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# **Once Again on *Tertium Comparationis* in the Confrontative Study of Linguistic Images of the World<sup>1</sup>**

1. The problem of the basis for comparison (*tertium comparationis* – hereafter: TC) of linguistic images of the world (hereafter: JOS, based on Polish *językowy obraz świata*) arose in connection with the EUROJOS project and, in particular, the subsequent work on *Leksykon aksjologiczny Słowian i ich sąsiadów* [The Axiological Lexicon of the Slavs and Their Neighbours], whose

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authors and participants faced the necessity of going beyond the analyses made so far on the basis of data from only one language. The author of the concept, Professor Jerzy Bartmiński, presents the following criteria to ensure the comparability of languages:

Specyfiką naszego opracowania, jego cechą wyróżniającą, jest – po pierwsze – operowanie uzgodnionym systemem narzędzi pojęciowych i wynegocjowaną w toku wielu posiedzeń wspólną terminologią; po drugie – oparcie opisów na porównywalnym zestawie źródeł, po trzecie – przyjęcie podobnych sposobów definiowania znaczeń. Wszystko to razem tworzy wspólną płaszczyznę teoretyczną i metodologiczną (*tertium comparationis*), co paralelnym opisom ma zapewnić porównywalność. (Bartmiński, 2016, p. 8; cf. also Bartmiński, 2005; Bartmiński & Chlebda, 2008; Bartmiński, 2015a)<sup>2</sup>

1.1. The reflection on thus-conceived TC continues to this day with varying degrees of intensity; some of it is inspired by the results of research in the individual volumes of the *Lexicon*.<sup>3</sup> The remarks appearing in the works of the individual participants in the debate can be summarised as follows:

- The unified research procedure, the unified conceptual apparatus and the unified range of linguistic material under study concern the research methodology and may ensure comparability of descriptions, but they do not constitute a common element that belongs to the same class as the objects of comparison (*comparata*), which are a logical requirement for TCs (Czachur, 2019, p. 11; Puzynina, 2010, p. 48) (for details, cf. below).
- The starting point for the comparison should be the content referred to by various authors as a concept, an abstract conceptual scheme, or an abstract conceptual basis which captures a section of the world (real or conceived) and is conventionally rendered by any of the names in the languages studied (cf. e.g., Grzegorzczkova, 2009, pp. 22, 24).
- The material for TCs are mental constructs common to entire semantic and lexical fields in all the compared languages (conceptual invariants) (Grzegorzczkova, 2011, p. 223; Puzynina, 2010, pp. 49, 51).

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<sup>2</sup> [The specificity of our study – its distinguishing feature – is, firstly, the operation of an agreed system of conceptual tools and common terminology negotiated over the course of many meetings; secondly, it is the foundation of descriptions of a comparable set of sources; thirdly, it is the adoption of similar ways of defining meanings. All this together creates a common theoretical and methodological ground (*tertium comparationis*) which parallels descriptions to ensure comparability.]

<sup>3</sup> Cf. especially Abramowicz et al. (2011); Ajdačić (2021); Czachur (2019); Grzegorzczkova (2009, 2011); Kiklewicz and Wilczewski (2011); Puzynina (2010).

- The common ground for comparison therefore cannot be linguistic forms (words): it should be content (concepts).<sup>4</sup>
- Understood in this way, TC is the starting point for reconstructing images recorded in different languages and, in turn, finding similarities and differences between them.

This reflection is accompanied by a statement regarding the limited comparability of the results of the analyses in the already published volumes of the *Lexicon* (cf. e.g., Ajdačić, 2021; Bartmiński, 2016) and the openness of the authors of the concept to further perspectives of comparison, *inter alia*, the elaboration of the collected materials “in strictly linguistic terms. i.e., relating them to the linguistic system” (Bartmiński, 2016, p. 11).<sup>5</sup>

1.2. This paper contains a preliminary proposal for fulfilling the demands for the TCs signalled in the debate, especially those related to the development of operational steps for building a basis for comparing concepts in different languages so that parallel (and *de facto* monolingual) descriptions are replaced by *sensu stricto* comparisons. According to its authors, the application of the basic theoretical assumptions of linguistic confrontation will allow for the creation of tools for JOS comparison. Our proposal is based on a preliminary comparative analysis of the concept of ‘faith’ in Polish and Bulgarian, conducted by us.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> The authors of the EUROJOS project declare the introduction of a distinction between concept and word (plane of content and plane of form) (cf., e.g., Bartmiński, 2016, p. 9), but in the texts the terms *wyraz/leksem/termin* vs *pojęcie/koncept/stereotyp* are in fact often used interchangeably, i.e., synonymously.

<sup>5</sup> However, as J. Bartmiński points out, “Na obecnym etapie pracy projektowanie takich ujęć i wypracowanie nowych perspektyw porównawczych pozostawiamy redaktorom poszczególnych tomów, autorom haseł i czytelnikom” [At the present stage of the work, we leave the design of such approaches and the development of new comparative perspectives with the editors of the individual volumes, the authors of the entries, and the readers] (Bartmiński, 2016, p. 12).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Tobolski (2022). The preliminary research was conducted on the systemic and textual data. The former takes into account the definitions, first of all, of the lexemes *wiara* and *wierzyć* (Polish) and *вяра* and *вярвам* (Bulgarian) in the following online dictionaries: *Wielki słownik języka polskiego PAN* (n.d.) [The Great Dictionary of the Polish Language of the Polish Academy of Sciences], Doroszewski (n.d.), *Słownik języka polskiego* [Dictionary of the Polish Language], *Słownik języka polskiego PWN* (n.d.) [Dictionary of the Polish Language PWN] and *Речник на българския език* (n.d.) [Dictionary of Bulgarian Language]. We also took into account derivatives of the studied lexemes in these dictionaries, phraseological compounds and fixed phraseological combinations. The textual data, on the other hand, consists of material derived primarily from the corpora: NKJP (2008–2010) (the Polish language) and *Български национален референтен корпус – BulTreeBank* (n.d.) (the Bulgarian language). In addition, material from Google search engine was included.

