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Faculty of Arts**Figurative ‘eye’ expressions in the
conceptualization of emotions and personality
traits in Slovak***

This paper explores metonymic and metaphoric expressions with the lexeme ‘eye’ and provides empirical evidence from the Slovak language about the close interaction between the physiological and cultural aspects of the embodied mind. Our study, relying on data collected from several Slovak dictionaries, demonstrates the importance of the organ of sight in the conceptualization of various emotions (anger, happiness, sadness, love, hate, envy, surprise, and fear) and personality traits (honesty, greed, and hostility), all considered to be essential parts of the Slovak linguistic worldview. The identification of specific metonymic and/or metaphorical mappings has shed more light on the emergence and motivation of particular figurative expressions in Slovak. In the investigation of the linguistic data, the traditional Lakovian approach was used alongside the more recent anthropologically-oriented methodological approaches of Polish and Russian schools of cognitive semantics. Both contemporary and etymological meanings of multilayered emotion concepts were analyzed, and their hierarchical organization was presented in an associative-semantic network. It has been shown that there are no obvious boundaries between the concepts – rather the opposite, as the network illustrates their internal continuity. By revealing the complexities of the creation of new meanings via associations, this paper contributes towards a deeper understanding of the relationship between figurative language, culture, and human thought.

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Key words: emotions; personality traits; metaphor; metonymy; linguistic worldview; associative-semantic network.

1. Introduction

The human body is among the richest sources for metonymic and metaphorical conceptualizations of target concepts worldwide. A central cognitive linguistic claim is that metaphorical thought is rooted in bodily experience (Johnson 1987; Lakoff 1987; Lakoff & Johnson 1999; Gibbs & Wilson 2002; Gibbs et al. 2004). The interconnectedness between language, body, and mind constitutes the core of the broadly defined notion of embodiment. The embodied nature of human cognition is explained mainly through the functioning of the sensorimotor system, in particular the structure of the brain (Lakoff & Johnson 1999). The experiential basis of conceptual metaphors primarily includes the physical actions and physiological functions of human bodies, feelings associated with particular organs, and most importantly the use of the senses (sight, hearing, taste, smell, and touch) that enable people to perceive the world around them and create an image of reality. Such recurring experiences lead to the emergence of structured image schemas, for example containment, path-goal, in-out, balance, front-back, which are then projected onto different abstract domains, including emotions.

Metaphors arising from a combination of image schemas and bodily sensations are the motivation for many figurative expressions. For instance, Gibbs (2003) demonstrates how kinesthetic experiences of containment and the body's reactions to stress, especially feelings of heat and increased blood pressure, gave rise to the metaphor of ANGER IS HEATED FLUID IN A CONTAINER and the basis for the English idioms *get hot under the collar*, *blow up*, *blow off steam*, *blow one's stack*, *flip one's lid*, and *hit the ceiling*. Other examples of embodied motivation include linguistic manifestations of near-universal metaphors such as HAPPY IS UP, SAD IS DOWN, AFFECTION IS WARMTH, FEAR IS COLD, and DESIRE IS HUNGER. Regardless of the cultural background, the human body has the same structure and is governed by the same physiological and biochemical processes, accounting for the similarities that exist in metaphorical usage around the world. This is especially true of the abundant primary metaphors. According to Grady (1999), metaphorical extensions from hot temperature to emotional agitation are present in a variety of unrelated languages, including Arabic, Basque, Finnish, Hausa, and Hawaiian. Further evidence for metaphor universals has been provided by extensive research on emotion metaphors. Kövecses (2000), for example, compared Hungarian, English, Chinese, Polish, and Japanese metaphors for anger, and pointed out that although the speak-



ers are from different cultures, they clearly seem to share an understanding of the concept of anger drawing on the general container schema.

On the one hand, previous research suggests that conceptual metaphors display commonalities at the generic level, but on the other hand, studies describe numerous cross-linguistic variations in metaphorical conceptualizations (Boers 2003; Kövecses 2003; Kövecses 2005; Yu 2008). Rich metaphor variation can be attributed to the cultural aspects of experiential motivation. As Gibbs (1999a: 155) put it in his widely cited article "...embodied metaphor arises not from within the body alone, and is then represented in the minds of individuals, but emerges from bodily interactions that are to a large extent defined by the cultural world." Gibbs stresses the importance of the cultural component of embodiment, arguing that embodied experience that motivates a large proportion of metaphorical meanings is determined by cultural context. The idea is certainly not novel, since interactions between the body and the physical and cultural environment resulting in the creation of "experiential gestalts" was already acknowledged by Lakoff and Johnson in their classic work *Metaphors We Live By* (1980). Yet Gibbs's view has been highly influential in shifting the focus of cognitive research more towards a systematic investigation of cross-cultural metaphor variation.

In fact, the human body itself is a complex construct. Considerable attention has recently been devoted to the study of conceptualizations of the human body in relation to cultural models (Shore 1996) stemming from various folk, religious, and philosophical traditions. Cross-linguistic comparisons have shown that prevalent metaphorical (and metonymic) expressions containing internal and external body parts differ substantially (Sharifian et al. 2008; Maalej & Yu 2011). Through the exploration of conceptual mappings in diverse languages, these studies emphasize the explanatory power of culture in shaping the structuring of target concepts.

Body parts – eyes in particular – play a significant role in phraseology in many languages around the world. Figurative phrasemes with the somatic component 'eye' appear to be, among other body terms like head, tongue, hand, foot, heart, most frequent in the Slovak idiomatic stock (Soták 1989; Baláková 2001). While linguistic research into the semantic and structural features of Slovak phraseological units has a long tradition, empirical studies of figurative expressions involving various body parts from the perspective of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Lakoff 1987; Lakoff & Johnson 1999) are almost nonexistent in contrast to other languages (Yu 2002; 2004; Deignan & Potter 2004; Sahaan 2011; Sharifian 2011; Occhi 2011). Contemporary Slovak linguists (Vaňko 2014) have mostly been inspired by the works of Polish, Czech, and Russian au-



thors (for example, Bartmiński 2009; Vaňková et al. 2005; Apresjan 1995; Alefirenko 2005; 2008; 2009; Korina et al. 2014), whose research has traditionally focused on reconstructing the linguistic picture of the world or the naive worldview. The human being is placed at the center of a particular linguistic worldview. This anthropocentric view of human cognition corresponds to the notion of embodied experience in the seminal work by Lakoff and Johnson. Within both research paradigms, the study of phraseological units, body-based phrasemes in particular, has ultimately been adopted as an important tool for revealing similarities and differences in conceptual thought. In comparison to the Anglo-American cognitive semantic tradition, Slavic ethnolinguistically-oriented research has placed greater emphasis on discovering the sociocultural and etymological dimensions of contemporary lexical meanings.

Following the aforementioned Lakovian approach and East-Central European lines of cognitive research, this study attempts to fill in the gap in conceptual metaphor research, and provide a more systematic description of emotions and personality traits in Slovak.¹ We are going to examine Slovak figurative expressions with the lexeme *oko* ‘eye’ in order to demonstrate how eyes, fundamentally important sensory organs, are employed in the conceptualization of emotions and personality traits as essential components of the Slovak linguistic worldview. In doing so, we are particularly interested in revealing to which affective domains vision is predominantly applied in the Slovak language, and which aspects of the target concepts are described and highlighted by metaphoric and metonymic mappings. As has been emphasized earlier, our study attempts to draw on insights from Western and East-Central European cognitive research traditions. Thus, in addition to the synchronic semantic analysis of present-day ‘eye’ phrasemes, we will also try to discover connections with their original etymological motivation (Bartmiński 2009: 29). Following analysis of figurative meanings and etymological reconstruction of concepts from words, we will present an associative-semantic network of mutual relations between meanings stored in native speakers’ language consciousness (Maslova 2004; Alefirenko 2005; 2009). The network should capture semantic

¹ In our paper, what we term a ‘personality trait’ is an enduring quality in a person’s character. The use of ‘emotion’ is more problematic, as there are many definitions and classifications attached to the term in scholarly literature. The differentiation of emotions is far from a neat categorization, and concurrently no agreement among authors seems to exist as regards the lists of primary (basic) and secondary emotions. For the purposes of this paper, we follow a broader understanding of the emotion concept in Czech-language psychological literature (Nakonečný 2012).



links between the concepts that overtly manifest as a semantic correlation between the meanings of the figurative expressions under investigation.

