research goals

The goals of this research are:

- 1) To investigate the recent language situation among bilingual and multilingual Ukrainians in Japan, their language preferences, and their working languages in Japan.
- 2) To discuss how such factors as the gender of the respondents, their length of stay in Japan, region of birth/ formative years in Ukraine, their occupation/social role, and their willingness to accommodate the language to the interlocutor’s (in the case of a bilingual interlocutor, who understands both languages) relate to the language preferences of the respondents with regard to the four languages (Ukrainian, Russian, English and Japanese) which are the target of this study.

4. Research questions, methods, and limitations

4.1. Research questions

As noted in the introduction, the current research is a continuation of my previous research on the language use of Ukrainians in Japan. So, my first question is about their language priorities in general:

RQ1: Which of these four languages (Ukrainian, Russian, English, Japanese) is used most often by Ukrainians living in Japan?

I also want to explore which factors are most influential for the use of each language. Therefore, my second research question is:

RQ2: What particularities in the use of each language are seen in relation to the respondents’ gender, length of stay in Japan, the region of birth/formative years, occupation/social role, and willingness to accommodate their language to interlocutors?

4.2 Research methods

As this research is focused on sociological rather than linguistic components, the investigation was conducted through a field research, by the method of conducting interviews, which is widely used in sociology. Data have been collected and analyzed based on interviews with 50 participants. I used an integrated approach in dealing with the data: the qualitative approach was used for data collection; the quantitative approach was employed to analyze the numerical representation of elements under observation and in dealing with the variables. The interviews were conducted in person or through online media (Facebook Messenger). My respondents were Ukrainian citizens of both genders, from various regions of Ukraine, with various lengths of stay in Japan (the shortest constituted one year, while the longest was 30 years), and four different types of occupation/social roles. The research deals with the four possible impact factors: gender of the respondent, length of stay in Japan, the region of Ukraine where the respondent spent formative years, and the respondent’s occupation or social role.

4.3. Limitations

This research has several limitations. Due to the necessity of the self-evaluation by the objects of the research, it lacks the accuracy of data. Dealing with such delicate matter as the language choice, the data cannot be accurately proven or negated by the mere observation of the respondents. This research deals with how people self-evaluate their language situation, rather than what this situation really is. In many cases, the respondents were not confident about the percentage each language takes in their life but had to be trusted in the correct assessment of their own language.

On the other hand, the volatility of the data may turn out to be the strong point of this research, because the respondent's self-assessment in itself provides important data and gives an opportunity to explore current dynamic "through a framework which is value-laden, flexible, descriptive, holistic, and context sensitive" (Yilmaz, 2013:312).

5. Data

To get the data on the language use of Ukrainian citizens in Japan, I conducted interviews which included twenty-five questions related to the respondent's language background. Questions to the interviewees were about:

- Language environment in the family.
- Language in school, with friends.
- Language situation in the days of their youth and how it changed now
- Language preferences in social networks, news, comments on internet sites and music favorites.
- Their opinions on the necessity of Ukrainian for raising children in Japan.
- Their opinions on the necessity of Ukrainian for the Ukrainian community in Japan.
- Their opinions on the necessity of Ukrainian in the Embassy of Ukraine in Japan.
- Language in the church (if visited).
- Changing the language of daily use from Russian to Ukrainian or from Ukrainian to Russian.
- The current percentage of each of four languages (Ukrainian, Russian, English, Japanese) in their daily life.
- The tendency to accommodate their language to the language of interlocutors.

Due to the large amount of information, this research analyzes the data on only two questions: the proportion of use of Ukrainian, Russian, English, and Japanese in the daily life of interviewees and their accommodation of the language to the one of an interlocutor.

Concerning the percentage of each language in the daily life in Japan, when interviewees were asked about what percentage each of four languages takes in their daily life, it was made clear for them that by the percentage of each language all their language activities: speaking, reading, writing, internet browsing, listening and comprehending, and even thinking are meant. Some interviewees thought at first that they are asked only about the spoken language for daily communication but later realized the task after my explanation.

The proportion of use of each language was divided into five categories:

- 1) less than 20% - "used very rarely"
- 2) 20% ~ 39% - "used rarely"
- 3) 40% ~ 59 % - "used often"

- 4) 60% ~ 79 % - “used very often”
- 5) more than 80% - “dominant”

The borderline was made between “rare” and “often” on the level of 40% of the language in daily use, and however low it may seem, due to the fact that we deal with four languages, which are used to some extent by almost all of the respondents, considering that a share of each language constitutes 25% (in case of three languages 33,3%), 40% is high enough to state that the language is prioritized at least over two languages, if not over all three.

Although there is a misbalance due to an unequal number of female (33) and male (17) respondents, the length of stay ((1) 1~5 years: a period from the time of the Euromaidan and the Revolution of Dignity – 24 respondents; (2) 6~14 years: a period from the Orange Revolution until Euromaidan – 16 respondents; (3) 15~and more years: before the Orange Revolution – 10 respondents), region of birth/formative years ((1) Central Ukraine: Poltava, Sumy, Zhytomyr, Chernihiv, Cherkasy, Zaporizhzhya, Kirovohrad, Dnipropetrovsk oblasts – 9 respondents; (2) Kyiv City and Kyiv oblast – 23 respondents; (3) South and East of Ukraine: Kharkiv, Donetsk, Luhansk, Odesa, Mykolayiv, Kherson oblasts and Crimea – 9 respondents; (4) West of Ukraine: Volyn, Rivne, Lviv, Ivano-Frankivsk, Zakarpattya, Khmelnytskyi, Ternopil, Vinnytsya and Chernivtsi oblasts – 9 respondents), and occupation/ social role ((1) Company worker – 16 respondents; (2) Homemaker – 9 respondents; (3) Researcher/ educator – 15 respondents, (4) Student – 10 respondents) observe the general tendencies for each impact factor.

As for the change in the choice of language of daily use, given that most of the Ukrainians are bilingual (Arel, 1995, Janmaat, 1999; Bilaniuk, 2005; Zhurzhenko, 2010; Polese, 2010, 2011; Kulyk, 2011; Olszanski, 2012) the crucial thing for speakers which may prevent the complete change from one main language of daily use to another can be their desire to accommodate their language to the language of interlocutors (Pavliy, 2018). It is rather this “boundary-making” function of the language (Tabouret-Keller, 1997) which makes it so important for the daily life of Ukrainians abroad. The proportion of use of each language will be compared from the perspective of gender, length of stay in Japan, the region of birth/formative years of respondents, and their willingness to accommodate the language to the one of an interlocutor.

6. Results

As we can see from Table 1, in general among those Ukrainians who live or lived in Japan for one year or more, Japanese language is prioritized. In total thirty respondents (60% of all) use Japanese often, very often, or as a dominant language. Often – seventeen respondents (34%), very often – nine respondents (18%), as a dominant language – four respondents (8%). All the other three languages take approximately equal proportions as a priority language for daily use (in the range of 10% ~ 18%). To investigate deeper on what relation the use of each language has to the gender, length of stay, the region of birth/formative years, and willingness of the respondents to accommodate their language to interlocutors, I will describe the situation with each of four languages below.

6.1 Ukrainian language

Concerning the use of Ukrainian in their daily life in Japan, Table 2 shows that both

female and male respondents use Ukrainian very rarely or rarely. No substantial difference between genders in their priorities of Ukrainian was found. Eight respondents – five females and three males – use Ukrainian often, and one female respondent uses it very often. The proportion of those who use Ukrainian often or very often is the same (18%) for both females and males in relation to their genders in total.

Concerning the relation between the respondents' length of stay in Japan and their use, it can be said that the respondents with "Medium stay" (6~14 years) in Japan prioritize Ukrainian more than two other groups. Almost one-third of "Medium stay" respondents – 31% from all members of this group – use Ukrainian often or very often, while in "Short stay" only 13% of the group, and in "Long stay" – 10%.

As for the region of birth/formative years, the respondents from the Central region of Ukraine have a much higher percentage of use of Ukrainian often or very often (44%). In the West region it constitutes 22%, while in the South-East region – 11%. The lowest percentage is of respondents from Kyiv and Kyiv oblast (8%). The highest percentage of those who very rarely use Ukrainian in daily life comes from respondents from Kyiv/ Kyiv oblast (57%) also.

Concerning interviewee's occupation/ social role, three categories – homemaker, company worker and researcher/educator – use Ukrainian in their daily life in Japan relatively often. Homemaker – 33%, researcher/educator – 20%, company worker – 19%. No student reported daily use of Ukrainian in Japan higher than 30%. As one of the main purposes for a student in Japan is to learn Japanese or improve their English while studying, students may deliberately restrict themselves from using their first language.

Those who tend to accommodate their language to the language of an interlocutor use Ukrainian less often than those who stick to their language 16% and 21% respectively. There is no large difference, so language accommodation is not a substantial factor for the use of Ukrainian.

6.2. Russian language

The data in Table 3 shows that among Ukrainians in Japan, Russian is used in daily life even less than Ukrainian. The percentage of those who use Russian often, very often, or as a dominant language varies depending on gender, but the difference is not big. In Table 3 we can see that three females (9% of all females) use Russian often or very often, one male respondent (6% of all males) uses it often, and for another male (6% of all males) Russian was a dominant language in his daily life in Japan. It should be admitted that at the time of the interview this man was working with Russian colleagues and constantly used Russian at work.

Concerning the relation between the use of Russian and length of stay in Japan, in comparison Russian is slightly prioritized among the "Short stay", while the "Medium stay" group uses Russian much less than the other two groups – the respondents who use Russian often and use Russian very often constitute 16% of "Short stay", 0% of "Medium stay" and 10% "Long stay" groups.

Concerning the region of birth/formative years, the respondents who use Russian in Japan "often", "very often" or even as a "dominant language" in daily use all belong to Kyiv/Kyiv oblast (12% in total). There were no respondents from any other region who would prioritize the use of Russian in their daily life in Japan.

As for the occupation/ social role of the respondents, although Russian is not prioritized among all of the categories, homemakers use Russian slightly more often than others: homemakers – 22%, researchers/educators – 7%, company workers – 6%, students – 10%.

Concerning language accommodation, we can see that it appears to be a substantial factor in the use of Russian. Those who tend to accommodate their language to the interlocutor's language prioritize Russian compared to those who do not accommodate their language, 12% and 5% respectively. The difference would be even more serious if we take into account that those who use Russian "very rarely" constitute 58% of the first group and 74% of the second.

6.3. English language

Concerning the use of English, it is clear that English is not prioritized by either gender. However, as Table 4 shows, there is a substantial difference between genders. Four male respondents use English often or very often (30% of all males), while three female respondents use English often (only 9% of all females).

As we can see, in general, the "Medium stay" group uses English less than the other two groups – more than half of the respondents who belong to that group use English very rarely (56%). "Long stay" respondents (20% of their group) use English often and very often, and the percentage is slightly higher in comparison to the "Short stay" group (17%), and much higher in comparison to the "Medium stay" group (13%).

Concerning the region of birth/formative years, the percentage of respondents who use English in Japan often is the same in Central (22%) and West (22%) regions. For Kyiv/Kyiv oblast it drops down to 9%, but because of the only respondent who uses English very often (4%), in total it constitutes 13%. The lowest percent is South-East (11%).

Concerning the occupation/ social role of the respondents, surprisingly, English is used in daily life more intensively by company workers (25%) and students (20%) than by researchers/ educators (13%). No homemakers acknowledged that they use more than 40% of English in their daily activities.

Concerning the use of the English language, no serious difference is found between those who tend to accommodate their language to interlocutors and those who do not.

6.4. Japanese language

Table 5 shows that Japanese prevails as a language of use of Ukrainians in Japan. It is used often, very often, or as a dominant language in daily activities by two-third of respondents. There is almost no difference between genders concerning the frequency of Japanese use. Twenty of thirty-three female respondents (60%) use Japanese often or very often. Japanese is prioritized by ten of seventeen male respondents including four (24%) for whom the Japanese language has become dominant. In total, the percentage of male respondents is the same (60%) as females.

Concerning the relation of length of stay to the language used, we can see that the Japanese language is prioritized almost equally among all three groups – the respondents who use Japanese often, very often, and as a dominant language constitute 54%, 70% and 60% of "Short stay", "Medium stay" and "Long stay" groups respectively. On the other hand, we can see the slight priority in the use of Japanese among the representatives of the "Medium stay" group, and a comparatively big percentage of those who use Japanese very rarely in the "Short stay" group (25%). It may relate to the proficiency in Japanese which will naturally increase with the length of stay of the respondents.

As for the occupation/ social role of the respondents, there is no surprise, that Japanese

is used in daily life by all categories. However, in general, Japanese is prioritized more by company workers (69%) and homemakers (67%), than by researchers/ educators (53%) or students (50%).

Language accommodation is a serious factor for the use of Japanese. Japanese is prioritized more by those Ukrainians who do not accommodate their language to the interlocutor's language (74%) than by those who accommodate (51%).

7. Conclusions and topics for future research

This exploratory research has shown that in the current situation among Ukrainians who live or lived in Japan for one year or more, Japanese is highly prioritized as a language for daily use compared to the other languages.

Concerning the peculiarities of each language use, it can be concluded that Ukrainian is used in Japan more by the representatives of the Central region, who stay in Japan from 6 to 14 years and do not tend to accommodate their language to the interlocutors. Homemakers, company workers and researchers/ educators use Ukrainian more than students.

Russian is used in Japan more by male representatives of Kyiv/Kyiv oblast, who stay in Japan from 1 to 5 years and accommodate their language to the interlocutors. While no serious difference in relation to occupation/ social role of the respondents was found, homemakers tend to use Russian slightly more than other categories.

English is prioritized by male representatives from West or Central regions of Ukraine who either live in Japan longer than 15 years or come for a "Short stay" (1-5 years). Company workers and students use English more than researchers/ educators and homemakers.

A typical representative of Ukrainians who prioritize English use in daily activities in Japan is a person from Kyiv/Kyiv oblast, staying in Japan for 6-15 years and not accommodating his or her language to the interlocutors. While Japanese is often used in daily life by all categories of occupation/ social role, it is prioritized more by company workers and homemakers.

As we can see from above, such variables as the region of birth/ formative years and occupation/ social role impact the language use of respondents more than their gender or length of stay in Japan. Language accommodation is a serious factor for the use of such languages as Japanese and Russian, but it has almost no effect on the use of Ukrainian or English.

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Appendix

Table 1. Percentage of languages in the daily use of Ukrainians in Japan

Language	Percentage of use of the language by Ukrainians in daily life in Japan				
	Very rare 0-19%	Rare 20-39%	Often 40-59%	Very often 60-79%	Dominant 80% ~
Ukrainian	23 (46%)	18 (36%)	8 (16%)	1 (2%)	0 (0%)
Russian	32 (64%)	13 (26%)	3 (6%)	1 (2%)	1 (2%)
English	23 (46%)	19 (38%)	7 (14%)	1 (2%)	0 (0%)
Japanese	8 (16%)	12 (24%)	17 (34%)	9 (18%)	4 (8%)

Table 2. Proportion of Ukrainian in the daily use of Ukrainians in Japan

Categories	Percentage of use of Ukrainian language by Ukrainians in daily life in Japan				
	Very rare 0-19%	Rare 20-39%	Often 40-59%	Very often 60-79%	Dominant 80% ~
<i>Gender</i>					
Female	16 (48%)	11 (33%)	5 (15%)	1 (3%)	0 (0%)
Male	7 (41%)	7 (41%)	3 (18%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
<i>Length of Stay</i>					

1-5 years	14 (58%)	7 (29%)	3 (13%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
6-14 years	5 (31%)	6 (38%)	4 (25%)	1 (6%)	0 (0%)
15 years and longer	4 (40%)	5 (50%)	1 (10%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
<i>Region</i>					
Central	3 (33%)	2 (22%)	4 (44%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Kyiv/Kyiv oblast	13 (57%)	8 (35%)	1 (4%)	1 (4%)	0 (0%)
South-East	7 (78%)	1 (11%)	1 (11%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
West	0 (0 %)	7 (78%)	2 (22%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
<i>Occupation/social role</i>					
Company worker	9 (56%)	4 (25%)	3 (19%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Homemaker	3 (33%)	3 (33%)	2 (22%)	1 (11%)	0 (0%)
Researcher/educator	4 (27%)	8 (53%)	3 (20%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Student	7 (70%)	3 (30%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
<i>Accommodating language to interlocutor</i>					
Yes	19 (61%)	7 (23%)	4 (13%)	1 (3%)	0 (0%)
No	4 (21%)	11 (58%)	4 (21%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)

Table 3. Proportion of Russian in the daily use of Ukrainians in Japan

Categories	Percentage of use of Russian language by Ukrainians in daily life in Japan				
	Very rare 0-19%	Rare 20-39%	Often 40-59%	Very often 60-79%	Dominant 80% ~
<i>Gender</i>					
Female	19 (58%)	11 (33%)	2 (6%)	1 (3%)	0 (0%)
Male	13 (76%)	2 (12%)	1 (6%)	0 (0%)	1 (6%)
<i>Length of Stay</i>					
1-5 years	11 (46%)	9 (38%)	2 (8%)	1 (4%)	1 (4%)
6-14 years	13 (81%)	3 (19%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
15 years and longer	8 (80%)	1 (10%)	1 (10%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
<i>Region</i>					
Central	7 (78%)	2 (22%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Kyiv/Kyiv oblast	16 (70%)	4 (17%)	1 (4%)	1 (4%)	1 (4%)
South-East	6 (67%)	3 (33%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
West	7 (78%)	2 (22%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
<i>Occupation/social role</i>					
Company worker	11 (69%)	4 (25%)	1 (6%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Homemaker	4 (44%)	3 (33%)	2 (22%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Researcher/ educator	13 (87%)	1 (7%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (7%)

Student	4 (40%)	5 (50%)	0 (0%)	1 (10%)	0 (0%)
<i>Accommodating language to interlocutor</i>					
Yes	18 (58%)	9 (29%)	2 (6%)	1 (3%)	1 (3%)
No	14 (74%)	4 (21%)	1 (5%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)

Table 4. Proportion of English in the daily use of Ukrainians in Japan

Categories	Percentage of use of English language in daily life of Ukrainians in Japan				
	Very rare 0-19%	Rare 20-39%	Often 40-59%	Very often 60-79%	Dominant 80% ~
<i>Gender</i>					
Female	14 (42%)	16 (48%)	3 (9%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Male	9 (53%)	3 (18%)	4 (24%)	1 (6%)	0 (0%)
<i>Length of Stay</i>					
1-5 years	10 (42%)	10 (42%)	4 (17%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
6-14 years	9 (56%)	5 (31%)	2 (13%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
15 years and longer	4 (40%)	4 (40%)	1 (10%)	1 (10%)	0 (0%)
<i>Region</i>					
Central	4 (44%)	3 (33%)	2 (22%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Kyiv/Kyiv oblast	11 (48%)	9 (39%)	2 (9%)	1 (4%)	0 (0%)