2. In the following sections, we will briefly outline the basic assumptions of confrontation as applied in the multi-volume *Gramatyka konfrontatywna bułgarsko-polska* [Confrontative Bulgarian-Polish Grammar],<sup>7</sup> adapted for the purposes of the JOS comparative study.

Firstly, a distinction should be made between contrastive and confrontative analysis.

2.1. The basis of contrastive research (still: detailed, applied confrontative research; translation confrontation – cf. Bogusławski, 1976)<sup>8</sup> is purely structural. Comparison between the structures of one language and their counterparts in other languages is treated as TC for the realisation of lexical structural equivalents in the analysed languages. The nature of the process of contrastive analysis is thus analogous to the process of translation, in which the translator seeks the means of the target language that functionally and semantically reflect the structures of the source language. It should be emphasised that the terms ‘source language’ and ‘target language’ indicate the orientation of the study from the forms of one language to the forms of other language(s), which implies, among other things, a lack of symmetry (equality) of the languages being compared. Applied confrontative research has also used and continues to use the terms ‘object language’ and ‘metalanguage’. Object language is the language that directly expresses content; its opposite is metalanguage, i.e., a language used to describe another language. According to Szulc (1984, cited in Koseska-Toszewa, 1991), it should be noted that in bilingual dictionaries the target language represents the object language, while the basic language is the metalanguage for one and the other object language.

The specificity of confrontative research *sensu stricto* (yet: confrontative theoretical), on the other hand, is linked to the requirement of symmetry of the compared languages, which is only possible if the description is oriented from the analysis of the content plane to the formal analysis of the confronted languages – their surface structures (identical, similar, or different for each language). This is the basic assumption of confrontative research.

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<sup>7</sup> For an overview of the assumptions and composition of *Gramatyka* [Grammar], see Koseska-Toszewa (2010). The contents of the individual volumes are referred to in Baltova and Koseska-Toszewa (2003).

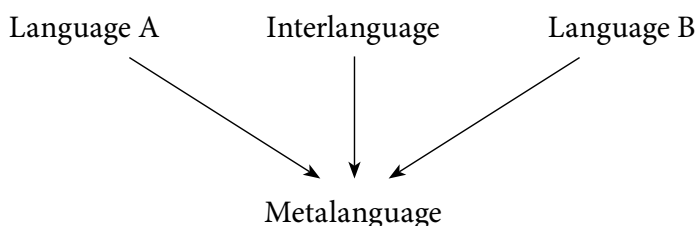
<sup>8</sup> In many linguistic publications, the terms *contrastive* and *confrontative* are treated as synonyms. Contrastive/confrontative grammar is then most often defined as a description of two or more languages, aiming to show the differences and similarities between them at all levels of linguistic structure.

2.1.2. The distinction between descriptive and confrontative description involves the distinction between a metalanguage, which describes a language, and an interlanguage, which is a tool for juxtaposing at least two systems of object languages.

2.2. In a confrontative study, therefore, a distinction must be made between the concepts:

- object language(s);
- metalanguage;
- interlanguage.

The relationship of these concepts is shown in the diagram (cf. Koseska-Toszewa, 1991):



2.2.1. Thus, the object language (A, B, ...) is the language that directly expresses the content. It is a natural language. In other words, object languages are natural languages that are juxtaposed (are objects of comparison – *comparata*).

2.2.2. A metalanguage in this terminological system (very importantly) is a language used to describe another (or other) language(s). In the case of language comparison, it is a language that is used to describe object languages. The role of a metalanguage is fulfilled by a terminological subsystem of some natural language. For example, a metalanguage for a grammar of Polish written in English would consist of the linguistic terminology and rules of English. It should be noted that in bilingual dictionaries the target language represents the object language, while the source language is the metalanguage for it.

2.2.3. The interlanguage – a concept fundamental to confrontation as understood here – is the third element in the comparison structure, the so-called basis for comparison (TC). It is the reference point of object languages A and B, which means that they are symmetrical with respect to each other and equal in comparison, i.e., neither object language is the reference point for the other.

The first characteristic of an interlanguage is that it is an artificial language, like a language of logic as opposed to an object language. It is a tool for juxtaposing systems of object languages, not a language of description, i.e., a metalanguage.

The second feature of an interlanguage is that it is created while juxtaposing object languages (in a recursive movement between its units and the structures of the compared object languages).

The interlanguage as a common starting point should be a semantic language, i.e., its units should be, most generally speaking, semantic units. A good hint here is the vision of semantic categories understood by K. Ajdukiewicz (1985, pp. 132–137, 196–211) as clausal categories, i.e., categories which realise themselves at the level of the clause. It follows that the clausal expressions of the object languages, not lower-level expressions (including lexical (dictionary-based) units of varying degrees of complexity) constitute the starting point for confrontative analysis. This is an essential requirement for the establishment of interlanguage units. This assumption prioritises clause semantics (and significantly limits the use of lexical semantics) in the construction of TC.

2.2.4. To sum up, a consequence of the requirement of equality of object languages in comparison is the rejection of a description based on the shift from (object) language A to (object) language B, or *vice versa*, i.e., a description directed from one (source) to another (target) object language. This is because a feature of the interlanguage (so understood in confrontative analysis) is the impossibility of it being replaced by one of the confronted languages. This last feature is what distinguishes theoretical confrontative linguistics from applied (contrastive) linguistics. For the process of constructing an interlanguage, this means that it is created while simultaneously juxtaposing languages A and B. In this sense, it can be said that an interlanguage is a type of competence which is the resultant of competence in one and the other object language (Koseska-Toszewa, 1991; Selinker, 1972, pp. 209–231).