The traditional Slovak saying *oko - do duše okno* ‘the eye is the window to the soul’, and the expression *vidieť niečo niekomu na očiach* ‘tell something by the look in somebody’s eyes’ reflect the common folk belief that the eyes are the chief indicators of people’s emotional and mental states. It is believed that by looking at somebody’s eyes one can recognize the person’s character, and his or her inner thoughts and feelings. Based on the assumption that figurative language mirrors a culturally specific worldview, we expect that linguistic implementation of eye-based metaphors in Slovak will also exhibit some culture-specific details, and that an analysis of the data will shed more light on the complex interplay between universal and cultural facets of embodiment.

2. Data and methods

The Slovak figurative expressions based around ‘eye’ presented below have been collected from several monolingual and bilingual dictionaries, and dictionaries of idioms.² The expressions were then subjected to a qualitative analysis. From a syntactic point of view, the lexeme for ‘eye’/‘eyes’ was most often found in the object position, taking the form of:

- a. the non-prepositional partitive genitive: *Nevie z nej oka spustiť* ‘He cannot take his eyes off her’
- b. the prepositional genitive: *Z očí mu srší nenávisť* ‘His eyes radiate hatred’
- c. the accusative: *Pre peniaze by si dal aj oko vyklat’* ‘He would have his eye stabbed out for money’
- d. the accusative after verbs of motion when the eye is used as an instrument: *Prebodol ho očami* ‘He looked daggers at him’ [lit. He stabbed him with his eyes]

² For gathering the Slovak data (109 expressions altogether) we used the following dictionaries: Peciar (ed.) (1960), Smiešková (1989), Kačala (ed.) (1987), Habovštiaková & Krošláková (1996), and Froněk & Mokráň (2011). At the time this article was being written, the most recent comprehensive dictionary of the Slovak language was not available. The part of the new Dictionary of Contemporary Slovak (2006) including the entry ‘eye’ was still in the process of compilation at the Slovak Academy of Sciences. Nevertheless, entries in the older *Dictionary of the Slovak Language* (1960) contain sufficiently detailed information on the current usage of words and phrases, as well as definitions of archaic expressions.



The occurrence of the lexeme ‘eye’ in the subject position was much less common in our language material. For example, *Oči mu išli vyskočiť z jamôk* ‘His eyes were popping out (of his head)’. Or in an elliptical structure: *Okno – do duše okno* ‘The eye is the window to the soul’ (the third person singular form of the linking verb ‘to be’ is omitted). The noun ‘eye’/‘eyes’ was also used in the adverbial position in the function of an adverbial of place via a prepositional phrase: *Má iskru v očiach* ‘He/she has a spark in his/her eye’; *Zmizni mi z očí* ‘Get out of my sight’ [lit. Get out of my eyes]. Almost all the collected figurative expressions with ‘eye’/‘eyes’ have a simple sentence structure. Complex sentences or compound-complex sentences were quite rare in the sample: *Nedostaneš z toho, čo by ti oko vyskočilo* ‘You will not get anything even if your eye popped out’; *Jedol a pil, až mu oči vyliezali* ‘He ate and drank so much that his eyes were popping out’. Also, similes did not constitute a large proportion of the corpus; however, they are very commonly used: *Chráni ho ako oko v hlave* ‘He/she cherishes him like an eye in the head’.

Many of the analyzed figurative expressions permit variation in lexical components, morphological forms, and syntactic structures. All the variants were taken as representations of one item. For example, the expressions *Hodil/pohodil/prešiel/prebehol/okom/očkom/očami po nej* ‘to show interest in’ and *Vyvalil/vypútil/vygútil/oči/okále* ‘to be surprised’ were treated as manifestations of the same phraseme.

The methodological approach based on searching for the source domain lexical item and then identifying the target domain has been widely used in previous conceptual metaphor research (Yu 2002; Sharifian et al. 2008; Maalej & Yu 2011). However, this approach poses potential problems in data classification (Stefanowitsch 2006). The main problem lies in deciding whether a particular expression represents an emotion or not. In our corpus, only a minority of extracted figurative expressions contained an emotion term (e.g. *Z očí mu pozerá závisť* ‘Envy is looking out of his eyes’). If the noun was lacking, we determined the emotion category based on the dictionary definitions of the particular expression.

Both metaphor and metonymy are major cognitive strategies used for extending word meanings (Cruse 2000: 211). In Jacobsonian tradition, these tropes were contrasted in terms of similarity versus contiguity. The criterion of similarity was proposed to distinguish metaphor from metonymy (Gibbs 1999b: 36; Pragglejaz Group 2007). One way to determine whether or not words in contexts have metaphorical meanings is to apply the ‘like’ test. According to Pragglejaz Group, an expression can be categorized as metaphorical if a comparison between two items is meaningful (A is like B), for example the statement *Lawyers are (like) sharks* (Pragglejaz Group 2007: 31). Apparently, comparisons are meaningful because



each lexical item belongs to a different conceptual domain. In cognitive linguistic definitions, metaphor involves conceptual correspondences between two distant domains, whereas metonymy involves mapping between elements of a single conceptual domain (Lakoff 1987). Metonymy represents a stand-for relationship, since the elements within the domain are closely related. Typical metonymic relationships are part for whole, whole for part, and part for part (Kövecses 2010). Even though metaphor and metonymy are defined differently, the distinction based on mapping relations is not so obvious. In reality, the boundary between the two cognitive mechanisms is often blurred. The most recent cognitive approaches emphasize interaction between metaphor and metonymy (Dirven & Pörings 2003; Deignan 2005; Steen 2005). As Goossens (2003: 352) writes: "...the boundary lines between domains are often fuzzy, which is one of the reasons why metaphor and metonymy may interpenetrate." Metaphor and metonymy often interact and appear together in complex linguistic expressions. Goossens has termed this phenomenon *metaphonymy*. The reason why the cognitive devices tend to overlap is their common experiential basis. As a result, many traditional linguistic metaphors can be reinterpreted as having metonymic origin. Metonymy is perceived as "...the link between bodily experience and metaphor in the mapping process from concrete experience to abstract concepts" (Maalej & Yu 2011: 9). Considering that many conceptual metaphors contain a metonymic element, we have not classified the analyzed Slovak expressions into metaphoric and metonymic ones.

3. Conceptualization of emotions in Slovak

The organ of sight is used to describe basic emotions as well as less prototypical emotion concepts reflecting relationships with other people. In this section, we discuss how various aspects of visual experience are utilized in Slovak conceptualization of the emotions anger, happiness, sadness, love, hate, envy, surprise, and fear.

3.1. *Hnev* ('anger')

The eye is a common source domain in conceptual metaphors and metonymies for anger. The following figurative expression encodes the general metonymy PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF AN EMOTION STAND FOR THE EMOTION (Lakoff 1987):

- (1) *Zatme-lo sa mu v oči-ach*
 darken-PFV-PST.3SG REFL him.DAT.SG in eye-LOC.PL
 'He felt dizzy' [lit. Darkness came over his eyes]



Example (1) refers to changes in visual perception. The underlying metonymy INTERFERENCE WITH ACCURATE PERCEPTION FOR ANGER is grounded in the bodily experience of losing accurate perception when angry. A person who is very angry cannot see clearly. Similarly, angry people are said ‘to see red’ in Slovak (*vidieť načerveno*), but the attributive adjective in *mat’ červené oči* ‘to have red eyes’ does not stand for anger, as it does, for example in Chinese (Yu 2002: 346). Rather, having red eyes is closer in meaning to English, where red eyes may indicate lack of sleep, crying, or disease, and manifest the metonymy EYE APPEARANCE FOR THE PERSON’S STATE. Expression (1) implies a causal relationship between an emotion and its physiological effect, although the symptom does not exclusively refer to anger in Slovak. The quality of vision can also be affected by other intense emotional experiences or bodily conditions. Depending on the situation, darkening in the eyes may stand for fear, worry, shocking surprise, or physical weakness in Slovak.

