

## LINGUISTIC IMAGE OF THE WOMAN IN KASHUBIAN, ENGLISH AND POLISH PROVERBS

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**ABSTRACT:** The aim of the article is to show the linguistic and cultural image of a woman on the basis of paremiological material preserved in Kashubian, English and Polish. According to Jędrzejko (1994, p. 159) 'views about women, updated and modified by literature and folklore, are expressed in all sorts of general judgements that attribute positive or negative qualities to them'. We can see that the experience of different cultures is habitually collected and fossilised in proverbs. Additionally, as indicated by Mieder (2004, p. xi) (...) 'there are no signs that proverbs have outlined their usefulness in modern technological societies either'. That is why proverbs make it possible to understand the character, worldview and also the underlying system of values of a given nation. As such, they are an excellent tool for learning about other cultures. The article discusses the history of paremiology and peremiography of the three languages in question. What is more, the notion of linguistic worldview and the studies carried out worldwide will be discussed. Finally, the author attempts to compare proverbs in which a set of features attributed to a woman has been preserved. To this end, she searches the equivalents of the proverbs in order to find an answer to the question of possible convergent observations testifying to the proximity or distinctiveness of the indicated cultures.

**KEYWORDS:** proverb, woman, linguistic worldview, cultural linguistics, paremiology

### Introduction

The history of proverbs can be traced back to Ancient Greece and Italy, although they have been known since the time of Solomon. The origins of paremiology date back to the Renaissance, when the large-scale collection and commentary of proverbs began. The founders of scientific paremiology were Erasmus of Rotterdam and the Italian Paul Manuzio. They collected and explained ancient proverbs, while in Poland, the first collectors of proverbs were Biernat of Lublin and Jan of Koszyczek. A significant role in the development of paremiology was also played by Aleksander Brückner, who published Polish proverbs in 1895, in which he included examples from the language of politicians. The twentieth century brought the Samuel Adalberg Book of Proverbs, Parables and Paretic Expressions, which contained 30 000 units. It served as a basis for Julian Krzyżanowski's New Book of Proverbs and Proverbial Expressions (1969-79).

On the contemporary paremiology arena<sup>1</sup>, the achievements of other researchers should undoubtedly be mentioned. The most prominent researcher, Wolfgang Mieder, who is also editor-in-chief of the journal **Proverbium**, stands out<sup>2</sup>. He works at the University of Vermont (USA). The contribution to the discipline of another American researcher, Archer Taylor<sup>3</sup> (1962), also seems to have

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<sup>1</sup> For a state-of-the-art analysis of research concerning paremiology in European and American linguistics, see Szutkowski (2015).

<sup>2</sup> Wolfgang Mieder has authored many publications, of which the following should be considered as the most important: *The Wisdom of Many: Essays on the Proverb* (1981), *Proverbs are Never Out of Season: Popular Wisdom in the Modern age* (1983), *Proverbs: A Handbook* (2004), *Behold the Proverbs of a People: Proverbial Wisdom in Culture, Literature and Politics* (2014).

<sup>3</sup> He questions the validity of theoretical inquiries into proverbs. In his view, the features of proverbs are so incongruous that it is impossible to construct a definition of proverbs on their basis. Taylor considers research into the content and style of paremiological units to be legitimate, proposing an ideographic collection for a specific linguistic community. Taylor says: 'The definition of a proverb is too difficult to repay the undertaking; and should we fortunately combine in a single definition all the essential elements and give each the proper emphasis, we should not even then have a touchstone. An incommunicable quality tells us this sentence is proverbial and that one is not. Hence no definition will enable us to identify positively a sentence as proverbial. Those who do not speak a language can never recognize all its proverbs, and similarly much that is truly proverbial escapes us in Elizabethan and older English. Let us be content with recognizing that a proverb is a saying current among the folk. At least so much of a definition is indisputable, and we shall see and weigh the significance of other elements later' (Taylor, 1931, p. 3).

been important. What is more, it is also worth mentioning Barlett Jere Whiting, the author of *The nature of the proverb* (1994) and *Modern Proverbs and Proverbial Sayings* (1989).

As far as Kashubian<sup>4</sup> paremiography is concerned, Florian Ceynowa published *Pjrszi tésq̄c kaszébsko-slojvnskjch gódk* in 1866, in 1899 Hieronim Derdowski published *Nórçyk kaszubści abò kòrészki i jedna maca jãdrny prôwdë* while Pintus and Patok published in the folklore materials of the journal "Mitteilungen des Vereins für Kaschubische Volkskunde"<sup>5</sup>. The largest collection, containing over 4,000 units, included in *Słownik gwar kaszubskich na tle kultury ludowej* (1967-1976) by Bernard Sychta. (Pomierska, 2014, p. 126)

As for the very term proverb, Szpila (2003, p. 21) provides the following definition: a proverb is a short, simple, often rhymed saying in the form of a sentence, usually metaphorical, containing some truth or wisdom based on people's experience; used to describe a situation and to instruct; of folk provenance, characteristic of a given community and commonly known in it; for centuries rooted in its tradition passed on from generation to generation.