Thus, a confrontative study does not have as its starting point the forms (lexemes) of one of the languages compared, but neither is it a set of parallel descriptions of the forms and meanings of the individual languages being compared.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Among the important characteristics of confrontative study is its synchronous nature. We do not address here the problem of the inclusion of diachronic data in a JOS study (for relevant, as it seems, comments on this issue, cf. Kiklewicz & Wilczewski, 2011; Puzynina, 2010).

3. Applying the principles of confrontative research to establish and compare JOS in different languages solves, in our opinion, the problems arising, on the one hand, from the lack of unambiguous correspondence between form and content<sup>10</sup> in each object language, and, on the other hand, from lexical asymmetry between languages.<sup>11</sup> The first problem is particularly evident when determining the content of concepts expressed in languages by so-called abstract names.<sup>12</sup>

3.1. A fundamental problem in the confrontative (*sensu stricto*) study of JOS is undoubtedly the determination of the ‘conceptual invariant’ performing the function of TC. Applying the postulates of interlanguage units in a confrontative study to the comparison of JOS across languages makes it possible, as we believe, to develop a procedure for determining the content of the invariant that takes into account the – also invariant – context. The experience drawn from systemic confrontative research suggests that the ‘candidate’, which fulfils the conditions of the necessary objectification of TC content and consideration of context for comparison, comprises the basic semantic (conceptual) structures in Stanisław Karolak’s model, based on the function and implication of the components in the structure and reporting on the temporal and quantificational relations between them (Karolak, 1984, 2002).

3.1.1. According to Karolak’s concept of semantic syntax, the description of a concept consists in determining its semantic structure (referred to as predicate-argument structure, proposition). This is because, according to the basic assumption of the notion, concepts as semantic units have an incomplete, i.e., open, character. This means that they themselves cannot form complete judgements because they are semantically dependent. For a judgement formed

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<sup>10</sup> It is from this lack that the demand for an independent description of form and content is derived (cf. Мельчук, 1974), which is a necessary condition for the construction of TC in confrontation *sensu stricto*. From a synchronic point of view, homonymy and polysemy are also manifestations of the lack of such adequacy (cf. Grochowski, 1982).

<sup>11</sup> Signalled as a problem by the authors of the EUROJOS study.

<sup>12</sup> This is also a problem for the authors of the EUROJOS concept: “Kolejną kwestią do dyskusji jest rozumienie nazywanego przedmiotu w sytuacji, kiedy nie daje się on bezpośrednio (namacalnie) wskazać, jest bowiem podlegającym wariacji kulturowym konstruktem. Sytuację taką ilustruje pytanie, czy np. leksemy *honor*, *cześć* i *godność* tylko profilują bazowe wyobrażenie ‘dignitas’, czy może stanowią różne koncepty?” [Another issue for discussion is the understanding of the named object when it is not directly (tangibly) identifiable, as it is subject to variation as a cultural construct. Such a situation is illustrated by the question of whether, for example, the lexemes *honor*, *cześć* and *godność* merely profile the underlying idea of ‘dignitas’, or whether they constitute different concepts] (Bartmiński & Chlebda, 2013, p. 72).

by a concept to acquire a complete meaning, it needs “współobecność wskazań przedmiotów pozajęzykowych lub językowych, bądź współobecność innych pojęć” [the co-presence of indications of extra-linguistic or linguistic objects, or the co-presence of other concepts] (Karolak, 2002, p. 26). This necessity is otherwise its implication.<sup>13</sup> In this sense, “pojęcia pełnią określone funkcje w układach, czyli w złożonych strukturach pojęciowych” [concepts perform specific functions in systems, i.e., in complex conceptual structures] (Karolak, 2002, p. 26). Thus, the basic (nuclear) semantic structure of a given concept is the semantic structure constituted by this concept and consisting of this concept and the concepts it implies.<sup>14</sup>

The possibility of using semantic syntax seems obvious in the case of concepts,<sup>15</sup> whose exponents are so-called abstract nouns. Without going into details, it is worth pointing out that semantic syntax makes it possible to create a basis for JOS comparison also in the case of concepts whose exponents are nouns, referred to in the presented model by the term “rzeczowniki z absorpcją” [nouns with absorption].<sup>16</sup> Hence, this makes it possible to treat all objects uniformly as mental constructs (cf. Puzynina, 2010, p. 36).

<sup>13</sup> “Pojęcia implikują wskazania przedmiotów lub inne pojęcia, a spełnienie tych implikacji stanowi konieczny chociaż niedostateczny warunek utworzenia sądu” [Concepts imply indications of objects or other concepts, and the fulfilment of these implications is a necessary though insufficient condition for the formation of a judgement] (Karolak, 2002, p. 26).

<sup>14</sup> In the terminology of the model presented, the concept with a constitutive or clause-forming role is the predicate. An argument, on the other hand, is a concept implied by this predicate. There are two types of predicates: first-order, which imply object arguments, and second- or higher-order, which imply at least one non-object argument (internal predicate). The number of arguments depends on how many content requirements the predicate has in order for the judgement to become complete. The arguments themselves are divided into two types: object, which refers to an object, and propositional (non-object), which in turn refers to the whole situation or state of affairs.

<sup>15</sup> These correspond roughly to conceptual constructs in the terminology of R. Grzegorzczkowska (Grzegorzczkowska, 2009, p. 24).

