ROUMYANA PETROVA

TRUTH IN ANGLO-AMERICAN PROVERBS

Abstract: This study explores the notion of truth stored in a large corpus of Anglo-American old and contemporary proverbs. It demonstrates the potential of the theory of the cultureme as a research tool in linguoculturological studies. The application of this theory helps reveal a rich, unique, complex and multifaceted notion of truth, which is the fifth key cultural constant characterizing the American identity (after the transcendent (God), society and the world, the human being, and nature).

Key Words: proverbs, linguoculturology, theory of the cultureme, axiosphere of Americanism

Introduction

It is a truism that no two persons perceive truth (or any other basic concept) in exactly the same way. Still, there seems to be a unifying element, a common characteristic, a feature that is more pronounced and that seems to be more widely accepted in a given culture, and this quality, element, or sum of features, by virtue of its very existence exerts an enduring influence on past, present and future generations of people in this culture, making them perceive and think about this concept in a more or less uniform way. Yuriy Sergeyevich Stepanov (Stepanov 1997), who belongs to the steadily growing group of contemporary scholars dealing with this phenomenon, has coined the term [*cultural*] *constants* to describe the set of specific concepts that appear to best characterize a given culture.[1] Such a cultural constant can be seen in the (more or less) (stereo)typical behaviour of most of its members, in the structure of their society, and certainly in the history, literature and the arts of generations of people who live together and share a common language and way of life. It can also be seen in the proverb lore of this people where it is stored and articulated in a systematic, engaging and memorable way. The English proverb 'Truth lies at the bottom of the well' is an example illus-

trating such a feature: its lively imagery and the associations it unlocks convey at once the idea of how difficult it is to attain truth but also how rewarding and lasting it is.

No nation lacks proverbs about truth, justice or wisdom and there seems to be a lot in common among the proverbs about truth of various nations. In fact, proverbs as a genre have been associated mostly with truth. This derives from their role as the authoritative voice of the people and its traditional wisdom, which embodies both truth and justice. It is however hard to distinguish among these three deeply related fundamental human concepts. From them, truth, although at first sight clear and simple, is especially elusive.

Truth as such has been in the center of attention of great thinkers and ordinary people alike since time immemorial. In the lines below, I will look at some of the approaches to defining this concept, which hopefully will throw some light on its extremely complex subject content, but before doing so it is good to begin with the dictionary definition of this very common English word. In English, according to *Longman New Universal Dictionary* (Longman 1982), the word *truth* has three closely related meanings (given in bold type below), of which the second meaning has four varieties, thus making the total number of meanings six:

truth, n, pl. *truths*:
1. **sincerity, honesty**
2. *a (1)* **the state or quality of being true or factual** (*there's truth in what she says*)
   a (2) **reality, actuality** (*truth is stronger than fiction*)
   a (3) often capital, *Truth*: **a transcendent (e.g. spiritual) reality**
   b **a judgment, proposition, idea, or body of statements that is (accepted as) true** (*scientific truths*)
3. **conformity to an original or to a standard**
   […] The word *truth* derives from ME *trouthe*, which in turn derives from OE *tréowth* **fidelity** and is akin to OE *tréowe* **faithful** […].

This dictionary entry shows at a glance how the cluster of meanings of the word *truth* has evolved in the course of more than fifteen centuries to attain its present-day diversity. We see

that *truth* in English now means sincerity and honesty (which is not the same as the etymological meaning of the original word in Old English, but is not entirely unrelated), something that is factual and real, absolute, transcendent and unchanging, as well as something corresponding fully to an original or to an agreed standard. Truth then is both objective (i.e., factual, absolute, unchanging), but also relative and subjective. To the ordinary English-speaking person, truth today may most often mean something that is self-evident and/or taken for granted. Truth is what is. The fact that it is raining outside, for example, is self-evident and therefore truthful. The fact that in order to make an omelet one has to break some eggs as the proverb 'You can't make an omelet without breaking eggs' somewhat jokingly reminds us, is, again, self-evident, hence true. But there is also much about truth that is not so simple and clear. We can see some of this semantic complexity and controversy in a large number of well-known proverbs similar to the example quoted above ('Truth lies at the bottom of the well'). This idea of truth for instance is conveyed by the widely familiar English proverb 'All that glitters is not gold,' which quite unequivocally denies the self-evidence of truth.

So, what is truth?

Apart from the ordinary everyday usage of the word truth and the reflections and observations on it stored in the proverb lore, the concept of truth is fundamental in the sciences and perhaps to a lesser degree in the arts and humanities. In the sciences, truth is generally thought to be attained via critical thinking (as opposed to reliance on authority), the scholarly method that has come to characterize the typical Western mindset.[2] Originating from Plato's understanding of "the true" (Gr. ἀληθές) as a most ennobling human virtue (together with "the beautiful" and "the good") as well as from Aristotle's logical category of "truthfulness", critical thinking gave rise to the scientific method of seventeenth-century Europe, which in the course of time unfolded into a proliferation of scientific disciplines that came to form the specific logical, objective and pragmatic outlook on reality so typical of the West. Critical thinking places an emphasis on validated, factual, empirical and unbiased truth, on the kind of truth which can be observed, perceived by the senses and validated by experiment and/or logical reasoning. Here is what the seven-

teenth-century European thinker Francis Bacon (1908: 4-6), the British statesman and philosopher to whom we owe one of the most profound and convincing descriptions of the scientific method, wrote in 1612 in his famous book *Essays* about the nature of truth:

> "... truth is a naked and open day-light, that doth not shew the masks and mummeries and triumphs of the world, half so stately and daintily [i.e., delicately, elegantly, gracefully – editor's note] as candle-lights. Truth may perhaps come to the price of a pearl, that sheweth best by day; but it will not rise to the price of a diamond or carbuncle, that sheweth best in varied lights" (p. 4).

> "... truth, which only doth judge itself, teacheth that the enquiry of truth, which is the love-making or wooing of it, the knowledge of truth, which is the presence of it, and the belief of truth, which is the enjoying of it, is the sovereign good of human nature" (p. 5).

> "To pass from theological and philosophical truth, to the truth of civil business; it will be acknowledged even by those that practise it not, that clear and round [plain, downright, straitforward – editor's note; honest, fair – R.P.] dealing is the honour of man's nature; and that mixture of falsehood is like allay [i.e. alloy, an inferior metal mixed with one of greater value – editor's note] in coin of gold and silver, which may make the metal work the better, but it embaseth [debases – editor's note] it" (p. 6).