South-East	4 (44%)	4 (44%)	1 (11%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
West	4 (44%)	3 (33%)	2 (22%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
<i>Occupation/ social role</i>					
Company worker	7 (44%)	5 (31%)	3 (19%)	1 (6%)	0 (0%)
Homemaker	7 (78%)	2 (22%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Researcher/ educator	6 (40%)	7 (47%)	2 (13%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Student	3 (30%)	5 (50%)	2 (20%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
<i>Accommodating language to interlocutor</i>					
Yes	14 (45%)	12 (39%)	5 (16%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
No	9 (47%)	7 (37%)	2 (11%)	1 (5%)	0 (0%)

Table 5. Proportion of Japanese in the daily use of Ukrainians in Japan

Categories	Percentage of use of Japanese language by Ukrainians in daily life in Japan				
	Very rare 0-19%	Rare 20-39%	Often 40-59%	Very often 60-79%	Dominant 80% ~
<i>Gender</i>					
Female	5 (15%)	8 (24%)	14 (42%)	6 (18%)	0 (0%)
Male	3 (18%)	4 (24%)	3 (18%)	3 (18%)	4 (24%)
<i>Length of Stay</i>					

1-5 years	6 (25%)	5 (21%)	8 (33%)	4 (17%)	1 (4%)
6-14 years	1 (6%)	4 (25%)	6 (38%)	3 (19%)	2 (13%)
15 years and longer	1 (10%)	3 (30%)	3 (30%)	2 (20%)	1 (10%)
<i>Region</i>					
Central	1 (11%)	3 (33%)	2 (22%)	2 (22%)	1 (11%)
Kyiv/Kyiv oblast	3 (13%)	5 (22%)	6 (26%)	7 (30%)	2 (9%)
South-East	2 (22%)	2 (22%)	4 (44%)	0 (0%)	1 (11%)
West	2 (22%)	2 (22%)	5 (56%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
<i>Occupation/ social role</i>					
Company worker	1 (6%)	4 (25%)	7 (44%)	1 (6%)	3 (19%)
Homemaker	2 (22%)	1 (11%)	6 (67%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Researcher/ educator	4 (27%)	3 (20%)	2 (13%)	5 (33%)	1 (7%)
Student	1 (10%)	4 (40%)	2 (20%)	3 (30%)	0 (0%)
<i>Accommodating language to interlocutor</i>					
Yes	6 (19%)	9 (29%)	8 (26%)	6 (19%)	2 (6%)
No	2 (11%)	3 (16%)	9 (47%)	3 (16%)	2 (11%)

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Distributional semantics and the study of (a)telicity

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In the literature it is argued that distributional semantics can provide a comprehensive model of lexical meaning. The present paper challenges this assumption and argues that the issue of semantic similarity cannot be fully addressed unless the denotation of terms is systematically examined, since the distributional approach on its own lacks the methodological and conceptual resources to pursue this task. The present proposal is an approach in which distributional semantics meets event semantics. Through an analysis of the verbs of creation it is demonstrated that shared distributional properties are not indicative of shared denotations. In other words, the data shows that the former can serve as an approximation, but cannot predict shared denotations. Finally, due to the combinatorial nature of the lexicon, it is likely that lexical combinations with the same semantics represent an exception rather than a rule.

Keywords: (a)telicity, creation verbs, distributional semantics, event structure, lexical semantics

1. Introduction

According to the distributional hypothesis (Harris 1954; Lenci 2008), words that occur in the same textual context tend to have a similar meaning. In lexical semantics this hypothesis has been explored in large corpora in terms of the distributional properties of lexical items. Words that share the same collocates are considered to be semantically similar. The larger the number of shared collocates, the more similar words will be. Although a number of corpus linguistic approaches (e.g. Stefanowitsch & Gries 2003; Divjak 2010; Trklja 2014, 2017) and computational models (e.g. Sahlgren 2006; Baroni and Lenci 2008; Erk & Pado 2008; Baroni 2013; Copestake & Herbelot 2012) which follow the distributional hypothesis have been proposed, some of the fundamental issues have not yet received sufficient consideration. In particular, I refer here to the issues addressed in the following questions: What does it mean to say that words have a similar meaning? To what extent is the distributional hypothesis supported by evidence from other research areas (e.g. Landauer & Dumais 1997)? Is distributional semantics part of semantics proper at all (e.g. Lenci 2008; Westera & Boleda 2019)? These questions are, of course, too broad to be answered in a single study. The main objective of the current paper is to contribute to the discussion by exploring whether shared textual contexts necessarily reflect shared denotations. I will argue that the distributional approach lacks the methodological and conceptual resources to address denotation-related issues (not to mention intension), and that it can deliver more reliable evidence of lexical meaning only if it is combined with other approaches to (lexical) semantics.¹ In particular, I will claim that the issue of shared denotation cannot be comprehensively explored if the lexical aspect or (a)telicity of words is not properly addressed. This view agrees with Lenci's "weak view" (2008), and stands in contrast to the view that "distributional semantics on its own can in fact be a fully satisfactory model of expression meaning" (Westera & Boleda 2019:122). Westera and Boleda adopt Strawson's pragmatic position that speakers and not words make

¹ Baroni et al. (2014) and Copestake & Herbelot (2012) address this issue, but their main focus is on other matters.

reference, and they reject the usefulness of the notions of reference, truth conditions and entailment for the representation of meaning. Setting aside the problem that this move does not make life easier for distributional semantics, because in its current form it is not capable of modelling speaker meaning (Boleda 2020), what is more important is that it still does not show how distributional semantics can account for the lexical meaning understood in the sense of lexical decomposition. Nor does it explain how we refer to events and situations in language, which is, as discussed above, a function of language well-known in linguistics since Panini (Parsons 1990).

The paper is divided into three parts. Section 2 is slightly unusual for a study concerned with distributional semantics. Instead of discussing at length the fundamental principles of distributional semantics, these will be introduced only in a general manner so that an uninformed reader can comprehend the main issues discussed. The main part of this section will be devoted to the discussion of what is meant by lexical distribution and why is it important for lexical semantics. The distributional properties of lexical items in this discussion are modelled in terms of two kinds of relations: the relation of collaboration and the relation of competition. In Section 3, the lexical aspect approach and the notion of (a)telicity are outlined, and in Section 4 the evidence for the argument that distributional semantics cannot comprehensively account for lexical meaning is provided through a distributional and (a)telicity analysis of creation verbs.

I assume that distribution and (a)telicity are not merely methodological or theoretical constructs. Instead, I regard them as part of the speaker's knowledge of meaning that comprises both statistical learning and knowledge about events. Due to space restrictions, an argument for this view can only be briefly outlined here.

Language processing associated with statistical learning is incremental, and underlined by domain-general cognitive processes that include rich memory storage, categorization, clustering, analogy and possibly some other processes (Tomasello 2003; Bybee 2010; McCauley & Christiansen 2017). As demonstrated in Christiansen and Chater (2016), statistical learning is involved in the process of the emergence of lexico-grammatical structures. It follows that the speaker's knowledge also contains information about the distribution of words. Thus, in addition to grammar-induced knowledge (regardless of whether we assume the generativist or constructivist position here), this knowledge also contains awareness of the likelihood of co-occurrence of lexical items.

However, statistical learning cannot account for lexical knowledge on its own. Developmental studies provide evidence that the 'core knowledge' of humans also contains cognitive systems for the representation of objects and events (Spelke & Kinzler 2007; Radvansky & Zacks 2014). Radvansky & Zacks (2014) thus demonstrate that events are not processed holistically but rather compositionally. Human experience activities are chunked into smaller units that consist of some constitutive elements including sub-events. Although as pieces of cognitive representations events are unique, they are part of a more general system of knowledge representation in which individual events are stored into event schemes. These schemes are based on our previous experience with certain events. The events that share relevant features are stored in the long-term memory as types. The notion of (a)telicity becomes relevant at this point because it refers to semantic differences between the concepts of end, limit and boundary, which are encoded into event schemes, and there is some evidence that "there may be a universal way of mentally representing events as containing a logical endpoint

or as consisting of homogenous subparts lacking such an endpoint” (Strickland et al. 2015: 5971).

2. Collaboration and competition between words

The distributional approach to meaning was introduced independently but almost simultaneously by Harris (1952, 1954) and Firth (1968). The general form of the argument is that the meaning can be induced from the textual context in which words occur. The meaning of a word is here regarded as “a function of the contexts in which it occurs” (Boleda & Herbelot 2017: 623). In particular, it is assumed that “there is a correlation between distributional similarity and meaning similarity, which allows us to utilize the former in order to estimate the latter” (Sahlgren 2008:1).

In more recent distributional approaches the meaning of words is explored by means of corpus linguistics tools. The meaning is represented in terms of vector space representations dating back to the 1960s (Salton & McGill 1983). Word relations are represented in terms of proximity as vectors in a high-dimensional space, and the similarity of related words is measured in terms of the cosine of the angle between vectors representing words (Mikolov et al. 2013). The values of the cosine of the angle are indicative of distance. If two terms are more similar, than other pairs the distance between these values will be lower and *vice versa* (Sahlgren 2006). Figure 1 (adopted from Baroni 2013) illustrates this view with a toy lexicon that consists of the nouns *dog*, *cat* and *car* and the verbs *run* and *leg*. The words *dog* and *cat* create a strong collocation with *legs*, and *car* creates a strong collocation with *runs*. The word *dog* is, therefore, regarded as more similar to *cat* than either of the two words to *car*.

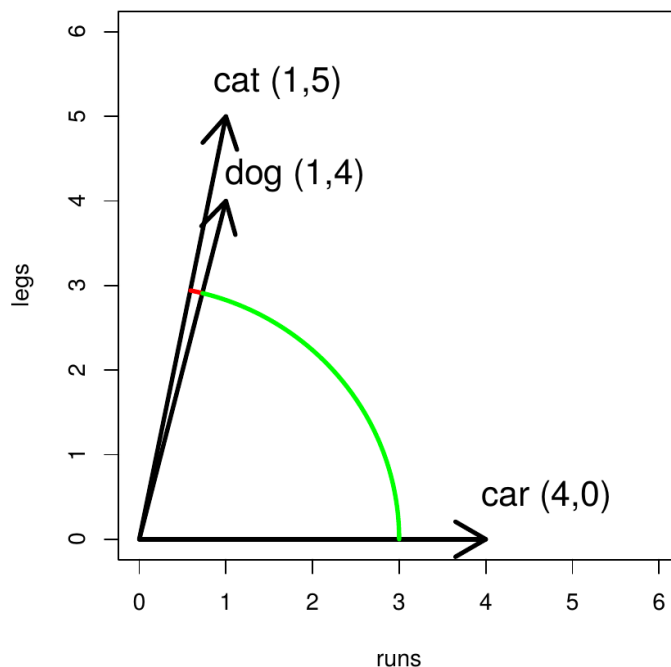


Figure 1: An example of a semantic vector

Distributional approaches take for granted that distributional properties govern language use, but the relation between distribution and language use is rarely explicitly considered. Furthermore, the notion of distribution has been subject to different interpretations in linguistics. In distributional semantics distribution is considered in terms of co-occurrence relations. To understand how co-occurrence relations determine language use, it is worth considering distributional properties as such in general terms. The distributional properties of lexical items belong to the realm of combinatorics, and to explore them I will model the collocation relations in terms of the following three kinds of entities: *node term*, *collaborators* and *competitors*. A node term is any word that we select as our starting point in the analysis. Collaboration is a type of relation determined with respect to the node term. Terms X_1 and X_2 that co-occur with the node term A are said to be its collaborators. Competitiveness is a type of relation determined with respect to the shared context of terms. Terms X_1 and X_2 that occur in the same context (with A) are said to be each other's competitors; X_1 and X_2 compete over co-occurring with A.

Let us code node terms as A, B, C and collaborators/competitors as $X_1 \dots X_n$. X_1 is a collaborator with respect to A, but it is a competitor with respect to $X_2 \dots X_n$. Now let us assume that the node term A occurs five times in our data, and that it has only one collaborator: (X_1). This means that A's collaborator can also only occur five times, and the co-occurrence probability is equal to 1. Since the co-occurrence probability measures how strongly a node term and its collaborator(s) are co-associated, I will refer to this relation as *collaboration strength*. When a node word has only one collaborator the collaboration strength has a maximum value. In real life, the cases when a word or a multi-word expression has only one collaborator are very rare. If the frequency of A remains the same but the number of collaborators increases to two (X_1 and X_2), then both the collaboration strength and the number of co-occurrence combinations between these terms change. Instead of one there are now four combinations. Provided we remain in the domain of natural numbers (which is only meaningful when dealing with the frequency of occurrence), the following combinations are possible: if X_1 occurs only once then X_2 will occur four times; if X_1 occurs twice then X_2 will occur three times; if X_1 occurs three times then X_2 will occur twice; and if X_1 occurs four times then X_2 will occur once. Clearly the collaboration strength for X_1 (based only on the observation of the occurrence in the present data) is higher in the latter two combinations than in the former two. The rate of change from one to two collaborators of A is displayed in the first two rows of Table 1 below.

Table 1: Relations between A and its collaborators

number of collaborat ors of A	number of combinati ons k	size of sample n					
1	1	5	1				
2	4	5	0.2	0.4	0.6	0.8	
3	5	5	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.4	0.6
4	4	5	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.4	
5	1	5	0.2				

In this table other options are also considered. The first column displays the number of collaborators A has at different points in time. The second column shows the number of combinations associated with the number of collaborators, and the third column shows the frequency of A. The right-hand side panel shows the probabilities of the occurrence for any individual X (e.g. X_1). The first row models the option when A co-occurs only with X_1 . The second row displays the option when A co-occurs with X_1 or X_2 . As was said above, there will be four possible combinations here, and the likelihoods of the occurrence of X_1 in these combinations are 0.2, 0.4, 0.6 and 0.8.

It can be observed that the likelihood that $X_1 \dots X_n$ will occur with high frequency with A decreases as the number of collaborators of A increases. For instance, there is a 25% chance that X_1 will collaborate with A in 80% of its occurrences if the number of collaborators is two. Similarly, there is a 25% chance that X_1 will occur in 60% of occurrences of A if it has three competitors. As the number of competitors increases, the probability that X_1 will occur with lower frequency also increases. In addition, the smaller the number of competitors and the lower the collaboration strength of other collaborators ($X_2 \dots X_n$), the more likely it will be for the item X_1 to co-occur with A with high frequency. Thus, if A has four collaborators, the chances are that in three out of four possible combinations X_1 will make up 20% of the occurrences of A. (Tables 1 and 2 in the appendix provide further examples that support this observation.)

From the point of view of any collaborator, having no competitors would be an optimal situation. This would mean that whenever A occurs X_1 will occur as well. However, in this scenario, every word would have only one meaning, there would be far more words than we actually have in natural languages, and if we assume that the meaning is compositional (one of the fundamental assumptions in semantics) then for any combination of words regardless of its length we would have one usage per combination. For example, in an invented language of this sort for *create a reasonable comment* and *create a critical comment* there would be two expressions with lexically distinctive constituents such as *bakara bir opalable porop* and *matara bir zapalble sarop*. In another equally implausible scenario one could imagine that all words occur with the same likelihood. If A occurs six times and has three collaborators (X_1 , X_2 and X_3), the likelihood of occurrence for each of them would be 0.33. This would ensure that none of the collaborators occurred with very low frequency, but would also mean that all the concepts denoted through the respective combinations (AX_1 , AX_2 and AX_3) would be equally important in terms of their cognitive and communicative values. We know that this is actually not the case. In fact, the difference in likelihood of occurrence is considered by some authors (e.g. Goldberg 2006) to be indicative of how linguistic structures emerged from language use. But, the lexicon is not a deterministic system in either of these two senses.

In these cases, only the occurrence of collaborators with respect to one node item was considered. However, collaborators typically not only have several competitors, but they are also associated with several node items. The contribution of the collaborator X_1 to the distribution of A will, therefore, also depend on its co-occurrence with B, C... n. The total frequency of X_1 can be regarded as a sum of all its occurrences with the node words A, B, C.... n. In corpus linguistics, *the association strength* between a node word and its collocates is measured in statistical terms (e.g. MI-score, Dice coefficient, Log Likelihood), taking into account the differences between the joint occurrence of X_1 and A and their individual occurrences with other items. Therefore, if we want to extend the model from above so that it

applies to natural language it is necessary to assume that a node item also has competitors. After this extension, the following major options are available:

- a1) a node term A has a few collaborators ($X_1 \dots X_{n-1}$); they occur with a similar frequency to A, and A occurs with them with a higher frequency than all its competitors;
- a2) a node term A has a few collaborators ($X_1 \dots X_{n-1}$); they occur with a similar frequency to A, and A occurs with them with a lower frequency than all its competitors;
- b1) a node term A has a few collaborators ($X_1 \dots X_{n-1}$); they occur with a lower frequency than A, and A occurs with them with a higher frequency than all its competitors;
- b2) a node term A has a few collaborators ($X_1 \dots X_{n-1}$); they occur with a lower frequency than A, and A occurs with them with a lower frequency than all its competitors;
- c1) a node term A has a few collaborators ($X_1 \dots X_{n-1}$); they occur with a higher frequency than A, and A occurs with them with a higher frequency than all its competitors;
- c2) a node term A has a few collaborators ($X_1 \dots X_{n-1}$); they occur with a higher frequency than A, and A occurs with them with a lower frequency than all its competitors;
- d1) a node term A has many collaborators ($X_1 \dots X_{n-1}$); they occur with a similar frequency to A, and A occurs with them with a higher frequency than all its competitors;
- d2) a node term A has many collaborators ($X_1 \dots X_{n-1}$); they occur with a similar frequency to A and A, occurs with them with a lower frequency than all its competitors;
- e1) a node term A has many collaborators ($X_1 \dots X_{n-1}$); they occur with a lower frequency than A, and A occurs with them with a higher frequency than all its competitors;
- e2) a node term A has many collaborators ($X_1 \dots X_{n-1}$); they occur with a lower frequency than A, and A occurs with them with a lower frequency than all its competitors;
- f1) a node term A has many collaborators ($X_1 \dots X_{n-1}$), they occur with a higher frequency than A, and A occurs with them with a higher frequency than all its competitors;
- f2) a node term A has many collaborators ($X_1 \dots X_{n-1}$); they occur with a greater frequency than A, and A occurs with them with a lower frequency than all its competitors.

The terminology used here is intentionally left vague because notions such as *few collaborators* and *similar frequency* are context-determinable. The generalizations serve to model the

available options in terms of tendencies. The notions of *few* and *many collaborators* are important because they reflect the degree of productivity of a node term. Productivity refers to the number of collaborators a node term can select. If A has more collaborators than B it is regarded as more productive. The difference between *similar*, *lower* and *higher frequency* is important because the association strength measured for example in terms of MI-score or Dice coefficient tends to be stronger for words with similar frequency. Finally, the distinction between *higher* and *lower* frequency is indicative of collaboration strength. If we assume that for any node term it would be ideal for it to be simultaneously productive and have high association and collaboration strength with its collaborators, then every such item will aim at arriving (metaphorically speaking) at Scenario d1.