In *Słownik Języka Polskiego*, edited by Doroszewski, we find the following explanation of the term proverb: [a] short sentence taken from literary or folk sources and preserved in oral tradition, expressing a general thought: a hint, a warning. For comparison, *Wielki Słownik Języka Polskiego*, edited by Źmigrodzki, explains the term as follows: proverb - a short, frequently repeated phrase expressing universal content, treated as a hint, warning or commentary of some situation.

*Słownik Terminów Literackich* goes a little further and explains the scope of the term in the following manner:

a sentence occurring within a given culture in a fixed form, expressing in a direct or metaphorical form a certain thought or general teaching, referring to a certain life situation; it has the form of a statement or instruction, usually built on the principle of parallelism or semantic contrast (...), not infrequently rhyming internally (...). P. originate and function primarily in closed and traditional cultures, and are therefore an important component of folk literature. P. are collected in paremiography and studied in paremiology.

If we refer to historical sources, Adalberg, for example, in his *Book of Polish Proverbs* from 1894, indicates that proverbs received attention in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, while the first Polish collection was published in 1618<sup>6</sup>. The collection of proverbs was mainly didactic in purpose, consisting of illustrations of the life of a good man in order to give the recipient the opportunity to benefit from his life experience. Primarily, proverbs were not considered as an object of scientific analysis. It was only with time that an academic study of proverbs was considered worthwhile and necessary. When Samuel Adalberg published *The Book of Polish Proverbs* in 1894, he posed the question of the definition of a proverb. The researcher stated that from a scientific point of view a proverb is a linguistic phenomenon. Bystron (1933, p. 1), on the other hand, points out that the answer to the question of a proverb is not easy. He explained as follows: When previewing any collection of proverbs, the old Rysiński or the great volume of Adalberg, we see that we are dealing with a variety of types of phrases, all of which we call proverbs, even though formally their differences may be very considerable. According to him, there are several types of proverbs:

- Maxims/sentences (e.g. God helps those who help themselves). After all, not every maxim is a proverb (this refers to the so-called words of wisdom, which do not count as a set of proverbs),

<sup>4</sup> It should be stressed, as described in Gołabek, R., Stachurska, A. (2020, p. 133-134) that although Kashubian, spoken in the north of Poland, is still sometimes considered to be a dialect of Polish, it seems that a vast majority of linguists and speakers of Kashubian consider Kashubian as a language. However, bearing in mind the position of Kashubian in relation to Polish, the former language is often labelled as a dominated language. As Treder (2013) claims Kashubian has come a long way to achieve the status of a (regional) language. The promotion of the status of Kashubian was triggered not only by the political changes in Poland and Europe after 1980, but also by the very way the notion of the language and dialect has started to be construed in the recent years.

<sup>5</sup> Pomierska (2015, p. 126) clarifies that in 1823, Mrongowisz postulated the need to collect Kashubian paremiological material. There was Ceynowa who responded to this postulate and in 1847 published a collection of about 60 proverbs, while in 1852 he published 355 proverbs.

<sup>6</sup> This refers to a collection by Salomon Rysiński, reprinted several times, which contained around 1,900 proverbs. This was followed in 1632 by a collection by Grzegorz Knapski entitled "Adagia polonica". If we refer to worldwide collections, it is worth mentioning Dundes and Mieder's 1981 publication "The Wisdom of Many: Essay on the Proverb" and 'Wise Words: Essays on the Proverb' from 1994.

- A main sentence stating a fact together with a side sentence expressing a comparison - of these, only a few fall into the category of proverbs,

- Fragments of conversations.

On the basis of the above, Bystron (1933, p. 2) states that a proverb is a merely practical concept. He defines them as sets of expressions, of the most varied form and content, traditionally repeated. They cannot be distinguished theoretically, since they do not form a separate scope of the study. On the other hand, they can be distinguished practically, as sets of words used habitually within a certain social group, with a specific practical purpose (moralizing proverbs, proverbs related to external situations, drawing attention to a strictly defined fact). They are formed in certain social groups that form customs: family groups, regional groups, tribal groups, national groups, professional groups, social groups. They therefore vary in scope, sometimes being confined to certain circles of users or to a wider audience (and there is a constant variation). A slightly different interpretation can be found in Krzyżanowski (1969, p. VII), who explains that from the point of view of science, a proverb is a linguistic phenomenon, distinguishable in some way, as evidenced by the fact that it has its own name, for in Greek it was denoted by the word "parojmiiia", in Latin by "adagium" or "proverbium". The latter has made its way into many modern languages, either in a slightly modified form, such as Italian "proverbio", French "proverbe", English "proverb".