<sup>16</sup> Absorption is a surface (syntactic) blocking equivalent to absorbing the position of the object argument with the first-order predicate (cf. Karolak, 2002, p. 40). “Nie ma różnicy semantycznej między czasownikami a rzeczownikami z absorpcją [...]. Do kategorii rzeczowników z absorpcją należą wszystkie tradycyjne rzeczowniki konkretne w tym rzeczowniki przedmiotowe, które nie pozostają w związku derywacji formalnej z czasownikami, takie jak *matka*, *stolica*, *miasto*, *księżyc*, *ziemia*, *kamień*, *stół*, *dziewczyna*, *kot*, *pies* i wiele innych. Faktu absorpcji można w niektórych spośród nich dowieść pośrednio za pomocą zdań definicyjnych, których orzeczenie jest w związku semantycznym (ale nie formalnym) z rzeczownikiem, np. *matka* (*kogoś/czyjaś*) = *ktoś, kto urodził (kogoś)*, [...] *stolica* (*czegoś/jakiegoś państwa*) = *coś, w czym (miasto, w którym) ma siedzibę rząd (jakiegoś państwa)*. Inne rzeczowniki konkretne traktujemy jako rzeczowniki



Derived structures can be created from basic structures. Briefly put, the derivation of structures is caused by:

- filling the position for the implied concept (argument) with fixed content, which may or may not have an exponent (be blocked) in the clause, cf. e.g., ‘X sells books’ (= ‘deals with books’, ‘sells books’) vs ‘X drinks alcohol’ – *Jan sprzedaje książki vs Jan pije*;
- filling the position for the implied concept (argument) with content incompatible with the implication of the constituting concept (predicate) – then a metaphorical expression is formed, cf. e.g., ‘X [animal] eats Y [food] vs ‘X [feeling] eats Y [human]’;
- adding other non-implied basic structures to them – then complex (polipredicative) structures are formed, cf. e.g., ‘X is reading Y’ + ‘X is in the garden’ – *Jan czyta książkę w ogrodzie* (cf. Karolak, 2002, pp. 26–29).

3.1.2. The application of the proposed approach means that the basic semantic structure constituted by the concept studied is primarily established without first assuming any attachment to a particular lexeme as its exponent. It is this structure that is this conceptual invariant (the nucleus of concept reconstruction). Subsequently, based on the observation of linguistic material, derivational semantic structures (including metaphorical and metonymic ones) that realise other concepts that are different from the one to which the core structure is attached (see example 4.2. below), or cultural and textual connotations (periphery of the cognitive definition), can be established. The proposed procedure makes it possible, among other things, to order the systemic data, i.e., to ensure the comparability of lexicographic definitions established by different authors of relations in lexical systems. These, as the authors of the analyses in EUROJOS point out (cf. e.g., Bartmiński, 2015b, p. 20), are imprinted both

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z absorpcją na zasadzie paralelizmu funkcjonalnego do rzeczowników, w których blokadę miejsca składniowego da się udowodnić istnieniem derywacji formalnej] [There is no semantic difference between verbs and nouns with absorption [...]. The category of nouns with absorption includes all traditional concrete nouns, including object nouns that do not have a formal derivational relationship with verbs, such as *matka, stolica, miasto, księżyc, ziemia, kamień, stół, dziewczyna, kot, pies* and many others. The fact of absorption can be proved indirectly in some of them by means of definitional clauses whose verb is in a semantic (but not formal) relation with the noun, e.g., *matka (kogoś/czyjaś) = ktoś, kto urodził (kogoś)*, [...] *stolica (czegoś/jakiegoś państwa) = coś, w czym (miasto, w którym) ma siedzibę rząd (jakiegoś państwa)*. We treat other concrete nouns as nouns with absorption on the basis of functional parallelism to nouns in which syntactic place-blocking can be proved by the existence of formal derivation] (Karolak, 2002, pp. 45–46).

by the sensitivity of the authors of dictionary entries and by lexicographical traditions in different languages.

In other words, establishing the underlying semantic structure makes it possible, in the further analysis of collocations in linguistic material derived from all three types of data (systemic, survey and textual), to distinguish exponents of implication from exponents of connotation of any kind (cf. Tokarski, 2008), which undoubtedly has the greatest importance both for JOS in a single language and for establishing differences between JOS in the languages being compared.

It is worth emphasising at this point that this approach is consistent with the cognitivist one, in its essence, as regards assumptions of clause semantics attributing to situations (which are the content of the semantic structure of the clause) the function of categorising cognitive states (cf. e.g., Barwise & Perry, 1971).

In the context of the principles of confrontative testing, the declaration below should be understood not as a rejection of defining concepts but as taking them as the starting point for a *stricto sensu* confrontation, which ensures the equality of the languages in question:

Założeniem autorów haseł było nie tyle definiowanie samych pojęć w sensie logicznym, ile zdiagnozowanie specyficznego rozumienia określonych wartości przez użytkowników poszczególnych języków. Dlatego jako narzędzie eksplikacji znaczeń przyjęto subiektywistyczną koncepcję „definicji kognitywnej”, której celem jest nie tyle zobiektywizowany opis znaczenia słów, ile uchwycenie tego, jak mówiący rozumieją znaczenia słów. Wartości opisywane są jako „koncepty kulturowe”, czyli pojęcia aksjologicznie nacechowane i wyposażone w swoiste kulturowo konotacje. (Bartmiński, 2015a, p. 11)<sup>17</sup>

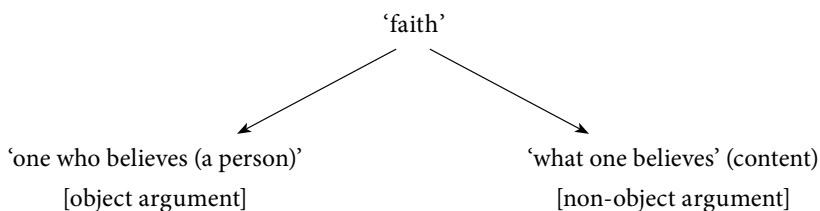
Such a starting point makes it possible, in the next instance, to ascertain the “axiological characterisation” and “specific cultural connotations” of the concept in the languages being compared.