The above descriptions of co-occurrence relations include the following three conditions, which are combined in six pairs:

- A is less/more/equally frequent than/to its collaborators
- A is less/more/equally frequent than/as its competitors
- A has a few/many collaborators.

These conditions should be able to account for all kinds of frequencies that we find in vocabulary. The weakest of all scenarios is f2 which describes the conditions under which rare words occur. The most productive words are those that meet the requirement of Scenario c1. Those words have many collaborators and occur frequently but do not form a strong association strength. Typical examples of such words are determiners or general nouns and verbs. It seems that the more productive a word, the more general its meaning. Very productive words have lost their lexical meaning and have acquired grammatical function. Being everyone's best friend (c1) is obviously better than being everyone's acquaintance but no one's friend (f2). Being a c1-word means that it will play an important role in vocabulary and expressions. But, in many cases, for fitness it is good to be rare and to have a few friends (such as in b1), because it means that a word will be associated with a small number of expressions and that the bond between a node word and its collaborators will be strong. Expressions or physical objects that occur seldom but always with the same properties are easy to memorize. From an evolutionary point of view it seems it is better for a word to be more frequent than its collaborators. The advantages of other aspects, such as the number of collaborators, depend as we have just said on other aspects and conditions.

Although under Scenario d1 a word maximizes its distribution potential, it is mathematically impossible for two or more collaborators to occur with two or more node words and meet the conditions envisaged here. However, it is still useful to model collocation relations in this manner and to treat items as competing over shared collocates because this highlights the fact that the distribution of words is associated with cost-effectiveness. This brings up the question of the extent to which a language can afford lexical combinations with the same semantics. The distributional hypothesis takes for granted that language can and does afford this kind of choice. The main point of the present observation was to stress that this should not be taken for granted. We should not expect to find two words that share the same collocate with the same degree of association, and with the resulting collocations having the same semantics.

However, the studies that follow the distributional hypothesis seem to provide counter-evidence. The hedging in the previous sentence is due to the nature of the evidence provided in these studies. Notably, the fact that two words occur with the same third word is assumed as sufficient to constitute conclusive proof of semantic similarity. The problem is that semantic similarity is kept as a vague notion in distributional approaches and this is not due to sheer coincidence.² The distributional approach lacks conceptual tools and a formal and systematic procedure for a rigorous semantic analysis. My take on semantic similarity is in terms of shared denotations. We can regard two expressions as cognitive equivalents (Quine 1976) if they share the same denotation, which means that they share the same truth conditions. Given a sentence with a node term we assume that its truth value remains the same even when one of the node term's collaborators is substituted by another collaborator. It means that we consider that two sentences with a node term A and its collaborators X_1 and X_2 have the same meaning if one sentence is true and the other is also true under same conditions. To give an example, In *Brutus killed Caesar* and *Brutus stabbed Caesar* the verbs *killed* and *stabbed* have the same meaning if both sentences are true under the same conditions. Incidentally, these two verbs do not have the same meaning because they do not have the same denotation in the given context. The event of Brutus' killing Caesar is not the same as the event of Brutus' stabbing Caesar because the participants hold different properties (see Kim (1966) and Davidson (1969) for a more elaborate discussion). The position advocated in the present paper is that the knowledge of cognitive equivalence is encoded in the knowledge of event structures, which serves as the meeting point of language, cognition and reference. To account for semantic similarity it is therefore necessary to go beyond combinatorics and language.

3. (A)telicity and lexical semantics

An event is a “spatially and temporally bounded, ephemeral constituent of the world that has but a single occurrence” (Carlson 1998: 39). In linguistics, events are associated with lexical aspect.

Lexical aspect is a semantic category that concerns properties of eventualities (in the sense of Bach, 1981) expressed by verbs. In the most general terms, the properties in question have to do with the presence of some end, limit or boundary in the lexical structure of certain classes of verbs and its lack in others (Filip 2012: 721).

Eventualities occur alongside objects considered to be primary ontological entities (Davidson 1967). Initially, it was suggested that a mass/count distinction from the nominal domain has its counterpart in the domain of eventuality in the form of an atelic/telic distinction (Bach 1986). Under this view, the distinction between the verbs ‘play’ (atelic) and ‘read’ (telic) would be parallel to the distinction between the nouns ‘wood’ (mass) and ‘tree’ (count). Just as tree is a bounded, quantized and non-cumulative object, so is read a bounded, quantized and non-

² This is not an original observation. For example, Sahlgren (2008) discusses the vagueness in the notion of semantic similarity but he does not seem to consider it an issue that requires serious treatment. In his view, this is due to the fact that the distributional hypothesis “is a strong methodological claim with a weak semantic foundation” (Sahlgren 2008: 4). It is not clear how an approach (or methodology) that claims to be concerned with the study of (lexical) meaning can base its fundamental assumptions on ‘a weak semantic foundation’.

cumulative event that have boundaries and an end point. On the other hand, wood is a homogeneous and cumulative object and play is a homogeneous and cumulative event.

Rothstein (1999, 2004), however, demonstrates that both atelicity and telicity have denotation in the count domain. (A)telicity is in fact a property of VPs and a distinction can be made between those VPs that denote sets of countable entities and those where this kind of individuation is not possible (Rothstein 2004). Rothstein distinguishes between sets of singular eventualities and sets of atomic eventualities. The distinction should account for those events which are naturally atomic and those which are not. To account for this difference the operation S-sum was introduced. This operation “takes events in the denotation of a verbal predicate... and sums them into a single more extended event” (Rothstein 2008: 46). Only with naturally atomic, not singular, eventualities it is possible to individuate minimal events. For instance, ‘skip’ is a telic verb because it is possible to individuate minimal events of which the entire event is made up. On the other hand, ‘walk’ is an atelic event because no such minimal events are individuable. “So, if a child skips for ten minutes, it is also possible to count how many minimal skips took place during that ten minutes, but if a walking event lasted for ten minutes, it makes no sense to ask how many minimal events it consisted of” (Rothstein 2008: 46). Minimal events are atomic whereas the non-minimal events are non-atomic. Rothstein (2008: 60) considers that only semelfactives (e.g. ‘burst’) and achievements (e.g. ‘arrive’) are naturally atomic verbs. But, (a)telicity property is not reduced only to atomic verbs. As we will see in a moment, (a)telicity can be derived compositionally, such as in the case of accomplishments and activities.

It is argued in the literature that if the minimal events are partially ordered they are telic. This idea relies on the notion of maximalization (Filip & Rothstein 2005; Filip 2008). “The maximalization operator on events MAX_E is applied to a partially ordered set of events, from which the criterion picks out the unique largest event at a given situation.” (Filip 2008:217). Events are regarded as maximal with respect to a partial ordering imposed by some criteria. According to (Filip & Rothstein 2005: 92) “[t]he maximization operator MAX_E is a monadic operator, such that $MAX_E(P) \subset P$. It maps sets of events, (partially) ordered by an ordering criterion for objects on a scale, onto sets of maximal events.

The notion of ordering means that separate minimal events incrementally develop one into another. A set of ordered minimal events e_1, e_2, e_3, e_4 and e_5 are regarded cross-temporally as identical stages. The final event (e_5) is a maximal event which is set at the largest stage. In addition, those stages are not simply summed up into a plural event. Instead, through MAX_E they constitute a new single event (Filip 2008: 222). For example, ‘drink’ denotes a set of unordered drinking events and the theme ‘exactly three bottles of wine’ specifies the upper stage of the maximal event. The elements of VP that introduce the scale or the ordering criteria and maximalization are called STRICTLY INCREMENTAL (SINC) THEMES (Filip & Rothstein 2005).

The ordering of minimal events is ensured by homomorphism (Krifka 1992) from the lattice structure (part-whole structure) associated with the SINC Themes and the lattice structure of the event. It means that the gradual and permanent change that a SINC Theme undergoes determines the extent of change of the relevant event. Strict incrementality is indicative of telicity but there are also telic verbs on which MAX_E fails to apply. For example, the atomic verb ‘skip’ that denotes unordered minimal events and the eventualities it describes

cannot be ordered with respect to some criteria. One cannot ask what constitutes the largest *e* of skipping.

Similarly, MAX_E does not apply to non-atomic verbs that denote unordered sets such as static states (Bach 1981) like ‘believe’ or ‘know’, dynamic states (Bach 1981) such as ‘live’ or ‘sit’, nor to the verbs that denote indefinite changes of state (Dowty 1979) such as ‘smile’, ‘work’ or ‘play’. It means that MAX_E applies only to those verbs that entail a change in extent when they combine with a NP relevant for ordering minimal events. The difference is thus made between incremental and strictly incremental verbs. The former can be applied to an individual more than once (i.e. one can read the same book more than once), whereas the latter can be applied only once (i.e. one can build a particular house only once). Creation verbs alongside verbs of consumption (‘eat’, ‘drink’) and destruction (‘destroy’, ‘demolish’, ‘burn’) are considered to belong to SINC verbs (Krifka 1998; Filip 2008), and maximization is assumed to be entailed as part of their lexical meaning. However, it is important to point out that strict incrementality on its own does not guarantee telicity. If such a verb occurs with bare plurals or mass nouns the result might be a non-telic or non-maximal event.

We can conclude that telicity is either a property of verbs (in the case of atomic verbal predicates) or that it can be derived compositionally. With SINC verbs it is the structure of their theme arguments, pragmatic inferences and world knowledge that determine their telicity.

Event semantics provide a description of one aspect of lexical meaning. Another aspect has to do with ontological categories or types of objects. A sentence may be meaningless if a verb selects a complement that denotes an object of an inappropriate type (e.g. Ryle 1953; Pustejovsky 1998). A taxonomy of objects introduced in Dölling (1995) will serve to demonstrate selectional properties of verbs with respect to types of objects. The general category in this taxonomy is Entity (E). Entity consists of Kinds (K) and objects (O). Objects are further divided into Physical and Social Objects. Physical Objects can be Aggregates (A) or Stuff (S) and the former contains Things (T) and Configurations (C). Persons (PS) form the sub-class of Things. Social Objects can be Groups or Institutions. Objects denote both the sets of individuals and pluralities. There are no sub-classes of kinds, but the domain of kinds can contain the kinds of objects such as kinds of stuff (SK) or kinds of configuration (CK). Objects have their own structures and can be associated with other objects in various ways in terms of the following kinds of relations: INSTANCE OF, CONSTITUTE and ASSOCIATED WITH. Objects are instances of kinds, stuff constitutes a thing, persons are associated with institutions and so on.

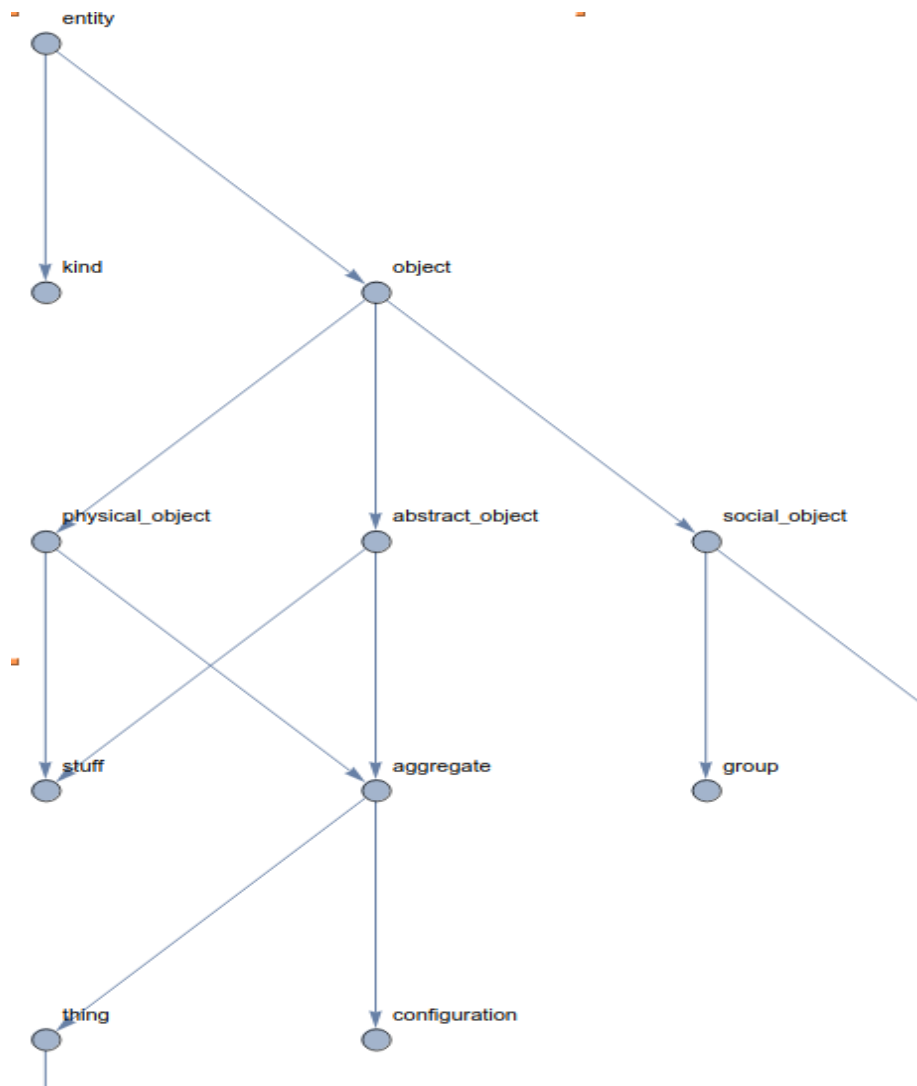


Figure 2: Ontological distinctions between kinds of objects

The present taxonomy lacks one category, relevant for creation verbs, which will serve as the object of analysis in the present paper. This is the category of abstract objects, which according to Piñón (2008) is associated with the internal argument of such verbs. For example, atmosphere in ‘create atmosphere’ can be regarded neither as a Physical Object nor as a Social Object. It thus makes sense to add the category of Abstract Objects (AO) to Dölling’s taxonomy. I consider that the category AO contains the same sort of sub-classes as physical objects, and that the only difference is that they have abstract rather than physical entities in their extension. What is the difference between physical, abstract and social objects? One can refer to physical objects that can be directly perceived in the world either as atomic or plural individuals. Abstract objects are not directly accessible to our perception. This distinction is important because, as observed in Piñón (2008), many creation verbs can be ambiguous between these two meanings. The ontology distinctions adopted for the present analysis are represented in Figure 2.

4. Lexical semantics of creation verbs

4.1 *Distributional properties of creation verbs*

In the present section the distributional properties of creation verbs will be discussed. The data derive from the British National Corpus (BNC) (Leech 1992) and the ukWac (Ferraresi 2008), and the analysis was carried out by means of CWB tools (Evert & Hardie 2011) and the R interface of the Google word2vec package (Mikolov et al. 2013). First, the verb ‘create’ was selected with the assumption that it belongs to the semantic domain of creation verbs. At the next stage, other verbs that share the same collocational context were identified. It is assumed that collocational relations are syntactically motivated, and in the present study only the internal argument is considered to form the relevant context. In other words, collocates that function as specifiers and modifiers were not considered in the present analysis. A list of verbs that share the same internal arguments (NP) was established in the BNC by means of CWB tools. A search query based on macros was used to identify only those NPs that occur in the position of a direct object. Since these verbs were identified with respect to *create*, one could argue that the result disproportionately favours verbs which are most similar to *create*. To avoid this, two verbs with the strongest similarity degree with ‘create’, namely ‘produce’ and ‘establish’, were selected and in the next step the verbs most similar to them were chosen. This procedure was repeated until the following seven verbs were identified: ‘create’, ‘build’, ‘form’, ‘develop’, ‘provide’, ‘produce’ and ‘establish’. These seven verbs will suffice for the purpose of our analysis. Intuitively, all the verbs apart from ‘provide’ can be regarded as creation verbs. Since the meaning of words was considered only with respect to their distributions “without intrusion of other features such as history or meaning” (Harris 1970), it was assumed at this stage that all the verbs identified provide a representative sample of creation verbs that can be obtained through the distributional model.

After the set of creation verbs was generated from the BNC and ukWac, their mutual similarity was investigated with respect to the first 40 most frequent nouns occurring in the direct object position. The degree of similarity was measured in terms of the association strength of the nouns and verbs. Dice coefficient (Dice 1944), which serves as a standard measurement of association strength, was used here. In theory, if there were no shared collocates among verbs we would have expected 1680 nominal collocates for the seven verbs in our data. In practice, there are many shared collocates and the total number of the observed nouns is 12 times smaller (there are 136 shared nominal collocates between these seven verbs). In fact, this is what we would expect given the fact that the criteria for the selection of verbs was that they share contexts.

Word similarity represented in terms of cosine angle values is typically represented in terms of co-occurrence matrices (Sahlgran 2003). The results for the degrees of similarity between creation verbs are displayed in Table 2. The investigation is based on the observation of the co-occurrence of verbs with nominal collocations. All the observations are based on the lemma form as is usual in corpus linguistics. The data are obtained from the BNC and ukWac corpora. The corpus was first tagged with POS-tags and a sub-corpus was created with the

sentences that contain only creation verbs.³The values greater than the mean (0.75) that do not reflect self-similarity have been highlighted in Table 2.

Table 2: Degree of similarity between creation verbs

	form	establish	provide	build	develop	produce	create
form	1.00	<u>0.28</u>	0.01	0.05	0.02	0.01	<u>0.07</u>
establish	<u>0.28</u>	1.00	0.01	0.04	0.04	0.04	<u>0.16</u>
provide	0.01	0.01	1.00	0.00	0.00	<u>0.08</u>	0.04
build	0.05	0.04	0.00	1.00	0.03	<u>0.07</u>	0.03
develop	0.02	0.04	0.00	0.03	1.00	<u>0.07</u>	<u>0.06</u>
produce	0.01	0.04	<u>0.08</u>	<u>0.07</u>	<u>0.07</u>	1.00	<u>0.17</u>
create	<u>0.07</u>	<u>0.16</u>	0.04	0.03	0.06	<u>0.17</u>	1.00

Figure 3 shows boxplots for the data from Table 2. These results indicate the variety in the similarity values across all verbs. It follows that the verbs ‘build’ and ‘develop’ are the weakest candidates for creation verbs according to the current data. They have the lowest values of similarity and they share the smallest number of collocates with other verbs. Intuitively, it is surprising to find that in the current model ‘build’ is not recognized as a good example of a creation verb. According to the current model ‘build’ co-occurs to a lesser extent with the collocates of other verbs. The results obtained using other models (see Appendix II) provide a slightly different picture, but since the purpose of the present paper is not to compare the strength of different models this issue will not be set forth here.