In the passages above, truth is glorified as the most supreme of human virtues. Its greatest power lies in its ability to reveal the falsities and delusions of life very much like the daylight which lays everything bare and open. Truth is shown as a most supreme virtue inseparable from the good. And because it is a virtue, truth has to be practised daily in all spheres of social life in our dealings with others.

Apart from Bacon's interpretation of truth, there also exists a variety of ways of reflecting on the less obvious and more hidden aspects of truth, which have been explored by philosophers of diverse schools as well as by linguists, logicians, semanticists

and theologians. Finally, there is the artistic, personal and sub-jective hypostasis of truth, that of the poets, writers, dramatist, painters, sculptors, architects, composers, singers, and dancers, but also the truth of the heart, which defies all logic or reasoning.

So far, there now seem to emerge three questions concerning truth. First, what is truth per se and how can it be defined; se-cond, are there any different types of truth or just different inter-pretations of one single truth; and third, do different cultures view truth in their own specific (and perhaps vastly different) ways, or do they do that in the same way?

Among the twentieth-century Western philosophers of lan-guage, Ludwig Wittgenstein (1898-1951) has contributed vastly to the problem of "matching" language to truth. Here is how Robert P. Watson (Watson 1997: 363) summarizes Wittgen-stein's attempts to find a solution to this problem:

> "Wittgenstein breaks language down into its basic forms. Propositions are thoughts that find expressions that can be perceived by the senses. The fundamental or simplest kind of propositions are "elementary propositions." The world consists of facts, referred to by Wittgenstein as "atomic facts" or "states of affairs." Meaningful proposi-tions depict a reality of contingent facts. An elementary proposition merely asserts the existence of a state of af-fairs. As such, it is reflective of reality and cannot be contradicted by another elementary proposition. So, by discovering the logical form of propositions and identi-fying elementary propositions, one can discover the log-ical form or truth of states of affairs. Through the analy-sis of language, reality is discovered."

Wittgenstein's approach to truth is thus through delving into the logic of language.[3] But now a question arises whether logic tells us all about truth.

Indeed, truth and logic seem to be very closely related. While commenting on freedom as a basic human value, for in-stance, the twentieth-century critic of totalitarianism George Or-well (1903-1950) proposes a short definition of truth, which in a similar way defines it as the recognition of a logically verifiable fact: 'Freedom is the freedom to say that two plus two make four.' In another quotation Orwell tells of the preference of the

English people for truth, stating somewhat enigmatically (and ironically) that "[i]n England such concepts as justice, liberty and objective truth are still believed in. They may be illusions, but they are very powerful illusions" (Orwell). George Orwell thus admits that truth is logically identifiable and justifiable, that some nations (e.g., the English) are more inclined to value truth, but also that, paradoxically, truth may also be illusory – one more subtle hint pointing to its elusiveness.

A rather different interpretation of truth from the ones shown above can be found in the writings of the world-known European philosopher and scholar of culture of Russian origin Nikolay Berdyaev (1974-1948).[4] Berdyaev's (Berdyaev 1996) approach to truth does not only go beyond the visible and directly identifiable facts (which as we know may sometimes be perceived differently by different people), but also – and this is quite remarkable – beyond the logically inferred judgments:

> "Truth is dynamic and not static. Truth is fullness that is never revealed in its completeness. Fanaticism has always implied that the part is the same as the whole and that there is no need to strive to attain fullness. This is why Jesus didn't answer Pilate's question "What is truth?" He was Truth, but Truth which had to be revealed in the course of the whole history of humanity. Truth that is anything but what corresponds to the knowledge of a reality external to man. **Knowledge of truth is not the same as objectivity** (emphasis added). Knowledge of truth is not an act of objectifying, i.e. alienating and detaching oneself [from what one observes]. Truth is primary, not secondary, i.e., it does not correspond to anything else. Ultimately, Truth is God and God is Truth. […] **Truth is not reality and it does not correspond to reality. It is the deepest meaning of reality, the highest quality and value of reality**" (emphasis added).

In essence, Berdyaev's conceptualization of truth echoes that of the Eastern Orthodox theologians, but he adds a strong scientific and philosophical slant to it. In his *Ascetic Essays*, St. Ignatiy Branchaninov (1807–1867), an Eastern Orthodox religious authority, writes that "'The word of God – that is truth […];'

'The Commandments of the New Testament – that is truth […].'
If you want to listen to the voice of sacred truth […], learn to
read the Gospels: from them you will hear truth and you will see
truth. Truth will reveal your fall and the shackles of the lie, the
shackles of self-deception, which are tied around the soul of eve-
ry man who has not been reborn through the Holy Ghost"
(Branchaninov).

Truth in the framework of Eastern Orthodox Christian theol-
ogy lies beyond the purely logical reasoning and comprehension.
It is neither empirical nor rational, yet it is not unattainable: it
can be revealed to the human soul through a special act of grace
and only after a tremendous spiritual effort has been made by the
individual.

The conceptualization of truth of sociologist Pitirim Sorokin
(1889-1968) seems to encompass all of the above views. Set in
the framework of his all-encompasing socio-cultural scheme,
truth may be of three different types: ideational, sensate, and ide-
alistic. Ideational truth is the truth of prophets, mystics and
founders of religions. Because it is the truth of faith, it is perfect,
absolute and ultimate; the sensate truth is the truth perceived
through our senses, while the idealistic truth is a synthesis of the
two other kinds of truth. While acknowledging the validity of the
knowledge gained through sensual perception, the idealistic truth
also embraces the validity of revelation and abstract thinking as a
means to attaining realities of a higher and more abstract order.
Sorokin probably rightly believes that his classification encom-
passes practically all of the answers to the question "What is
truth?" hitherto given by the greatest thinkers of the world (So-
rokin 2004: 74-75; Petrova 2012a).

