

STEREOTYPICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PANSY (VIOLA TRICOLOR)
IN THE POLISH LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

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The goal of our research is to reconstruct the stereotypical characteristics of the pansy in the Polish language and culture on the basis of its nominations. This work will be based on the material from lexicographic and ethnographic sources and from analytic studies as well as data collected in Ethno-linguistic archive of the Section of textual studies and grammar of modern Polish language of the Institute of Polish philology of the University Maria Skłodowska-Curie in Lublin.¹

Today the general Polish name of this flower, which in scientific terminology is known as *Viola tricolor*, is *bratki*² / *bratek*.³ The name of the flower has complete analogues in the Ukrainian, Russian and Belorussian languages.⁴ The word combination *fiołek trójbarwny*⁵ is used to nominate the plant *Viola tricolor* more seldom and has clear scientific character being the exact translation of the Latin name. The combination *fiołek trójbarwny* includes noun-hyperonym *fiołek* ‘violet’ and adjective, which defines the difference between this kind of violet and other ones. Polish dialects and different synchronous dimensions of the Polish language use variants of the

¹ The Section was headed by Prof. J. Bartmiński. The author wishes to thank Prof. Bartmiński for making it possible to use the materials in the Ethno-linguistic archive and for the support he provided during the research.

² *Słownik języka polskiego*, pod red. W. Doroszewskiego, Warszawa, PWN, 1958-1962, t. I-XI, Warszawa, PWN, 2000, przedruk elektroniczny; *Słownik języka polskiego*, pod red. M. Szymczaka, Warszawa, PWN, 2000, t. 1-3, przedruk elektroniczny.

³ *Uniwersalny słownik języka polskiego*, pod red. S. Dubisza, Warszawa, PWN, 2003, t. I-IV, Warszawa, PWN, 2004, przedruk elektroniczny.

⁴ *Етимологічний словник української мови*, ред. О. Мельничук та ін., Київ, Наукова думка, 1982, т. I, с. 249; W. Budziszewska, *Slawiańskie słownictwo dotyczące przyrody żywnej*, Wrocław, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1965, p. 316.

⁵ *Słownik języka polskiego*, pod red. W. Doroszewskiego, cit.; *Słownik języka polskiego*, pod red. M. Szymczaka, cit.; *Uniwersalny słownik języka polskiego*, cit.

names mentioned above as well as different nominations, and the motivation for these differences will be analysed below.

The pansy is a sort of violet (*Viola*),⁶ but in the Polish linguistic perception the pansy and the violet exist as two different plants. D. Piekarczyk underlined a clear differentiation between ideas of the pansy and of the violet in the Polish linguistic perception;⁷ but, in our opinion, we can't speak about completely effaced connection between them as it becomes apparent in such names as *potrójny fiołek*,⁸ *potroyny fiołek*, *fiołki potroyne*, *fiołki na polu modre i żółte*; *fiołek brat z siostrą / fiołek brat z siostrą*,⁹ *fiołek Bratek, fiołek Brat z siostrą*.¹⁰

The floronyms *bratki*,¹¹ *bratek*,¹² *braciszek*,¹³ *braciszki*,¹⁴ are derivated from *brat* 'brother'.¹⁵ Those names are

motivated by fact that each flower of these plants has petals of different colors and is connected with the legend about brother and sister, married without knowing about being relatives and turned into flower to avoid being separated.¹⁶

⁶ *Słownik botaniczny*, red. nauk. A. i J. Szwejkowscy, Warszawa, Wiedza Powszechna, 2003, wyd. II, p. 218-219.

⁷ D. Piekarczyk, *Kwiaty we współczesnym językowym obrazie świata*, Lublin, UMCS, 2004, p. 120.

⁸ *Słownik nazwisk zoologicznych i botanicznych polskich, zawierający ludowe oraz naukowe nazwy i synonimy polskie, używane dla zwierząt i roślin od XV-go wieku aż do chwili obecnej*. Źródło zestawione z synonimami naukowemi łacińskiemi, zeb. i uł. E. Majewski, Warszawa, nakładem Prenumeratorów, 1898, t. II: *Słownik łacińsko-polski*. Pomnożony porównawczym materiałem, zaczepniętym z innych języków słowiańskich, część druga: M-Z, s. 823; M. S. B. Linde, *Słownik języka polskiego*, Warszawa, Gutenberg-Print, 1994, t. I, p. 166.