³ Notice that the results of a distributional analysis depend on the distributional model and the data set. Appendix II shows results obtained using three different models and data sets, for comparison.

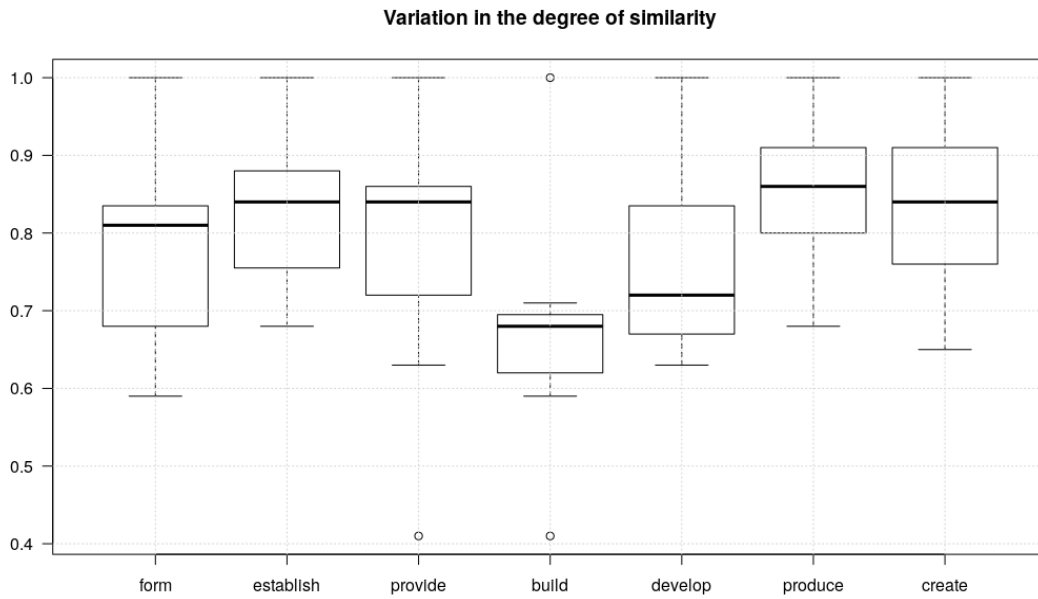


Figure 3: Variation in degree of similarity for creation verbs

In the present model, the verbs ‘create’ and ‘produce’ appear to be the most representative examples of creation verbs. They have the highest level of substitutability with other creation verbs, whereas the substitutability of others is restricted to some specific items. Although almost all creation verbs can be substituted for each other with respect to shared collocations, the actual values of substitutability vary with respect to individual verbs. In particular, it can be observed that ‘create’ is most similar with ‘provide’, ‘develop’ and ‘produce’. Similarly, ‘produce’ is most similar to ‘form’, ‘provide’, ‘establish’ and ‘create’, and ‘establish’ is most similar to ‘form’, ‘provide’ and ‘produce’.

One final remark is in order. The verbs ‘create’ (63%), ‘produce’ (59%) and ‘provide’ (51%) occur with more than half of the collocates found with all the creation verbs. However, the number of shared collocates alone cannot serve as an indicator of the degree of similarity between verbs. What is equally important is the frequency with which verbs select a noun, and the real indicators of similarity are association and collaboration strength. Whenever two or more verbs have a similar association strength value they will be closely associated in the vector space, something which also follows from Scenario f1, discussed above. It means that the number of shared collocates is a necessary but not a sufficient condition.

4.2 (A)telicity properties of creation verbs

In this section the question of whether shared denotations follow from shared collocations in the class of creation verbs will be explored. Due to space restrictions it is not possible to consider relations between all the verbs identified in the distributional analysis, and a few examples will suffice to address the issue of shared denotations. To repeat the condition introduced above, two verbs will be considered to share denotations if the sentences in which

they occur are true under same conditions. Those conditions are reflected in the aspectual properties of verbal predicates, ontological types of objects and the event properties of VPs.

It follows from the previous analysis that ‘produce’ and ‘create’ have a similar meaning. The word ‘produce’ is an achievement verb that denotes momentous telic events (Bach 1981) whereas ‘create’ is an accomplishment verb that denotes durable telic events. The former is a natural atomic verbal predicate and the latter is a SINC verb. It can be concluded that the maximization operation applies to ‘create’ but not to ‘produce’. But what about the internal arguments of these two verbs?

As shown in Table 2, singular count nouns make up 28% and 31% of the collocates of ‘produce’ and ‘create’ respectively. Mass nouns or bare plurals make up respectively 46% and 57% of all the collocates not used in singular. In this respect the two verbs do not differ significantly. We know from the above discussion that MAX_E applies when a SINC verb selects a SINC Theme. Mass nouns and bare plurals do not constitute SINC Themes. It is argued in the literature (Verkuyl 1972, Dowty 1979) that an accomplishment verb denotes atelic events if the direct object is a mass noun or bare plural (but see Filip 2008 for some counterexamples). On the other hand, achievement verbs are insensitive to the type of direct object they select. It follows from the results from the corpus that, regardless of the countability of nouns, ‘produce’ is always telic and in more than half of its occurrences ‘create’ is atelic. Such a conclusion, however, should be taken with caution because achievement verbs can also realize a telic meaning with bare plurals (Rothstein 2004). It is often the case that world knowledge, pragmatic information and context determine whether a predicate will be telic or atelic in such cases.

Table 3: Types of nouns associated with ‘produce’ and ‘create’

categories	produce frequency	produce frequency
plurals	0.4	0.32
bare plurals	0.14	0.21
mass nouns	0.32	0.36
singular countable nouns	0.28	0.31

The above results, therefore, indicate that ‘create’ can be ambiguous between telic and atelic meaning, but ‘produce’ cannot. In [1], due to the context of the previous sentence, the atelic reading seems to be more natural despite the bare plural form of the internal argument.

(1)

- a) There can be no doubt that such hostilities were having important consequences; in six weeks they **created opportunities** for new dynastic families to emerge.
TELIC
- b) There can be no doubt that such hostilities were having important consequences; for six weeks they **created opportunities** for new dynastic families to emerge.
ATELIC

If the data are observed in terms of the ontological distinctions proposed in Section 2 it follows that the vast majority of the nominal predicates of ‘produce’ (68%) denote Physical objects (‘results’, ‘data’, ‘output’, ‘report’, ‘document’, ‘book’). This is true regardless of whether the

nominal predicate is an atomic (singular countable nouns, non-bare plurals) or singular object (mass nouns and bare plurals). Most of Aggregates are Physical objects but an additional distinction is in place here. For example, both ‘report’ and ‘output’ designate physical things when selected by ‘produce’, but there is a difference in their denotation. *report* designates an object which is an instance of many similar objects (‘reports’). The plural use does not change this in principle because ‘produce reports’ denotes that many instances of similar objects were produced. We could say that these objects are referentially homogenous. On the other hand, ‘results’ denotes objects which are referentially different from each other but which are at some more general level regarded as being of the same type. For such objects we can say that they are referentially heterogeneous. Most of the object nouns observed in the present data with ‘produce’ are referentially homogenous.

As for *create*, the nominal collocates denote abstract Aggregates (‘conditions’, ‘difficulties’, ‘chances’, ‘rights’, ‘problem’, ‘opportunity’), abstract Stuff (‘atmosphere’, ‘impression’, ‘environment’, ‘demand’, ‘interest’) or abstract or Physical things (‘work’, ‘picture’, ‘image’). Abstract nominal predicates such as ‘opportunity’, ‘atmosphere’ or ‘effect’ can be regarded as naturally atomic because they appear as individuated units and their unit of measurement is “determined by the natural atomic structure of the stuff” (Rothstein 2007: 15). Take as an example the predicate ‘create a scoring opportunity’. In [2] a scoring opportunity is individuated by means of the event denoted in the following clause. Let us assume that on another occasion, the event of creating a scoring opportunity is a result of the event of stealing the ball from the opposing team. If these were the only two scoring opportunities during one football match then we could count them as two individuated units. Just as “a giant preteenager and a small premature male baby (where) each count as one instance of boy and together ... make a plurality of boys with the cardinality 2” (Rothstein 2007: 15) so also do the events of milking a penalty off Jannie du Plessis and stealing the ball make a plurality of the event of creating two scoring opportunities. The point is illustrated also in [3] with ‘opportunities’, which is also countable here. I assume that natural atomicity of this sort is true also of other countable abstract objects that occur with ‘create’.

- (2) There was no better illustration of **creating a scoring opportunity** than on the 30-minute mark when he milked a penalty off Jannie du Plessis.
- (3) TCU and Kansas State each created five **scoring opportunities**.

It follows then that, in analogy to incremental themes denoting physical entities, abstract objects can also be regarded as incremental themes. The abstract object comes into existence incrementally. Thus, parts of a therapeutic atmosphere in [4] arise in parallel to the bits of sounds of gurgling water. But, are the minimal parts of nouns such as *atmosphere* ordered or unordered? The sound of gurgling water does not need to undergo any change. It might be that the sound becomes louder, softer or more relaxed, but this is not a necessary condition here. The sound may remain monotonous, but what matters is the accumulation of individual units of sound that create the therapeutic atmosphere. In [5] incrementality is denoted in architectural embellishments, but notice that the order of these embellishments can change without affecting the event of creating the atmosphere. There is, therefore, no evidence for the strict incrementality of abstract objects of this sort. It follows that maximization is a product of accumulation of minimal objects.

- (4) The sound of gurgling water **created a therapeutic atmosphere** for sixty minutes/in sixty minutes.
- (5) He has succeeded in **creating the atmosphere** of a Mediterranean village, through the various architectural embellishments; the old style Mallorcan houses, with their pastel-shaded façades, balconies, verandas, shutters and irregular roof-lines, suggest that the Anchorage Village has evolved over generations rather than just six years.

Let us consider the results from Table 2 again. As was said above, all the occurrences of the verbs are explored in terms of the lemma form. More than half (60%) of the frequent collocates of ‘create’ occur also with ‘produce’ in this form. But, this might not be an accurate picture. It is possible that some nouns occurring in the singular form with one verb occur in the plural form with another verb. As a matter of fact, this does happen. In fact, around 40% of the collocates of ‘produce’ and ‘create’ are mutually shared in the same word form.

The word-form of collocates must not be ignored, given the fact that verbs can have different aspectual properties. In fact, due to the aspectual difference between ‘produce’ and ‘create’ (one being an achievement and another an accomplishment verb), we should not expect that shared collocates will automatically lead to the shared denotations. Let us consider some examples.

‘work’ collocates both with ‘create’ and ‘produce’. ‘create’ is here ambiguous between an abstract and physical reading, whereas ‘produce’ is associated only with physical objects. In [6] both ‘create’ and ‘produce’ can be used, but in [7] ‘produce’ yields a semantically anomalous sentence, because ‘work’ is ambiguous between “a piece of art” (physical thing) and “an activity” (abstract thing). The form of singularia tantum is associated only with the second reading. [7b] is semantically ill-formed because it leads to a type clash; ‘produce’ does not select objects that denote abstract things.

- (6)
 - a Mr Ellis **created his strange works** of art on site for six week in six weeks.
 - b Mr Ellis **produced his strange works of art** on site.
- (7)
 - a For six months in/*six months the lack of organization **created work** and was a consequence of feeling dissatisfied, as in Juliet Warren's case:
 - b (b) *Lack of organization **produces work** and was a consequence of feeling dissatisfied, as in Juliet Warren's case:

Or consider ‘effect’/‘effects’ that occur with both ‘create’ and ‘produce’. The collaboration and association strengths are high enough for both verbs for us to consider the resulting combinations typical collocates (0.09 and 8.2 for ‘produce’ + ‘effect’ and 0.04 and 7.3 for ‘create’ + ‘effect’). Both predicates share the same denotation as long as they have perceptually based concepts or natural kinds in their extension [8a, 8b, 8c and 9a, 9b, 9c]. For instance, in [8a] and [9a] a dramatic effect in a spacious bathroom designates an object which is perceived as an impact made on a perceiver by the London suite from AquaWare. Both ‘create’ and ‘produce’ are therefore telic here. The

difference is concerned with the perception of the creation of the effect, which might be instantaneous (with ‘produce’) or incremental (with ‘create’).

(8)

- a This London suite from AquaWare **created a dramatic effect** in a spacious bathroom.
- b Every time it chimed, the clock **created a different magical effect**.
- c Each tile is cross-cambered to **create an attractive ripple effect** when laid.

(9)

- a This London suite from AquaWare **produced a dramatic effect** in a spacious bathroom
- b Every time it chimed, the clock **produced a different magical effect**.
- c Each tile is cross-cambered to **produce an attractive ripple effect** when laid.

Furthermore, individual collocates identified in a semantic space are not always sufficient to enable the study of the meaning of lexical items. For example, ‘produce’ and ‘create’ collocate with ‘wealth’ but in the present data this noun functions with the former as a quantifier [10a], and with the latter it denotes abstract stuff [10b].

(10)

- a An event such as a school centenary can often **produce a wealth of material** from the local community.
- b We aim to build a society that does not **create wealth** at the expense of the environment.

Let us now consider ‘form’ and ‘establish’, which have the highest degree of similarity according to the distributional analysis. Among the collocates of ‘establish’, only singular countable nouns can be observed. The vast majority of the collocates of ‘form’ (90%) are also singular countable nouns, but this verb also occasionally occurs with plural and mass nouns. ‘form’ is neutral with respect to telicity. Telicity is in this case specified by means of the verb’s arguments. On other hand, ‘establish’ is inherently telic. Given the fact that most of themes of ‘form’ denote a quantized object, it follows that its typical usage is also telic. (Incidentally, this example also illustrates how in some cases the information about (a)telicity properties can be derived from the information about distributional properties.) Does it then follow that whenever ‘form’ and ‘establish’ occur with the same collocates they also share the same denotations? The major category of shared collocates includes nouns denoting social objects such as ‘committee’, ‘company’, ‘government’ or ‘group’. From [11] it does not seem that any denotational differences can be recorded here. Both verbs receive telic readings. Incidentally, [12] contains a different kind of a social object noun and the more natural reading is with ‘form’.

(11)

- a The Anthony Nolan Bone Marrow **Trust** was **formed** in 1974 when Shirley Nolan founded the Bone Marrow Register in a vain attempt to save the life of her young son Anthony.

- b The Anthony Nolan Bone Marrow **Trust** was **established** in 1974 when Shirley Nolan founded the Bone Marrow Register in a vain attempt to save the life of her young son Anthony.

(12)

- a The BSP **formed** an electoral **alliance** with several minor parties, including the nationalist Fatherland Party of Labour.
- b *The BSP **established** an electoral **alliance** with several minor parties, including the nationalist Fatherland Party of Labour.

One may argue that the difference between ‘form’ and ‘establish’ in [11] and [12] has to do with the difference between the type of entities that ‘trust’ and ‘alliance’ denote: that ‘trust’ denotes a strong and long-term commitment whereas ‘alliance’ designates some arrangements of a temporary nature. The data seem to support this argument. Among the typical collocates of ‘form’, but not of ‘establish’, are nouns that denote loose bonds and temporary arrangements such as ‘music bands’, ‘government’, ‘coalition’ and ‘alliance’. However, what about ‘committee’, which can occur with both ‘form’ and ‘establish’? It is clear that the strength of commitment depends here on the pragmatic context and world knowledge. It is not difficult to find examples of short-lived committees and long-lived music bands.

What appears to be at stake here is the association of these nouns with the properties of homogeneity and distributivity. Just like ‘furniture’, ‘trust’ may be regarded (at least in one of its readings) as homogeneous when its atomic elements are not singled out. On the other hand, this reading is not available with ‘alliance’. The homogeneous reading is illustrated in [13] with the noun ‘committee’, which collocates with both verbs. But, as we can see, the non-homogeneous reading is licensed only with ‘form’. In the BNC, the only examples of sentences with a distributive reading of nouns such as ‘committee’ (see [13c]) are for the verb ‘form’. The compositional nature of social groups is perceptually non-salient.

(13)

- a Managers **formed one committee** out of two smaller committees.
- b *Managers **established one committee** out of two smaller committees.
- c It resolved to **form a committee** composed of representatives of Syria, Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon and Palestine...

Of course, there are also collocates that ‘form’ and ‘establish’ do not share. The vast majority of nominal collocates of ‘form’ denote social objects. The collocates specific to ‘establish’ also denote abstract objects such as ‘relationship’, ‘link’, ‘contact’ or ‘reputation’. It is worth mentioning that additional differences between ‘form’ and ‘establish’ can be observed also if other linguistic and non-linguistic properties are taken into account. This is true for both cases when the two verbs occur with shared and non-shared collocates. For example, ‘establish’ occurs slightly more often with the passive voice (33 times per million words) than ‘form’ (21 per million words). Using David Lee’s (2001) classification schemes we can observe that in the BNC ‘establish’ is more frequently associated with the political, administrative or medical domains, and that ‘form’ is more typically used in the context of the natural sciences, technology and the media. We might expect then that such differences will be observed with other creation verbs.

I have argued above that event semantics can answer the question of whether or not two verbal predicates have the same meaning (or shared denotations). This is possible because event semantics provides a set of conceptual tools that can be used to explore the lexical semantics of words. Equipped with these tools we are able to describe a semantic similarity between ‘form’ and ‘establish’ in more depth than would be possible if we restricted our analysis to the distributional approach. We have observed in the corpus that there is a strong overlap between complements selected by these two verbs. We have also seen that the VPs of ‘establish’ always denote telic (or bounded) events, whereas those of ‘form’ include both telic and atelic (unbounded) events. The corpus data reveal that most complements of ‘form’ are quantized objects, indicating that this verb is mainly used in the telic sense. Similarly, a considerable number of complements selected by both verbs belong to the same ontological categories, but it was also observed that these objects do not receive the same kind of reading in terms of homogeneity. This example illustrates how similarity of meaning can be explored stepwise in terms of semantic layers. If we then individuate these layers and translate them into separate conditions under which sentences containing those verbs are true (e.g. condition one for the same collocates, condition two for the countability of complements, condition three for (a)telicity and so on), we can specify under what conditions those two terms share their denotation. In this particular case, we can say that ‘form’ and ‘establish’ have the same denotation under all but the last condition (homogeneity of complements). Applying the same sort of reasoning to the results of the analysis of ‘create’ and ‘produce’, we are able to state that the level of similarity for these two verbs is much lower than for the previous pair because the number of conditions under which the sentences that contain them are true is low (‘create’ can be both telic and atelic, whereas ‘produce’ is always telic, to mention just some of the differences in terms of ontological categories).

5. Conclusion

Distributional approaches assume that shared collocates are indicative of meaning similarity between words. In Section 3, I argued that due to the combinatorial nature of the lexicon, we should expect lexical combinations with the same semantics to represent an exception rather than a rule. In particular, it was demonstrated that the distribution of words is associated with cost-effectiveness, and that language is not a system that can afford en masse expressions sharing the same semantics.