The randomly selected examples above are taken from the
sciences and the humanities. But it will be helpful to look at an
example coming from an entirely independent source, a source
which is not associated with any scholarly discipline or belief
system, at least according to its author, the experimental psy-
chologist Jiddu Krishnamurti (1895-1986), who throughout his
long and productive life used to command great respect among
the intellectual circles on both sides of the Atlantic. His book
Commentaries of Living, like many of his other books and talks,
is composed of meditative reflections on various subjects such as
Self, Relationships, Fear, Action and Idea, Desire and Conflict,

Truth, etc., which were targeted at diverse audiences, from the scholarly and scientifically minded to the "spiritually" minded, from the strictly religious to the staunch unbelievers. Krishnamurti's interpretation of truth strikes the reader with its attempt to transcend all logic (in the Westren, Aristotelian sense), but also with proposing a way for attaining the ultimate reality not by thinking about it and articulating one's thoughts in language, but by acquiring self-knowledge, which as he claims is the only means to experiencing truth directly. Although Krishnamurti has repeatedly denied his affiliation to any school of thought, the method he proposes appears to be very similar to that developed in Advaita Vedanta. It stresses self-knowledge as a starting point in the process of discovering truth, which entails removing all prejudice and conditioning and destroying the subject-object dualism:[5]

> "An acquisitive society, with its patterns and norms, is unbalanced. [...] Balance is non- acquisitiveness. The idea of balance and non-balance is still within the field of thought and so cannot be the judge. **Thought itself, the conditioned response with its standards and judgments, is not true. Truth is not an idea, a conclusion** (emphasis added). Is God to be found by seeking him out? Can you search after the unknowable? To find, you must know what you are seeking. If you seek to find, what you find will be a self-projection; it will be what you desire, and the creation of desire is not truth. To seek truth is to deny it. Truth has no fixed abode; there is no path, no guide to it, and the word is not truth. [...] When truth is sought, what is found can come only out of ignorance, for the search itself is born of ignorance. You cannot search out reality; you must cease for reality to be. [...] Surely, without the understanding of oneself, the search for so-called reality is an escape from oneself. Without self-knowledge, the god that you seek is the god of illusion; and illusion inevitably brings conflict and sorrow. Without self-knowledge, there can be no right thinking; and then all knowledge is ignorance which can only lead to confusion and destruction. Self-

knowledge is not an ultimate end; it is the only opening wedge to the inexhaustible" (Rajagopal 1956: 46-47).

Truth, in other words, cannot be perceived logically, it can only be experienced after realizing profoundly the illusory nature of the self and its many projections and after overcoming the subject-object duality (which reminds us of Berdyaev's understanding of truth quoted above). Truth is attained when the subject and the object merge completely and become one.

The examples above, scanty as they are, by illustrating several rather diverse approaches to truth show for one thing that the topic of truth is incredibly complex. We can certainly go on looking at more approaches, which will deepen and enrich our quest while making it more problematic, but at this point it seems reasonable to stop, take a stock of what has come up so far and limit ourselves to just "one type of truth", the one that is found in the Anglo-American proverbs. **In this paper, I will try to explore how truth is understood by the American people through their proverbs**. As the investigation unfolds, there may crop up some clues taking us back to the approaches mentioned above or to some other, entirely new inroads into the essence of truth. But before embarking on the analysis of the proverb corpus we need to answer another important question: Can we rely on the proverbs' authentic representation of life? Do proverbs as a genre describe reality truthfully?

Most proverbs are generalizations of folk philosophy, bits of traditional folk wisdom, nuggets of knowledge accumulated over centuries and even millennia. This knowledge has been tested, confirmed and again reconfirmed by generations of people in their day-to-day lives. Proverbs seem to have successfully stood the ravages of time, the trials and tribulations of history, the hazards of natural disasters. But do they always "tell it as it is"? Have their anonymous authors always perceived reality in the "correct" way? Aren't these short one-sentence texts tainted, at least to some degree, by the subjectivity and bias of their authors, their passions and prejudices? Are these people's judgments always right? Don't proverbs ultimately give, at least to a certain degree, a distorted picture of reality?

Proverbs are part of language, of its phraseology (in the broader sense of the term) and also constitute a literary genre in

and of itself. Being a self-contained part of the verbal folklore
they belong to literature. Their dual nature allows us to reformu-
late our initial question in another way: do language and litera-
ture represent reality truthfully?

As far as proverbs are concerned, the world-renowned prov-
erb scholar Wolfgang Mieder's (Mieder 2014a: 5) observation
about their capacity to store, reveal and convey truth hits the nail
right on the head:

> "Proverbs certainly are not mere didactic bits of wisdom
> to be employed as generalized rules of life and behavior.
> Instead, they are communicative or rhetorical signs that
> put the entire human experience into formulaic and con-
> cise utterances to be repeated at the right moment as ap-
> parent truths. That does not mean that proverbs are uni-
> versally true. In fact, **they are as contradictory as life
> itself**, **but they are valid in certain situations** (empha-
> sis mine). And, of course, proverbs can be manipulated
> to express a new insight or simply to make them fit into
> a novel context. Such anti-proverbs often have an addi-
> tional rhetorical value in that they juxtapose the tradi-
> tional wisdom with an innovative alternative. In any
> case, proverbs are invaluable social signs that have a
> great strategic influence on all types of communication."

Indeed, because of the prejudices and limitations of their au-
thors, proverbs, or at least some of them, cannot be universally
true. Imperfect as they are, however, yet they are the best strate-
gic tools that can help us in our quest for truth and wisdom. Re-
garding the broader question of whether language and literature
represent reality truthfully, we can recall the widely held agree-
ment of which we are reminded in almost every book on lan-
guage and linguistics. In summary, it tells us that the only way in
which people can reason about reality, express their feelings and
attitudes to it and exchange ideas and states of mind, is through
employing their own natural languages. The implications of this
are that although we, humans, are confined by the imperfections
of language per se and by the specific limitations of our specific
languages, still language is the only tool we have at our disposal
to communicate and reflect about the world and ourselves. And,
what complicates the problem even more, different languages

seem to represent different natural settings, different ways of life, different ways of thinking and feeling, and even different value systems. But these differences cannot rule out a certain common ground or shared domain (evidenced to a certain extent by the existence of the language universals). In Europe, the specific character of the different natural languages began to be explored in the 1930s by the German scholar of French background Leo Weisgerber, who succeeded in reviving the interest of some of his contemporaty linguists in the work of the predecessor of anthropological linguistics and linguoculturology Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767-1835) by studying the impact of the mother tongue (Muttersprache) on culture (see Weisgerber, B. 2000; Weisgerber 2004[1929]). Round about the same time, a similar interest in language as the repository of culture was revived across the Atlantic, which acquiring the shape of a new discipline, anthropological linguistics, developed by Franz Boas (1858-1942) and his followers. Anthropological linguistics "is concerned with the place of language in its wider social and cultural context, its role in forging and sustaining cultural practices and social structures" (Foley 2016: 251). "Culture – writes Franz Boas's eminent student and co-worker Edward Sapir (1884–1939) – may be defined as *what* a society does and thinks" (Sapir 1921). The Russian linguoculturologist Grigoriy Valerievich Tokarev links the unity of language and culture with the concept of the inner form of language, developed in the early nineteenth century by Wilhelm von Humboldt. The basic premise of von Humboldt's theory is that "the study of language must unfold together with that of the way of thinking of the people who speak it and of the culture in which they live. Von Humboldt regards language as an expression of the "spirit" of the people, of its "energy." It is in language that the spiritual life of a nation finds its expression. The specific ways of thinking of the different peoples are best revealed in the form of their languages. Von Humboldt differentiates between an inner and an outer form of language. The inner form is the set of principles along which a particular language is organized. The outer form is the expression of these principles. Each language interprets the world in its own unique way. The languages are thus not specific designations of reality, rather, they are specific views of reality. A word [in a specific language] does not "reflect" the thing [it desig-

nates], **the word denotes a specific image of the thing** (emphasis added). Every language forms a specific circle around the people who speak it and the only way to get out of this circle is to enter another one" (Tokarev 2009: 8).[6] Or, as Edward Sapir (Sapir 1921) has so fittingly put it, "[l]anguage and our thought-grooves are inextricably interwoven, are, in a sense, one and the same."