4. Below, we will illustrate the application of the proposed approach with the results of a very preliminary comparative analysis of the concept of ‘faith’.

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<sup>17</sup> [The assumption of the authors of the entries was not so much to define the concepts themselves in a logical sense, but to diagnose the specific understanding of certain values by the speakers of the different languages. Therefore, the subjectivist concept of ‘cognitive definition’ was adopted as a tool for the explication of meanings, which aims not so much at an objectified description of the meaning of words, but at capturing how speakers understand the meanings of words. Values are described as ‘cultural concepts’, i.e., concepts that are axiologically characterised and equipped with culturally specific connotations.]

The concept of 'faith' has the basic structure of a two-argument, higher-order predicate with one object argument (it is a personal argument) and one non-object argument (an internal predicate). This structure can be represented as follows:



4.1. The first step of the syntactic-semantic analysis was to confront, in a recursive movement, the basic structure constituted by the studied concept with the interpretations of meaning contained in the dictionaries and the textual data.

The incompatibility of data from the different dictionaries signalled above can be illustrated by the definitions from the examined dictionaries. Polish and Bulgarian dictionaries provide the following meanings of the lexemes *wiara*/*вяра*:

- I. *Słownik języka polskiego PWN* (n.d.) [Dictionary of the Polish Language PWN]:
  1. «określona religia lub wyznanie; też: przekonanie o istnieniu Boga»
  2. «przekonanie, że coś jest słuszne, prawdziwe, wartościowe lub że coś się spełni»
  3. «przeświadczenie, że istnieją istoty lub zjawiska nadprzyrodzone»
  4. pot. [informal] «grupa ludzi zżytych ze sobą»
  5. daw. [old] «wierność komuś lub czemuś»
- II. Doroszewski (n.d.) *Słownik języka polskiego* [Dictionary of the Polish Language]:
  1. «przeświadczenie, przekonanie, pewność, że coś jest prawdą, że coś się spełni»
  2. «w znaczeniu religijnym: przeświadczenie o prawdziwości dogmatycznych twierdzeń, oparte na uznawaniu ich za objawione przez Boga»
  3. «religia, wyznanie, obrządek»
- III. Żmigrodzki (n.d.) *Wielki słownik języka polskiego* [The Great Dictionary of the Polish Language]:
  1. «przekonanie o istnieniu Boga, przyjęcie objawionych prawd i zaufanie Bogu»
  2. «określone wyznanie religijne»
  3. «przekonanie o istnieniu kogoś lub czegoś»
  4. «zaufanie do kogoś lub czegoś»
  5. «przekonanie o słuszności czegoś»
- IV. *Речник на българския език* (n.d.):
  1. «убеждение в съществуването, осъществяването или истинността на нещо, основано на знания или опит»
  2. «увереност в честността, искреността, добрите намерения на някого»
  3. «увереност в способностите и възможностите на някого или нещо»
  4. «убеждение в реалното съществуване на бог или други свръхестествени сили – представи, създадени от религията и фантазията»
  5. «вероизповедание, религия»

V. Андрейчин et al. (1976):

1. «убеждение, че нещо е истина; увереност»
2. «убеждение в съществуването на религиозни или фантастични същества и предмети»
3. «религиозно учение; религия»

VI. Романски (1955):

1. «твърдо убеждение в съществуването, осъществяването или истинността на нещо»
2. «увереност, доверие»
3. «убеждение, че създадените от религията или фантазията представи определят действителността; религия, вероизповедание»

The lexemes *wierzyć/wyrywać* bear the following meanings these dictionaries:

I. *Słownik języka polskiego PWN* (n.d.) [Dictionary of the Polish Language PWN]:

1. «uznawać coś za prawdę»
2. «wyznawać jakąś religię»
3. «być przekonanym, że ktoś mówi prawdę»
4. «mieć do kogoś lub czegoś zaufanie»
5. «być przekonanym, że ktoś ma duże możliwości i w końcu odniesie sukces»

II. Doroszewski (n.d.):

1. «uznawać coś za prawdę niezależnie od świadectwa zmysłów i dowodów rozumowych»
2. «polegać na kim lub na czym, ufać komu, czemu»
3. «wyznawać jakąś religię»
4. daw. [old] «powierzać»

III. Żmigrodzki (n.d.):

1. «być pewnym, że coś jest prawdziwe, istnieje lub nastąpi»
2. «mieć do kogoś lub czegoś całkowite zaufanie»
3. «być przekonanym o czyjejś wartości lub czyichś możliwościach»
4. «być przekonanym, że coś jest słuszne i przyniesie pozytywny skutek»
5. «wyznawać jakąś religię»

IV. *Речник на българския език* (n.d.) [Dictionary of Bulgarian Language]:

1. «убеден съм въз основа на знания или опит в съществуването, осъществяването или истинността на нещо»
2. «убеден съм в искреността на някого, в истинността на думите на някого, имам доверие някому»
3. «твърдо съм убеден, че някой или нещо ще оправдае надеждите ми, уверен съм в неговите способности, възможности»
4. «убеден съм в реалното съществуване на представи, създадени от религията и фантазията»
5. «остар. мисля, смятам някого за някакъв»
6. «като вмет. дума; за означаване на почти пълна увереност в реалността на нещо или за допускане на известна възможност»