The (a)telicity analysis demonstrated that shared collocates do not directly predict shared denotations. Different interpretations are due to the different (lexical) aspectual properties of verbs and the types of nominal predicates they select. It follows that distributional properties studied in terms of shared collocates can serve only crudely as an indicator of meaning similarity between lexical items.

I would like to argue that the distributional assumption about similarity of meaning is in part due to our lack of knowledge in lexical semantics. Instead of treating as synonymous verbs that select the same nominal predicates, more subtle interpretations are needed. These interpretations should take into account the telicity or atelicity of VPs, argument types, pragmatic inferences and world knowledge. Without going into detail, the relationship between ‘create’ and ‘produce’, for example, includes complementary events along the line of

physical/abstract objects, whereas the social objects associated with ‘form’ and ‘establish’ are complementaries in terms of quantized/cumulative entities.

To conclude, the strength of the distributional approach is that it enables systematic identification of semantically related terms in linguistic data. Shared collocates are not the result of pure coincidence, and distributional features do provide insights which are relevant for lexical semantics. However, for an adequate understanding of lexical meaning we need approaches that combine a distributional and (a)telicity analysis. Only such combined approaches can advance our understanding of the speaker’s knowledge of meaning because they are based on statistical learning and awareness of event structures.

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Appendix A

Table 1: Collaborator relations when A occurs 6 times.

number of collaborator s	number of combinations	size of sample	collaboration strength										
1	1	6	1										
2	5	6	0.17	0.33	0.5	0.67	0.83						
3	7	6	0.17	0.17	0.17	0.17	0.33	0.6	0.67				
4	7	6	0.17	0.17	0.17	0.17	0.17	0.33	0.5				
5	6	6	0.17	0.17	0.17	0.17	0.17	0.33					
6	1	6	0.17										

Table 2: Collaboration relations when A occurs seven times.

number of collaborator s	number of combinations	size of sample	collaboration strength										
1	1	7	1										
2	6	7	0.14	0.29	0.43	0.57	0.71	0.86					
3	9	7	0.14	0.14	0.14	0.14	0.14	0.29	0.43	0.57	0.71		
4	10	8	0.14	0.14	0.14	0.14	0.14	0.14	0.14	0.29	0.43	0.57	
5	10	7	0.14	0.14	0.14	0.14	0.14	0.14	0.14	0.14	0.29	0.43	
6	7	7	0.14	0.14	0.14	0.14	0.14	0.14	0.29				
7	1	7	0.14										

Appendix B

Table 3: Results derived from the ukWac and BNC using the rword2vec package.

	form	establish	provide	build	develop	produce	create
form	1						
establish	0.84	1					
provide	0.81	0.86	1				
build	0.59	0.68	0.41	1			
develop	0.63	0.72	0.63	0.71	1		
produce	0.83	0.9	0.86	0.68	0.77	1	
create	0.73	0.79	0.84	0.65	0.9	0.92	1

Table 4: Results derived from the ukWac and subtitle corpus using snout (Mandera et al. 2017)

	form	establish
form	1	
establish	0,16	1
provide	0,11	0,41

Table 5: Results derived from enTenTen15 using the SketchEngine Thesaurus tool (Kilgariff et al. 2014)

	form	establish	provide	build	develop	produce	create
form	1						
establish	0.5	1					
provide	0.32	0.51	1				
build	0.42	0.44	0.44	1			
develop	0.49	0.57	0.54	0.53	1		
produce	0.51	0.48	0.52	0.44	0.55	1	
create	0.56	0.6	0.6	0.54	0.64	0.65	1

In SKASE Journal of Theoretical Linguistics [online]. 2020, vol. 17, no. 3 [cit. 2020-10-14]. Available on web page http://www.skase.sk/Volumes/JTL45/pdf_doc/07.pdf. ISSN 1336-782X

To devour one's love: The concept of TASTE in the world of endearments

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The aim of the paper is to discuss the process of foodsemy, in which names of various foodstuffs are employed to characterize human beings and various forms of their activity. To be more precise, we shall focus on food-inspired terms of endearment (e.g. honey, sugar, sweetheart, cinnamon, sweetie) and their historical development in order to account for whether they are metaphor- or metonymy-conditioned. We are going to discuss two general research categories, namely HUMAN BEINGS ARE FOODSTUFFS and FOODSTUFF IS ENDEARMENT and the examples of a handful of specific metaphors which are part and parcel of these groups, for example THE OBJECT OF AFFECTION IS A (SWEET) FOODSTUFF.

Keywords: *endearment, foodsemy, taste, metaphor, metonymy*

1. Introduction

The category of ENDEARMENTS seems to be a fertile source of pet names given that one can hardly compile a comprehensive dictionary containing all of the lexical items employed in an endearing sense. On the one hand, there is a group of terms of affection which appear to be the most prevalent ones (e.g. *honey, sweetheart, darling, love*); on the other hand, there are numerous creative nonce words whose usage may not be documented in the written sources (e.g. *esquire, cherub, gallant*). In what follows, we are going to discuss one of the most productive motifs as far as pet names are concerned, namely taste. To be more precise, we are going to elaborate on the process of *foodsemy* (aka food metaphor) which may be defined as the metaphorical use of various foodstuffs in order to denote certain qualities of people.

In order to pursue our investigation Crystal's *Words in Time and Place: Exploring Language Through the Historical Thesaurus of the Oxford English Dictionary* (2014) was used as our corpus. It contains 14 food-induced lexical items (*sweetheart, honey, cinnamon, powsowdie, lamb-chop, sweet-love, sweetkin, sucket, bag-pudding, sweetling, sweetie, cabbage, pumpkin* and *sugar*) which are going to be scrutinized. Obviously, we are aware that a number of other food-related endearments are being deliberately ignored in our analysis (e.g. *peach, muffin, cupcake*); however, our aim is to focus on those lexical items whose human-specific endearing senses are attested in *the Oxford English Dictionary* (henceforth *the OED*). We are also aware of the shortcomings of the analysis which is based on a limited number of individual lexical items extracted from one lexicographic work and not on coherent discourses employed in real situations. However, the purpose is merely to discuss the source domains that appear to dominate the conceptualization of an object of affection in the English language.

2. Theoretical background and the notion of *foodsemy*

The intellectual roots of cognitive science have a relatively short history which dates back to the 20th century, therefore embodiment has been studied empirically only for a few decades. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) explain that metaphor involves conceptualising one domain of experience in terms of another, e.g. LIFE IS A JOURNEY, TIME IS MONEY. Metaphorical meaning

construction stems from conceptual metaphors and various mappings that constitute them. However, one cannot ignore the role of context which is defined by Van Dijk (2009:5) in the following words: “a context is what is defined to be relevant in the social situation by the participants themselves”. In order to comprehend some metaphors we need to refer to the context which enables us to fully understand the meanings of some utterances.

As we will try to demonstrate in this account, FOOD is a source domain in a number of metaphors, even though – as far as the sense-based metaphors are concerned – taste itself is not as productive as the other senses (e.g. sight). Nevertheless, it is occasionally subject to the mechanism of *gustasemy*, also known as taste metaphor (see Pajdzińska 1996: 125), whereby terms literally referring to taste are metaphorically targeted at various aspects of human experience (see Osuchowska 2011, 2012, 2014, Cacciari 2008). In turn, *foodsemy* is a process in which human beings are conceptualized in terms of various foodstuffs (see Kudła 2016: 112-113). The concept of FOOD as a possible metaphorical source domain was discussed by, among others, Newman (1997), Kövecses (2002, 2006), Kudła (2016) or Negro (2019).

As far as embodied cognition is concerned, we may argue that sensory experiences, for instance the perception of temperature (e.g. the word *hot*) or different flavours, often have an impact on how we perceive reality. Thus, it is worth discussing how taste, or – to be more precise – terms of endearment whose senses are connected with different flavours, are related to embodied cognition. And so, we may categorize FLAVOURS into five main categories, that is: salty, sweet, sour, bitter and spicy. As noticed by Miska, Hemmesch and Buswell (2018: 7-9), sweet-oriented lexical items (e.g. *honey* or *sweetie*) are associated with a romantic kind of relationship, whereas spicy-oriented words (like *spicy* itself) are connected with physical attractiveness. Such a division reflects the dual nature of love, as it has both emotional and physical aspects.

As observed by Kövecses (2006b: 155), both females and males are occasionally perceived in terms of foodstuffs (by means of THE HUMAN BEINGS ARE FOOD metaphor). Let us consider the following conceptual metaphors provided and analysed by the linguist:

WOMEN ARE FOOD

dish

MEN ARE FOOD

dish, hunk of man, meat

Interestingly enough, it is women that are more often conceptualized as foodstuffs. And so, ladies may be either white or dark meat and some appetizing food, as shown by Kövecses (2006: 155) by means of the following conceptual metaphors:

WOMEN ARE WHITE MEAT TO EAT

chunk of (white) meat, piece of (white) meat, tuna, white meat

WOMEN ARE DARK MEAT TO EAT

cunt meat, hunk of woman

In spite of the fact that females may be conceptualized in terms of meat, neither meat-induced foodstuffs nor savoury dishes may be said to be widespread terms of affection in English. It is so because, in comparison with sweet-based terms of affection, saltiness is usually not associated with positive emotions¹ and pet names are employed to show affection, thus they need to be positively-loaded. Meat-inspired pet names or ones not connected with sweetness may be slightly ironic as they usually have something in common with being overweight; take

¹ However, there are a few exceptions to this rule, e.g. *to be the salt of the earth* used with reference to an honest person and *to be worth one's salt* which adverts to a competent specialist (see <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/>).

for example *dumpling* employed with reference to a thickset female or a plump little girl (see Palmatier 2000). In spite of the fact that it is supposed to be flattering, as it is attested as an endearment, it may evoke ambivalent associations.

Not surprisingly, as noted by Kövecses (2006b: 155), the terms connected with palatable food are often applied to women:

WOMEN ARE APPETIZING (SWEET) FOOD

buttercup, cookie, cream puff, honey, honey-bun, honey-bunny, puff, sugar cookie, sugar, sweet, sweet mama, sweet meat, sweet momma, sweet patootie, sweet stuff, sweet thing, sweets, sweetheart, sweetums

Such a conceptualization of both sexes takes place when we perceive people in a sexual context and for sexual purposes. As a result, we may speak about the conceptual metaphor SEX IS EATING and, in this case, the object of the physical activity in question are foodstuffs (THE OBJECT OF SEX IS FOOD) (Kövecses 2006b: 155). Physical love has always been comprehended in terms of food and terminology associated with consumption has been employed to describe various activities linked with sex. Literature is abundant with feasts and eating scenes that evoke the motifs of lust and quenching one's desire, thus we may speak about the metaphor SEXUAL ACTIVITY IS EATING FOOD (see Winer 2008: 125) which is an extension of Lakoff's metaphor

DESIRE	IS	HUNGER
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(see http://ncogsci.berkeley.edu/lakoff/metaphors/Desire_Is_Hunger.html). In a nutshell, the feeling of hunger and the means of satisfying it may be identified as a source domain (e.g. *I'd love to gobble you up as if you were a piece of candy.*), whereas the feeling of lust and its consequences are the target domain (LUST IS HUNGER) (see Winer 2008: 125).

To recapitulate, having discussed the above-mentioned metaphors, we may observe that the object of hunger is some tasty food, thus women may be conceptualized by men as appetizing food. Given the existence of the metaphor WOMEN AND MEN ARE FOOD, my aim is to focus on the foodsemic terms that are the linguistic manifestation of two general research categories, namely HUMAN BEINGS ARE FOODSTUFFS and FOODSTUFF IS ENDEARMENT.

3. Research questions

The aim of the paper is to account for the metaphorical/metonymic basis of a handful of food-inspired terms of endearment in English extracted from Crystal's (2014) work. Generally speaking, the meanings of pet-names hinge on a single-source amalgam. The main metaphor operating in the explication of these lexical items is PEOPLE ARE FOODS (HUMAN BEINGS ARE FOODSTUFFS), or – to be more precise – THE OBJECT OF AFFECTION IS A FOODSTUFF. However, it would be revealing to account for the reasons why a beloved person, who is the object of affection, is addressed a *pumpkin* or *sugar*.

4. Division of food-related endearments

Food-inspired terms of affection may be divided into a few minor categories. And so, the group that may be labelled as sweet foodstuffs contains one third of our data (*honey, sweetie, sucket, sugar* and *bag-pudding*). The other largest group consists of lexical items that are not connected with any particular dishes, but rather with a sweet flavour (*sweetheart, sweetlove, sweetkin, sweetling, sweetie*). There are also a few individual examples of savoury dishes (*powsowdie*

and *lamb-chop*), fruits (*pumpkin*), vegetables (*cabbage*) and spices (*cinnamon*). Interestingly, there are no drinks/liquids among the pet names. It turns out that we may compare a person to a particular beverage, e.g. *Men are like wine – some turn to vinegar, but the best improve with age* (<https://www.goodreads.com/quotes/623697-men-are-like-wine-some-turn-to-vinegar-but-the-best>), but we hardly ever use them as endearments.

In terms of chronology, just over a third of the pet names fell into oblivion (*cinnamon*, *powsowdie*, *sweet-love*, *sweetkin*, *sucket* and *bag-pudding*) between the end of the 14th and beginning of the 17th centuries mainly because they were only occasionally employed in an endearing sense in works of literature. The frequency of their usage must have been too low, thus they failed to persist in English.

It is fitting to add that two oldest endearments (*sweetheart* and *honey*) belong to the group of the most widespread pet names in the English-speaking world. The chronological order of the discussed lexical items is as follows:

sweetheart 1290
honey 1350
cinnamon 1386*²
powsowdie 1500-1520*
sweet-love 1560*
sweetkin 1599*
sucket 1605*
bag-pudding 1608*
lamb-chop 1662*
sweetling 1648
sweetie 1778
cabbage 1840
pumpkin 1900
sugar 1930

5. Sweet-inspired endearments

To begin with, as far as the food-related terms of endearment are concerned, we may say that the vast majority of them are derivatives and compounds based on the following words: *honey* (e.g. *honeybee*, *honey-bun*, *honey-bunch*, *honey-bunny*, *honey-pie*, *honey-toast*, *honeycomb*, *honey-sop*, *honey baby*, *honey chile*, *honeysuckle*), *pie* (e.g. *cutesy-pie*, *cutie pie*, *honey pie*, *lambey-pie*, *sweetie pie*, *tootsie-pie*, *sugar-pie*), *sugar* (e.g. *sugar-pie*, *sugar-daddy*, *sugar-britches*, *sugar-booger*, *sugar-bun*, *sugar-lips*, *sugar-smacks*) and *sweet* (*sweet-cheeks*, *sweetheart*, *sweet-pea*, *sweeting*, *sweet-pie*, *sweetie*, *sweetkins*, *sweets*, *sweet-love*). Other lexical items (e.g. *cupcake*, *muffin*) seem to be few and far between here. Obviously, human beings are not fond of tasteless foods and instead they opt for tasty ones, which is an experimental ground for ascribing *sweetness* to positively-valued phenomena, whereas *tastelessness* to negatively-valued ones (see Berrada 2007:8). The above-mentioned examples constitute a sample of the rich systematic manifestations that entail the conceptual metaphor THE OBJECT OF AFFECTION IS A SWEET FOODSTUFF.

² According to the *OED*, all marked lexical items fell into disuse.

Honey seems to be one of the most productive sources of endearments as it gave rise to a number of compounds listed above. Even though some of these lexical items failed to withstand the test of time and fell into oblivion prior to the 17th century (*honeycomb*, *honey-sop*, *honeysuckle*), there is also a group of extensions which emerged in the 19th and 20th centuries (e.g. the abbreviated form *hon*, the compounds *honey-bunch*, *honey chile* in the 19th century and *honey-child* in the 20th century) (see Crystal 2014: 105) and have been used since then. Historically speaking, the noun *honey* appeared in English in Anglo-Saxon times (825 “Swoetran ofer *huni*Æ³ and biobread”).) (the *OED*) when it started to be used in the sense ‘a sweet viscid fluid which is the nectar of flowers collected by certain insects’ (the *OED*). In the very middle of the 14th century the term acquired a novel human-specific sense and started to be employed in an endearing sense (1350 “William seide, ‘mi *hony*, mi hert al hol þou me makest”).) (the *OED*). The connection of honey and sweetness dates back to Anglo-Saxon times, since when honey has been used as a sweetener. Thus, given that we associate a sweet taste with positive values, whereas bitter, salty and sour tastes with negative ones, the noun *honey* became an endearment (see Palmatier 2000). Let us look at the metaphoric pattern underlying the interpretation of *honey*:

Source domain	→	Target domain
Food	→	People
Sweet taste	→	Positive values

People have been employing sweetness to talk about their beloved ones since the very beginning of the 14th century when the endearing term of address *sweeting* was documented for the first time (1300 “Hom rod him aylmer king, And wit horn þe *sweting*”).) (the *OED*). Oddly enough, following the *OED*, the history of one of the most frequently employed pet names, namely *sugar*, dates back to as late as the 20th century (1930 “*Sugar-pie*, common term of endearment”. → 1930 “A-settin’ on the ice till my feet got cold, *sugar-babe*”. → 1936 “When am I going to see you again, *sugar*?”) (the *OED*). Historically speaking, it was attested in English at the close of the 13th century (1299 “*Zuker Roch*”).) (the *OED*) and it took seven centuries until it acquired the sense in question.

Sweet taste, just like love, may imply both pleasure and indulgence. In order to show their affection, English speakers have been naming one another using the word *sweet* and its extensions for centuries. Interestingly, only one sweet-inspired pet name, namely *sweetlove*, has faded from usage, but that is mainly because it may be found in a literary translation of Virgil’s work (1560 “O husband *sweet-love* most desired”).) (Crystal 2014: 108), thus its usage was motivated only by the metre of the line. Likewise, the *OED* provides its readers with a single quotation from the very end of the 16th century of a derivative *sweetkin* (1599 “Flocking to hansell him and strike him good luck as the *Sweetkin* Madams did about valiant S. Walter Manny”).) (the *OED*).

In all the above-mentioned cases the shift from the domain of FOOD to the domain of ENDEARMENTS was inspired by the positively-loaded association evoked by the sweet taste of a given foodstuff. Thus, to show our affection we are inclined to employ terms that hold pleasant associations. Given that the majority of food-related pet-names are the names of something sweet, we may formulate the metaphor THE OBJECT OF AFFECTION IS A (SWEET) FOODSTUFF.

³ Emphasis mine.

Chronologically speaking, the compound *sweetheart* was the first sweet-based term of affection that was documented in the *OED* (1290 “Alas þat ich scholde a-bide þat mi child, mi *swete heorte*, swych cas schal bi-tide”). Initially, and until the 17th century, it was written as two separate words. The noun may be employed either for a beloved person or, more generally, as a familiar term of address. However, as noted by Crystal (2014: 105), in the second half of the 19th century the word underwent the process of pejoration and it acquired a negatively-loaded ironic or contemptuous sense (1977 “Try harder, *sweetheart*, or I’ll plug you in the guts”). (Crystal 2014: 105).