Another common physiological response linked to anger is an increase in body temperature. When people become angry, they feel that their body temperature rises. The correlation of this bodily experience with the emotional experience underlies the BODY HEAT FOR ANGER metonymy, which gives rise to the central conceptual metaphor ANGER IS HEAT/FIRE manifested in these conventionalized expressions:

- (2) a. *Oči* *mu* *blč-ia* *hnev-om*
eye.NOM.PL him.DAT.SG flare-PRS.3PL anger-INS.SG
‘His eyes are flaring with anger’
- b. *Z* *oč-í* *mu* *sál-a* *hnev*
from eye-GEN.PL him.DAT.SG radiate-prs.3SG anger.NOM.SG
‘Anger is radiating from his eyes’
- c. *Prepál-il by* *ho* *oč-ami*
scorch-PFV-COND.3SG him.ACC.SG eye-with-INS.PL
‘He would scorch him with his eyes (if he could)’

The amount of heat highlights the intensity of the anger. The verb *blčať* ‘flare’ conveys the image of a fire that burns strongly. Thus, example (2a) could be seen as a clear case of the ANGER IS FIRE metaphor. The motivation of the other two expressions (2b) and (2c) is slightly different and more complex. Unlike (2a), in (2b) the radiating heat does not have to be produced by fire, but perhaps by another energy source. In addition, the domains of heat and container are found in combination. With the exception of ANGER IS HEAT, the general metaphors EYES ARE CONTAINERS FOR EMOTIONS and EMOTIONS ARE SUBSTANCES IN THE EYES are at work here. In Slovak, the conventional way of talking about anger is to have anger locat-



ed in the eyes. Anger is understood as residing inside the eye container, from which it can move. In (2c) the eyes are conceptualized as hot instruments. Thus, the underlying metaphor is SEEING IS TOUCHING. The expression implies a physical contact between the perceiver's eyes and the body of the person at whom the anger is targeted. The heat can be so extreme that it burns the person. In this way, the metaphor highlights the intensity of the anger. In all three examples, the underlying metaphors contain the metonymic element THE WAY OF LOOKING FOR ANGER. This subtype of the EFFECT FOR CAUSE metonymy captures the association between anger and the physiological reaction observed in the eyes.

The same metaphor and metonymy motivate other Slovak synonymous expressions of anger. The idea of physical contact occurs in the following examples:

- (3) a. *Zabod-ol/zapich-ol do neho oči*
 stab-PFV-PST.3SG into him eye.ACC.PL
 'He stabbed his eyes into him'
- b. *Prebod-ol ho oč-ami*
 stab-PFV-PST.3SG him.ACC.SG eye-with-INS.PL
 'He looked daggers at him'
- c. *Gúl'-al oč-ami*
 roll-IPFV-PST.3SG eye-INS.PL
 'He rolled his eyes' [lit. He rolled his eyes]

Examples (3a–b) refer to an angry glare and illustrate the metaphor SEEING IS TOUCHING. The eye is conceived as a sharp metal instrument, a dagger or a pin, used as a weapon against the wrongdoer. We assume that the metaphor is rooted in the correlation between prolonged, direct eye contact with constricted pupils and anger. The gesture of rolling one's eyes upwards or in a circle in (3c) communicates either anger or rage. The dictionary of the Slovak language (1960) links rolling/twirling the eyes with two emotion words: *hnev* 'anger' and *zlost* 'rage'.

The concept of ANGER is also comprehended via the source domain of light in Slovak. The ANGER IS LIGHT metaphor generates the set of examples listed below:

- (4) a. *V oč-iach mu sviat-i hnev*
 in eye-LOC.PL him.DAT.SG glow-PRS.3SG anger.NOM.SG
 'Anger glows in his eyes'
- b. *Až sa mu v oč-iach iskr-í*
 PART REFL him.DAT.SG in eye-LOC.PL spark-PRS.3SG
 'Sparks are in his eyes' (PART = Particle)

- c. *Blesky sa mu z oč-í syp-ú*
lightning.NOM.PL REFL him.DAT.SG from eye-GEN.PL pour-PRS.3PL
‘Lightning radiates from his eyes’
- d. *Zablýsk-al oč-ami*
flash-PFV-PST.3SG eye-INS.PL
‘His eyes flashed’
- e. *Chcel-a mu vydriapať oči*
want-IPFV-PST.3SG him.DAT.SG scratch out.INF eye.ACC.PL
‘She wanted to scratch his eyes out’

Again, a certain degree of the metonymic motivation THE WAY OF LOOKING FOR ANGER can be recognized in examples (4a–d). Another range of idiomatic meanings is based on the ANGER IS LIGHT metaphor. The expressions involve the metaphoric mapping of light onto the domain of anger. The application of the light source domain in (4a–b) makes the continuous duration of anger more prominent, while the selection of lightning as shown in (4c–d), stresses the suddenness and intensity of the emotion.³ Similarly to the Slovak metaphors involving fire, the figurative extensions of eyes in (4a–c) are metaphorically complex because of the exploitation of light and the in and out container image schema.

The figurative expression *vydriapať niekomu oči* ‘to scratch somebody’s eyes out’ has a completely different conceptual motivation. The phraseme in (4e) refers to angry, violent behavior. To be more precise, (4e) is related to the emotion word *zlosť* ‘rage’, as defined in the Concise Dictionary of the Slovak Language (1987: 566): “intense agitation caused by anger, hate, disgust... fierce anger, poison.” A wider context is necessary to identify the operating cognitive mechanism. If the expression involves the action described, i.e. it is literally true, the example (4e) can be classified as a metonymy. Yet at an abstract level of interpretation – which is more likely in this case – ‘scratch somebody’s eyes out’ is a clear example of Goossens’ category metaphor from metonymy.

As shown above, the association of fire and flame occurs repeatedly in Slovak expressions describing the ANGER concept. The lexical components of the phrasemes testify to the existence of a stereotype (Bartmiński 2009) in the linguistics

³ Facial physical reactions to emotion are probably not the only explanation for the emergence of these figurative expressions. The general experience of the danger of lightning during a thunderstorm may also underlie their meanings. On the cultural side, the original association of anger with lightning may go back to pagan Slavic mythology, to the image of Perun, the god of thunder and lightning, and his fiery temper.



tic interpretation of reality by the given community of speakers. Some explanation for the recurring image of fire in the associated lexemes representing conceptual metaphors can also be found in the etymology of anger, although the original meaning of the word *hnev* ‘anger’ (Proto-Slavic *gněvъ) is not univocal. It may be related to the Proto-Slavic verb *gnětiti meaning *rozpaľovať* ‘incandesce’, *nietit’* ‘ignite’. Both verbs *nietit’* and *rozpaľovať* originated in Proto-Slavic *ghnei- ‘to rub’, which is related to the ancient technique for starting a fire by rubbing two pieces of wood together (Králik 2015: 388). It is less likely that the meaning of the word *hnev* resulted from the semantic shift from *gniti ‘putrefy’ > purulence, poison in the body > *hnev* ‘anger’ exemplified in the root *jed-* ‘poison’ that we find in the Slovak verb *jedovať sa* ‘to anger’ (Králik 2015: 200). Rather than seeing the varying etymologies in conflict, we prefer an explanation of cooperation between the two original senses of the word anger (incandesce, putrefy) that has jointly contributed to the contemporary understanding of the concept of ANGER in Slovak. Both physiological processes – the expansion of heat and gases – lead to an increase in internal pressure associated with the emotion of anger.