⁹ A. Spólnik, *Nazwy polskich roślin do XVIII wieku*, Wrocław, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1990, p. 17.

¹⁰ *Słownik nazwisk zoologicznych i botanicznych polskich...*, cit., p. 823.

¹¹ Ibidem; *Słownik języka polskiego*, pod red. W. Doroszewskiego, cit., s.v.; *Słownik języka polskiego*, pod red. M. Szymczaka, cit., s.v.

¹² *Słownik nazwisk zoologicznych i botanicznych polskich...*, s. 823; *Uniwersalny słownik języka polskiego*, cit., s.v.; J. Karłowicz, *Słownik gwar polskich*, Kraków, nakładem Akademii Umiejętności, t. 1: A-E, 1900, p. 472-473.

¹³ *Słownik nazwisk zoologicznych i botanicznych polskich...*, cit., p. 823; J. Karłowicz, *Słownik gwar polskich*, cit., p. 434.

¹⁴ *Słownik nazwisk zoologicznych i botanicznych polskich...*, cit., p. 823.

¹⁵ A. Brückner, *Słownik etymologiczny języka polskiego*, Warszawa, Wiedza Powszechna, 2000, wyd. IX, s. 39; W. Budziszewska, *Słowiańskie słownictwo dotyczące przyrody żywnej*, cit., ss. 247, 316; E. Rogowska-Cybulska, *Gwarowy obraz roślin w świetle aktywności nominacyjnej ich nazw (na przykładzie gwary wsi Wagi w powiecie łomżyńskim)*, Gdańsk, UG, 2005, p. 239.

¹⁶ *Етимологічний словник української мови*, cit., t. I, p. 249.

In A. Brückner's opinion, *bratki* is the most interesting among native Polish names, because "it preserved Aryan syntax, which uses the plural or dual form of one member of indivisible couple instead of using the names of both members (e.g. ... *bratki*, it is *brat i siostra* (*siostra z bratem*)...)".¹⁷ In the Polish language we also have a stated example of using the name of other member of the couple *siostrzyczka*¹⁸ instead of the construction *brat i siostra* (brother and sister). A. Bańkowski notes, that the name *bratek* is used instead of *brat-z-siostrą* "because of different color of petals as if it was one of two flowers".¹⁹ So, we can state that the forms *bratki*, *bratek*, *braciszek*, *braciszki* arose as a result of transformation of the initial name of the flower *brat i siostra* and its variants: *brat i siostra / brat y siostra*²⁰ / *brat i siesta*,²¹ *brat z siostrą*,²² *syostra z bratem*²³ / *siostra z bratem*.²⁴ A. Spólnik, based on the work by K. Moszyński,²⁵ wrote, that the Polish, Belorussian, Ukrainian dialects have a legend about the plant, concerning a brother and sister, who were in sinful love and for this reason the "brother turned into yellow flowers and the sister into blue ones".²⁶ O. Kolberg also speaks about this legend:

Według podania ludowego są to brat i siostra, którzy po długiem rozłączeniu spotkawszy się, nie poznali się i pobrali. Poznawszy błąd, udali się w pole i on przemienił się w żółty kwiatek, a ona w liliowy [engl. transl.: according to the folk story, a brother and sister who after long separation and not recognizing each other, they got married. After learning about their mistake they went to a field, he turned into a yellow flower and she into a violet one].²⁷

The legend about love between brother and sister is represented not only on the level of faith and rites, but also in the song:

Idźmy, idźmy w pole z chatki, / I obróćmy się w kwiatki; / Ty błękitnym będziesz braćie, / A ja w żółtej będę szacie. / Będą dzieci kwiatki rwały, / I nas młodych wspominały; / Źeśmy tym zostali kwiatem, / Co się zowie siosta z bratem [transl.: let's go, let's go to the field from the house and let's turn into flowers; you will be a blue one,

¹⁷ A. Brückner, *Słownik etymologiczny języka polskiego*, cit., p. 678.

¹⁸ *Słownik nazwisk zoologicznych i botanicznych polskich...*, cit., p. 823.

¹⁹ A. Bańkowski, *Słownik etymologiczny języka polskiego*, Warszawa, PWN, 2000, t. 1, p. 73.

²⁰ A. Spólnik, *Nazwy polskich roślin do XVIII wieku*, cit., p. 17.

²¹ *Słownik nazwisk zoologicznych i botanicznych polskich...*, cit., p. 823.