V. Андрейчин et al. (1976):

1. «убеден съм в съществуването или осъществяването на нещо; приемам нещо за истина»

2. «имам доверие някому; уверен съм в нещо»

3. «мисля, смятам, допускам»

4. «убеден съм в съществуването на свръхестествени, фантастични сили и същества»

VI. Романски (1955):

1. «убеден съм, че нещо е истина, приемам го за истина»

2. «убеден съм в съществуването на религиозни или фантастични същества и предмети»

3. «доверявам се, ослабявам се, уповавам се»

4. «очаквам, надявам се»

In order to verify the systemic data and specify the description, a syntactic-semantic analysis of the collected linguistic material was carried out in terms of the quantification<sup>18</sup> and temporality<sup>19</sup> of the situation that is the content of the non-object argument in the structure of the concept of ‘faith’ (‘what one believes’), and the ‘surface’ realisation of the conceptual structure with the predicate ‘faith’. It should be noted at this point that a certain temporal restriction is inscribed in the basic semantic structure of ‘faith’: the situation of ‘what one believes’ cannot be prior to ‘faith’.<sup>20</sup> The analysis has made it possible to extract varieties of the elementary structure on the basis of its correlation with quantificational and temporal characteristics. These varieties are independent of the object languages: they are realised in both languages

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<sup>18</sup> Quantification is understood here as a semantic property of clauses (closed clauses, cf. EJO, 1999, pp. 324–325) in which linguistic expressions in argument positions refer to situations from the external world. Several types of quantification can be distinguished. In this paper, the collected linguistic material was examined in terms of logical quantification, which is linked to the semantic category of determinacy/indeterminacy. On the basis of the opposition of determinacy/indeterminacy, the opposition of singularity/non-singularity is taken in turn. Quantified unitary linguistic expressions are rendered by the formula ‘only this  $x$  satisfies  $P$ ’. Quantified non-unitary linguistic expressions satisfy the formula ‘not only this  $x$  satisfies  $P$ ’. Within the framework of non-unicity, one can also distinguish quantified linguistic expressions in general, which can be described by the formula ‘for every  $x$  there is a  $P$ ’ (cf. Рошко, 1994, pp. 15–18).

<sup>19</sup> Temporality is understood as a component of a clause, situating the communicated situation(s) in relation to the act of communication. In this study, temporality was determined by recounting the proposition that is the content of the non-object argument ‘faith’, to a proposition with the constitutive predicate ‘faith’, whose temporal characteristics were given beforehand. Through such relating, it is possible to indicate whether a given situation (‘what one believes’) is contemporaneous, consequential or omnitemporal (cf. Karolak, 2002, pp. 204–207).

<sup>20</sup> Seemingly, this may be contradicted by clausal expressions with perfective forms of the Bulgarian type: *Вярвам, че тя се е прибрала вкъщи*. It should be noted, however, that these forms then have a resultative meaning (‘Wierzę, że [teraz] ona już jest w domu’). A similar temporal relation characterises situations of ‘expectation’, ‘hope’, ‘will’, etc.

under comparison and correspond to formally equivalent clause structures in these languages. The different varieties have been assigned definitional clauses resulting from the analysis of clauses. Cf. the table below:

Definitional clause	Quantification of a non-object argument (internal predicate)	Temporal characteristics of the non-object argument (internal predicate)	Structure of a clausal expression and explication scheme <sup>21</sup>	
			in Polish	in Bulgarian
[1] 'Faith is a belief in existence'	singularity/ non-individuality/ generality	simultaneity/ omnitemporality	V N <sub>nom</sub> (Pron) Con V... V N <sub>sp</sub> V <sub>q</sub> ...	V N <sub>k</sub> (Pron) Con V... V N <sub>sp</sub> V <sub>q</sub> ...
			V N <sub>nom</sub> , Praep N <sub>acc</sub> V N <sub>sp</sub> , NV <sub>q</sub> ...	V N <sub>k</sub> , Praep N... V N <sub>sp</sub> , NV <sub>q</sub> ... V N <sub>k</sub> , Praep N Con V... V N <sub>sp</sub> , N <sub>aq</sub> V <sub>q</sub> ...
[2] 'Faith is a belief in possibility'	singularity	simultaneity/ consecutiveness	V N <sub>nom</sub> (Pron) Con V... V N <sub>sp</sub> V <sub>q</sub> ...	V N <sub>k</sub> (Pron) Con V... V N <sub>sp</sub> V <sub>q</sub> ...
			V N <sub>nom</sub> , Praep N <sub>acc</sub> V N <sub>sp</sub> , NV <sub>q</sub> ...	V N <sub>k</sub> , Praep N... V N <sub>sp</sub> , NV <sub>q</sub> ...
			V N <sub>nom</sub> (Pron) Con V... V N <sub>sp</sub> ØV...	V N <sub>k</sub> , Praep N Con V... V N <sub>sp</sub> , N <sub>aq</sub> V <sub>q</sub> ... V N <sub>k</sub> (Pron) Con V... V N <sub>sp</sub> ØV...
[3] 'Faith is a belief in truthfulness'	singularity/ generality	simultaneity/ consecutiveness	V N <sub>nom</sub> (Pron) Con V... V N <sub>sp</sub> V <sub>q</sub> ...	V N <sub>k</sub> (Pron) Con V... V N <sub>sp</sub> V <sub>q</sub> ...
			V N <sub>nom</sub> , Praep N <sub>acc</sub> V N <sub>sp</sub> , NV <sub>q</sub> ...	V N <sub>k</sub> , Praep N... V N <sub>sp</sub> , NV <sub>q</sub> ...
			V N <sub>nom</sub> , Praep N <sub>acc</sub> Con V... V N <sub>sp</sub> , N <sub>aq</sub> V <sub>q</sub> ...	V N <sub>k</sub> , Praep N Con V... V N <sub>sp</sub> , N <sub>aq</sub> V <sub>q</sub> ...
[4] 'Belief is the conviction that [a system of] judgements is right, sensible'	singularity/ non-individuality/ generality	simultaneity/ omnitemporality	V N <sub>nom</sub> , Praep N <sub>acc</sub> V N <sub>sp</sub> , NV <sub>q</sub> ...	V N <sub>k</sub> , Praep N... V N <sub>sp</sub> , NV <sub>q</sub> ...
[5] 'Faith is trust'	singularity/ generality	simultaneity/ omnitemporality	V N <sub>nom</sub> , N <sub>dat</sub> V N <sub>sp</sub> , NV <sub>q</sub> ...	V N <sub>k</sub> , N <sub>k</sub> V N <sub>sp</sub> , NV <sub>q</sub> ...
			V N <sub>nom</sub> , Praep N <sub>acc</sub> V N <sub>sp</sub> , NV <sub>q</sub> ...	V N <sub>k</sub> , Praep N... V N <sub>sp</sub> , NV <sub>q</sub> ...