This idea has been explored further by a large number of linguists from diverse backgrounds. Following von Humboldt, Franz Boas, Eduard Sapir and Benjamin Lee Worf's ways of reasoning, in her recent book *Imprisoned in English* the well-known Australian scholar of Polish origin Anna Wierzbicka (Wierzbicka 2014: 3) reiterates the idea of language as the mirror of culture: "As individuals, we often see things differently because we are different persons, with different interests, preoccupations, and assumptions. As speakers of different languages we see them differently because every language equips its speakers with a particular set of cognitive tools for seeing and interpreting the world. This applies both to the literally visible world of colors and light, and the "invisible" world of emotions, relationships, social structures, and mental life."

As my own studies over the years show (Petrova 2002, 2004a, 2006, 2012a, 2014a, 2015a, 2015b, 2016a,2016b), this observation is valid about proverbs as well.

Thesis and Research Method

The aim of the present study is to explore **the cultural semantics of the Anglo-American proverbs about truth**.

Various aspects of Americanism as stored in the proverb lore have been explored in great depth by a number of scholars among whom Wolfgang Mieder holds a most prominent place as the editor-in-chief and co-editor of the first two voluminous contemporary American proverb dictionaries, *Dictionary of American Proverbs*, DAP (1992), and *Dictionary of Modern Proverbs*, DMP (2012) and author of a long and outstanding series of articles, studies, and books (cf. Mieder 1989, 1993, 1997, 2000, 2001, 2004, 2005, 2007, 2012, 2014a, 2014b), to name but a few of Mieder's colossal contributions to this vast theme. The present paper should be viewed as an extension of Wolfgang Mieder's work as well as of my own D.Litt. Dissertation *Axiology of*

Americanism: a Linguocultural Study of Anglo-American Proverbs (Petrova 2016b, 2016c), which explores the first four great themes characterizing the American linguoculture – God (The Transcendent), Society and the World, the Human Being, and Nature. These four themes appear to be the most pronounced ones within a larger pool of twenty two culturally significant themes stored in the proverbs. They include Truth, Good and Virtue, Evil and Vice, Life and Death, Freedom, Happiness, Friendship, Love, Women, Children, Work, Wealth, Independence and Individualism, Knowledge and Wisdom, The Law of Reciprocity, The Law of Cause and Effect, and Victory and Success.

The aim of this study and its linguocultural character determine the method selected, which is the **theory of the cultureme**.

The theory of the cultureme is discussed in full in my D.Litt. dissertation (Petrova 2016a, 2016b), while various aspects of it have been demonstrated in several other studies over the years (Petrova 2002a, 2002b, 2003, 2004a, 2004b, 2006, 2007, 2010a, 2010b, 2011, 2012a, 2012b, 2013a, 2013b, 2013c, 2013d, 2013e, 2014a, 2014b, 2014c, 2015a, 2015b, 2015c, 2015d, 2016a, 2016b, 2016c, 2017, 2018; Petrova and Sabrieva 2013a, 2013b; Petrova and Denizov 2014a, 2014b; Petrova and Stefanova 2014, 2017; Petrova and Barakov 2017; Petrova 2018). This theory combines an axiological analysis of a proverb corpus with a linguocultural synthesis of the results obtained via the analysis. The analysis consists in breaking down the proverbs into their main and constituent culturemes, into arranging the latter thematically according to their semantic density in order to elicit the dominant culturemes (or themes) of the corpus. The linguocultural synthesis combines a historical-cultural commentary and a hermeneutical explanation of the proverb texts whose meanings and messages are not fully transparent and a summarized hermeneutical interpretation of the results elicited from the analysis.

The theory of the cultureme is grounded on the axiological aspect of cultural semantics, a field that is being developed by an ever-growing number of scholars of diverse backgrounds (cf. Huntson and Thompson 2001; Volf 2002[1985]; Martin and White 2005; Chekulay 2006; Kieltika 2008; Bednarek 2009; Panchev 2010; Bayramova 2011a, 2011b; Linguistics and Axiology 2011; Skvortsova 2012; Thompson and Alba-Huez 2014).

Martin and White (2005: 211) state that "in Bakhtin's terms, texts are both ideological and axiological; […] In these terms, ideologically speaking a text unfolds as rationality – a quest for 'truth'; axiologically it unfolds rhetorically – an invitation to community." Halupo (2013: 239) on the other hand writes that each person's image of the world incorporates and builds upon a specific image of the world that is shared by the other members of a given linguoculture; the same idea is reiterated by Hurford, Heasley, and Smith (2007: 63) and Chekulay (2006). Uryson (1996: 37) has coined the term *naive encyclopaedia* to describe this shared image, or "picture." It is very important to stress that **this image, or "picture", has axiological characteristics**, i.e., many of its building blocks are charged positively or negatively, and this is either explicit or implicit (e.g., in the form of a presupposition or inference). There are also neutrally charged elements, or building blocks of this image. **A linguoculture is thus a specific system of appraisal of a large body of "portions" of verbalized or implied subject content at the centre of which lies a specific set of values and anti-values. This core overlaps with its most highly pronounced *cultural constants*** (Stepanov 1997) **and *key words*** (Wierzbicka 1997, 2010). In contrast, scientific discourse is largely neutral. The general register of any natural language (which reflects the everyday life of the people and to a certain extent the literary works in this language as opposed to scientific discourse) is thus largely evaluative (Kieltika 2008). **Evaluation is inherent to language**, it is an intrinsic quality of language (Popova and Bokova 2012: 72; Skvortsova 2012).