²² Ibidem; M. S. B. Linde, *Słownik języka polskiego*, cit., p. 166.

²³ A. Spólnik, *Nazwy polskich roślin do XVIII wieku*, cit., p. 17.

²⁴ A. Brückner, *Słownik etymologiczny języka polskiego*, cit., p. 39.

²⁵ K. Moszyński, *Kultura ludowa Słowian*, Kraków, PAU, 1929, cz. 1, p. 535.

²⁶ A. Spólnik, *Nazwy polskich roślin do XVIII wieku*, cit., p. 96.

²⁷ O. Kolberg, *Dzieła wszystkie*, Wrocław, Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne / Warszawa, Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza, 1962, t. 2: *Sandomierskie*, p. 260.

my brother, and I'll be in a yellow dress. Children will pick flowers and remember us, as we were when we were children].²⁸

The Polish dialects distinguish different variety of the pansy using the noun *bratek* with appropriate definition: *bratek oknowy* ‘garden variety of the pansy’, *bratek polny, dziki bratek* ‘wild variety of the pansy’.²⁹

The lexeme *dzwonki*³⁰ is also used to nominate the pansy. It is well known in the Slavic languages and in most cases is motivated by a likeness of the form of flowers to bells. Buds of the pansy (as of all violets) look like bells³¹ and it could be a ground for creating the analyzed nomination. The bell is able to keep off the evil forces. And those characteristics are extended to the objects looking like bells, including the flower bluebell (in the Russian language *колокольчик* [*Campanula trachelium*]).³² Polish witches are afraid of the flower known as St.-John's wort named in the Polish language *dzwonki*.³³ This is very likely why the plant *dzwonki* ‘the pansy’ is perceived in the Polish language and culture as having such a strong protective force.

The idea that the pansy was perceived as a flower with magic characteristics is fortified by the ethnographic recordings:

Dalej zna lud różne zioła miłosne, mające na celu pozyskanie czyichś względów lub na odwrót rozerwanie pewnych związków, jak np. bratki, głóg, lubczyk, nasiążrzał, przesęp i t.d. [transl.: the Polish people also know love-plants, able to help to gain somebody's affections or vice versa to destroy some union as e.g. the pansy, hawthorn, sulfurwort etc.].³⁴

Mamy zioła używane w miłosnych stosunkach, zioła przyśpieszające albo zamęzcie, albo zbliżenie się i stałe pozyskanie kochanka lub kochanki, lub też rozerwanie stosunków [...] są to bratki [...] [transl.: we have plants, used in love-relations, plants, which could accelerate marriage or intimacy and certain conquest of a loved one, or also provoke a break up of relations [...] it is the pansy [...]].³⁵

²⁸ A. Pawlak, J. Lisakowski, B. Andrzejczak, *Pieśni ludowe z Kujaw*, “Literatura Ludowa”, 4 (1963), p. 47.

²⁹ J. Karłowicz, *Słownik gwar polskich*, cit., p. 473.

³⁰ *Słownik nazwisk zoologicznych i botanicznych polskich...*, cit., p. 823.

³¹ *Słownik botaniczny*, cit., p. 219.

³² Славянские древности. Этнолингвистический словарь, под ред. Н. Толстого, Москва, Международные отношения, 1999, т. 2, p. 550.

³³ Ibidem.

³⁴ A. Fischer, *Lud polski. Podręcznik etnografii Polski*, Lwów, Wydawnictwo Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich, 1926, p. 164.

³⁵ B. Gustawicz, *Podania, przesydy, gadki i nazwy ludowe w dziedzinie przyrody*. Część druga [Galicja], “Zbiór Wiadomości do Antropologii Krajowej wydawany staraniem Komisji Antropologicznej Akademii Umiejętności”, 6 (1882), p. 206.

Taking into account that when open the pansy has a form which doesn't resemble a bell and because of the faith connected with its property of extraordinary influence on the people, we can't ignore another possible explanation for the name *dzwonki*. As A. Spólnik says, in cases, when flowers of the plant do not have the form of a bell, we can consider them as 'magic' plants, because "in the dialects, particularly in the dialects of Małopolska, *dzwonek* is the most widespread magic plant".³⁶ That is why in the case of three-coloured violet we can accept either of the above mentioned origins of the name *dzwonki*, or both of them as complementary.