In this case we are dealing with a *pars pro toto* type of transfer discussed by, among others, Kövecses (2002), Bierwiazzonek (2013) and Kiełtyka (2020). As maintained by Littlemore (2015: 4), “metonymy is a figure of language and thought in which one entity is used to refer to another”. In cognitive terms, if two entities are somehow related, one of them provides mental access to the other one. In other words, in this cognitive process one conceptual element (in this case BODY PART – HEART) provides mental access to another one (HUMAN BEING, namely THE OBJECT OF AFFECTION), which is the target within the same domain (ENDEARMENTS) (see Kövecses 2006a: 99). One thing, or part of a given entity (heart) represents the whole (body – human being), because it is a physical part of it. Thus, we are discussing here A BODY PART FOR THE OBJECT OF AFFECTION metonymy. Following the division of metonymy proposed by Radden and Kövecses (1999), the BODY PART FOR THE OBJECT OF AFFECTION type belongs to the group of WHOLE AND PART metonymies, or – to be more precise – THE PART FOR WHOLE one. Note that in this case, metonymy serves a relation-building purpose. As far as *sweetheart* is concerned, it is not taste that formed the bridge between the literal and figurative senses of *sweetheart*, but rather the process of metonymy which is at work here. To sum up, the term in question is a metonymy-based pet name and it is not the *sweet* element of it that motivated the emergence of the endearing sense, but the body part (heart) which is associated with love (see Grząśko 2015). As convincingly argued by Palmatier (2000: 352), the heart is the seat of all emotions, including “love and the person so addressed has an abundance of it”. One may hypothesise that the semantics of the word was shaped in two stages by the working of two conceptual mechanisms, first metonymy and then metaphor, as depicted below:

Stage 1	PART FOR WHOLE metonymy <i>heart</i> ‘body part’ stands for a person	
Stage 2	THE OBJECT OF AFFECTION IS SOMETHING/SOMEONE THAT EVOKES PLEASANT EMOTIONS metaphor	
	Source domain	Target domain
	Taste (sweet)	Positive values

There are also two derivatives, namely *sweetling* and *sweetie*, which are a continuation of the sweet motif. The former was documented in the first half of the 17th century (1648 “And (*Sweetling*) marke you, what a Web will come Into your Chests”. → 1903 “Speaker ‘*Sweetling*, show me thy face,’ cried he”). (the *OED*), whereas the latter one appeared in the second part of the 18th century (1778 “O My Yankee, my Yankee, And O my Yankee, my *sweet-ee*, And was its nurse North asham'd Because such a bantling hath beat-ee?”) (the *OED*). Crystal (2014: 112) notices that the diminutive suffix *-ling* that may be found in, for example, *duckling* is devoid of pejorative associations as in e.g. *princeling*. In turn, *sweetie* is usually employed with reference to a lovable person, not a lover himself.

From the cognitive viewpoint, apart from the case of *sweetheart*, which is a metonymy-conditioned pet name, in all the instances discussed above (*honey*, *sugar*, *sweetling* and *sweetie*) it is the associations with pleasant (sweet) taste of the foodstuffs that gave rise to the endearing human-specific pet names. We may postulate the general metaphor THE OBJECT OF AFFECTION IS A SWEET FOODSTUFF. The concept of ENDEARMENTS may be comprehended by means of the concept of FOOD, or – to be more precise – SWEET INGREDIENTS. However, we shall not ignore the context which may change the perception of *honey* and *sweetheart*. On the one hand, the words are terms of affection; but on the other hand, they may carry some negative overtones. Compare the sentences extracted from the *OED*:

1859 “*Sweetheart*, I love you so well that your good name is mine”.

1977 “Try harder, *sweetheart*, or I’ll plug you in the guts”.

In the former case, *sweetheart* functions as a term of affection; however, the latter usage suggests that we are dealing here with a term of contempt, given that *plugging somebody in the guts* is vulgar and it fails to carry any positive overtones. The context changes the meaning and the perception of a lexical item generally labelled as an endearment.

6. Plant-related terms of endearment

Apart from the process of foodsemy, there is yet another one that plays a particular role in the rise of the human-specific senses of various lexical items, namely plantosemy (see Mierzwińska-Hajnos 2010, Kowalczyk 2019). In such cases the rise of the endearing senses of the words hinges on two processes, namely plantosemy and foodsemy simultaneously. The former one is also known as plant metaphor; here some names of plant species are employed to denote and characterise human beings. And so, if a person is very tall, they may be referred to as a *cornstalk* (1848 “The average height of the Australians is probably more than that of the English, but when they exceed a certain standard they are apt to become loose made and weedy, thereby justifying their appellation of ‘*cornstalks*’”) (the *OED*). In what follows we shall discuss the semantic development of the lexical items whose endearing senses are based on the above-mentioned processes.

It turns out that both fruit and vegetables are few and far between as far as attested food-inspired pet names are concerned. This seems to be thought-provoking given that we associate fruit with being sweet, juicy, delicate and soft. All these features may refer to both a beloved person and the act of love. Hence, we would expect more terms of affection adverting to fruits. In Polish, Bańko and Zygmunt (2010) provide two instances of fruits that are employed in an endearing sense, namely *truskaweczka* ‘strawberry’ and *brzoskwinka* ‘peach’. In both cases it is the similarity between sweet taste plus the delicacy of the objects, and the beloved person that provides the grounding for the conceptual metaphor THE OBJECT OF AFFECTION IS FRUIT. However, we believe that in these two cases we are also dealing with the process of metonymy. The resulting two-stage pattern showing the interpretation of fruit-inspired Polish pet names is as follows:

Stage 1	PERSON FOR THE OBJECT OF AFFECTION metonymy	
Stage 2	THE OBJECT OF AFFECTION IS FRUIT metaphor	
	Source domain	Target domain
	Sweet taste and smell	Positive values

Interestingly enough, in English, none of these cases is attested in the *OED*, although it is evidenced that *peach* refers to an attractive young woman (1930 “Now would you think that a *peach* like her would fall for a fat-headed chump like that?”) (the *OED*), so we may hazard a guess that in a particular context it may be employed in an endearing sense.

Crystal (2014) provides us with two attested examples of plants, namely *cabbage* and *pumpkin*, employed as terms of affection. The former has been used as a pet name since the first half of the 19th century (1840 “Oui, mon chou, mon ange; yase, my angel, my *cabbage*, quite right”. → 1968 “Ambrose drew her close and murmured menacingly: ‘But I’m completely merciless, my little French *cabbage*.’”) (the *OED*) and it is likely to have been inspired by the equivalent French expression *mon (petit) chou* ‘my (little) cabbage’. The etymology of *cabbage* is quite surprising. On the one hand, we may say that it is not taste that motivated the human-specific sense of the pet name, but the size and shape (small and rotund) of the object that are associated with a child’s head (see Palmatier 2000). On the other hand, in French, *chou* describes puff pastry, thus it is often known as *chou à la crème*, so here taste must have influenced the human-specific endearing sense of the noun in question. The following pattern portrays the figurative development of *pumpkin*:

Source domain	→	Target domain
Vegetable	→	People (esp. children)
Shape and size	→	Body part (head)

Similarly, the motivation behind the latter plant-based endearment also seems to be dubious. The noun *pumpkin* is an altered version of *pumpion* which appeared in English in the first half of the 16th century (1545 “Pepo, a kynde of Melones called *Pompones*”). (the *OED*). Note that, by and large, *pumpkin* refers to children (1942 “Terms of endearment, *pumpkins*”. → 1987 “Listen, *pumpkin*, I thought you ought to know”). (the *OED*). According to Palmatier (2000), the loveliness of pumpkins is connected with their colour. Hence, this might have given rise to the figurative endearing sense of the noun in question. As far as the process of foodsemy is concerned, we may conclude that the language of love is rich in various sweet-relate terms with only a handful of exceptions to this rule. Hence, we may propose the tentative hypothesis that the language of love is very “unhealthy” as it generally lacks fruit and vegetables. The following pattern portrays the semantic development of *pumpkin*:

Source domain	→	Target domain
Fruit	→	People (esp. children and girls)
Colour (bright orange)	→	Positive values

In order to account for the fact that Polish *truskaweczka* ‘strawberry’, *brzoskwinka* ‘peach’ and English *pumpkin* and *cabbage* are used as terms of affection we need to bear in mind that plantosemic transfers have their basis in – by and large – the visual, gustatory and olfactory resemblance of some fruits and vegetables to parts of the body which underlie metaphorical shifts from the domain of PLANTS to the domain of ENDEARMENTS.

7. Obsolete food-inspired terms of endearment

Some of the endearments seem to be counterintuitive and *lamb-chop* provided by Crystal (2014) is one of such cases. The use of the noun is evidenced only by a single quotation from 1662 (in which one of the characters is described as *quite a lamb chop*). Thus, it might not be a direct endearment given that *chop* is the appellation for someone with fat cheeks. Interestingly, among the terms of endearment we may encounter one spice, namely *cinnamon*. According to Crystal (2014: 106), the endearing usage of the noun in question was attested once only and it was at the very beginning of the 15th century (1405 “My fayre bryd, my swete *cynamome*”).⁴, thus one can hardly say that it was a widespread term of affection in the past. By the same token, Crystal (2014: 106) provides us with yet another example of a pet name which was documented in a poem by Dunbar. According to *An Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language*, the noun *powsowdie* used to be a ludicrous term of affection in the 16th century. Given that there is only one quotation documenting its use, we may hazard a guess that it was employed in an endearing sense only to create a rhyme (1500-20 “My claver, and my curldodie, My hwny soppis, my sweit *possodie*”) (the *OED*) and not because of its taste. According to the *OED*, it was the name of a sheepshead broth or a drink of spirits and spices, which were known as a *posset*. As far as other obsolete food-related pet names are concerned, we shall briefly discuss the term *sucket*. The noun is an altered form of *succade*, which refers to fruit, especially the citrus species, preserved in sugar (see the *OED*). Following Crystal (2014: 111), there is only a single attested use of the word in question in an endearing sense. In this case the item’s meaning may have been motivated by the sweetness of *succade*, thus inviting the postulation of a metaphor THE OBJECT OF AFFECTION IS A SWEET FOODSTUFF.

Similarly, *bag-pudding* is documented only once in a play written by John Day. The pet name in question literally refers to a pudding which is boiled in a bag. However, this obsolete term was employed as a jocular endearment at the beginning of the 17th century (1608 “Farewell, sweet heart. God a mercy, *bagpudding*”). (the *OED*) and contrary to what might be expected it stems from the compound *jackpudding* ‘a buffoon, clown, or merry-andrew’ (1648 “The Junto-men, the Hocus-Pocusses, the State-Mountebanks, with their Zanyes and *Jack-puddings*!”) (the *OED*).

In terms of the cognitive approach adopted here, almost all of the pet names mentioned in this section are instances of situational thinking and contextual associations. Generally speaking, their usage is motivated by the meter of a line or some random associations with other words (*bag-pudding*). They all prove that human beings are able to be ingenious and conceptualise reality in a creative way (see Kövecses 2015). They once were context-dependent which, as one seems justified in conjecturing, is a reason why they failed to gain popularity and – as a result – they all fell into oblivion.

According to Lakoff’s (1993) theory, highly poetic or creative metaphors are – by and large – produced on the basis of what we are acquainted with in our own culture. However, there are idiosyncratic and unsystematic metaphors that often fail to be associated with notions specific to a given culture. Such artistic metaphors may result from the author’s personal experience or vivid imagination. They are not consistent with how we comprehend and perceive various things and concepts (see Berrada 2007: 33).

8. Conclusions

⁴ According to the *OED*, the endearing sense of the noun comes from 1386.

The role of context is crucial in determining the motivation behind some of the endearments. Depending on context and tone of voice, the terms may be either patronizing or they are likely to represent fondness (as in the case of *sweetheart* and *honey*). A number of pet names represent cases of words that were employed only once (e.g. *cinnamon* and *sweelove*), but these instances prove that human beings are capable of being creative in that they associate particular foodstuffs and flavours with affection. Such words conflate the pleasure of taste with those we love. It turns out that the processes that take place in our brain make us think in trans-sensory terms. When we invoke people as *sugar*, *sweet* or *sweetheart* we imbue them with such notions as sweetness and pleasure.

One needs to be very careful to avoid making sweeping generalizations as far as the universality of the pet names is concerned. Given that there is no data or cross-linguistic research devoted to the issue in question, we shall resist the temptation to overgeneralize and thus we shall talk about the marked phenomena typical of a single European language as some of the pet names are culture-conditioned (e.g. *pumpkin* is used in English-speaking countries), thus the interpretation of the metaphors varies with context. We may formulate some general metaphors: HUMAN BEINGS ARE FOODSTUFFS, FOODSTUFF IS ENDEARMENT or THE OBJECT OF AFFECTION IS FOOD, THE OBJECT OF AFFECTION IS A SWEET FOODSTUFF and there are a number of linguistic expressions that illustrate them, e.g. *honey*, *sugar*. In fact, it seems to be a universal rule in English that it is – by and large – sweet foodstuffs not the salty or sour ones that are employed in an endearing sense, but this is because of the positive associations they evoke. We seem to perceive people we feel affection for in terms of luscious food.

The weaknesses of the corpus we relied upon in our research was that it enabled us to draw only general conclusions and that the number of lexical items was limited. I also believe that in order to obtain a broader picture of the use of terms of endearment and the mechanisms conditioning the process it would be essential to conduct a fully-fledged, cross-linguistic contrastive study, given that there are a number of differences between pet names employed in different cultures.

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The continuous dissemination of stereotypes¹ or a stride towards gender equality? Some remarks on the image of the contemporary woman and man in women's press (on the example of *Women's Health*)

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*The notions of metonymy and Idealized Cognitive Models (ICMs) have been fundamental to various methods of analysis in Cognitive Linguistics. Since both derive from an approach that considers language as a system reflecting the speaker's conceptualisation of the world, they constitute an invaluable tool capable of describing some social stereotypes functioning in modern, western societies. This article provides a concise overview of such concepts as stereotypes, prototypes², and Idealized Cognitive Models, with respect to their origins and the influence they exert on human conceptualisation of reality. The main focus is on the specific role they play in determining how woman and man – as words and concepts – function in the press. The analysis puts the aforementioned notions in the framework of media discourse, providing an account of the stereotypical representation of women and men in *Women's Health*. Although here and there appear voices of resistance against traditional norms and traditional division of responsibilities, they are not strong enough to bring about significant changes. The image of a woman promoted by women's magazines is based mainly on metonymic submodels such as **FAMILY LIFE**,³ **PHYSICAL TRAITS** and **PSYCHOLOGICAL FEATURES AND PROCESSES**. Men, on the other hand, are still perceived as strong and independent, especially in the sphere of **WORK**, **SEX** and **EDUCATION**.*

Keywords: ICM, woman, man, magazine, stereotype

1. Introduction

The aim of this article is to reconstruct the contemporary linguistic images of women and men in the press. The research material is obtained from a popular English magazine: *Women's Health*.⁴ Due to the choice of the recipient, who is a modern reader, the magazine contains current expressions and phrases used in the English language, and the fact that it is addressed primarily to women provides different connotations, mostly stereotypical, related to the topic in question. For the purpose of the analysis, 17 issues of the magazine published from January

¹The question of whether the magazine disseminates stereotypes or not can be better addressed by referring to some common social stereotypes of women and men in America (cf., for instance, Hinton 2020).

²For a more comprehensive discussion on the relation between prototypes, stereotypes, and category structure see Lakoff (1996).

³This article adopts the following typographic conventions: (i) bold capitals are used for the names of ICMs; (ii) bold small capitals – for the names of submodels; (iii) capitals – for abstract concepts; (iv) italics are employed for the names of key terms; (v) bold italics – for lexemes and names of lexical units; (vi) single quotation marks – for explanations and definitions; (vii) angles are used to present metonymic patterns.

⁴*Women's Health* is an illustrated magazine for women, founded in the United States as a women's version of *Men's Health* magazine. Both deal with topics related to healthy lifestyle, diet, fashion, fitness, health, sex and relationships. The choice of the source was predominantly based on the fact that the magazine contains the lexeme **woman** in its title, which might suggest that it would contain specific connotations of *woman* referring both to her ideal and stereotypical characteristics.

2016 to November 2017 were collected and thoroughly examined. The research procedure is conducted⁵ in such a way that the focus is on tracking semantic connotations in the lexical layer. The collected linguistic material was limited to the lexemes *woman* and *man* (in singular or plural forms) omitting all their synonyms like, for example, *girl*, *female* or *lady* and *male*, *boy* or *gentleman*, which can also be detected in various modern magazines. Importantly, it is believed here that the precise notion of an Idealised Cognitive Model, as proposed by Lakoff (1987), provides the best framework⁶ for a comprehensive description of the concepts of WOMAN and MAN respectively. Nevertheless, it must be stressed that cognitive models are culture-dependent (that is why they are idealised), rather than universal, and they are predominantly seen as dynamic structures. For this reason, all the interpretations should be treated as abstractions which can evolve with time and the ICMs built for the purpose of this study, might possibly be restructured. Yet, it is of paramount importance to recognise the fact that although ICMs are in principle individual, they are shared within a given culture⁷ and perpetuated by the contemporary media. It is a difficult enterprise to predict which dimensions will be taken into consideration by different members of different societies and how these particular conceptualisations will be understood. Accordingly, the aim of this small-scale study is to identify and analyse the potential submodels that appear in magazines for women, and to investigate how they contribute to the supposedly stereotypical structure of the **WOMAN** and **MAN** ICMs in Western culture.

2. Methodological assumptions

From the Cognitive Linguistics point of view, language seen as a general product of cognitive abilities is not an arbitrary structure. It is grounded and motivated in human bodily, social, physical and cultural experiences because, as Johnson (1992: 347) suggests, “we are beings of the flesh”. Human categorisation constitutes one of the major, and most significant, issues in Cognitive Linguistics, simply because the ability to categorise different phenomena is an essential part of cognition. Categorisation might be seen as an unconscious, automatic process, yet the whole issue seems to be more complicated. How people judge and establish different categories has been discussed since time immemorial and it dates as far back as to Aristotle,⁸ whose views on categorisation survived unchanged for many years, until they became disproven by Rosch (cf. 1973; 1977; 1978), who proposed a model of categorisation of all human categories based on the concept of prototype. The prototype theory assumes that every category has two types of members: the prototype and several other members, which are less

⁵Some important clues about the cluster model of the two concepts may be conveyed by the analysis of certain common verbs and adjectives, as well as compounds, which frequently designate particular submodels (cf. Lakoff 1987: 76).

⁶In order to discover more about other significant notions, such as e.g. *frame*, *domain*, *schema* and *mental space*, consult Kövecses & Radden (1998) and Kövecses (2005).

⁷On this issue see Kövecses (2005) and Gibbs (1999).