In accordance with this theory, the linguistic product called a proverb has a form and a content. As to its form, it is a sentence that is simple or complex. Sometimes it may be arranged in a sequence of up to four sentences. What distinguishes proverbs from other sentences is its content. It shows literal and figurative meaning (where the figurative is the content proper to the proverb, e.g. Kruk krukowi oka nie wykole/ The crow will not cut the eye of the crow). Krzyżanowski (1969, p. VIII-IX) explains that this way of speaking of reality meets the following characteristics:

- allegoricality,
- imagery,
- didactic character,
- relatively low variability,
- international universality.

In the opinion of the researcher, the properties mentioned above make a proverb not only a linguistic but also a literary domain. The aforementioned features make it a borderline between linguistic and literary phenomena, a single-sentence literary composition, simple or even the simplest, allowing one to see how a sentence becomes a literary work (Krzyżanowski, 1969, p. VIII). As a linguistic product, on the other hand, a proverb is a sentence or part of a sentence. A bona fide proverb, unlike a proverbial phrase, is a sentence or an arrangement of several sentences, operating by contrast or parallelism or both at the same time (Krzyżanowski, 1969, p. XIV). It is easy to find common content in all of these definitions. Researchers agree that proverbs aim to illustrate certain general truths within a given culture. These truths relate either directly to the world around us or to the regularities present in our lives. These truths are usually presented in the form of instructions or warnings. In terms of form, proverbs are customarily marked by contrast and metaphor. What distinguishes proverbs from aphorisms are qualities such as imagery, expressiveness, and ease of memorability. The recipient of the proverb receives a message based on the outlined situation, fulfilling a didactic and educational function through which older and experienced people, referring to the wisdom and principles of life contained in proverbs, use them to instruct the young and express their attitude to the world (Węgiel, 2012 p. 269-276). To quote Wyżykiewicz - Maksimow (2001, p. 119), it can be said that proverbs are a skilful camouflage of a more severe judgment; they are a euphemistic expression of a belief that is unpopular or unaccepted by a given community or addressee. Paremiology illustrates the achievements of a given linguistic community, its traditions, rituals and also its history. As for the sources of proverbs, they undoubtedly include folk epics, fairy tales, anecdotes and songs. Undoubtedly, what attracts attention is the taxonomic confusion, in the subject of proverbs, sayings, maxims, winged words. At this point we will again refer to Krzyżanowski (1969, p. VII-VIII) who sees the reason for the existing state of affairs in the complexity of the syntactic structure of the units of this type. However, irrespective of the semantic confusion, which de facto does not affect the perception of proverbs, they are marked by easy reception,

due to their content being a reference to specific manifestations of human activity<sup>7</sup> (Szpila, 2003). For the sake of our analysis, we adopt Mieder's (1993) definition: a proverb is a short, generally known sentence of the folk which contains wisdom, truth, morals, and traditional views in a metaphorical, fixed and memorisable form and which is handed down from generation to generation (Mieder, 1993, p.24).

Our analyses are based on linguistic and textual sources from different periods of the development of English, Kashubian and Polish. Here the proverb is perceived broadly, and the analytical material is diverse due to the nature of the sources excerpted (we refer mainly to dictionaries, and to a lesser extent to scientific and para-scientific texts). A full list of the sources used can be found in the bibliography section.

### **Linguistic worldview and how to reconstruct it**

In 1999, Anusiewicz noted that the concept of the linguistic worldview (henceforth: LWV) is a relatively unexplored concept in Polish academic research (Anusiewicz, 1999, p.261). Since then, many researchers have attempted to define, describe and study the aforementioned concept.

As Bartmiński (2012, p. 11) points out, the concept of LWV has a long and complex history. It derives from the American ethnolinguists, Sapir and Whorf's hypothesis of linguistic relativism, and refers to the work of the German linguist and philosopher Wilhelm von Humboldt<sup>8</sup> (1767-1835) and Leon Weisberger (1899-1985). Bartmiński (2012, p. 11), citing the American scholar Bock (1992), sees the roots of LWV in Aristotle's Rhetoric<sup>9</sup> (which referred to *topos - loci communes*)<sup>10</sup>. The link between thinking and language is also seen by researchers in the following words of Martin Luther: different languages have their own peculiarities in understanding the world<sup>11</sup> (Mańczyk, 1982, p. 31) in Gicała (2018, p. 14).

However, scholars agree that the greatest contribution to the development of thought on the linguistic worldview is due to the work of Humboldt. As we read in Gicała (2018, p. 15):

From Hamann and Herder, Wilhelm von Humboldt took over the idea that language is the body of thought. He used the concept of spirit and wrote about the influence of the mother tongue on the spirit of a nation. He believed that language is not a product (*ergon*), but an energy (*energeia*) and that - especially in spoken form - it is a living process (Humboldt, 1965, p.147). A given language reveals the inner life of its speakers, so as speakers differ from each other, languages similarly differ.