A series of names of the pansy can be used as example of double motivation or rethinking of the already existing name for purposes of creating a new one, among them: *potroyny kwiat*³⁷ / *potrójny kwiat*,³⁸ *potrójny fiołek*³⁹ / *potroyny fiołek*, *fiołki potroyne*,⁴⁰ *kwiat Świętej Trójcy*,⁴¹ *trojanek*.⁴² The combination *potroyny kwiat* / *potrójny kwiat* includes the hyperonym *kwiat* 'flower' and adjective *potrójny* 'triple'. In our opinion, it is motivated by the structure of the pansy which has three parts: upper, side and lower petals.⁴³ The combinations *potrójny fiołek* / *potroyny fiołek*, *fiołki potroyne* also have in their structures the hyperonym of the pansy (which is also the hyperonym for the lexeme *kwiat* 'flower', used in the previous example) in singular or plural form – *fiołek*, *fiołki* 'violet, violets' – and its definition *potrójny*, *potroyne* 'triple'. These names have the same origin as the previous ones. But in the combination *kwiat Świętej Trójcy* 'flower of Holy Trinity' we see re-thinking of a higher level, connected with adding deeper meaning to floral nomination, because this name reflects the idea of the trinity of God the Father, God the Son and the Holy Ghost, projected on to the triple structure of the pansy. The name *trojanek* 'pansy' is created exactly from the root *troj-* 'three-' with help of frequent suffix *-an-* and affectionate diminutive formant *-ek*. It is obvious, that it is also motivated by the triple structure of the flower. The connection of the model of nomination based on peculiarities

³⁶ A. Spólnik, *Nazwy polskich roślin do XVIII wieku*, cit., p. 96.

³⁷ Ibidem, p.17.

³⁸ M. S. B. Linde, *Słownik języka polskiego*, cit., p. 166.

³⁹ *Słownik nazwisk zoologicznych i botanicznych polskich...*, cit., s. 823; M. S. B. Linde, *Słownik języka polskiego*, cit., p. 166.

⁴⁰ A. Spólnik, *Nazwy polskich roślin do XVIII wieku*, cit., p.17.

⁴¹ *Słownik nazwisk zoologicznych i botanicznych polskich...*, cit., p. 823; *Encyklopedia zielarstwa i ziółolecznictwa*, red. H. Strzelecka i J. Kowalski, Warszawa, PWN, 2000, p. 143.

⁴² *Słownik nazwisk zoologicznych i botanicznych polskich*, cit., p. 823.

⁴³ *Encyklopedia zielarstwa i ziółolecznictwa*, cit., p. 143.

of the flower with sacred meaning allows us to speak about names with double motivation in the group analysed.

Polish, German and Serbian folklore all have a legend about the pansy,⁴⁴ which can be considered the basis for the following group of nominations: *macoszka*,⁴⁵ *macoszki*⁴⁶ / *maceszki*⁴⁷ / *macešk'i* / *macošk'i*⁴⁸ / *maczoschki* / *maczonki*,⁴⁹ *štifmuterk'i*,⁵⁰ *sierotka*,⁵¹ *sierotki*,⁵² / *sierotki* ("Bratki polne nazwają w Gnojnicy sirotkami...") – 'field flower pansy is called orphan in Gnojnica').⁵³ The German tale about this flower recounts that a stepmother (wide petal of the flower) rose to the top in the house and didn't care about her stepdaughters. Her daughters sat on either side of her well dressed and well accommodated. Two stepdaughters are near them, but they are oppressed. God became angry because of this unfairness and punished the stepmother. She, who was on the top before, fell down and received a hump (the flower petiole). Her daughters lost their lustre. And stepdaughters came up to the top. That is why the Germans call this flower stepmother. And it is a source for the Slavic names of the flower stepmother and orphan.⁵⁴

V. Čajkanović wrote that according to the folk allegory the "lower petal is a stepmother, the two petals in the middle are her daughters and the two biggest petals on the top are her stepdaughters".⁵⁵ The Polish ethnographic recordings give the following variant of the legend:

O bratkach mówią, że to jest macocha z dwiema córkami i dwiema pasierbicami. Macocha, którą ma przedstawiać górnego płatka u korony, siedzi na dwóch stolkach, to jest

⁴⁴ C. Lévy-Strauss, *Divlja misao*, prev. J. i B. Jelić, Beograd, Nolit, 1978, p. 340-341.