3.2. Šťastie (‘happiness’)

HAPPINESS is another emotion concept commonly expressed via the eye source domain in Slovak. Thus, we have the following instances:

- (5) a. *Od štasti-a sa mi*
 from happiness-GEN.SG REFL me.DAT.SG
svet krút-i pred oč-ami
 world.NOM.SG revolve-PRS.3SG before eye-INS.PL
 ‘I feel dizzy’ [lit. Happiness is making the world revolve before my eyes]
- b. *Oči sa mu smejú*
 eye.NOM.PL REFL him.DAT.SG smile-PRS.3PL
 ‘His eyes are smiling’
- c. *Oči mu hraj-ú*
 eye.NOM.PL him.DAT.SG play-PRS.3PL
 ‘His eyes are playing’
- d. *Oči mu žiari-li od štasti-a*
 eye.NOM.PL him.DAT.SG shine-PST.3PL from happiness-GEN.SG
 ‘His eyes were shining with happiness’



- e. *V oč-iach mu hr-á radost'*
in eye-LOC.PL him.DAT.SG play-PRS.3SG happiness.NOM.SG
‘Happiness plays in his eyes’
- f. *M-á iskru v oč-iach*
have-PRS.3SG spark.ACC.SG in eye-LOC.PL
‘He has a spark in his eyes’

The expressions in (5) describing happiness are largely based on the metonymy THE EXPRESSIVE RESPONSE FOR EMOTION, which provides a link between external reactions seen in the eye and the emotion. The only exception is (5a), motivated by the INTERFERENCE WITH ACCURATE PERCEPTION FOR HAPPINESS metonymy. In (5e) and (5f), eyes are construed as containers and happiness as a substance located inside. As we can see, anger and happiness share the same source domain in Slovak, but the metaphor HAPPINESS IS LIGHT is more conventional in everyday use. Also, some differences exist in the details of the application. Sparks typically stand for anger (4b), whereas the singular or plural form of the noun (for example, to have sparks in the eyes, to have eyes like sparks) is used when the referent is happiness (5f). The happiness metaphors are built on a more stative notion of light, while in the anger metaphors light is more dynamic, recurring, as illustrated by (4b–d).

3.3. *Smútok* (‘sadness’)

- (6) a. *Oči sa jej zalia-li slz-ami*
eye.NOM.PL REFL her.DAT.SG suffuse-PST.3PL tear-INS.PL
‘Her eyes were suffused with tears’
- b. *Slzy mu v oč-iach hraj-ú*
tear.NOM.PL him.DAT.SG in eye-LOC.PL play-PRS.3PL
‘He is crying’ [lit. Tears are playing in his eyes]
- c. *Ani (jedno) oko ne-zostal-o suché*
PART (a single) eye.NOM.SG NEG-stay-PST.3SG dry.ADJ.SG
‘Everybody was crying’ [lit. Not (a single) eye stayed dry]
- d. *Mal-a zarosené oči*
have-PST.3SG misty.ADJ.PL eye.ACC.PL
‘Her eyes were misty’
- e. *Takmer som si oči vyplaka-la*
almost AUX.1SG REFL.POSS eye.ACC.PL cry out-PFV-PST.1SG
‘I almost cried my eyes out’



Examples (6a–d) are linguistic realizations of the EFFECT FOR CAUSE metonymy, in which an action associated with the eye, namely shedding tears, stands for crying, and then crying for sadness. Tears are mentioned explicitly in (6a–b), while examples (6c–d) contain only implicit, but easily understood, references to tears. The expression ‘misty eyes’ refers to teary eyes. The eye which is not dry is wetted with tears. Generally, crying is a physiological response associated with sadness; however, this is not always true. The above-mentioned expressions may indicate happiness or sentimental feelings as well. For this reason, a wider context is necessary to establish the link between the action of the eye and the particular emotional state. Example (6e) is motivated by the same metonymy CRYING FOR SADNESS, but differs from the preceding expressions as it *unambiguously* describes feeling sad.

3.4. *Láska* (‘love’)

A substantial number of conceptual metaphors involving the eyes characterize the Slovak concept of LOVE. Consider the following example:

- (7) *Rob-í, čo mu na oč-iach vid-í*
 do-PRS.3SG what him.DAT.SG on eye-LOC.PL see-PRS.3SG
 ‘She ministers to all his wants’ [lit. She does everything she sees on his eyes]

To ‘do what we see on somebody’s eyes’ in Slovak means that we love a person. The word *láska* ‘love’ is defined as “a positive emotional relationship, warm affection towards someone” in the Concise Dictionary of the Slovak Language (1987: 177). The expression implies that the Slovak concept of LOVE is primarily understood as a positive relationship that involves self-sacrifice for the sake of the well-being of the other person. To put it another way, this particular way of behaving towards a person involved in either a romantic or parental relationship is taken as a component of love. The expression (7) illustrates the metaphor THE EYES ARE CONTAINERS FOR EMOTIONS, but in contrast to the previous examples, the metaphor draws on a different aspect of the container schema. In the Slovak version of the love metaphor, emotions are not located in the eyes but are visible on the surface of the container. Needless to say, at the generic level the metaphor has a basis in the near-universal metonymy THE EXPRESSIVE RESPONSE FOR EMOTION grounded in bodily experience and the common folk belief that the eyes show inner mental and emotional states. By observing a person’s eyes, we can make inferences about their wishes and needs. Reactions in the eyes provide cues to understanding what the loved person likes or dislikes.



Loved people, close relatives, and friends are typically conceptualized as the organ of sight in Slovak. For instance:

- (8) a. *Chrán-i ho ako oko v hlav-e*
cherish-PRS.3SG him.ACC.SG like eye.ACC.SG in head-LOC.SG
‘He/she cherishes him like an eye in his/her head’
- b. *Rád mu bol ako svojim dvom oč-iam*
like-PST.3SG him.DAT.SG COP.PST.3SG as POSS.DAT.PL two eye-DAT.PL
‘He liked him as much as his two eyes’
- c. *Z ok-a by si vylúp-il*
from eye-GEN.SG COND REFL.POSS take out-PFV-COND.3SG
a dal by mu
and give-PFV-COND.3SG him.DAT.SG
‘He would take out of his eye and give it to him’

The meanings of the similes (8a) and (8b) are achieved via the metonymy EYE FOR VISION and the LOVED PERSONS ARE EYES metaphor. The latter has variants in many other languages, for example Arabic, Persian, Polish, and English (Maalej 2011; Sharifian 2011; Kraska-Szlenk 2014). Among other sense organs, the eyes are considered to be the most important source for gaining knowledge about the world in the Slovak cultural model of the body. The objects of love are valued as much as the ability to see. Similarly, the meaning of (8c) can be explained by the central role of the eyes in human cognition. It is interesting to note that the underlying metaphor THE EYE IS A PRECIOUS GIFT has a lexical variant with the noun ‘heart’: *Zo srdca by si vylúpil a dal by mu* ‘He would take out of his heart and give it to him’. This metaphoric extension of the eyes suggests that the organ of sight is of equal value to the other vitally important body part.

The domain of seeing is highly productive in conceptualizing attention, a mental state associated with the concept of LOVE. Studies in nonverbal communication have confirmed that the eyes signal romantic interest during social encounters (Pease & Pease 2004). The following figurative expressions illustrate how looking correlates with paying attention to people we like:

- (9) a. *Pad-la mu do ok-a*
fall-PST.3SG him.DAT.SG into eye-GEN.SG
‘He began to take a fancy to her’ [lit. She fell into his eye]



- b. *Pas-ie* *si* *oči* *na ňom*
 feast-PRS.3SG REFL.POSS eye.ACC.PL on him.LOC.SG
 ‘She feasts his eyes on him’
- c. *Hlt-á* *ho* *oč-ami*
 devour-PRS.3SG him.ACC.SG eye-with-INS.PL
 ‘She devours him with her eyes’
- d. *Vp-il* *sa do nej* *oč-ami*
 sink-PST.3SG REFL in her.GEN.SG eye-with-INS.PL
 ‘He drank her in with his eyes’
- e. *Prilep-il* *na ňu* *oči*
 glue-PST.3SG on her.ACC.SG eye.ACC.PL
 ‘He glued his eyes to her’
- f. *Ne-moh-la* *od neho* *odtrhnúť* *oči*
 NEG-can-PST.3SG from him.GEN.SG take off.INF eye.ACC.PL
 ‘She couldn’t take her eyes off him’
- g. *Hod-il* *po nej* *ok-om*
 throw-PST.3SG at her.LOC.SG eye-INS.SG
 ‘He gave her the eye’ [lit. He threw an eye at her]
- h. *Šib-ol* *po nej* *ok-om*
 whip-PST.3SG at her.LOC.SG eye-INS.SG
 ‘He gave her a dirty look’ [lit. He whipped at her with his eye]
- i. *Strieľ-a* *po nej* *oč-ami*
 shoot-IPFV-PRS.3SG at her.LOC.SG eye-with-INS.PL
 ‘He is making eyes at her’ [lit. He is shooting with his eyes at her]
- j. *M-á* *oči len pre ňu*
 have-PRS.3SG eye.ACC.PL only for her.ACC.SG
 ‘He only has eyes for her’