This means that the linguistic worldview around us is shaped by cultural heritage, religion and customs. Of course, a key factor in this image is language. It is through language that we experience a

<sup>7</sup> Much along similar lines are the definitions proposed by English-speaking researchers. Thus, for example, Whiting (1990, p. 80) defines a proverb in the following way:

a proverb is an expression which, owing its birth to the people, testifies its origin in form and phrase. It expresses what is apparently a fundamental truth –that is, a truism, – in homely language, often adorned, however with alliteration and rhyme. It is usually short, but need not be; it is usually true, but need not be. Some proverbs have both a literal and figurative meaning, either of which makes perfect sense; but more often they have but one of the two. A proverb must be venerable; it must bear the sign of antiquity, and since signs may be counterfeited by a clever literary man, it should be attested in different places at different times. This last requirement we must often waive in dealing very early literature, where the material at our disposal is incomplete.

Of course, the definition quoted is considered to suffer from some shortcomings. There is no single universal one in the literature. Thus, researchers unanimously point out that proverbs refer to folklore, are short, and in the words of Norrick (2015, p.14) proverbs are recurrent, pithy, often formulaic and/or figurative, fairly stable and generally recognizable units used to form a complete utterance, make a complete conversational contribution and/or to perform a speech act in a speech event (Norrick, 2015, p. 14).

<sup>8</sup> For a detailed description of the concept of linguistic worldview (from its origins to 20th-century linguistic relativity, Western ethnosemantics, parallel movements in eastern Europe, and contemporary inquiry into languacultures) see Gład (2022).

<sup>9</sup> *Loci communes* are understood as judgements that are generally accepted, that are points of reference in the processes of inference and persuasion, that provide assistance to speakers in the processes of audience acquisition (Bartmiński, 2012, p. 12).

<sup>10</sup> As Gicała (2018, p. 15) explains after Anusiewicz (1999) and Piecul - Karmińska (2007, p. 11), Humboldt is considered to be the founder of the basis of the LWV concept. However, the term linguistic worldview was first used by Weisberger. The second source of the LWV theory is the Sapir - Whorf hypothesis. Boas, the founder of American ethnolinguistics, also contributed to the research.

<sup>11</sup> Gicała (2018, p. 14) quoting Piecul - Karmińska (2017, p. 11) also traces the roots of LWV back to the German philosophers: Johann David Michaelis, Johann Georg Hamann and Gottfried Herder.

particular view of the reality around us. According to Humboldt (2002, p. 261), this leads to a situation in which ‘within words and their juxtapositions simultaneously form and define concepts and that, due to their intrinsic interconnectedness and their influence on cognition and feeling, different languages actually represent different ways of seeing the world’. An outcome of Humboldt's conception was Anusiewicz's (1990, p. 281-282) definition of the linguistic worldview. In his words: ‘it is the essence of the linguistic worldview to examine and determine what cognitive content, what knowledge and experience and valuation of cognitively apprehended reality is stored in language, transmitted through it and passed on to future generations’.

According to this concept, the source of cognition, i.e. the de facto object of analysis, is the various languages or, more precisely, the worldviews contained in these languages. Humboldt's views have inspired numerous researchers. In particular, the following names should be mentioned here: Weisgerber<sup>12</sup>, Gipper,<sup>13</sup> Porzig, Trier, Wittgenstein<sup>14</sup>.

A number of findings have also been made in the field of American linguistics (ethnolinguistics), in particular the studies of Sapir and Whorf, Bloomfield, Boas<sup>15</sup>.

The above standpoint has attracted the interest of researchers for a long time<sup>16</sup> although the assumptions of today's reflection on the linguistic worldview are somewhat different from those of Humboldt. The beginnings of a lively discussion in the Polish academic circles fall at the end of the 1970s. A relevant annotation can be found in the Encyclopaedia of Polish Language edited by Urbańczyk (1978, p. 143), where we read: ‘the linguistic worldview, i.e. the worldview as reflected in a given national language, does not strictly correspond to the real picture of the world as discovered by science’. As a result, it is possible that there are significant differences between the different worldviews reflected in the various national languages. The popularity of LWV in Poland was undoubtedly brought about by Bartmiński's academic work. It is worth mentioning his work on *Słownik Stereotypów i Symboli Ludowych* initiated in 1980, as well as the volume *Językowe Podstawy Obrazu Świata*, published in 2006. Also, within Apresyan's semantic school, work is being carried out on the naïve picture of the world.<sup>17</sup> At present, a structuralist and cognitive approach dominates in Polish research on the linguistic picture of the world.