⁸The Aristotelian view holds that categories can be defined in terms of a conjunction of the necessary and sufficient features that every member of a particular category has to exhibit. Such requirements not only imply that categories have clear and impregnable boundaries, but also that all the members belonging to a particular category have equal status (Taylor 1995: 25).

central, and which are related to the prototype (the most typical and the most prominent member of a category⁹) in a motivated way.

Lakoff's view of categorisation¹⁰ is focused on Idealised Cognitive Models which can be understood as conventionalised patterns of belief used in the process of understanding (Lakoff 1987). For Lakoff, various concepts are non-primitive "gestalt-structures" based on social and bodily experiences. His proposal concerning ICMs is grounded in the empirical findings of cognitive psychology on prototype effects (Rosch 1978).

According to Lakoff (1987), people organise their knowledge about the world in the form of ICMs, and the prototype effect is nothing more than simply a by-product of the use of ICMs. What is more, ICMs are seen nowadays as not only the result of thinking and reasoning alone, but rather they are inevitably shaped by interaction with culture. Each ICM employs one of four structuring principles: propositional structure, image-schemas, metaphor and metonymy¹¹ and their activation is a source of prototype effects.

Metonymic models are also considered to be the source of prototype effects such as radial structures, typical examples, stereotypes, social stereotypes, ideals, paragons, submodels and salient examples (Lakoff 1987: 74). In many cases, when one has to deal with such complicated concepts as WOMAN and MAN, one simple ICM is not enough to define their meaning. Therefore, Lakoff coined the term known as the *cluster model*, which involves combining several cognitive models into one complex cluster that is "psychologically more basic than the models taken individually" (Lakoff 1987: 74). As a result, the semantic categories of the concepts of WOMAN and MAN should be described not as one single ICM, but rather as a cluster consisting of many different aspects that best define the category in question. For example, a woman is not only a person who cares about clothes and external appearance, or one who stays at home as a housewife, taking care of children and her husband, but also an individual who is educated and climbs the career ladder, meeting other needs along the way. The man, in turn, cannot be defined by just one single ICM. The understanding of the concept of MAN requires reference to a cluster of several ICMs such as *work model* ('a person who works and earns money'), *sex model* ('the male who enjoys his sex life'), or *physical traits model* ('a person who cares about bodybuilding, weight and diet').

The overall conceptualisation of gender is motivated by some objective properties as well as by subjective factors, e.g. the point of view of a given magazine. A set of such factors seems to create a stereotype that contains not only descriptive but also axiological contents, such as values or norms. Stereotypical perception of the world is, therefore, the result of the interpretation of reality within the framework of social cognitive models¹². Both the **WOMAN ICM** and the **MAN ICM** presented and analysed below can be perceived as a conceptual network (cluster) that consists of one general definer: woman and man respectively (Langacker's *access node*¹³) and several related prototypical associations (the network built by

⁹A prototype is perceived as an example that first comes to mind when one thinks about a particular category. For example, the category **FURNITURE**, for many evokes the image of a chair, which might, in turn, be treated as a prototypical member of the category.

¹⁰For a better understanding of the categorisation process from the cognitive perspective see e.g. Evans & Green (2006).

¹¹What I present here is only a very brief overview of such principles. For a more detailed explanation and discussion, the reader can refer to Lakoff (1987).

¹²On the social functions of stereotypes consult Lippmann (1922), Holland & Quinn (1987), Berting & Villain-Gandossi (1994), Macrae, Stangor & Hewstone (1996), Barker (2004) and Schneider (2005).

¹³On this issue see Langacker (1990).

submodels). Once the network of the concept WOMAN or MAN is activated, we obtain a whole set of propositional models that are arranged according to their degree of centrality. In this way, the source of prototype effects is created. In order to obtain a full picture of this phenomenon, the examples excerpted from the magazines were divided into ten submodels,¹⁴ corresponding to the contents of the magazine, and several dozen aspects that allow a more precise systematisation of the material.

3. The analysis

Humans are categorised along diverse dimensions, yet nobody can deny the fact that gender (treated here as the division of humans on the basis of their reproductive functions) is one of the most important factors, and that the very process of designating people to particular categories is performed at the conceptual level and it is frequently manifested in language. Taking into account the social perspective, the categorisation of humans raises a number of problems as people are always subject to overgeneralisation, or stereotypical thinking. The further part of this article contains an outline of the most common aspects identified in the analysis which can be assigned to various submodels belonging to and creating the whole cognitive models of **WOMAN** and **MAN**, such as **BODY**, **FASHION AND CLOTHES**, **PHYSICAL TRAITS**, **PHYSICAL PROCESSES AND ACTIVITIES**, **PSYCHOLOGICAL FEATURES AND PROCESSES**, **WORK AND EDUCATION**, **LEISURE**, **SOCIAL LIFE**, **LOVE AND SEX**, and **FAMILY LIFE**. As one might expect, the list of submodels discussed below cannot be seen as closed and complete. However, it is strongly believed here that this account covers the major areas describing modern women and men, at least within Western civilisation.

3.1 Submodels and their internal division

Obviously, some of these submodels are more productive than others. Although the percentage distribution may be helpful, a simple table presenting the quantitative data in detail should be useful in shedding some light on the material.

Table 1: The number of excerpts found in *Women's Health* divided into submodels of the **WOMAN** and **MAN** ICMs

Number	Submodels of WOMAN and MAN ICM	Sex distinction	Excerpts	Total
1.	BODY	Woman Man	34 1	35
2.	FASHION AND CLOTHES	Woman Man	7 0	7
3.	PHYSICAL TRAITS	Woman Man	106 6	112

¹⁴When determining the names of submodels and aspects constituting their further and more detailed developments, I mainly used the work of Spychała-Reiss (2009), though with some changes and new details selected for the purpose of the analysis.

4.	PHYSICAL PROCESSES AND ACTIVITIES	Woman Man	139 10	149
5.	PSYCHOLOGICAL FEATURES AND PROCESSES	Woman Man	293 40	333
6.	WORK AND EDUCATION	Woman Man	114 46	160
7.	LEISURE	Woman Man	42 5	47
8.	SOCIAL LIFE	Woman Man	19 0	19
9.	LOVE AND SEX	Woman Man	62 29	91
10.	FAMILY LIFE	Woman Man	44 13	57
TOTAL		Woman Man	860 150	1010

The detailed data related to the collected language material is presented below. Excerpts containing the lexemes *woman* and *man* have not only been assigned to specific submodels, but they have been further divided into more detailed aspects, which helped in the process of categorisation.¹⁵

Table 2: The number of excerpts found in *Women's Health*, divided into submodels of the **WOMAN** and **MAN ICMs** and their internal division

Number	SUBMODELS of WOMAN and MAN ICM	Number of excerpts		Aspect covered by particular submodels	Number of excerpts	
		Woman	Man		Woman	Man
1.	BODY	34	1	a) hair b) face, skin	15 19	1 0
2.	FASHION AND CLOTHES	7	0	a) clothes and shoes b) elegance, good look	7 0	0 0
3.	PHYSICAL TRAITS	106	6	a) attractiveness, beauty b) bodybuilding, weight, diet c) ageing	32 42 5	0 2 4

¹⁵It should be emphasised that some of the examples, due to the fact that they concern different thematic areas, have been assigned to more than one thematic category, simply because it is not always easy to identify the submodel emerging from a specific phrase. For this reason, apart from clear cases that involve the activation of one particular submodel, there are connotations of the lexeme *woman* that require the activation of more than one submodel.

				d) cosmetics and hygiene	27	0
4.	PHYSICAL PROCESSES AND ACTIVITIES	139	10	a) food, cooking b) sleeping c) crying d) death e) health, illnesses f) pregnancy, fertility, abortion g) pain, physical suffering	12 4 0 7 59 47 10	1 1 0 1 3 4 0
5.	PSYCHOLOGICAL FEATURES AND PROCESSES¹⁶	293	40	a) fear, confusion, stress b) loneliness c) sadness, bad mood, depression d) shame e) joy, enthusiasm, happiness f) thinking, overthinking, wondering g) dreams, desires h) self-analysis, criticism i) intelligence j) life experience k) mental fatigue l) activity, resourcefulness, strength m) passivity, helplessness, apathy, feeling of discrimination n) feeling of freedom, independence, emancipation o) guilt p) responsibility q) self-esteem, confidence, sense of security	15 1 36 3 2 11 5 6 2 0 16 19 14 18 9 1 59	1 0 0 0 0 3 0 3 2 4 2 6 0 4 0 1 6

¹⁶The category comprises all psychologically-related aspects of a human being that could potentially be further divided into **EMOTIONS**, **MENTAL STATES** and **MENTAL ACTIVITIES**.

				r) mental health, feeling of abuse s) support, advice, sharing ¹⁷ t) violence, aggression	34 36 6	6 0 2
6.	WORK AND EDUCATION	114	46	a) promotion, career b) work, profession, work environment ¹⁸ c) education d) earnings, economic situation, position	45 26 8 35	18 8 0 20
7.	LEISURE	42	5	a) holidays b) alcohol, drugs c) parties, social meetings d) sport, games	13 15 0 14	1 0 1 3
8.	SOCIAL LIFE	19	0	a) shopping b) community, social and political activity	0 19	0 0
9.	LOVE AND SEX	62	29	a) sexual techniques and behaviours b) betrayal, divorce c) contraceptives	50 10 2	21 7 1
10.	FAMILY LIFE	44	13	a) marriage, relations, love b) children, upbringing c) family d) housekeeping	15 8 5 16	6 0 1 6

3.2 Metonymic model

Metonymy is defined as “a cognitive process in which one conceptual entity, the vehicle, provides mental access to another conceptual entity, the target, within the same domain, or ICM” (Kövecses & Radden 1998: 39). This view suggests that humans can acquire access to a mental concept via another mental concept. According to the methodological assumptions adopted here, the stereotypes of WOMAN and MAN can be best described as metonymic ICMs in which the prototypical member of a given category stands for the whole category (hence <PART FOR WHOLE>) or a particular characteristic feature describes and stands for the whole category, in compliance with cultural expectations (Lakoff 1987: 85–86). The activation

¹⁷To be more specific, it can be perceived as a part of **ACTIVITY – VERBAL ACTIVITY** submodel.

¹⁸In the future, the author might consider adding **housework**, as another aspect covered by **WORK AND EDUCATION** submodel.

of a particular submodel provides access to the whole ICM. In other words, it can be stated that such a submodel serves as a vehicle through which the target (that is, the **WOMAN ICM** and **MAN ICM**, respectively) can be accessed. For this reason, metonymy may constitute a typical cognitive mechanism involved in the formation of stereotypical models of women and men. Indeed, it seems logical to assume that the target concept is that of WOMAN and MAN. The vehicle, on the other hand, can be best characterised as a particular ATTRIBUTE or an ATTRIBUTE POSSESSOR, which inevitably suggests the frequent metonymic patterns presented in the analysis:

- < ATTRIBUTE FOR WOMAN>
- <ATTRIBUTE FOR MAN>
- <ATTRIBUTE POSSESSOR FOR WOMAN>
- <ATTRIBUTE POSSESSOR FOR MAN>.¹⁹

3.3 *The concept of WOMAN as an Idealised Cognitive Model*

To begin with, it must be underlined that the model of WOMAN should be seen as stereotypical, or, to be more precise, “idealised”.²⁰ It does not correspond neatly to reality (see Lakoff 1987: 70) and includes not only people’s encyclopaedic knowledge of the domain in question but also the cultural models of which it is an integral part. As has been noted above, it is not possible to describe such complicated notions as *woman* and *man* with one single model. For more complex concepts, one should expect to find a cluster of models, hence they can best be described as the **WOMAN ICM** and the **MAN ICM** which consist of a cluster of metonymic models.

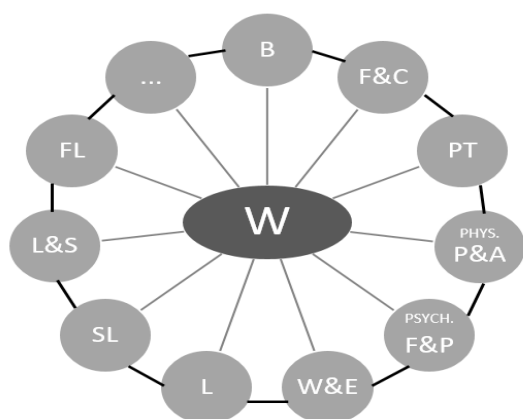
3.3.1 *The structure of the WOMAN ICM*

The phenomena and experiences involved in this cluster can be graphically presented as demonstrated below. Since the magazine *Women’s Health* is predominantly directed at women, it can be assumed that the model of a woman will be more elaborated.

¹⁹Because stereotypes are cognitive and social categories, the metonymies related to submodels could be formulated, by other researchers, in a way that reflects category structure, namely: <PROPERTY FOR SUB(CATEGORY)> and <MEMBER OF A CATEGORY FOR THE CATEGORY> (see Radden & Kövecses 1999).

²⁰Lakoff’s wording (1987: 70).

WOMAN ICM



WOMAN ICM

W – Woman

SUBMODELS of WOMAN ICM

B – Body

F&C – Fashion and clothes

PT – Physical traits

PHYS. P&A – Physical processes and activities

PSYCH. F&P – Psychological features and processes

W&E – Work and education

L – Leisure

SL – Social Life

L&S – Love and sex

FL – Family life

... – other submodels

Figure 1: A graphic representation of the **WOMAN ICM** in *Women's Health*

The larger inner circle represents the concept **WOMAN**, hence it constitutes the core, from which a number of extended submodels, represented by smaller outer circles emerge. The smaller outer circles (that is, the submodels) are obviously connected to the central point, but also to one another. Thus, the information that a woman cares about her appearance may activate other beliefs about her as a member of this group, concerning for instance education or sex life. Using more technical terminology, the submodel **BODY**, which belongs to the **WOMAN ICM**, provides a point of access to the whole network (cf. Langacker 1987: 163). One has to remember, however, that the model presented above is schematic and simplified and it does not present the more complex network of connections between the submodels.

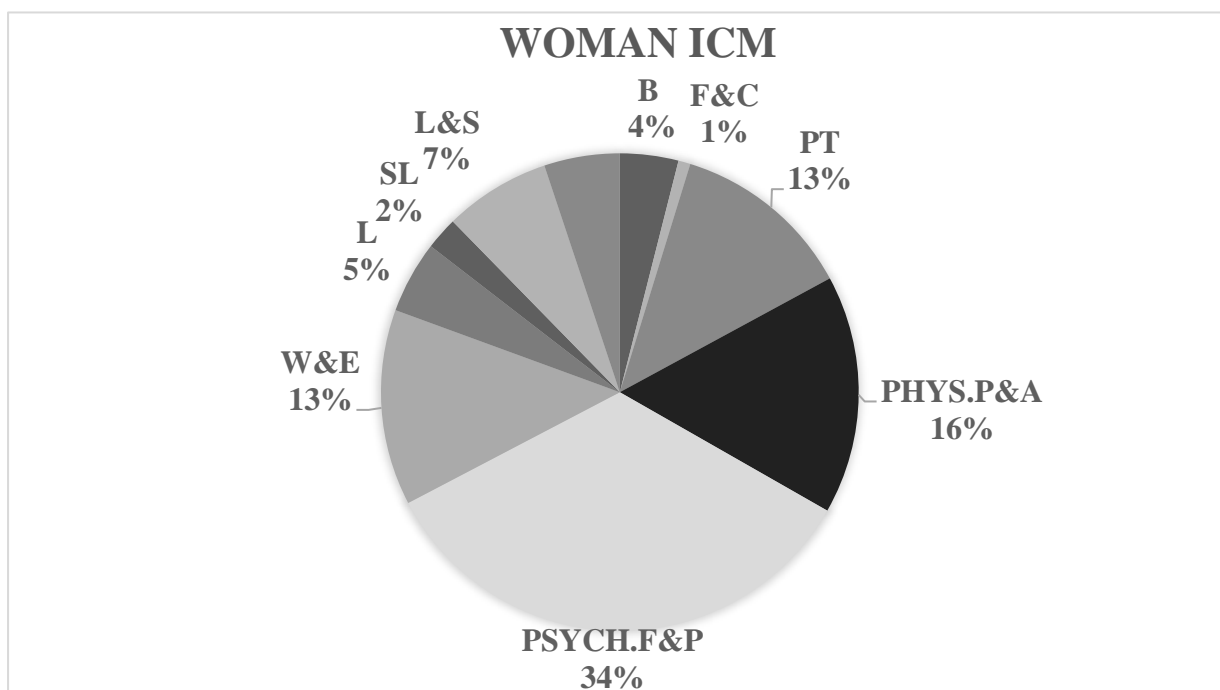


Figure 2: Productivity of submodels of the **WOMAN ICM**

The pie chart shows the percentage of individual submodels that make up the **WOMAN ICM**. One might easily observe that the most productive categories are the ones related to human psychology (**PSYCHOLOGICAL FEATURES AND PROCESSES** – 34%), physicality (**PHYSICAL PROCESSES AND ACTIVITIES** – 16%, **PHYSICAL TRAITS** – 13%) and career (**WORK AND EDUCATION** – 13%), what can be a little bit surprising, as female magazines are frequently associated with articles on body, cosmetics, lifestyle and fashion (**BODY** – 4%, **FASHION AND CLOTHES** – only 1%).

3.4 The concept of MAN as an Idealised Cognitive Model

The model of MAN should likewise be seen as stereotypical and interpreted as a cluster of metonymic models. Not surprisingly, however, the lexeme *man* appears in the analysis only 150 times, hence the outcomes of this study should not be treated as conclusive and universal.

3.4.1 The structure of the MAN ICM

The phenomena and experiences involved in this cluster can be graphically presented as follows:

MAN ICM

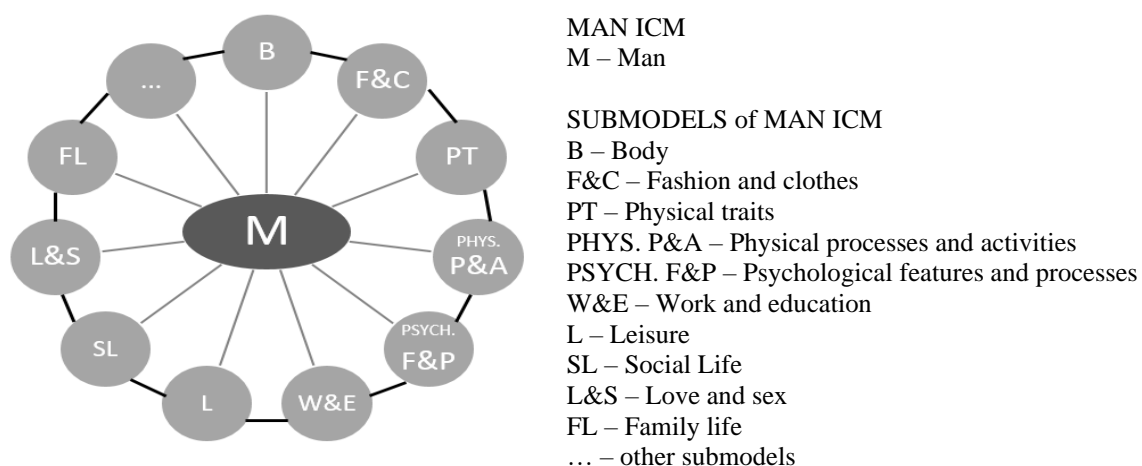


Figure 3: A graphic representation of the **MAN ICM** in *Women's Health*

The structure of the **MAN ICM** is exactly the same because the excerpts found in *Women's Health* have been assigned to the same fields, which are mostly universal for the HUMAN BEING category, however, differ in terms of their distribution and frequency of occurrence. The larger inner circle represents the concept MAN hence it constitutes the core of the cluster, and the submodels, represented by smaller outer circles, are positioned around the centre. The smaller outer circles (that is, the submodels) are also connected to the central point and to one another.