The interest in the axiological aspect of language is by no means new. It first began to be explored in Antiquity by the Greek Stoics, who used to regard language not just as a unity of signs and their meanings, but as a triad of form, name, and value (Halliday 2003 [1977]: 35). Philosopher Samuel Hart writes about our intrinsic human instinct to evaluate everything we encounter in our everyday lives, relating it to a predetermined scale of values that corresponds to various degrees of gratification. The human being has thus always been a *homo aestimans* [i.e., an evaluating subject], to use the term of the existentialist philosopher Wilhelm Dilthey (Hart 1971: 29). The same idea is confirmed by Berdyaev, who states that '[m]an is basically a crea-

ture who evaluates and determines the quality of everything'
(Berdyaev 2006 [1951]: 60). This human predisposition finds its
explicit and implicit expression in language.

The inherent evaluative nature of language can be seen in
the culturemes that are embedded in its structural levels. **The
culturemes are the linguocultural units of language that are
superimposed upon (or "run across") its structural levels,
forming another, specific, linguocultural level** (Petrova 2004:
46). In this framework, **evaluation and values are the most es-
sential characteristics of culture whose other aspect is
knowledge, i.e., a unique way of thinking about the world, of
mapping it and naming it**; indeed, as history abundantly shows,
if a culture is stripped of the system of values that underlie and
nourish it, of the anti-values it strives to overcome across genera-
tions of people, and of the prevailing "automatic" attitudes to
these values and anti-values, it quickly disintegrates and dies.
Appraisal is thus the essence and raison d'être of culture.
The most significant bearer of cultural semantics in terms of the
specific knowledge it stores and the message or messages it con-
veys is the text (Lotman 1991; Maslova 2001). It is indeed in a
text, and mostly in precedent texts[7], that the highest number of
culturemes is concentrated forming a hierarchical system. Pare-
mias (proverbs and sayings), a special genre of one-sentence
texts, are a treasure trove of a culture's wisdom and knowledge,
because since time immemorial they have been regarded as the
best teachers of people in their everyday lives. Each true proverb
puts across a message, which can be summarized in the form of a
cultureme. Idioms, most of the phrases and all of the evaluative
words and collocations in a language also contain explicit or im-
plied (undeveloped, potential) culturemes. The cultural seman-
tics of a text can be revealed and explained by the **theory of the
cultureme** summarized in the twenty-two points below.

1. **Each natural language stores, transmits and promotes
the culture of the people who speak it**. For example Bulgarian
stores, transmits and promotes the culture of generations of Bul-
garians who have inhabited a specific linguistic area that in-
cludes the territory of present-day Bulgaria.

2. A culture is a historically evolved, specific way of life of a
large group of people, who have inhabited for generations a par-

ticular geographical area where they have been trying to survive and to adapt to it, to one another, and to their neighbours. **Each culture gravitates around its own system of values, or axiosphere.**[8] We can roughly compare the axiosphere of a culture to the heart and brain of the human body.

3. **Culture is a distinctive characteristic of the human being, of groups of people, of the human community, and of mankind as such.** Plants and animals do not have culture. We can speak of culture only in relation to a human being but as long as he/she is a part of a larger whole – a group, a community, a people. Human beings cannot survive without culture: as examples of children who have spent the first years of their life in the wild in the company of animals instead of with other humans confirm, if they do not live in a culture, they lose their most essential human characteristics. Culture and community form an integral. There is no culture without a community, nor is there a true human community without culture.

4. **The integral of language and culture is like the two sides of a coin. A linguoculture is a complex universe, a *semiosphere of signs* (in the wording of Juriy Lotman 2000) with their specific semantics and evaluation.**

5. **The semantics of a large part of the language units (words, phrases, proverbs, text fragments, texts, hypertexts, etc.) is for the most part expressive and/or evaluative**. Examples are the positively charged English words 'love,' 'joy,' 'beautiful,' 'sweet,' or the negatively charged ones 'monster,' 'evil,' 'hate,' 'stink.' The same goes for positively charged phrases and collocations like 'heartfelt thanks,' 'the cream of society,' 'little bitty baby,' and negatively charged ones such as 'hell,' 'hater,' 'a splitting headache,' 'a pain in the neck.' All true proverbs are highly evaluative (e.g., 'Knowledge is power,' 'Practice makes perfect,' 'Death squares all accounts,' 'Familiarity breeds contempt'). Larger texts, especially literary texts, are always evaluative (e.g., Byron's poem *Promethius*, Shakespeare's tragedy *King Lear*, E. M. Forster's novel *A Passage to India*). This holds good for the general register of a language: General English (Bulgarian, German, Russian) as a rule is for the most part expressive and evaluative, while the English of science and bureaucracy, as noted earlier, is not. However, not all language signs in General English are positively or negatively

charged. The pronouns ('you,' 'we,' 'mine,' etc.), the preposi-
tions ('down,' 'up,' 'on'), the numerals ('five,' 'hundred,' 'first,'
'twentieth'), as well as large numbers of nouns, verbs, adjectives
and adverbs ('tree' ,'table,' 'road,' 'work,' 'exist,' 'make,' 'be,'
'spend,' 'large,' 'small,' 'rare,' 'frequently' 'late,' 'early' 'very,'
etc.) are neutral in terms of their denotative (dictionary) mean-
ings, but they may acquire certain evaluative characteristics
when used in specific contexts. The neutral linguistic items are
also part of the linguoculture in that they testify to a particular
way of dissecting and labelling reality. **Language reflects both
aspects of culture – culture as knowledge, and culture as
evaluation**.

6. **Culture and thinking have a lot in common, but they
are not one and the same thing.** Thinking takes part mainly
through language but also by means of the different kinds of log-
ic, mathematical formulas, charts, figures, or various other sym-
bols, which as a rule lack evaluation or expressiveness. A num-
ber raised to the power of two, the curved line, the sphere, or a
trigonometric function, is neither good or bad, pleasant or ugly,
acceptable or unacceptable, they are neutral. Thinking does not
go along the same lines for all people. Part of it seems to be the
same for all humans while part of it is culture-specific. Relations
like A is true while B is false, A is up in relation to B which is
down, the part is smaller than the whole, B follows from A, seem
common to all humans. But many other notions and relations
may be hard to grasp by an outsider to the culture in question.
Examples are the different systems of numbering in the ancient
civilizations (based on 6, 12, or 10), the different systems of
measurement, the different types of money, the different ways of
measuring the duration of time, the different kinship systems
studied by anthropologists, etc. They are all grounded in their
specific historical and geographical contexts.