However, researchers do not entirely agree on the concept itself. As we read in the *Introduction to Linguistics* (1998, p. 76), ‘in spite of quite a large literature on the very concept of the linguistic worldview, it is still quite an enigma to the writer of these words’. It is usually reconstructed from the so-called linguistic stereotypes, i.e., phraseologisms and collocations. (...) There is, however, the problem of how to put all these scraps of characteristics into one comprehensive overview.

If we refer to Tokarski's (1993, p. 358) definition we find the following interpretation:

the linguistic worldview is a set of regularities contained in the categorical grammatical compounds (...) and semantic structures of the lexis, showing language-specific ways of seeing individual components of the world and a more general understanding of the organisation of the world, its hierarchies and the values accepted by the particular linguistic community.

As Tokarski (2013, p. 35) explains, ‘behind every word or word-combination there is a more or less established conceptual structure, which shows how language users perceive and understand a certain

<sup>12</sup> When analysing meaning, Weisberger introduced the category of the semantic field (Anusiewicz, 1990, p. 278).

<sup>13</sup> Weisberger's student Gipper considered language to be the key to the world. According to him, language is the key to the world, forming both the culture and history of a community. Language not only preserves the experiences of a certain linguistic community, but is also the force through which a community develops (Anusiewicz 1990, p. 287).

<sup>14</sup> At this point, it should also be noted that, in addition to linguists, the problem of the linguistic worldview has also been explored by philosophers, anthropologists and ethnologists (including Dornseiff, Cassirer, Spitzer, Heidegger, Luther, et al.). Anusiewicz (1990, p. 281).

<sup>15</sup> The details concerning the way in which early German and American scholars understood the linguistic worldview will not be discussed within the scope of this study. However, it is worth referring to the work of Anusiewicz (1995, 1999) and Mańczyk (1982) on this subject.

<sup>16</sup> Żuk (2010, p. 239) argues, as does Bartmiński (2012) that the origins of research into the linguistic worldview go back to the time of Aristotle.

<sup>17</sup> In addition to research conducted in Poland and Russia, Bartmiński (2001, p. 12) also mentions work conducted in the Czech Republic. Furthermore, the research of James Underhill, a Scottish researcher working in France, is known (he developed his own concept of worldview (Gicała, 2018, p. 14).

object of the external world, the processes taking place in it, the activities taking place, etc'. Similarly, Grzegorzczkowska (1999, p. 42) believes that language interprets the world (rather than mechanically reflects, mirrors). It seems that these views are shared by Bartmiński (1999, p. 104), who understands LWV as: 'an interpretation of reality contained in language, which can be put in the form of judgements about the world. These may be judgements either fixed in the language itself, in its grammatical forms, vocabulary, clichéd texts (e.g. proverbs), or implied by the forms and texts of the language'. According to Grzegorzczkowska (1999, p. 45), LWV is 'a conceptual structure, characteristic of any language, by means of which people speaking that language capture (classify, interpret) the world'. As Žuk (2010) writes, there is no generally accepted definition of the linguistic worldview in the academic community<sup>18</sup>. While researchers interpret the notion of a linguistic worldview in different ways, for the purposes of our analysis we adopt Bartmiński and Tokarski's (1986, p. 72) definition. We therefore understand LWV as:

a certain set of judgements, more or less fixed in language, contained in the meanings of words or implied by these meanings, which determines the features and ways of existence of objects of the non-linguistic world. In this sense, LWV is the consolidation of a set of relations contained in the linguistic formation of a text and resulting from knowledge of the extra-linguistic world.

It seems obvious, therefore, that a broad cultural background must be taken into account when describing the linguistic worldview around us. It also seems that Apresjan's naive perception of the world is an indispensable element in describing the world around us. As for the subject of the method of description, according to the Lublin researchers, LWV is reconstructed on the basis of morphological derivations, semantic derivations, phraseologisms, proverbs and repeated contrasts.

Connotations, understood after Tokarski (1998, p. 15) as 'strongly conventionalized semantic properties of a word', also seem to be an important component of this description. These features are fixed, among others, in phraseologisms. The need to take connotations into account is also pointed out by Mosiołek - Kłosińska (1998, p. 266):

(...) connotations form one of the layers of the semantics of a word, that layer which does not serve to identify and distinguish meanings, but gives a linguistic worldview.

However, as Grzegorzczkowska (2001, p. 190) explains:

(...) the most difficult aspect in the study of LWV, relatively recently noticed, is the problem of connotation, i.e., the association by speakers of certain features and believes with the denoted phenomena. These connotations and believes are excellent evidence of the linguistic recognition of the object.

Tokarski (2001, p. 366) highlights the cognitive properties of lexis, which:

(...) shows language-specific ways of seeing individual components of the world and a more general understanding of the world organisation, the prevailing hierarchies and the values accepted by the linguistic community.