Example (9a) refers to liking a person. The eye is construed as a container into which the object of admiration falls. The interest on the part of the male or female observer may stem from physical and/or mental attractiveness. The expressions (9b–i), by contrast, denote exclusively sexual attraction. Various ways of looking stand for showing interest in another person. Despite subtle semantic differences, the expressions (9b–i) are motivated by the same metonymy THE EYE FOR THE WAY OF LOOKING constructed on the bodily experience of directing a shorter or prolonged look towards a person we find attractive. Concurrently, the expressions can be



interpreted as manifestations of the metaphor SEEING IS TOUCHING. The contact between the perceiver’s eye and the object of interest manifests in two ways. In (9b–d), the eye is implicitly personified as the performer of the action, since the eyes themselves feast, devour, or drink. In (9e–i), the eye becomes an object manipulated by a human agent. The last expression (9j) in the set of examples is different – its motivation is purely metonymic and it carries the meaning of being attracted exclusively to a beloved person.

Etymologically, the Slovak word *láska* has its origin in Proto-Slavic *laska* ‘love’ from the verb *laskati* ‘to caress’, derived from **las-* ‘desirous’, ‘lustful’ (Králík 2015: 318). The protoverbal component of love manifests in a number of metaphorical linguistic expressions, as seen in (9). It is worth noting that the etymological analysis also reveals an implicit connection between the concepts of LOVE and HAPPINESS. The Slovak word *šťastie* ‘happiness’ derives from the Proto-Slavic **sъčęstje* the compound of **sъ-* ‘good’ and **čęst-* ‘part’ meaning ‘a good part’, ‘appanage’) (Králík 2015: 592; Rejzek 2001: 642). A part probably refers to an amount of land, which was the ancient measure of wealth. The original meaning of *údel* ‘a part of land’ has later come to mean a good life in general, i.e. *mať (dobrý) údel, osud* ‘have (a good) fate’. Concurrently, the entry for happiness in Rejzek’s etymological dictionary provides a link to the word *střetat se* ‘to meet’ from the Proto-Slavic *sъręsti*, akin to the Indo-European **urē-t-* from **uer-* meaning ‘to find’, ‘to take’. Let us reconsider the interpretation of the Slovak expression ‘to only have eyes for somebody’ (9j) in the light of these etymological facts. The literal meaning can be reconstructed as searching/finding the person who is the object of love by directing a look only towards them. The image associated with the expression is a person in love who is so fascinated by another person that he/she does not notice anyone else. The etymological analysis supports an expected sequence of actions in reality: searching for, finding, and taking a partner. In Slovak, after finding a person with whom we fall in love, we “take him/her”. The Slovak equivalent to the English ‘to get married’ is *brať si niekoho za manželku/manžela* [lit. to take somebody as a wife/husband]. For comparison, upon contracting marriage under Slovak wedding vows, we “take a partner”, speaking figuratively we take “a good part”, while in Czech two people who get married commit to each other. They give themselves to each other, i.e. “the good part” is given over to the partner. The Czech verb *odevzdávat se* literally means ‘to give oneself to somebody else’. The use of other conventionalized Slovak phrasemes *mať svoj diel šťastia*, ‘to have one’s own piece of happiness’, *hládať/nájsť svoje šťastie* ‘to search for/find one’s happiness’ is in line with the above-mentioned etymological connections between the words for happiness, to find, and to take. The search for happiness is a common



behavior *pattern* in the plots of traditional Slovak folktales. The main character is looking for happiness, which he eventually finds through love. Having been exposed to various dangers and many hardships in some distant places, he returns home with a woman whom he marries and with whom he remains happy.

To sum up, the connection between the concepts of LOVE and HAPPINESS seems to be one of equivalence in Slovak. The phrasemes and the folktale stereotype are connected through identity of meaning, although there is a difference in the condensation of expression. In the folktale, the image is created by detailed narration (an interplay of narrative acts), while in phrasemes the condensed image is expressed by a syntagma or sentence.

3.5. *Nenávist'* ('hate')

The Slovak expressions presented in the previous section support the claim that prolonged looking at a person tends to coincide with loving and desiring. By contrast, avoiding seeing somebody signals the opposite meaning. The following expressions describe the concept of HATE in Slovak:

- (10) a. *Ne-cho-d' mi na oči*
 NEG-walk-IMP.2SG me.DAT.SG on eye.ACC.PL
 'I do not want to see you' [lit. Do not walk in front of my eyes]
- b. *Zmizn-i mi z oč-í*
 get out-IMP.2SG me.DAT.SG from eye-GEN.PL
 'Get out of my sight' [lit. Get out of my eyes]
- c. *Hľad-i na to kriv-ým ok-om*
 look-PRS.3SG on it.ACC crooked-INS.SG eye-with-INS.SG
 'He is giving a dirty look' [lit. He looks at it with a crooked eye]
- d. *Niečo mu kol-e oči*
 something him.DAT.SG strike-PRS.3SG eye.ACC.PL
 'He does not like something' [lit. Something strikes his eyes]

When we do not like people, we do not want to see them anymore. Staying out of somebody's sight completely excludes the possibility of seeing the disliked person. The underlying metaphor HATING IS NOT WANTING TO SEE accounts for the meanings of both (10a) and (10b). When we say in Slovak that somebody 'looks with a crooked eye at something', we emphasize the perceptual aspect of hatred (10c). The adjective 'crooked' implies partly metonymic motivation constructed from the association of frowning and a feeling of intense hostility that constitutes the major



component of the Slovak dictionary definition of hate (A Concise Dictionary of the Slovak Language 1987: 231). Example (10d) is an apparent instance of the SEEING IS TOUCHING metaphor, in which the target of hate strikes the eye of the observer. The target is active, while the eye remains passive.

In the Slovak *nenávisť* ‘hate’, we find a connection with seeing, or more precisely with the negative form of the verb *vidieť* ‘to see’. The lexeme *vidieť* ‘to see’, deduced from the noun eye/eyes, occurs inherently in the hate metaphor. The etymological reconstruction of the verb *nenávidieť* ‘to hate’ shows that it derives from the Proto-Slavic **na-viděti* literally meaning ‘to look at somebody with delight’ (Králík 2015: 658). The prefix *na-* gave the original verb an affirmative meaning. Attaching the prefix *ne-* to the root made the verb negative.

3.6. *Závisť* (‘envy’)

ENVY is another emotion concept commonly expressed via the organ of sight, as witnessed by the following examples:

- (11) a. *Z očí mu pozerá závisť*
from eye-GEN.PL him.DAT.SG look-PRS.3SG envy.NOM.SG
‘Envy is looking out of his eyes’
- b. *Oči mu vylieza-jú zo závist-i*
eye.NOM.PL him.DAT.SG pop out-IPFV-PRS.3SG
from envy-GEN.SG
‘His eyes are popping out with envy’ [lit. His eyes are crawling out with envy]
- c. *Závidí ešte i tie oči človek-u*
envy-PRS.3SG even also DEM.ACC.PL eye.ACC.PL person-DAT.SG
‘He/she envies even the other person’s eyes’

In (11a), the eye is conceived as a container of envy. Envy is an organism with eyes and ability to look. Apart from the container schema, the expression also features the metaphor ENVY IS A LIVING ENTITY. The metonymy EYE BEHAVIOR FOR THE EMOTION motivates (11b). In (11c), one desires almost everything that belongs to another. To be envious of another person’s eyes (11c) means to feel extreme envy.⁴

⁴ In a variant of this Slovak phraseme the nose is the object of envy. *Závidí aj nos medzi očami.* ‘He/she even envies the nose between his/her eyes.’