⁴⁵ *Słownik nazwisk zoologicznych i botanicznych polskich...*, cit., p. 823.

⁴⁶ W. Budziszewska, *Słowiańskie słownictwo dotyczące przyrody żywnej*, cit., p. 247.

⁴⁷ *Słownik nazwisk zoologicznych i botanicznych polskich...*, cit., p. 823.

⁴⁸ B. Sychta, *Słownik gwar kaszubskich na tle kultury ludowej*, Wrocław, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich / Wydawnictwo PAN, 1967-1976, t. 5, p. 298.

⁴⁹ A. Spólnik, *Nazwy polskich roślin do XVIII wieku*, cit., p. 17.

⁵⁰ B. Sychta, *Słownik gwar kaszubskich na tle kultury ludowej*, cit., t. 5, p. 298.

⁵¹ W. Budziszewska, *Słowiańskie słownictwo dotyczące przyrody żywnej*, cit., p. 247.

⁵² *Słownik nazwisk zoologicznych i botanicznych polskich...*, cit., p. 823.

⁵³ S. Udziela, *Lud polski w powiecie Ropczyckim w Galicyi* [cz. 1], "Zbiór Wiadomości do Antropologii Krajowej wydawany staraniem Komisji Antropologicznej Akademii Umiejętności", 14 (1890), p. 131.

⁵⁴ Главније биље у народном веровању и певању код нас Срба. По А. де Губернатису, скуп. и саст. Нишевљанин (П. Софрић), Београд, Штампарија "Св. Сава", 1912, p. 80.

⁵⁵ В. Чайкановић, *Речник српских народних веровања о биљкама*, Београд, Српска књижевна задруга, 1994, p. 73.

na dwóch listkach, dwie jej córki siedzą po bokach każdej na jednym stołku, a pasierbice siedzą we dwóch na jednym stołku najniżej. (W Krakowskim opowiadają to samo) [transl.: people say that the pansy is a stepmother with two daughters and two stepdaughters. The stepmother, who is represented by the upper petal of the flower, is sitting on two chairs that are on two leaves. Her daughters are sitting each on her own chair at either side of their mother. And two stepdaughters are sitting together on one chair lower than all of them. (in Krakow local people tell the same story)].⁵⁶

M. Bjeletić thinks that the Slavic names probably “are calques of the German *Stiefmütterchen*”.⁵⁷ He also says, making reference to V. Machek, that the name *cupomuça* (orphan) lost connection with its motivation that “the flower remains the last one in the field like an orphan”.⁵⁸

In the analyzed group of Polish names for the pansy we have adapted a borrowing from the German language (*ſtifmuterk'i*)⁵⁹ and a calque from the German nomination (*macoszka*).⁶⁰ W. Budziszewska, as distinct from V. Machek, analyzes the lexeme *sierotka* only as connected with the above mentioned legends about a stepmother, her daughters and stepdaughters.⁶¹ This group of floronyms, as well as the above analysed group, contains the idea of unity between three elements. Although the members of this mythological trinity, which on the verbal level turns into indivisible duality (or rather into opposite couple), are completely different personages: stepmother, daughters, and stepdaughters. It is interesting, that we have not any example of the common appearance of the “indivisible couple” (according to the terminology used by A. Brückner) in the names for the pansy. At the same time each member of this couple is presented in the nominations in singular and plural forms (as well as in case with *bratki* – see above):⁶² *macoszka, macoszki / maceszki / macešk'i / maczoschki / macošk'i, ſtifmuterk'i; sierotka, sierotki.*

Ideas about orphan's suffering, miserable fate, and loneliness probably also motivated the use of the following lexemes as nominations of the pansy:

⁵⁶ S. Ulanowska, *Niekotóre materyjały etnograficzne we wsi Łukówcu (mazowieckim) zebrane*, “Zbiór Wiadomości do Antropologii Krajowej wydawany staraniem Komisji Antropologicznej Akademii Umiejętności”, 8 (1884), p. 292.

⁵⁷ M. Бјелетић, *Од девет брата крв (фитоними и термини сродства)*, в *Кодови словенских култура*, гл. уред. Дејан Ајдачић, Београд, Clio, 1996, број 1: *Биљке*, р. 96.

⁵⁸ Ibidem.

⁵⁹ B. Sychta, *Słownik gwar kaszubskich na tle kultury ludowej*, cit., t. 5, p. 298.