7. Evaluation is always related to a certain language content.
It is attached to it and is part of it. Evaluation cannot exist by
itself, without an object. This is so because the act of evaluation
presupposes a subject and an object, i.e., there must be a person
who evaluates as well as something or somebody which this per-
son evaluates. **By evaluation is meant the act of applying to a
given language content (meaning) the binary opposition of
liking and disliking, praising or condemning, enjoying or rid-**

iculing, accepting or rejecting, confirming or denying, or, in summary, a positive or a negative attitude. We could visualize the core of a linguoculture as a vast reservoir of such contents in the form of a large and very complex corpus of signs (words, phrases, texts and hypertexts), each one of which has been assigned a positive or a negative characteristic. **The entire structure of a culture (its semiosphere) thus seems to encompass a core of evaluated concrete and abstract objects (its axiosphere) and a periphery of neutral ones.**

8. A linguoculture is at once static and dynamic. It can be studied diachronically and synchronically, but although it is flexible and in a state of constant flux, **a linguoculture is also comparatively timeless**. This means that in the course of time many of its linguistic signs may change their form and meaning, but still there remains a stable core of elements which accounts for a certain degree of self-sufficiency, identity and uniqueness.

9. **Value and evaluation in a linguoculture exist on several levels**:

– The first level is the **denotative meaning of words**: the dictionary meanings of a large number of words and phrases in a language can be inherently positive or negative (illustrated by the examples in section 5);

– The second level is that of **connotation**. Some words may change their evaluative characteristics when used in specific contexts. Furthermore, some neutral words may acquire evaluative connotations. For example, the neutral adjective 'black' has a negative connotation in the phrase 'black Monday,' but a positive connotation in the phrase 'Black Friday.'

– The third level is that of **modality** as a basic characteristic of the sentence (utterance). Modality is the speaker's or writer's attitude to reality that is determined by the intention of the speaker (writer) of an utterance, i.e., by the kind of speech act. For example, if somebody says 'It's pretty hot in here, isn't it?,' this utterance may sound like a complaint and thus imply criticism (i.e., be negatively charged), but it may also be a disguised request addressed to someone to open the window or turn on the air-conditioning, a statement used to fill in a gap in the conversation, or an concealed intention to change the subject of conversation. Modality is not the same as evaluation, but it presupposes some kind of accepting or rejecting something.

– The fourth level is that of **reception**. A given text may be accepted or rejected by society (in general terms) during a certain period of time. If the culture has taken a totalitarian course and if it is a dictatorship, then certain texts may be banned or considered "harmful" to society. Then, with the change of political regime, the same texts may acquire an entirely different status. For example, during the communist regime in Bulgaria, the Bible was practically banned or at least considered backward, superstitious and unscientific reading by the ruling authorities and by large numbers of the population. With the change of the political regime on 10 November 1989, it almost overnight acquired its earlier status as a sacred book.

10. The cultural semantics of a linguistic sign can easily be established via the linguocultural approach and its continuation – the culturematic analysis. **By linguocultural approach we mean the explication of the main cultureme and message of a certain language sign (text).** The culureme of a word or a phrase is an axiologucally charged portion of language content. The main cultureme of a text takes the form of a noun or noun phrase which summarizes the meaning of the text, its focus and its evaluation. For example, the cultureme of the phrase 'all fingers and thumbs' is 'clumsiness (–),' that of the proverb 'Don't change horses in midstream' is 'an untimely change of plans (–),' and that of William Wordsworth's poem *Daffodils* is 'the poet's vivid recollections of the daffodils by the lakeside (+).' The cultureme can be elicited with the help of the question 'What entity does this text affirm or deny, what does it show as positive or negative?' The shortest correct answer to this question is the verbal representation of the main cultureme.

11. **The main cultureme of a text overlaps with its theme.** The difference between them is that the cultureme is axiologically charged.

12. **Texts store and transmit four kinds of culturemes: simple (elementary), complex (made up of elementary ones), main, and explanatory.** The proverb 'Enough is as good as a feast' has two elementary culturemes, 'sufficiency (+)' and 'feast (+),' and one complex cultureme, 'temperance (+),' which is not stated, but which can be inferred; it is also the main cultureme of the proverb. The explanatory cultureme will be explained in section 16 below.

13. The figurative paremias (like all other figurative texts such as fables, riddles, tales, myths, legends, poems, etc.) have **a surface and a deep structure**, while in those which state their message directly these two structures merge. The proverb 'It's better to give than to receive' is an example of the latter type, while in the metaphorical proverb 'Mighty oaks from little acorns grow' the images of the little corn and the big oak into which it grows convey the idea that many great things have humble beginnings. This idea is the definition of the proverb, its explanation and true meaning. Similarly, in the case when some stylistic devices (e.g., hyperboles, litotes, understatement, simile, irony, sarcasm, etc.) are used, the deep structure of the text, i.e. its definition/explanation, is explicated via the same process of **semantic transformation** (cf. Voigt 1978: 232; Permyakov 1988: 20-21; Tarlanov 1993: 174; Grigas 2002: 156; Paducheva 1984). This is done by rendering the meaning of the text in neutral and factual language, i.e., by stripping the text of its imagery and expressiveness and by reducing it to a neutral, expressionless, impersonal statement. Thus the proverb 'No good deed remains unpunished,' which is built on hyperbole (we know from experience that in life some good deeds are rewarded), has to be "translated" into neutral language in order for the true meaning to be found. The question we need to put in such cases is 'What does this proverb actually mean?' Knowing that the hyperbole has probably been employed to express the strong disappointment felt by a person who has often received ingratitude instead of gratitude for his/her numerous acts of kindness, it can be inferred that the proverb's explanation is 'We often receive ingratitude from the people to whom we have been most kind.' The answer to the question for the cultureme 'What entity does this text affirm or deny, what does it show as positive or negative?' will thus be 'ingratitude' with a minus sign attached to it, i.e., 'ingratitude (–).'

14. Proverbs, like all texts, have messages. **The message is the focus of the proverb as an illocution, the lesson it teaches, the practical conclusion it states or suggests**. Messages can be put across directly, as in 'Do as you would be done by,' 'After dinner sleep a while, after supper walk a mile,' 'Though the sun shine, leave not your cloak at home,' etc., or indirectly, as in the proverb 'Hidden life, happy life,' which promotes a quiet exist-

ence away from public attention by merely stating this idea, or in 'Lilies don't spring from thistles,' a figurative metaphorical proverb, which through employing transparent images warns us not to expect proper behaviour from a person who comes from a bad family. To explicate the true message of a proverb, we need to put the question 'What does this text advise us to do/not to do, or to be/not to be?'