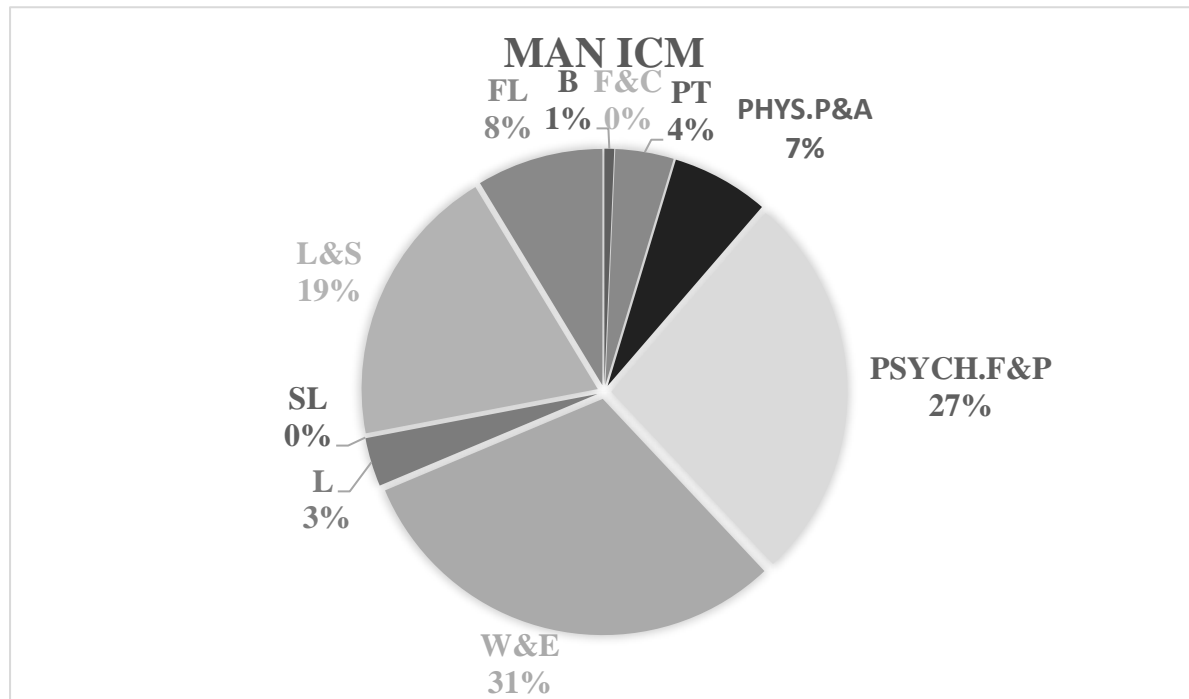


Figure 4: Productivity of submodels of the **MAN ICM**

This pie chart depicts the percentage of individual submodels that make up the **MAN ICM**. It can be said that the most prolific categories are the ones related to the professional life and career (**WORK AND EDUCATION** – 31%), male psychology (**PSYCHOLOGICAL FEATURES AND PROCESSES** – 27%), and sex (**LOVE AND SEX** – 19%), what is, by no means, unanticipated, as the most common gender stereotypes associated with men typically concern this three spheres.²¹

Proceeding further, let us now look at the different poles of femininity and masculinity, and consider how much the image of woman and man presented there is subjected to simplifications and stereotypes, or how likely it is to promote diversity and individuality.

3.5 The stereotypical portrayal of a contemporary woman and man in *Women's Health*

The lexeme *woman* (both in singular and plural forms) appears in *Women's Health* up to 860 times (in 17 issues of the magazine published from January 2016 to November 2017). Out of this number, as many as 293 of its uses belong to the fifth submodel – **PSYCHOLOGICAL**

²¹It might also be suggested that a similar percentage distribution could be identified in other men's magazines, what should certainly be verified in further studies.

FEATURES AND PROCESSES. By no means is this accidental, of course. One is inclined to believe that there are numerous social requirements for a woman living in the 21st century and many of them can be linked to emotional intelligence and behaviour. The lexeme *man*, in contrast, appears relatively rarely and mainly in the context of the submodels associated with *career* (46 excerpts) and *psychological processes* (40 excerpts). What has to be stressed at this point is the fact that the particular traits and dimensions identified in the study should not be seen as invariably limited to the submodel to which they have been assigned, but rather they should be interpreted as providing access to the entire network. They are usually used interchangeably, yet some of them can carry a negative axiological load and gender-related stereotypes.

3.5.1 *The PSYCHOLOGICAL FEATURES AND PROCESSES submodel*

As has been demonstrated above, the **PSYCHOLOGICAL FEATURES AND PROCESSES** submodel is the most productive one when it comes to women, as it contains as many as 293 excerpts (34% of the material collected). While we cannot state with complete certainty that such a model is the most productive in all types of magazines for women, together with a large number of other women's magazines dedicated to health and psychology available on the market, it clearly points to the fact that women pay considerable attention to their mental wellbeing and health. The submodel in question is also very productive in reference to men – 27%. The phenomenon may be illustrated by the following descriptions and statements.

A modern woman looks for support (activity) and feels the need for a social bond with other women (36 excerpts). She wants to meet them as often as possible and she is aware of the strength flowing from this. She also likes to share secrets and give friendly advice (verbal activity) which may be viewed as an example of metonymy formalised as <ADVISER FOR WOMAN> demonstrated in the contexts given below:

“Bonding with other women is the cherry on top.” WH²² 10/2017: 126

“Women from all countries and native tongues simply connect.” WH 07-08/2017: 138

“Women, however, rely on encouragement from other women, a phenomenon called ‘tend and befriend’.” WH 10/2016: 68

Men, in contrast, are shown as not being so interested in maintaining closer relations with other people, as not even a single excerpt of this kind was identified in the analysed magazines. Solidarity with women, however, does not appear with the opposite sex and many women seem to be uncertain in their contacts with men, to whom they often yield. That uncertainty goes hand in hand with low self-esteem and lack of self-confidence (59 examples, many of which with a strongly negative tinge). The excerpt:

“Unfortunately, many women are their own worst enemy.” WH 03/2016: 151

as well as showing little faith in achieving success, also illustrates women's inclination to overthinking and self-destruction which may result from the working of <INSECURE

²²The following way of marking quotes has been adopted: the letters WH stand for *Women's Health*, followed by the number and year of publication and the page where the noted fragment is located.

PERSON FOR WOMAN> metonymy. Taking into account their attributed fragility and vulnerability, women also become the victims of abuse²³:

“Women, already the most frequent victims of sexual and physical violence [...]” WH 09/2017: 94

They might not be aware of their rights and may not want to talk about the traumatic experiences they have undergone:

“Many women aren’t clear on what constitutes abuse.” WH 11/2017: 132

“Simply asking a woman if she has been “abused” is not only vague but can seem judgmental.” WH 11/2017: 133

Men, on the other hand, are pictured as brutal and abusive:

“After the man left her to die, she crawled to a phone and called a friend, who took her to the hospital.” WH 11/2017: 131

“Things aren’t much better for women who do report sexually abusive doctors.” WH 11/2016: 159

They attack by common social consent, while women are supposed to be passive, hence the latter can easily become the victims of abuse. That seems to confirm the existence of the metonymic associations: <ABUSER FOR MAN>, <VICTIM FOR WOMAN>:

“Men are not told to think twice before attacking, but women are told to think twice before defending ourselves.” WH 06/2017: 64-65

Considering the **PSYCHOLOGICAL FEATURES AND PROCESSES** submodel further, the most often perpetuated properties of the female character are variability, emotional instability and dwelling on different issues, for example:

“Women tend to ruminate²⁴ on negative thoughts, while men distract themselves.” WH 09/2017: 42

Weakness is also a typical feature assigned to a woman and it is strongly rooted in people’s consciousness, which can easily be demonstrated by the rich material. What is more, constant fatigue and living in a constant rush cause many women to suffer from depression:

“But inside, millions of women are struggling... and too many don’t seek help until it’s too late.” WH 05/2017: 146

However, one has to bear in mind that aspects such as fear, depression, overthinking, wondering, intelligence, passivity, helplessness, independence, confidence, aggression – to name but a few, are not just labels objectively denoting existing things and phenomena, but

²³Not only verbal, but also physical, as demonstrated by the example.

²⁴Ruminating can be viewed, more specifically, as a **MENTAL ACTIVITY**.

expressions with assigned semantic connotations, based on the categorisation of human-related phenomena (in this case provoked by the editor or authors of articles published in the magazine under study). On the one hand, they allow us to describe the world perceived by the individual in a subjective way, thus emphasising the interdependence of human cognition and language in relation to the world. On the other hand, such categorisation, especially as seen from the perspective of the media, may be manipulative and harmful.

3.5.2 *The WORK AND EDUCATION submodel*

This particular submodel is the most productive in reference to men as it constitutes almost one-third of the examples assigned to the MAN ICM, and it presents men in a positive light. Women, on the other hand, can be described in this model from two different perspectives. The first one claims that contemporary women are still treated as “the beautiful sex”, but not necessarily weaker and financially dependent on men. It must be emphasised that they are frequently featured as strong and willing to fight for their goals and happiness:

“Self-Made Women.” WH 11/2017: 50

“STRONG WOMEN... LAUGH AT THEIR FEARS.” WH 11/2017: 95

As far as the second view is concerned, that the structure of the job market is patriarchal, that is, markets are adapted to the people who created them – to men. For this reason, many women are extremely self-conscious when it comes to equal job opportunities and careers. It is frequently suggested that they face discrimination:

“Adding insult to injury, women still have to work doubly hard at proving themselves on the job.” WH 04/2017: 149

“Women have to push to get their voice heard in meetings but are sometimes expected to manage a heavier workload. On a daily basis, it’s draining and exhausting.” WH 04/2017: 149

Another, and increasingly powerful, stereotype is that women even feel as if they were pawns in the men’s game (<PUPPET FOR WOMAN>):

“I can’t tell you how many times people asked me how hard it was to be a woman in a man’s game.” WH 03/2016: 140

“It’s a man’s world—that is the reality. We need to figure out how to navigate it.” WH 01-02/2016: 68

This provides a further reason for claiming that only by following some strict rules and becoming similar to men can they advance their career:

“She only gets ahead because she communicates like a man.” WH 03/2016: 171

In contrast to women, men are stereotypically said to strongly believe in their efficiency and their immense self-confidence is frequently underlined in the analysed material (46 excerpts):

“A man can assert himself and be labelled ‘confident’ or ‘strong’, while even in 2016, an assertive woman is called ‘ballbuster’ or ‘bitchy’.” WH 03/2016: 170

“One hundred percent of men- seriously, 100 percent of men that McKinsey polled- who wanted that next role believed they’d get it compared to just 79 percent of women.” WH 03/2016: 171

“Men are four times more likely than women to ask for a pay raise [...]” WH 03/2016: 169

The productivity of the **WORK AND EDUCATION** submodel is in both corroborated by numerous examples; however, different aspects are emphasised. A stereotypical woman of the 21st century wants to work and climb up the career ladder, yet she is still discriminated against and deprived of equal job opportunities. A man, on the other hand, is stereotypically perceived as a person created to work and to occupy managerial, better-paid positions. Men are best described in reference to the submodel **WORK AND EDUCATION** (by far the most productive model) and such metonymic projections as <EMPLOYEE FOR MAN>, <ASSERTIVE PERSON FOR MAN>, <SUCCESSFUL PERSON FOR MAN> still hold tight. One might even suggest two other metonymic patterns: <INFERIOR WORKER FOR WOMAN> and <SUPERIOR WORKER FOR MAN> which perfectly show the unequal distribution of gender.

3.5.3 *The FAMILY LIFE submodel*

It is an undeniable fact that a woman can be assigned social roles such as being a mother, wife and somebody taking care of a house. It is still true that housekeeping is considered as the domain of women (16 excerpts), and although women and men are supposed to be equal, it is often repeated today that they have different moral obligations, lifestyles, and interests. Men are commonly believed to be inherently called to higher purposes, associated with prestige and power. In turn, women, often with a sense of guilt (see, for instance, Środa 2009), devote every single moment to housework:

“Krystal was essentially the ringmaster of her family circus—an invisible job that overwhelmingly impacts women.” WH 10/2017: 114

“This never-ending to-do list is driving many women to burn out and break down.” WH 10/2017: 114

“Compared with men, the average woman spends nearly an hour more each day on activities like cooking and cleaning, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics. No wonder more than half of the women in our survey say they have zero time for themselves.” WH 04/2017: 149

As shown in the above examples, women are able to do theoretically impossible things. They are frequently responsible for planning and organising family life. For this reason, they are frequently sleep-deprived:

“For some exhausted women, as soon as their head hits the pillow—zing! Wide awake.” WH 09/2016: 86

With many things on their mind, they often neglect their social and sexual lives, which is also confirmed by the phrase:

“As caretakers, women juggle so many things for themselves and for others, so when you have a long to-do list, sex might fall to the bottom (that is, if it even makes the list).” WH 01-02/2017: 153

By comparison, men are said to avoid housework by all means. The lexeme *man* appears in this submodel only 6 times and never in a direct relation to the activities connected with housekeeping. For this reason, females have to pay a huge price and it greatly affects their health and mental wellbeing. It is noticeable, too, that despite everything, women are determined to build a family and defend their home and happiness (it might be suggested at this point that the two submodels: **FAMILY LIFE** and the **PHYSICAL PROCESSES AND ACTIVITIES** overlap). They care about fertility, they want to have children and they often blame themselves for failures in their children’s upbringing and miscarriages:

“Plus, there’s this: For some women, ‘a failed pregnancy can feel like a failure to be a fully equipped woman’.” WH 03/2016: 174

To a considerable extent, men approach parenting with a distance. Some of them are afraid of fatherhood, which is confirmed by the statements:

“Many men feel anxious about impending parenthood, but few become violent.” WH 11/2017: 131

“For certain men, those emotions can make pregnancy feel like a crisis.” WH 11/2017: 131

The **FAMILY LIFE** submodel seems to be productive in reference to women; however, it occupies a marginal position with respect to men. A conclusion that emerges from the aforementioned findings is that women are still stereotypically perceived as the main caretakers of home and family, hence the attributive functions of **HOUSEWIFE** and **MOTHER** metonymically stand for the whole category of **WOMAN** (<HOUSEWIFE FOR WOMAN>, <MOTHER FOR WOMAN>).²⁵

4. Conclusions

All in all, the differences between women and men do not merely concern their external appearance but many other areas of their lives. Analysing numerous excerpts from the magazines, one may conclude that there are definitely more differences than similarities. It might seem that along with changes in non-linguistic reality, as well as in the language itself, there should be a transformation of human attitudes, ways of thinking and evaluating. However, some stereotypical features invariably find their reflection in reality. It is worth noticing that the choice of submodels depends on the way the image of a woman or man is shaped by the

²⁵The home-related associations more frequently and more quickly evoke the figure of a woman than a man.

modern media. For this reason, one is justified in saying that the media have the power to shape the way of thinking of their readers. The woman depicted in the magazines is interested in her health (59 excerpts – **PHYSICAL PROCESSES AND ACTIVITIES** submodel) and appearance (106 excerpts – **PHYSICAL TRAITS** submodel). She is well educated and works professionally (114 excerpts – **WORK AND EDUCATION** submodel), but she still faces discrimination. In addition, she is struggling with various problems related to her social life. She frequently reflects on herself (**PSYCHOLOGICAL FEATURES AND PROCESSES** submodel – thinking, overthinking, wondering, 11 excerpts; self-analysis, criticism, 6 excerpts), yet she is still willing to create a family and maintain good relations with her partner (**FAMILY LIFE** submodel). Erotic life is also an essential element of her existence (62 excerpts – **LOVE AND SEX** submodel), and despite numerous duties, she tries to fulfil all the roles imposed on her (**FAMILY LIFE** submodel – 44 excerpts, in comparison to 13 belonging to the **MAN ICM**). Biology is a very important element of this type of approach to women. Although there is a slight move away from traditional depictions of vulnerability, fragility, dependence, and subservience (as many as 19 excerpts fall on the aspect – activity, resourcefulness, strength, and 18 fall on the aspect – feeling of freedom, independence, emancipation), many norms of behaviour that have been considered appropriate for women for centuries, continue to appear and perpetuate many of the stereotypes of feminine roles, features and behaviour. The man, in turn, appears to be strong, confident and successful in the professional field. He is mainly associated with work (28 excerpts), promotion (18 excerpts) and sex (21 excerpts), hence, with typically male connotations, what consequently frames him as competent and agentive, competitive, and status-oriented (the most productive submodels are **PSYCHOLOGICAL FEATURES AND PROCESSES**, **WORK AND EDUCATION** and **LOVE AND SEX**). The other characteristics associated with the **PSYCHOLOGICAL FEATURES AND PROCESSES** submodel are: indifference, emotional coldness and leaving matters related to taking care of the home and caring for the children to women (in fact, in the **FAMILY LIFE** submodel, the lexeme *man* appears only 13 times, never in relation to children and upbringing). Some typical gender role behaviours and physical characteristics like being mighty, powerful and aggressive have also been confirmed. Hence, the relationship between the sexes appears not to be about differences, but most of all about power. Living in a male-dominated society means that women and men are not only different but not infrequently unequal.

As has already been suggested, the ICMs of **WOMAN** and **MAN** presented above and their interpretation pursued in the present study does not aspire to “absolute” truth and they are created from the perspective of women on the basis of the collected material (a magazine addressed to women, whose editor-in-chief is a woman and with whom readers in many countries have become familiar). The findings are certainly not conclusive, as the main aim of this article was to shed some light on the interaction between social and cognitive factors related to the perception of women and men in the contemporary press (here *Women’s Health*). The collected material is only a fraction of what can be found in many other magazines, both for women and for men. The investigation of linguistic data allows us to develop an idealised cognitive model of **WOMAN** and **MAN** that may turn out useful for the formulation of some potentially plausible interpretations of linguistic data that appear in magazines for women.

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