In the following, we will attempt to reconstruct the linguistic worldview of a woman in the proverbs of three languages: English, Kashubian and Polish. A comparison of the proverbs will give an answer to the question of how the representatives of the indicated nations see women and whether the linguistic worldview is similar or different.

### **Women in proverbs**

As mentioned, proverbs simply convey the wisdom acquired through experience and observation of the world around us. They are passed on from one generation to the next by members of particular communities. Hence, on the basis of their analysis, we gain an insight into the value system of a specific cultural group, as well as the character and worldview of its members. The term woman in the three languages analysed shares the same denotational characteristics. The differences that occur concern the lexemes: 'woman' in English, 'kobieta', 'baba' in Polish and 'bialka', 'kobiéta', 'baba' in Kashubian as well as the connotative meanings associated with these lexemes. In this paper, by

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<sup>18</sup> This discussion is based on the stance of distinguishing between the mental picture of the world as different from the linguistic worldview (Tolstojowa, Kurcz, Maćkiewicz) and the textual worldview advocated by researchers such as Grzegorzczkowska (who only recently adopted the position of the Lublin school including atristic texts in the scope of LWV research material. A different position is also adopted by representatives of the Wrocław school (Anusiewicz, Dąbrowska, Fleischer), for whom the concept that includes LWV is the cultural worldview, representing the global worldview (including scientific, ideological, economic, religious and economic elements).

contrasting the connotative characteristics, the attempt will be made to present the image of woman in English, Kashubian and Polish proverbs.

Let us therefore begin our analysis with the characteristics that are attributed to women in the contexts of the linguistic communities we are discussing.

### 1. Women are prone to promiscuity

Among Polish proverbs we find: *Żona ładna zawsze zradna* (A pretty wife is always promiscuous). *Kobieta, co się stroi do południa, od południa mało warta* (A woman who dresses until noon is worth little from noon onwards). *Łatwiej wór pcheł upilnować niż jedna kobietę* (It is easier to watch over a bag of fleas than one woman). *Niewiasta, ogień, morze – to chodzi w jednej sforze* – here we find English equivalent - *Fire, sea, woman, three evils. Kiedy piją panienczki, przepiją swe wianeczki* (When virgins drink, they drink their virtue away); *Kiedy się stary z młodą żeni, tedy właśnie jakby w stary wóz szalone konie założył* (When an old man marries a young woman, it's like giving him wild horses); *Nie masz kobiety, której zle by nie skusiło* (You don't have a woman who wouldn't be attracted by evil). In Kashubian we find: *Bëlno gãs wszãdze gãsóra naléze* (A woman will find a man anywhere), *Wstid je krasc, a jész wikszì pòd pòrobka sã klasc* (A woman who loses her chastity will soon be infidelous), *Kòniowi nie dowiérzòj z tãlu, psu z przòdkù, a bialce z niżòdny stronë* (Don't believe a horse when you're behind, a dog when you're in front and a woman on any side); *Jaczi chto do pòlnia, taczi pò pòlniu* (A woman that paints puts up a bill that she is to be let). Kashubians stress value of virtue in women: *Dobré dzéwczã ceni cnotã i nie szmërgòji do błota* (Female pride - virtue and good manners). In turn, English paremiology identifies female beauty as a major source of immoral behaviour: *Three things are nought worth, fair face in a whore, great strength in a porter, fine wit in the poor; Fair woman and a slashed gown find always some nail in the way; Tell a woman she is fair, and she will soon turn fool*. A strong belief in immorality is found in the following proverbs: *For she that paints will doubtless be a whore; A woman that paints, puts up a bill that she is to be let; Once a whore and ever a whore*.

### 2. Women are changeable

Here we find the following: *Gust kobiet, pogody jesienne – wszystko to odmienne* (A woman's taste is as changeable as the autumn weather); *Kobiecie i koniowi nigdy nie dowierzaj* (Never believe a woman or a horse); *Kiedy ci kobieta powie dwa słowa, weź jedno, a drugie odrzuć* (When a woman says two words to you, take one and reject the other); *Trzymać kobietę za słowo, a piskorza za ogon – na jedno wychodzi* (Kashubian: *Węgorza za ogòn, a białkę za słowo trzëmac – to jedno/Hold a woman's word and a chick's tail - it's one and the same thing*). In English we find a warning against the changeability of women: *Women and their wills are dangerous ills* as well as *A woman's mind and winter wind change of* or *A woman is a weather-cock*.