BEHAVIOR FOR THE EMOTION.⁵ This metonymic motivation derives from the wide-eyed facial expression associated with surprise, and appears in a few variants of the phraseme (12b) in which the noun eyes collocates with other verbs containing the prefix *vy-* ‘moving out’. For example, *vytreštit’/vyvalit’/vypúliť/vygúliť oči* meaning roughly ‘to bulge’. In (12c–d), the eyes “emerging from their sockets” emphasize increased emotional intensity. The more protruding the eyeballs, the greater the surprise.

3.8. *Strach* (‘fear’)

The concept of FEAR is constituted by similar metonymies as SURPRISE in Slovak. Fear is conceptualized in visual terms in the following expressions:

- (13) a. *Oči* *ma-l* *rozšíren-é* *od* *strach-u*
eye.NOM.PL have-PST.3SG wide-COMP.PTCP.3PL from fear-GEN.SG
‘His eyes were wide with fear’
- b. *Hľad-i* *s* *vytrešten-ými* *oč-ami*
stare-PRS.3SG with bulging-INS.PL eye-INS.PL
‘He/she stares with bulging eyes’
- c. *Strach* *má* *veľké* *oči*
fear.NOM.SG have-PRS.3SG big.ACC.PL eye.ACC.PL
‘Fear has big eyes’
- d. *Strach* *m-á* *sto* *oči*
fear.NOM.SG have-PRS.3SG one hundred eye.ACC.PL
‘Fear has one hundred eyes’

The eyelids pulled up and the eyebrows raised make the eyes look wide, which indicates a metonymic conceptualization of fear in (13a–b). In addition, fear is described by the metaphor EMOTIONS ARE LIVING ENTITIES underlying two Slovak proverbs (13c–d). The proverbs carry the same meaning: people who are frightened tend to exaggerate the sources of fear in their minds. Danger appears to be more formidable than it actually is. Notably, fear is comprehended via a different source of imagery in (13c) and (13d). The former construes fear in terms of the size of the eyes ‘Fear has big eyes’, while the latter in terms of an increased number of eyes ‘Fear has one hundred eyes’.

⁵ The eyes can be replaced or combined with the mouth to express surprise, for example *pozerať s otvorenými ústami a očami* ‘to stare with one’s mouth and eyes open’.



4. Conceptualization of personality traits in Slovak

In Section 4, we demonstrate the prominent conceptualizations of some personality traits that rely on metonymic and metaphoric mappings reflected in figurative expressions involving the organ of vision. We begin with the concept of HONESTY.

4.1. *Čestnosť* ('honesty')

- (14) a. *V-ie sa mu pozrieť (smelo)*
 can.PRS.3SG REFL him.DAT.SG look.INF (bravely)
do očí
 into eye-GEN.PL
 'He/she can look (bravely) into his eyes'
- b. *Pov-ie mu to rovno do očí*
 tell-FUT.3SG him.DAT.SG it.ACC straight into eye-GEN.PL
 'He/she will tell him directly' [lit. He/she will tell him straight into the eyes]
- c. *Luh-á mu do očí*
 lie-IPFV-PRS.3SG him.DAT.SG into eye-GEN.PL
 'He/she is lying impertinently' [lit. He/she is lying into the eyes]
- d. *Ne-ver-il by som mu ani*
 NEG-believe-COND.1SG AUX.1SG him.DAT.SG even
nos medzi očami
 nose.ACC.SG between eye-INS.PL
 'He lies constantly' [lit. I would not believe even the nose between his eyes]

We can see what it means to be honest in Slovak in the dictionary entry for the adjective *čestný* 'honest'. The entry involves three characteristics: *statočný* 'brave', *poctivý* 'fair', *počestný* 'respectable', usually of a woman (A Concise Dictionary of the Slovak Language 1987: 64). This suggests that, in Slovak, being honest refers more to morality of behavior than to speaking the truth, although the two cannot be fully separated. Telling the truth, which comes first in English definitions of the adjective (an honest person does not tell lies), is only implicit in the Slovak understanding of the concept. The Slovak expression 'to look somebody in the eye' (14a) evokes two semantic features of the above-mentioned entry: being fair and brave. We assume that if a person is able to look you straight into the eye, he or she is fair, i.e. his/her behavior is ethical. If somebody can 'tell it straight into the eyes' (14b),



we ascribe bravery, and only implicitly veracity, to the person.⁶ The metonymic motivation of (14a) and (14b) emerges from the popular belief that looking straight into a person’s eyes indicates honest behavior. Conversely, looking away connotes dishonesty, as seen in the negative form of the phraseme *nemôcť sa pozrieť niekomu do očí* ‘to be unable to look into another person’s eyes’. Example (14c) is interesting because looking directly into the eyes occurs in combination with lying. This apparent contradiction with popular belief yields the idea of impertinence. The last example (14d) characterizes a person who lies constantly about everything.

In addition, the domain of ‘straightness’ has more positive than negative connotations in Slovak. For example, *byť priamy* ‘to be straight’ refers to an individual of honest and moral character. The personal qualities of honesty and morality are expressed in terms of straight direction without any bending or curving. By contrast, a crooked line serves as a source domain for dishonesty.

4.2. *Lakomosť* (‘greed’)

In Slovak, the concept of GREED is typically comprehended in terms of the appearance and activity of the eyes. The following expressions show this:

- (15) a. *D-al by si za to oko vyklat’*
give-COND.3SG REFL for it.ACC eye.ACC.SG stab out.COMP.INF
‘He would have his eye stabbed out in order to have it’
- b. *M-á veľké oči*
have-PRS.3SG big.ADJ.PL eye.ACC.PL
‘He/she is greedy’ [lit. He/she has big eyes]
- c. *Jed-ol a p-il,*
eat-PST.3SG and drink-PST.3SG
až mu oči vylieza-li
PART him.DAT.SG eye.NOM.PL pop out-PST.3PL
‘He ate and drank so much that his eyes were popping out’
- d. *Ne-dostan-eš z toho, čo by*
NEG-get-FUT.2SG from that.GEN.SG even
ti oko vyskoči-lo
you.DAT.SG eye.NOM.SG pop out-PST.3SG
‘You will not get anything even if your eye popped out’

⁶ In this phraseme, the noun *pravda* ‘truth’ is often used in place of the pronoun ‘it’.



e. *Len oči mu jed-ia*
 only eye.NOM.PL him.DAT.SG eat-PRS.3PL
 ‘Only his eyes are eating’

All the expressions in (15) refer to greed. Example (15a) expresses an excessive desire for material possessions. If somebody is voluntarily willing to lose an eye by having it stabbed out, the desire to own more is extremely strong. The idea is captured in the metaphor THE EYES ARE PRECIOUS OBJECTS. Objects of desire are sometimes specified in the variants of (15a). For instance, *Dá si za grajciar oko vyklat’* ‘He will have his eye stabbed out in order to gain a kreuzer’.⁷

In Slovak, a greedy person is usually said to “have big eyes” (15b). This example instantiates the metaphor GREED IS THE BIG SIZE OF THE EYE. Metaphorically, the eye’s growth applies to exceeding the physical or mental capacities of one’s body. Therefore, “to have big eyes” in Slovak may express a strong desire for food (i.e. eating more than one is able to digest), for material goods (i.e. wanting to possess more than one needs), or for success (i.e. attempting to accomplish more than one has the abilities for). To put it simply, larger eyes implies being out of appropriate bounds. The other three examples (15c–e) refer exclusively to wanting too much food or drink. The eye behavior stands for gluttony in both (15c) and (15d). In (15e), the eyes themselves are conceptualized as the thing doing the eating. Greed is then understood as a hungry person who continues eating despite having a full stomach.