15. **In order for the sign of the cultureme to be verified, we need to compare it with the positive or negative attitude to the entity commented by the proverb text and stated or implied by its message.** In some cases the sign is not so transparent. One such example is the proverb 'No good deed remains unpunished' quoted above. Its surface structure is a statement of the bitter conviction that in life the good and kindly people are always punished by those who benefit from them. But, as stated earlier, we know from experience that many good deeds are appreciated and rewarded. Which is the true meaning of the proverb then? It obviously deals with gratitude and ingratitude, but does it promote refraining from doing good deeds? Judging from the surface structure of the text, the proverb advises us exactly this: not to expect recognition or reward for our acts of kindness, which means that good and compassionate people should simply stop acting kindly to others if they don't want to suffer. But **if we take into account the intention behind the hyperbole, then the message would be different.** By implying that ungratefulness bitterly hurts the feelings of others, the proverb actually suggests that such bad behaviour should be avoided. Hence the true message, 'This proverb advises us not to be ungrateful' and the negative sign of the main cultureme, 'ingratitude (–).'

16. There is one more cultureme that can be elicited after articulating the definition of the proverb – **the explanatory cultureme.** It is imbedded in the main cultureme. For example, in the proverb 'Truth never perishes,' the main cultureme, 'truth (+)' incorporates in its semantic content its explanatory cultureme 'the eternal truth (+).' The explanatory cultureme is the nominalized definition of the proverb, i. e., its true meaning, and its axiological characteristic. The explanatory cultureme of the proverb quoted in section 15 will thus be 'the fact that people can often be ungrateful to those who do them good (–).' This explanation is contained in the theme of the proverb, 'ingrati-

tude,' but it gives some specific knowledge within the confines of this broader theme (the knowledge that people can often be ungrateful to their benefactors). There may be numerous other proverbs (or other texts) that belong to the same theme, which all build up its specific hierarchical structure, in which the sub-themes contributing to the main theme are arranged according to their order of priority, i.e., some will appear to be dominant, while others will occupy the periphery of the thematic field.

17. **Sometimes the definition (explanation, meaning) of the proverb can be elicited fully only via explicating its pre-supposition(s).** One such example is the proverb 'Thinkers are as scarce as gold.' Its meaning can be rendered in the neutral statement 'Thinkers are very scarce among people.' This statement implies three presuppositions: 1. People must be able to think; 2. The people who can think are valuable because they possess a rare positive quality; and 3. It is really bad that the people who can think are so few. These presuppositions underlie the two explanatory culturemes of the proverb, 'the great value of the people who can think (+),' and 'the great scarcity of people who can think (–),' but they can be elicited only if the first presupposition, 'People must be able to think,' is taken into account.

18. The **cultural semantics of an individual proverb (or any other literary text) is thus made up of its main cultureme(s) and message(s), the elementary and complex culturemes that construct its main cultureme(s), and its explanatory cultureme(s).**

19. **The linguocultural synthesis involves a hermeneutical commentary of the proverb texts that are not fully transparent. Its main objective is to get as close to the truth they express, and that is closely related to the dynamics of their reception.** The latter is necessary for determining the illocutionary power of the proverb which often varies with time and the political regimes.

20. The next stage of the linguocultural synthesis is **the application of a hermeneutical approach to the subgroups that build up the larger thematic groups of proverbs and finally to the whole corpus under study.** It combines a semantic, historical, cultural, and political commentary of the proverb hypertext as a whole.

21. **The themes and culturemes of a hypertext make up a structure where each element is related to the rest and impacts the whole system. Their hierarchical arrangement is a mirror of the linguoculture under study**, **an image of the axiosphere of the people who speak this language.** The position of the themes and culturemes in this hierarchical structure is determined by their semantic density, i.e., the number of language signs that belong to the same theme or that denote the same cultureme. The greater the semantic density, the more culturally prominent and significant the theme or cultureme in the culture under study.

22. The dominant themes and culturemes represent the cultural constants of the linguoculture in question, while the peripheral ones are an important addition to its main characteristics. Taken as a whole, **this hierarchical structure also characterizes the average representative of this linguoculture** i.e., the American, English, Russian, Bulgarian, German, Hungarian, Turkish, Japanese, Korean etc. **linguocultural person**.

Selection of the Proverb Corpus

The hypertext of Anglo-American proverbs about truth totals 211 texts. It exhausts the whole thematic field *Truth* in the corpus of approximately 17 000 proverbs contained in the sources. Most of the proverbs about truth are taken from the two large dictionaries of American proverbs, *Dictionary of American Proverbs* (DAP, 1992), which contains roughly 14 000 lemas, and *Dictionary of Modern Proverbs* (DMP, 2012), which contains 1 422 lems and a much smaller number of sentences was excerpted from the additional sources: *Yankee Wisdom. New England Proverbs* (YankeeWisdom, 2001), *The Facts on File Dictionary of Proverbs* (Manser, 2002, 2007) and *Oxford Concise Dictionary of Proverbs*, 4ᵗʰ ed. (OxfConsDictProv, 2003) as well as from several online collections of American proverbs listed in section *Proverb Sources* below. Thorough research has been carried out for checking the meanings (definitions) of the texts which were not transparent, but let it be stressed that sometimes meanings can be very dynamic and often change with time. In some unclear cases (where there was no context), the meaning was inferred from the thematic group to which the proverb had been assigned by the authors/editors of the diction-

ary. The precise wording of the proverb definition is important for the verbalization of the explanatory cultureme, which helps place a proverb in a certain thematic subgroup. The total number of the explanatory cultureme(s) contained in the thematic group "Truth Proverbs" (the number of the former slightly exceeds that of the proverb texts since a few of them have more than one main or explanatory cultureme) helps determine the relative position of the theme "truth" in the axiosphere of American culture. Similarly, the semantic density of the subgroups withing the truth proverb group is reflected in the number of explanatory culturemes contained in their constituent proverbs. As we shall see, the comparison of the total number of positive and negative explanatory culturemes of the hypertext points to an almost wholly positive attitude to truth as such.

The culturematic analysis has yielded **thirty thematic subgroups. They exhaust the whole subject content (semantics) of the notion of truth stored in the American proverb lore**. The sub-themes are arranged progressively along a cline according to the semantic density of their explanatory culturemes. According to the theory of the cultureme those with the highest semantic density (they occupy the leading positions) characterize the most dominant values within the thematic field of truth that is part of the American axiosphere. They are followed progressively by the less pronounced ones. As will be seen below, some of the sub-themes occupy the same position (are represented in the same number of culturemes), which is an indication of their identical cultural significance.