<sup>21</sup> Explication is the explicative expression of the components of the semantic structure of a clause in the syntactic structure of a clausal expression. Symbolic notation is based on Kiklewicz and Korytkowska (2010, pp. 23–29), wherein:

V – verb. Also “symbol wyrażenia predykatywnego zdaniotwórczego (orzeczenia) w formie verbum finitum, który oznacza kategorię orzeczeń przyporzędowanych predykatom pierwszego i wyższego rzędu zarówno w zdaniach niezależnych, jak i w zdaniach zależnych pełniących funkcję uzupełnień propozycjonalnych” [symbol of a predicative clause-forming expression (predicate) in the form of *verbum finitum*, which denotes a category of predicates attributed to first- and higher-order predicates, both in independent clauses and in dependent clauses acting as propositional complements]. V<sub>q</sub>... – “symbol wyrażenia predykatywnego (zależnego od predykatu jądrowego) w formie zdania ufundowanego na czasowniku osobowym. Wielokropek

4.2. Some distinctiveness supported by the difference in the exponents of the semantic structure components and the possibility of their explication can be seen in varieties [4] and [5], which do not realise themselves in the form of a complex sentence. The justification for distinguishing varieties [1] and [4] with identical quantificational and temporal characteristics, on the other hand, is the difference in the content of the internal predicate ('state/event' vs 'judgement', respectively), and the correlated difference in the structures of the clause. Depending on the criteria

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oznacza możliwość uzupełnienia predykatu zależnego poprzez zastosowanie grup imiennych uwarunkowanych jego właściwościami konotacyjnymi" [the symbol for a predicative expression (dependent on a nuclear predicate) in the form of a clause based on a personal verb. The ellipsis denotes the possibility of complementing the dependent predicate through the use of nominative groups conditioned by its connotative properties.]

N – noun phrase.  $N_x$  – "symbol wyrażenia argumentowych, czyli uzupełnień, które oznaczają wykładniki argumentów przedmiotowych przeważnie (choć nie tylko) o postaci fraz imiennych, przy czym subskrypty  $x, y, z$  odsyłają do miejsca zajmowanego przez dany argument w zhierarchizowanym układzie. Powyższe symbole stosowane są nie tylko do rzeczowników, ale także do zaimeków referencyjnych – osobowych, wskazujących lub nieokreślonych" [a symbol for argument expressions, i.e., complements which denote exponents of object arguments mostly (but not exclusively) in the form of nominative phrases, with subscripts  $x, y, z$  referring to the place occupied by the argument in question in the hierarchical system. The above symbols are applied not only to nouns but also to referential pronouns – personal, indicative or indefinite].  $N_{aq}...$  – "argument wyniesiony" ze struktury propozycji zależnej do struktury propozycji jądrowej" [an argument 'elevated' from a dependent propositional structure to a nuclear propositional structure].  $NV_q...$  – "symbol wyrażenia predykatywnego w formie nazwy abstrakcyjnej (często utworzonej na bazie czasownika – czytanie lub przymiotnika – mądrość), który oznacza kategorię wykładników [przyporządkowanych] predykatem pierwszego i wyższego rzędu wewnętrznym" [a symbol for a predicative expression in the form of an abstract name (often formed on the basis of a verb, czytanie, or an adjective, mądrość), which denotes a category of exponents assigned to first- and higher-order internal predicates].

$N_k$  – realisation of the argument in the subject-phrase position in Bulgarian

$N_{.k}$  – realisation of the argument in the position of the non-prepositional phrase of the complement phrase in Bulgarian

Praep – preposition

Con – conjunction

nom – nominative

acc – accusative

dat – dative

Pron – pronominalisation

$\emptyset_q...$  – "symbol wyrażenia predykatywnego wewnętrznego oderwanego od swoich uzupełnień (dysjunktywnego) lub niewypełnienia pozycji takiego wyrażenia" [a symbol for an internal predicate expression detached from its complements (disjunctive) or the non-complete position of such an expression].

adopted for the abstraction of concepts, it could be considered that in the case of varieties [4] and [5] we are dealing with different concepts (TC units), which could be further confirmed, for example, by the series of synonyms for these varieties that differentiate them from the others ([1] – [3]).<sup>22</sup>

It is already worth noting at this point the affinity of [4] with a derivational semantic structure that has not been analysed here. It is about a structure with a blocking position for the non-object argument (inner predicate) because it is filled with the fixed content ‘supernatural essence/reality’. The concept constituting this structure could be described as ‘[faith is] a (religious) belief’. The content of its semantic structure is realised in clausal expressions with the structure  $V N_{nom}$  and the schemes  $V N_x$ ,  $N_q$  and  $V N_x, \emptyset_q$ .