Etymological analysis of the Slovak adjective *lakomý* ‘greedy’ provides further evidence for the above-illustrated association of greed with hunger. The meaning of *lakomý* ‘greedy’ goes back to the Proto-Slavic **olkati*, which means *lačný* in contemporary Slovak ‘be hungry’, ‘crave’ > *nenásytný* ‘insatiable’, *chamtivý* ‘acquisitive’ > *lakomý* ‘greedy’. (Králik 2015: 316). The meaning of *lačný* ‘hungry’ has shifted gradually from the domain of eating to the domain of human characteristics, meaning ‘greedy’ i.e. ‘extremely desirous for something’ in an abstract sense.⁸

The concept of GREED stands in an antonymic relation to GOODWILL. Both concepts exhibit a protoverbal connection with the embodied experience. The Slovak noun *žičlivosť* ‘goodwill’ derives from the verb *žičiť* ‘to wish someone well’ formed by removing the prefix *po-* from *požičiť* ‘to enable the use of something’ > *žičiť* ‘to

⁷ A kreuzer was a coin of very low value used in the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

⁸ The verb *lakomiť sa* does not seem to have a verbal equivalent in English and is difficult to translate. The verb in Slovak means ‘to pant for, be greedy for’ (A Concise Dictionary of the Slovak Language 1987: 176).



wish something to somebody’ (Králik 2015: 695). Additionally, an etymological interpretation of the verb *požičať* ‘to lend’ indicates a link with < **požitčít*’ from *požitok* ‘using, enjoying something’. The present-day meaning of the lexeme *požitky* in Slovak is ‘a regular income, cash benefits, or in-kind payments’, whereas the original meaning of the verb was ‘to enable the use of something for a certain period of time > *požičať* ‘to lend’ (Králik 2015: 463). It follows from the above that the words *greed* and *goodwill* describe personal qualities that seem to mutually exclude each other. Therefore, we identify these two personal traits as semantic antonyms.

4.3. *Nepriateľstvo* (‘hostility’)

As we have already demonstrated with the concept of HATE and ENVY, the eye is commonly employed in the description of negative aspects of human nature.⁹ The conceptualization of HOSTILITY is the last personality trait we will discuss in this section. Consider the following examples:

- (16) a. *Nič dobr-ého mu*
nothing good-GEN.SG him.DAT.SG
z oč-í ne-hľad-í
from eye-GEN.PL NEG-look out-PRS.3SG
‘Nothing good looks out of his eyes’
- b. *Čert mu z ok-a kuk-á*
devil.NOM.SG him.DAT.SG from eye-GEN.SG look out-PRS.3SG
‘The devil looks out of his eye’
- c. *Priš-lo mu z oč-í*
come-PST.3SG him.DAT.SG from eye.GEN.PL
‘They wished evil on him’ [lit. It came from his eyes]

Example (16a) suggests that the eyes are believed to be indices of human character.

⁹ The boundary between hostility as a character trait and the emotions of hate and envy is blurred, since hostile behavior is often brought about through hatred and envy. In addition, hate is defined as “a hostile relationship” in Slovak (A Concise Dictionary of the Slovak Language 1987: 231), and the entry for an enemy contains the feelings of “hate towards somebody” (A Concise Dictionary of the Slovak Language 1987: 233).



In (16a), ‘nothing good’ has a nonspecific negative meaning. Hostility is externally expressed by a way of looking. In addition to the obvious metonymic motivation, the container schema and personification operate in the expression. In (16b), the eye is explicitly conceptualized as the seat of the devil, who personifies evil in Christian religion. The cultural superstition according to which the eyes have destructive magic powers is reflected in example (16c). This widespread folk superstition says that a hostile look towards somebody may cause misfortune. It is believed that ill-wishing people can put a curse on others by looking at them with the intention of harming. In Slovak, what ‘comes from the eyes’ is usually an illness. In fact, the custom of giving small children something red to wear to protect them from magic is associated with the belief in the evil power of the eyes.

5. Slovak expressions with the eye in a synchronic and diachronic perspective: the concepts of emotions and personality traits in an associative-semantic network

We treat the descriptive words for emotions and personality traits as concepts whose primary meanings and relation to the sense perception of the world have been revealed by etymological reconstruction and the analysis of figurative expressions in Section 4. It is the combination of both approaches that more clearly illuminates the nature of the connections between our conceptual structures and sense experience. For the sake of illustration, let us go back to the discussion of the concept of LOVE. The etymology of the word love indicates a link with covetousness, as manifested in the expression *hltať niekoho očami* ‘devour somebody with the eyes’. The concept of LOVE implicitly contains the concept of HAPPINESS in the core of which etymological analysis reveals searching for, finding and taking “a good part”. We want to have what is good. A person who experiences physical attraction is conceptualized as having ravenous eyes that devour the object of attraction. This phraseme expresses desire for happiness in terms of hunger, which is associated with looking for and finding love.

Figure 1 represents a part of an associative-semantic network that sums up the relationships between words (viewed as concepts) and figurative expressions that characterize emotions and personality traits in Slovak.

The associative-semantic network presented in Figure 1 consists of three layers. On the central layer (L1), we locate the concepts in primary opposition and consequently in mutual subsumption. ANGER and HAPPINESS constitute the basic opposition, while HAPPINESS and LOVE appear in an equivalence relationship, i.e. a



person in love is happy, and happy is a person in love. Our previous etymological reconstruction of the concepts has revealed opposition between two images: the enkindled mind with a bad, destructive, purulent effect on the human body, and a person who “met/found/took a good part” and became prosperous. This prosperity broadens to incorporate the bodily appetites, since the meaning of being desirous of somebody or something is inherent in the concept of LOVE. Finally, LOVE completes the idea of HAPPINESS, as a person who feels no love cannot be entirely happy. The close proximity of LOVE and HAPPINESS is obvious from the etymological analysis, and illustrated by the phraseme ‘cannot take one’s eyes off someone’, which oscillates between the concepts HAPPINESS and LOVE.

Being angry with someone correlates with not wanting to see the person. The concept of HATE contains the semantic value of the verb *vidieť* ‘to see’, but in a direct negation. The etymological meaning of the noun *nenávisť* ‘hate’ derives from the verb *na-vidieť*, as shown in Section 3.5. To hate (*nenávidieť* in Slovak) literally means not to like seeing somebody. It follows that LOVE and HATE stand in basic opposition, i.e. the two concepts are mutually exclusive. Then, DESIRE is subsumed under the concept of LOVE in the network; if we love a person, we desire them, and vice versa. The internal relationship between LOVE and DESIRE is of double implication, i.e. equivalence. LOVE also gives rise to GOODWILL (from the verb *žičiť* ‘wish somebody well’). GOODWILL refers to an ability to lend something to somebody that they need for their survival. In contemporary social discourse, the meaning of goodwill has gradually shifted from *prežitie* ‘survival’ closer to *pôžitok* ‘indulgence’. The concept of GOODWILL stands in indirect opposition to GREED, i.e. feeling continually hungry and consequently not being able to wish other people well.

The concepts of HATE and GREED as well as GREED and ENVY stand in a relationship of equivalence. They mutually influence each other, i.e. if we do not like seeing somebody, and concurrently we feel a lack of something, we tend to envy other people’s affluence. ENVY stems from HATE in the network, since a person who hates somebody does not want other people to enjoy pleasures, and vice versa.