### 3. Women are talkative

In Polish we find the following proverbs illustrating women's talkativeness: *Jak jedna baba stanęła między wiatrakiem a wodnym młynem i zaczęła gadać – wiatrak ustał, młynowi wody zabrakło, a baba jeszcze gadała* (As one woman stood between the windmill and the water mill and started talking - the windmill stopped, the mill ran out of water, and the woman was still talking);

In turn, in English we find: *A woman is never quiet but when she is sleeping; A woman's tongue is the last thing about her/ Women's tongues wag like lambs' tails; Foxes are all tail and women all tongue; Three women and a goose make a market/ Where there are women and geese, there wants no gagging*.

### 4. Women are not very intelligent

A Kashubian proverb says: *Baba mô tëlé rozëmù, co kura; a mądro baba tëlé, co dwie kùrë* (A woman has as much intelligence as a hen, and a wise woman as much as two hens). The concept is also expressed in English: *A wise woman is twice a fool/ One wise woman is two fools*. We similarly find: A

woman, an ass, and a walnut tree, the more you beat them, the better they'll be. And finally, we find: *When an ass climbs a ladder, you may find wisdom in women.*

### 5. Women are a source of conflict for men

This is a trait attributed to women by English speakers: *Women's jars breed men's wars; Women's advice is cold advice; Women and dogs cause much strife. Women, money and wine, have they good and their pine* as well as *Women, wine and dice, will bring a man to lice*. In English we also have a direct indication: *Three things drive a man out of his house: smoke, rain and scalding wife* while in Polish we have: *Morze, ogień i kobieta – to trzy nieszczęścia* (Sea, fire and woman – there are three misfortunes) or *Gdzie są kobiety, tam same nieszczęścia* (Where women, there are only misfortunes).

### 6. Women are greedy and deceitful

The proverbs attribute an evil nature to women - greed, lust and deception: *Kto z babą wojuje, pewno pożałuje* (Whoever fights with a woman will surely regret it); *Niema ryby bez ości, niema baby bez złości* (No fish without bones, no woman without anger); *Na babę nie ma jak druga baba* (There is nothing like another woman for a woman); *Babi naród zawsze chytry* (Women always greedy); *Lepiej psa rozdrażnić niż babę* (It is better to irritate a dog than a woman); *Wół rogami, a baba językiem kole* (Ox with horns and woman with tongue); *Na spółce z babą to i djabeł źle wyszedł* (In partnership with a woman, even the devil has gone badly).

Similar evidence can be found in English: *Women and their wills are dangerous ills; Women, priest and poultry never have enough.*

Kashubian also points to greed as a trait of women: *Tak chcëwi, że jaż białce krëpë w garkù rechùje* (So greedy that she counts the money in the pot).

### 7. Women are evil by nature

Polish paremiology is generally marked by a large number of proverbs relating a woman to the devil. The reader's attention cannot escape the fact that they all point to the negative character traits of women (worse than those of the devil). *Gdy się baba rozpanoszy, to i diabła wypłoszy* (The bad woman will scare the devil away); *Nad diabła rogatego gorsza zła kobieta* (A woman is worse than the horned devil); *Baba diabłu by łeb urwała* (A woman would tear the devil's head off); *Babę rozdrażnić, to gorzej niż diabła* (To irritate a woman is worse than the devil); *Baba gorsza jak diabeł* (A woman is worse than the devil); *Połknął czart babę, ale nie mógł jej strawić* (The devil swallowed a woman, but could not digest her). In English, we find few proverbs comparing female characteristics with the devil: *A wicked woman and an evil is three-half pence (nine parts) worse than the devil; A woman can do more than the devil; Gdzie diabeł nie może, tam babę pośle*. The following one seems to be very interesting: *A woman is an angel at ten, a saint at fifteen, a devil at forty, and a witch at four-score and Women have no souls.*

### 8. Women are stubborn

*Łatwiej wroga pokonać niż kobietę przekonać* (It is easier to defeat an enemy than to convince a woman); *Każda baba z natury uparta* (Every woman is stubborn by nature); *Baba swoje, czort swoje* (A woman stands by what she says, and so does the devil); *Na babski upór niema lekarstwa* (There is no cure for female stubbornness).

### 9. Woman as wife

In Polish we find proverbs confirming the social superiority of men over women that even permits violence: *Jak się baby nie bije, to jej wątroba gnije* (If you don't beat a woman, her liver rots) the same is present in Kashubian: *Jak chłop babã nie bije, to w ni wątroba gnije/ Jak się baby z rana nie zbije, to cały dzień głupia chodzi / Wszëszczé gòdzënë nie są szczeslëwé – rzekł chłop i nabił babie/ Terô możesz jic do Stôrégò Frëca na ùżôlenié – rzekł chłop białce, czej òn ji narzñł.* (If you don't beat a woman first thing in the morning, she's stupid all day long).