4.3. The following examples of clausal expressions realise the listed varieties.<sup>23</sup> The examples illustrate only expressions with basic lexemes and with full explication of<sup>24</sup> semantic structure components:

[1] ‘Faith is a belief in existence’, cf., e.g.:

*W Polsce mało kto wierzy, że są politycy, którzy przy dokonywaniu wyborów kierują się zasadami.*

*Не вярвам, че има нормален човек, който да одобрява войната.*

[2] ‘Faith is a belief in possibility’, cf., e.g.:

*[...] kiedyś, jak zakładali elektryczność, ludzie bali się jej i nie wierzyli, że to działa, tak samo jak samolot radio itp. i też byli tacy, co jeszcze o tym nie słyszeli.*

*Предназен ли е следващият век от грешките на предишния? – Може би съм оптимист, но не вярвам в завръщането на тоталитарната утопия*

[3] ‘Faith is a belief in truthfulness’, cf., e.g.:

*Dużym utrudnieniem jest fałszywe poczucie bezpieczeństwa wśród użytkowników – 80% wierzy, że ich komputer jest chroniony, mimo że trzy czwarte komputerów jest zainfekowana.*

<sup>22</sup> The criterion for distinguishing different concepts (given the proximity of lexical exponents) could be differences in sets of semantic (quantificational and temporal) and syntactic (explicative structures and patterns) features. Then, each concept would be characterised by its own set of features. In other words, there would be as many different concepts as there are different sets of semantic and syntactic characteristics. The usefulness of this proposal requires additional thought in the light of textual data.

<sup>23</sup> All examples are taken from NKJP (2008–2010).

<sup>24</sup> That is one where all components of the semantic structure are expressed “on the surface”.



*Но аз твърдо вярвам, че обикновения български гражданин не е корумпиран [...]*

[4] 'Belief is the conviction that [a system of] judgements is right, sensible', cf., e.g.:

*Nie zapytałam jej, jak o tę prawdę walczyła, kiedy ostygła w niej wiara w komunizm i realny socjalizm.*

*След всичко, което изрових за древните божества, не вярвам в теорията на Дарвин за произхода на човека, изненадващо признава историкът.*

[5] 'Faith is trust', cf., e.g.:

*Przez 8-tny utrzymywałam i dałam dach nad głową mojej kuzynce. Później dałam pracę w mojej firmie (dobrze płatną). Miałam do niej całkowite zaufanie. Tak żyliśmy prawie trzy lata. Ostatnio dowiedziałam się (od niej, lecz mąż się nie wyparł), że próbował mnie z nią zdradzić. Boli mnie najbardziej, że nie powiedziała mi o tym od razu (padło w czasie sprzeczki, zdarzenie miało miejsce ponoć rok temu). Piszę o tym dlatego, aby przestrzec inne dziewczyny przed ślepą wiara w swojego faceta i w tzw. przyjaźniółki.*

[...] *Българинът вярва на компаниите, но няма пари за застраховки.*

*Сред държавните институции българинът вярва най-много на президента (58%), на армията (56%) и на полицията (45%).*

4.4. Part of the full characterisation of the semantic structure should be a description of the selective features of the concept towards the object argument. The concept analysed here opens, as already mentioned, a position for the object argument. In all its varieties, this position is realised in the clausal expressions of the two languages under comparison by the names of persons or groups of persons (institutions, companies, etc.) (cf. the examples).

5. Due to the length limits of this text, the proposed procedure for building a basis for comparing JOS in different languages has been presented in a very schematic way. In our opinion, with reference to the TC understood in this way, further definitional clauses could be formulated based on the analysis of the data provided for in the methodology of the JOS study. Only this would make it possible, in our opinion, to draw up a confrontative description that reflects the similarities and differences between the compared languages treated as equal *comparata*.

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- EJO – *Encyklopedia językoznawstwa ogólnego* (Polański, 1999).  
NKJP – *Narodowy Korpus Języka Polskiego* (Bańko et al., 2008–2010).

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## **Jeszcze raz o *tertium comparationis* w konfrontatywnym badaniu językowych obrazów świata**

Praca zawiera wstępną propozycję spełnienia postulatów stawianych przed *tertium comparationis* w konfrontacji językowej, zwłaszcza tych związanych z opracowaniem operacyjnych kroków budowania podstawy porównania konceptów w różnych językach tak, żeby paralelne (i *de facto* jednojęzyczne) opisy zastąpić porównaniem *sensu stricto*. W opinii jej autorów zastosowanie podstawowych teoretycznych założeń konfrontacji językowej pozwoli stworzyć narzędzia do porównania językowych obrazów świata. Propozycja jest poparta wynikami wstępnej porównawczej analizy pojęcia ‘wiara’ w języku polskim i bułgarskim.

**Słowa kluczowe:** językowy obraz świata; konfrontacja językowa; *tertium comparationis*; język polski; język bułgarski

## **Once again about *tertium comparationis* in the confrontational study of linguistic world pictures**

The work contains a preliminary proposal for fulfilling the demands placed before the *tertium comparationis* in linguistic confrontation, especially those related to the preparation of operational steps for building a basis for comparing concepts in different languages so that parallel (and *de facto* monolingual) descriptions can be replaced by *sensu stricto* comparisons. According to the authors, the application of the basic theoretical assumptions of linguistic confrontation will make it possible to create tools for comparing linguistic images of the world. The proposal is supported by the results of a preliminary comparative analysis of the concept of 'faith' in Polish and Bulgarian.

**Keywords:** linguistic image of the world; confrontation; tertium comparationis; Polish language; Bulgarian language

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