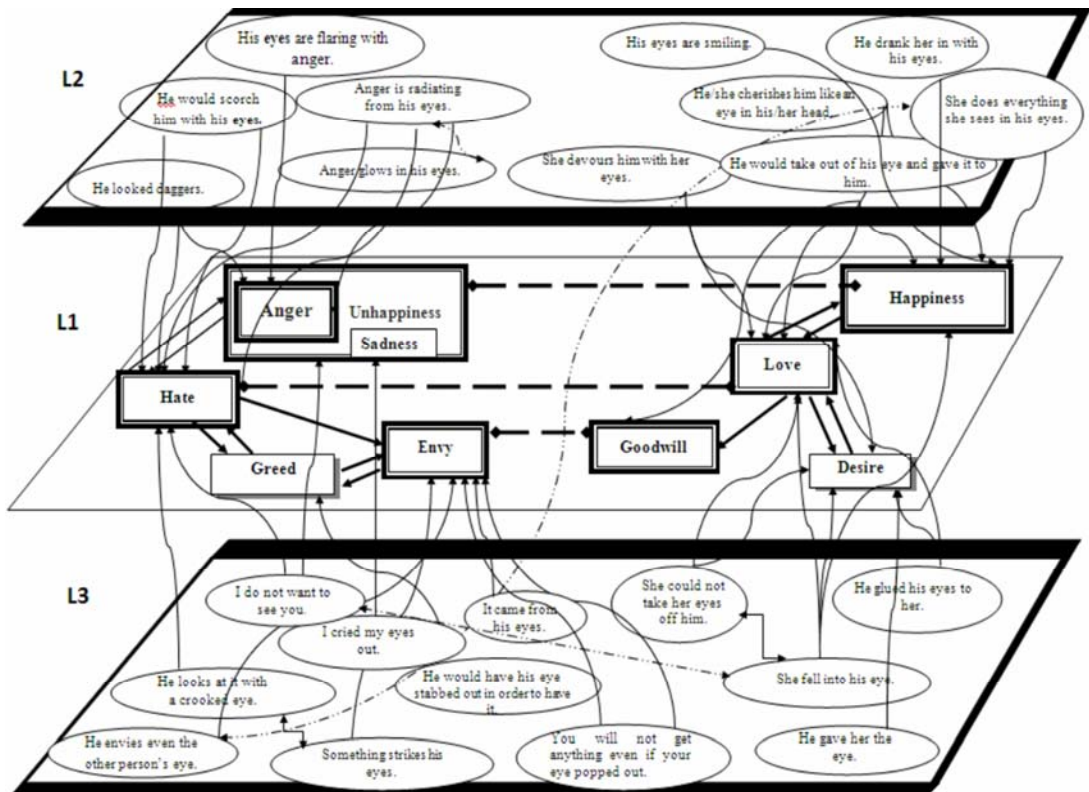











Figure 1. An associative-semantic network of selected Slovak concepts of emotions and personality traits

-  a word as storage of a concept
-  a subsumed concept (derived emotion)
-  a figurative expression
-  an antonymic relationship between concepts
-  a subsumption relationship
-  an equivalence relationship (double implication)
-  the direction from the figurative expression to the concept
-  figurative expressions in an antonymic relationship
-  synonymous figurative expressions



Figurative expressions appear in similar relationships as concepts in the associative-semantic network. Layer 2, above the concepts, contains evaluative phrasemes that tend to represent the integrated linguistic worldview of the given community of speakers taken as a whole (all phrasemes are in the third-person singular or plural). In contrast, Layer 3, below the concepts, shows figurative phrasemes usually used in all persons and which express more explicitly the attitudes of the speaking subject.

6. Conclusion

Given the number and wide range of conventionalized expressions containing 'eye', the organ of sight proves to be a very productive source domain from which a plethora of Slovak metaphoric and metonymic expressions for emotions and personality traits are drawn. All emotions that we may call "basic" contain the lexeme eye. Within the CMT research framework, our analysis of the linguistic data testifies to the prominent role of the eyes in the conceptualization of emotions and personality traits, and provides further evidence for the embodied and cultural facets of human cognition (Yu 2008; Maalej & Yu 2011). The human body is a potentially universal source domain for metonymies and metaphors. Not surprisingly, our study demonstrates remarkable similarities between Slovak expressions of emotions and personality traits and those in other languages. We have found an abundance of cross-linguistic similarities, especially in metonymically-driven figurative expressions that make use of physiological and expressive responses in describing the target concepts.

Metaphoric utilizations of the eye in Slovak reveal more language-specific and cultural distinctions. For example, in English metaphors based on the container schema, emotions are conceptualized as static entities that reside in the eye, while in Slovak, emotions can also be placed on the surface of the container, or even described as moving out of the container. In English, emotions of love or anger are primarily seen in one's eyes, but in Slovak we can also identify emotional states "on one's eyes". A person we are attracted to can fall into the container, while in English the eye becomes the object that is caught (e.g. The girl caught my eye.) In contrast to Persian (Sharifian 2011: 201), in Slovak a person cannot fall from one's eye as a sign of dislike. The conceptualization of the eye as a seat of evil is not specific to Slovak, but it also provides a good example of a non-universal metaphor.

Throughout this paper, we have demonstrated how near-universal and language-specific conceptual mappings account for the motivation of eye-based figurative



expressions. The morpho-syntactic analysis of Slovak linguistic examples indicates that the genitive form with the prepositions *z* 'from' (e.g. 'Hate splutters from his eyes.') or *do* 'into' ('She fell into his eye.') corresponds to Lakoff and Johnson's container schema (THE BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS). These expressions exemplify the double-container schema in which the eye itself is also conceptualized as a container. The accusative case of the noun *eye*, for example in 'to cherish somebody like the eye in your head' or 'to have your eye stabbed out for money' indicates that the organ of sight is assigned the greatest value in the Slovak language.

The traditional Lakovian approach to the study of figurative language limits to a typology of schemas, and implies the existence of an objectively determined emotion categorization (Yu 1995; Kövecses 2000). The results of this study show that categories of concepts are not clear cut, and one figurative expression can naturally fall into more than one category. As the reconstructed associative-semantic network suggests, there is much overlapping between the concepts. Their internal organization includes binary oppositions as well as relationships of subsumption, inclusion, implication, and equivalence. For example, we have linked the expression 'to look at something with a crooked eye' with the concept of HATE in the network. Dictionary definitions describe the meaning of 'looking with a crooked eye' as hate or hostility in the first place and envy in the second (Smiešková 1989: 106). In other words, feelings of hatred precede envy. The dictionary definitions of the figurative expression support our graphic presentation of the hierarchical organization of HATE and ENVY in the minds of native Slovak speakers.

The development of an associative-semantic network in the human mind is a life-long process. The essential nodes represent dominant meanings that are primarily organized on the ambivalence principle: they complement each other, appearing in an internal hierarchy, or mutually exclude each other and profile as basic oppositions. This process is coherent, and exhibits an internal continuity. An obvious continuity emerges between the concepts of HAPPINESS and LOVE and, on the opposite end of the pole, between ANGER and HATE, HATE and ENVY. The number of lexemes and figurative expressions (phrasemes) incorporated in the associative-semantic network is determined by the communicative experience of a native language speaker, and reflects the diachronic development of the lexicon.

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FIGURATIVNI IZRAZI S KOMPONENTOM 'OKO' U KONCEPTUALIZACIJI EMOCIJA I OSOBINA LIČNOSTI U SLOVAČKOM JEZIKU

Ovaj rad istražuje metonimijske i metaforičke izraze s leksemom za 'oko' te pruža empirijske dokaze iz slovačkog jezika o bliskoj interakciji između fizioloških i kulturnih aspekata utjelovljenog uma. Oslanjajući se na podatke prikupljene iz nekoliko slovačkih rječnika, istraživanje pokazuje važnost organa vida u konceptualizaciji različitih emocija (ljutnja, sreća, žalost, ljubav, mržnja, zavist, iznenađenje i strah) i osobina ličnosti (iskrenost, pohlepa i neprijateljstvo), koje se smatraju bitnim dijelom slovačkog lingvističkog svjetonazora. Identifikacija specifičnih metonimijskih i/ili metaforičkih mapiranja unijela je više svjetla u pojavu i motivaciju pojedinih figurativnih izraza u slovačkom jeziku. U istraživanju jezičnih podataka koristio se tradicionalni Lakoffov pristup uz novije antropološki orijentirane metodološke pristupe poljskih i ruskih škola kognitivne semantike. Analizirana su suvremena i etimološka značenja koncepata višeslojnih emocija, a njihova hijerarhijska organizacija predstavljena je u asocijativno-semantičkoj mreži. Prikazano je da ne postoje očigledne granice među konceptima već naprotiv, mreža ilustrira njihov unutarnji kontinuitet. Otkrivanjem složenosti stvaranja novih značenja putem asocijacija, ovaj rad doprinosi dubljem razumijevanju odnosa između figurativnog jezika, kulture i ljudske misli.

Ključne riječi: emocije; osobine ličnosti; metafora; metonimija; lingvistički svjetonazor; asocijativno-semantička mreža.