Also, in English we find such a record: *A woman, an ass and a walnut tree, the more you beat them, the better they will be.*

According to Kashubians, a woman's role is motherhood and taking care of the household: *Kòbiéta bez brzucha to jak garczek bez ùcha* (A woman who isn't pregnant is like a pot without a projecting handle) as well as *Chto kòchò swòjã slëbnã, òstòwiò jã doma* (A woman's place is in the home). In English there is: *Men make houses, women make homes* also *A good husband makes a good wife.*

It is interesting to note that in the paremiology of the Kashubian language we do not find a record of the superior role of the man in marriage, it is rather statement of marriage equality: *Dze chłop sã z białką wadzy, tam nigdë nosa nie wsadzòj* (Do not interfere in the affairs of spouses); *Le sã nie wdawòj w niżòdnã bitwã! – rzekła białka do chłopã i rznãła gò w leb* (Don't get into a fight with a woman - said the woman to the man and slapped him on the head).

### Conclusions

As we indicated in the introduction, the goal of our analysis was to present the linguistic worldview of women in English, Kashubian and Polish proverbs<sup>19</sup>. The view that emerges from the above analysis is rather negative. In other words, the number of proverbs indicates the strong presence of women in the cultures mentioned. As our analysis has revealed, the linguistic worldview of women in English, Kashubian and Polish are similar. The woman is portrayed as prone to promiscuity (also because of her beauty) as evidenced by English, Kashubian and Polish proverbs (*Fire, sea, woman, three evils/ Kòniowi nie dowierzòj z tëlù, psu z przòdkù, a białce z niżòdny stronë*). In a special way, beauty as a source of problems in male-female relations can be found in Polish and English paremiology (*Żona ładna zawsze zdradna/ For she that paints will doubtless be a whore*). All in all, it may be concluded that: A dishonest woman cannot be kept in, and an honest one will not. What seems interesting, is by far the largest number of English proverbs emphasising the promiscuity of women (*The smaller peas, the more to the pot, the fairer woman, the more giglot*). Women are also changeable (evidence also present in the three languages studied- *Trzymać kobietę za słowo, a piskorza za ogon – na jedno wychodzi /Węgorza za ogòn, a białkę za słowo trzëmac – to jedno/ Hold a woman's word and a chick's tail - it's one and the same thing*). English and Polish proverbs treat women in an object-like manner, as talkative persons (*A woman may knit a knot with her tongue, that she cannot unite with her teeth*). Interestingly, we did not find examples of Kashubian paremiology confirming this feature. In addition, we learn from Kashubian and English proverbs about women's lack of intelligence. Here we have Kashubian: *Baba mò tëlé rozëmù, co kura; a mądro baba tëlé, co dwie kùrë*, and English - *A wise woman is twice a fool*. It is worth mentioning that in English and Polish we find the statement that women are a source of conflict and unhappiness for men (*Morze, ogień i kobieta – to trzy nieszczęścia/Sea, fire and woman - are three misfortunes*). Proverbs from the three languages under study show greed, lust and deception as further traits identified with femininity (*Babi naròd zawsze chytry /Women and their wills are dangerous ills /Tak chcëwi, że jaż białce krëpë w garkù rechùje.*) What draws particular attention in the material analysed is the very large number of proverbs comparing the qualities of a woman with the devil. Proverbs of this type are present in the paremiology of the two languages studied (English and Polish). Though, proverbs relating to this particular trait are the most common in Polish. In Polish we even find a note that a woman is able to scare the devil away: *Gdy się baba rozpanoszy, to i diabła wypłoszy* (The bad woman will scare the devil away), she is worse than the devil: *Nad diabła rogatego gorsza zła kobieta* (A bad woman is worse than the horned devil) and that *Babę rozdrażnić, to gorzej niż diabła* (To irritate a woman is worse than the devil). Similarly, in Polish only, women are portrayed as stubborn, and there is no cure for their stubbornness (*Każda baba z natury uparta*). Polish paremiology is characterised by an emphasis on female cleverness and stubbornness (in the negative way). A woman's place as a wife is her home, what is found in Kashubian (*Kòbiéta bez brzucha to jak garczek bez ùcha*). In English there is: *Men make houses, women make homes* as well as *A good husband makes a good wife*, which undoubtedly indicates the inferior status of women. In Kashubian there is the trace that woman is subordinate to her husband, although this subordination does not even exclude the justification of domestic violence (*Le sã nie wdawòj w niżòdnã bitwã! – rzekła białka do chłopã i rznãła gò w leb*).

<sup>19</sup> All the translations for the purpose of the article have been made by the author.

In conclusion, it should be noted that the linguistic worldview of women are similar and predominantly negative. As Łobodzińska (1994, p. 184) states, the negative portrayal of women "has its sources in European culture, which is and was a male culture, and misogyny played a significant role in it and manifested itself in various spheres of life". While proverbs constitute the historical layer of language, it is worthwhile to study the linguistic worldview of women in order to be able to perceive and compare the scale of re-evaluation.

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