⁶⁰ *Słownik nazwisk zoologicznych i botanicznych polskich...*, cit., p. 823.

⁶¹ W. Budziszewska, *Słowiańskie słownictwo dotyczące przyrody żywnej*, cit., p. 247.

⁶² A. Brückner, *Słownik etymologiczny języka polskiego*, cit., p. 678.

*wdówki*⁶³ / *wdowki*⁶⁴ and *newistka*.⁶⁵ Regarding the names *wdówki* / *wdowki* A. Spólnik wrote, that “they are connected with legends which are widespread among the Slavic people about orphans having bad stepmothers and turning into this plant”.⁶⁶ The Polish comic song also testifies to the existing perception of a connection between the pansy and a widow: “*Różyczka panience, / tulipan mężatce, / zwykły bratek wdowulince, / a pokrzywa babce*” [rose for girl, tulip for young wife, ordinary pansy for widow and nettle for old woman’).⁶⁷ The name *newistka*⁶⁸ has Ukrainian origin that becomes apparent at phonetic, grammatical, and semantic levels. The Polish as well as Ukrainian folk texts presenting traditional people’s perception very often tell about the difficult destiny of a daughter-(sister)-in-law in a new family. It is very likely that on the basis of this characteristic the pansy received the name *newistka*, which became like a symbol of all hapless people (orphans, widows, daughters-(sisters)-in-law; it is also important to remember that brothers and sisters, according to the legend, also got into trouble and for this reason turned into flowers).

According to E. Majewski the nomination *niezapominajka*,⁶⁹ used for the pansy, comes from the combination *nie zapominaj* ‘don’t forget’ (more in details see)⁷⁰ and is connected with the Polish tradition of giving this flower as a “symbol of friendship and love. A Polish girl gives this flower only to her sweetheart”.⁷¹

The lexeme *oczki*’s motivation⁷² can be found in the Slavic Folk perception as well as in medical properties of the pansy. Evidence for the first explanation is found in data provided by P. Sofrić:

⁶³ A. Spólnik, *Nazwy polskich roślin do XVIII wieku*, cit., p. 17, 98; *Słownik nazwisk zoologicznych i botanicznych polskich...*, cit., p. 823.

⁶⁴ A. Spólnik, *Nazwy polskich roślin do XVIII wieku*, cit., s. 17; M. S. B. Linde, *Słownik języka polskiego*, cit., p. 166.

⁶⁵ *Słownik nazwisk zoologicznych i botanicznych polskich...*, cit., p. 823.

⁶⁶ A. Spólnik, *Nazwy polskich roślin do XVIII wieku*, cit., p. 98.

⁶⁷ *Albośmy to jacy tacy. Zbiór pieśni Krakowiaków wschodnich i zachodnich*, zeb. i oprac. P. Platek, Kraków, Krajowa Agencja Wydawnicza, 1976, p. 756.

⁶⁸ *Słownik nazwisk zoologicznych i botanicznych polskich...*, cit., p. 823.

⁶⁹ Ibidem.

⁷⁰ Л. Непоп-Айдачич, *Польський мовний образ незабудки (назва, гіпероніми, гіпоніми)*, в *Актуальні проблеми української лінгвістики: теорія і практика*, гол. ред. Л. Шевченко, Київ, ВПЦ “Київський університет”, 2008, вип. XVI, с. 72.

⁷¹ *Главније биље у народном веровању и певању код нас Срба*, cit., p. 80.

⁷² *Słownik nazwisk zoologicznych i botanicznych polskich...*, cit., p. 823.

We Serbs and Russians as well gave beautiful names to these flowers on the basis of one peculiarity common to all of them, being guided by poetic inspiration. And this [peculiarity – L. N.-A.] is the fact that the flower constantly turns to the Sun during the day, looking for warmth and light. It is the reason why this flower in our case has the beautiful name *диконо око* ['loving eye' – L. N.-A.], which uninterruptedly looks at its darling, irradiating its tenderness. This perception is also reflected in its Russian name: *анютины глазки*. So, these names echo the words of a poet: "Веселые очи на драгон гледе" ['cheerful eyes look at the darling' – L. N.-A.].⁷³

The argument for the second explanation can be the ethnographic data:

[Rutyna jest wyrabiana w Polsce i stosuje się ją przy zaburzeniach wzrokowych na skutek schorzeń w siatkówce oka.] Została ona po raz pierwszy wykryta w zielu ruty, ale występuje w bardzo wielu roślinach, jak np. w bratkach, w kwiatach bzu czarnego, w zielu i w kwiatach gryki... [(rutin is made in Poland and it is used in case of problems with sight as a result of diseases of the retina.) Originally this substance was found in rue-grass, but a lot of other plants also contain it, e.g., the pansy, the elder, the grass and flower of buckwheat].⁷⁴

No, na przykład rośliny o kwiatach niebieskich, to się leczyły oczy. To było tak: bratki polne, które so po ugorach i w kończynach, następnie świetlik ląkowy, znam, bo tutaj jest koło mnie, to te rośliny leczyły oczy [well, e.g., plants with blue flowers treat eyes. It was like this: first, the field pansy, which we have on leas and on sides, later eyebright, I know it, because I have them here close by me. These plants treated eyes].⁷⁵

So, in this way the name *oczki*⁷⁶ is transmitted from the objet to the means of medical treatment.

The name *bleščk*,⁷⁷ *bleszczek*⁷⁸ for the pansy is connected with peculiarities of the visual perception. It is very likely that it arises from the noun *blask* 'brilliance, bright strong light' (from the Proto-Slavic language **blēskъ*)⁷⁹ and is motivated by the bright and brilliant color of the flower's petals.

⁷³ Главније биље у народном веровању и певању код нас Срба, cit., p. 80-81.

⁷⁴ J. Muszyński, *Ludowe kaszubskie nazwy roślin*, "Acta Societatis Botanicorum Poloniae", Warszawa, vol. XIII, n. 3 (1936), p. 163.

⁷⁵ S. Niebrzegowska, *Przestrach od przestrachu. Rośliny w ludowych przekazach ustnych*, Lublin, Wydawnictwo UMCS, 2000, p. 139.

⁷⁶ *Słownik nazwisk zoologicznych i botanicznych polskich...*, cit., p. 823.

⁷⁷ B. Sychta, *Słownik gwar kaszubskich na tle kultury ludowej*, cit., t. 7, p. 16.

⁷⁸ J. Karłowicz, *Słownik gwar polskich*, cit., p. 253.

⁷⁹ W. Boryś, *Słownik etymologiczny języka polskiego*, Kraków, Wydawnictwo Literackie, 2005, p. 29.

The nominations *maśluk*, *maśluki*⁸⁰ come from the noun *masło* ‘butter’ and at first glance, seems amotivational. But ethnographic recordings show that “*olejek wyciągnięty z bratka jest używany do usuwania strupów i pryszczy*” (‘olio, squeezed from the pansy, used for treatment against scabs and acne’).⁸¹ That is why the creation of the analyzed nominations is connected with oily nature of the substance, extracted from the pansy and used for medical treatment.

Floronym *gardłówki*⁸² is created from the noun *gardło* ‘throat’. Field recordings state that

bratki polne nazywają [...] w Krzywej gardłówkami, a w tej ostatniej wsi używają ich przeciw bólowi gardła w ten sposób, że świeże kwiatki wraz z korzeniem i liśćmi wyplókane w zimnej wodzie, gotują i odwarem tym letnim płóczą gardło, gdy boli [transl.: field pansy is nominated as [...] gardłówki in Krzywa, and in this village these flowers are used for treatment against pain in the throat: fresh flowers together with roots and leaves rinsed in cold water have to be boiled and this summer decoction is used to gargle in case of pain in throat].⁸³

Just as with the lexeme *oczki* the noun *gardłówki* the name of the body part treated transmitted to the means for treatment. At the same time the derivative model (from the stem of the noun with help of formant *ówk-i*) is widespread and used even in the above mentioned floronyms, e.g. *wdówki*.

The name *anginka*⁸⁴ is stated in two texts of field recordings:

Mam anginke, która naprawde taka lecznicza. Trzeba jam potrzyć, ten lek [...], nawet jak sie ma katar wąchać. Ten zapach [...] jak ucho to [...] rozetrzyć na miazge wsadzić do ucha... [transl.: I have anginka, which indeed is very useful medicine. You have to grate it, this medicine [...], even, if you have coryza, – you have to snuff it. Its smell [...], if it is about ear, you have [...] to grate it till it become a paste and put it into your ear...].⁸⁵

To jest anginka... To tak witamina C... To raczy taki przeciw bakteryjne chorobom, boli gardła, jamy ustnej, o płukania robić, o herbatki z tego robić... No i zapach ma

⁸⁰ *Słownik nazwisk zoologicznych i botanicznych polskich...*, cit., p. 823.

⁸¹ F. Brzegowy, J. Cieśla, *Krółówka wieś rodzinna Kazimierza Brodzińskiego, “Orli Lot”*, 16 (1935), p. 155.

⁸² S. Udziela, *Lud polski w powiecie Ropczyckim w Galicyi* [cz. 1], cit., p. 131.

⁸³ Ibidem.

⁸⁴ Field recordings and materials from the Ethno-linguistic archive, modern Polish grammar and textual studies section of Institute of Polish philology of the Maria Skłodowska-Curie University in Lublin, TN 909 B/14, Krasiczyn, 1994; TN 909 B/5, Śliwica koło Krasiczyna, 1994.

⁸⁵ Field recordings and materials from the Ethno-linguistic archive [...] TN 909 B/14, cit.

przede wszystkim, aromat ma bardzo ładny [transl.: It is ‘anginka’... It’s like vitamin C... rather like something antibacterial against disease, pain in the throat, or oral cavity. So you have to gargle, so to make tea from it. And the smell first of all, it has a very good aroma].⁸⁶

This data shows that the lexeme *anginka* is used to name the pansy as the result of the transmission of the name of disease to the plant which treats this disease.

The general Polish modern, historical and dialect names for the pansy analyzed in our research testify that reconstruction of the linguistic image of plant is impossible without looking at all its nomination.

The dialect and historical names of the pansy open such fragments of perception of this flower which are recondite when researching just general Polish lexemes. A. Shamota said:

As a rule, researchers are looking for motivation of such names in Folk tales and legends. Meanwhile exactly these names can be a bright example of legends which originate from the existing name to explain it and not vice versa, – O. O. Potebnia said earlier. It is very likely that such names are motivated by physical characteristics of plants [...].⁸⁷

It is difficult to state that the motivation of the plant’s name based on some of its characteristics has primacy over the motivation connected with the legend. Most often the creation of a concrete name of the pansy was connected at the same time with its characteristics (peculiarities of its appearance, visual perception or medical characteristics) as well as with mythological, folk imagination about this flower. In order to study the Linguistic image of plants in general and of the pansy in particular it is not so important to define which model of motivation was the first one. The most important thing is to analyze the connection between these models in the Polish linguistic perception, their co-existence and complementary character.

Analyzing Polish names for the pansy we came to the conclusion that in Polish linguistic perception this plant has the following stereotypical characteristics: *bratki* is a flower (e.g., *potrójny kwiat*, *kwiat Świętej Trójcy*), sort of violet (e.g., *potrójny fiołek*); coloration of its petals unite contrast colors (e.g., *fijolki na polu modre i żółte > brat i siostra* etc.), it is reflected in the legend that the pansy was created after brother and sister turned into flower (e.g., *brat i siostra > bratki, siostyczka*). Peculiarities of structure of the flower are reflected in the legend about a stepmother and her

⁸⁶ Field recordings and materials from the Ethno-linguistic archive [...] TN 909 B/5, cit.

⁸⁷ A. Шамота, *Назви рослин в українській мові*, Київ, Наукова думка, 1985, с. 86-87.

stepdaughters (e.g., *macoszki, sierotki*). The flower has three structural parts: upper, lower and side petals (напр., *potrójny fiolek, potrójny kwiat > kwiat Świętej Trójcy*, and indirectly *macoszki, sierotki*); the unopened bud resembles a bell (*dzwonki*) and it can help to use a plant with protective functions. Visual perception of the pansy underlines its brightness and brilliance (e.g., *bleščk*); the pansy is associated with suffering people (e.g., *sierotki, wdówki*, as well as *brat i siostra* and their derivatives); the flower has magic properties and can help to strengthen or to establish love relations (*oczki*), as well as to avoid forgetting somebody (*niezapominajka*). The medical properties of the pansy can be used against disease of the eyes (*oczki*), throw (*gardłówki*), tonsillitis in particular (*anginka*), and the liquid from the flower (oil), extracted from the pansy and used against disease of the skin is buttery (*maśluk*). Of course, there are only a few stereotypical characteristics, reconstructed as a result of studying Polish names for the pansy. We plan to discover other characteristics of this flower in the Polish linguistic perception and present integral description of the Polish linguistic image of the pansy in our following works.