In the analysis below, the abbreviation *'cult.'* stands for 'explanatory cultureme(s)' and the word *'Presupposition'* is used in the cases where the meaning can be explained fully only after taking into account its implicit aspects as well. *'Prov.'* stands for 'proverb(s).' The sentence next to the original proverb text presents the meaning (definition, explanation) of the proverb. Next to it is placed its explanatory cultureme. The number of culturemes given at the end of each subtitle is the total sum of the positive and the negative culturemes constituting the thematic subgroup.

The analysis below shows all the proverbs about truth found in the sources together with the proverb variants and synonyms. If the wording of the variant is too different from that of the

proverb from which it derives, the variant is counted as a separate text. Synomyms and variants are seen as additional contributions to the semantic density of a particular proverb since their very existence shows that the idea put across by the first proverb has caught the attention of the public so that it went on using the proverb more often and created more similar texts in the process. The culturemes placed in square brackets belong to other thematic fields but are also mentioned (without being counted) for the sake of completeness.

Although the quantitative assessment of cultural significance can of course be neither final nor absolute, quantity as an indication of certain qualitaties or trends offers reliable guidelines for conducting further research with more data involved, which should lead to an even higher degree of accuracy and conclusiveness.

Linguocultural Analysis of the Proverb Corpus

1. The invincibility and endurance of truth – 24 prov. / 24 cult. = 24 (+)

Truth shall conquer all (DAP), 'Truth is more powerful than everything else.' *Cult.:* truth, which is more powerful than anything else (+);

Truth is mighty and (it) will prevail (DAP), 'Truth is powerful and always triumphs.' *Cult.:* truth, which is powerful and always triumphs (+);

Truth (The truth) will (always) prevail (DAP), 'Truth is powerful and always triumphs.' *Cult.:* truth, which is powerful and always triumphs (+);

Truth is mightier than the sword (DAP), 'Truth is more powerful than physical strength.' *Cult.:* the superiority of truth over physical strength (+);

Truth never perishes (DAP), 'Truth lives forever and is eternal.' *Cult.:* the eternal truth (+);

There's nothing that keeps its youth but a tree and truth (DAP), 'Truth is indestructible, attractive and always in its prime.' *Cult.:* the indestructibility and youthful attractiveness of truth (+).

Truth never grows old (DAP*),* 'Truth's qualities never diminish with time.' *Cult.:* the endurance and vigour of truth (+).

Appearance passes away (Appearances pass away), truth abides (DAP), 'Appearances are transient, while truth endures and is permanent.' *Cult.:* the endurance and permanence of truth (+); [the transient nature of appearances (–)].

A lie stands on one leg, truth on two (DAP), 'A lie cannot endure for long, while truth persists.' *Cult.:* the endurance and permanence of truth (+)*;* [the transient nature of lies (–)].

Truth crushed to earth, will rise again (DAP), 'With time, the truth that has been denied, hidden or distorted for long is always revealed and learned by all.' *Cult.:* the invincibility and endurance of truth (+);

Though malice may darken truth, it cannot put it out (DAP), 'Wicked people can obstruct and suppress truth, but they cannot destroy it.' *Cult.:* the powerlessness of the wicked people to completely obstruct and suppress truth (+);

Truth creeps out of the ground (DAP), 'Suppressed, denied and distorted truth is always revealed in the end.' *Cult.:* the imminent revelation of suppressed truth (+);

The truth will out (DAP), 'Truth is always revealed in the end.' *Cult.:* the imminent discovery of truth (+);

The truth will come to light (DAP), 'Truth is always revealed in the end.' *Cult.:* the imminent discovery of truth with time (+);

Truth and oil always come to the top (DAP)***,*** 'Truth is always revealed in the end.' *Cult.:* the imminent discovery of truth (+);

Time will reveal all things (DAP), 'Truth is always revealed in the end.' *Cult.:* the imminent discovery of truth with time (+);

Time brings (will bring) everything (truth) to light (DAP), 'Truth is always revealed in the end.' *Cult.:* the imminent discovery of truth with time (+);

Time (alone) will show (tell) (DAP), 'Truth is always revealed in the course of time.' *Cult.:* the imminent discovery of truth with time (+);

Time (alone) (Only time) will show (will disclose all things) (DAP), 'Truth is always revealed in the course of time.' *Cult.:* the imminent discovery of truth with time (+);

Truth is truth to the end of the reckoning (DAP), 'Truth is finally revealed.' *Cult.:* the imminent discovery of the truth about something (+).

Murder will out (DAP), 'The murderer will most certainly be found out.' *Presupposition:* A murder is secretly committed by

an unknown perpetrator. *Cult.:* the imminent discovery of the truth about the secretly committed murder and its perpetrator (+). ***Wicked deeds will not stay hid*** (DAP), 'The truth about the wicked deeds will certainly be revealed.' *Cult.:* the imminent discovery of the truth about certain wicked deeds (+).

What goes on in the dark must come out in the light (DAP), 'The truth about the wicked deeds will certainly be revealed.' *Cult.:* the imminent discovery of the truth about certain wicked deeds (+). '

There is nothing covered that shall not be revealed, nor hidden that shall not be known (DAP) 'The truth about some hidden wicked deeds and their perpetrators will certainly be rvealed' *Presupposition:* Someone has committed something bad which he/she wants to keep secret. *Cult.:* the imminent discovery of the truth about some secret bad deeds (+).

The most dominant thematic sub-group in the Anglo-American proverbs about truth bears the cultureme ***the invincibility and endurance of truth (+)*** and is made up of 24 texts containing 24 explanatory culturemes related to truth. They are all positive, which is an indication of the great esteem in which this property of truth has been held by generations of Americans from all walks of life. Its subject content has a clearly outlined semantic core and a periphery. The semantic core is characterized by the dominant cultureme ***the imminent discovery of truth (+)***. It is represented by the largest number of proverb texts (13). The periphery is made up of four less pronounced culturemes: ***the endurance of truth (+)*** (in four texts), ***the power of truth*** (+) (in four texts), ***its eternal nature (+)*** (in one text), ***its indestructibility and youthful attractiveness (+)*** (in one text), and ***the inability of the wicked to obstruct and suppress truth (+)*** (in just one text). As a hypertext in its own right, this top subgroup puts across the optimistic message that the indestructible, all-powerful, eternal, lasting and enduring truth always comes to light regardless of all overt or covert attempts and intentions on the part of evil people to abuse, deny, conceal or suppress it.

2.   The great value of truth – 17 prov. / 17 cult. = 17 (+)
Truth is a rare commodity (DAP). This proverb compares truth to a commodity which is highly prized implying that truth can be

of enormous practical benefit. *Cult.:* the great practical benefits of truth (+).

Truth is a useful idea (DAP), 'Truth can be of practical benefits.' This proverb complements the previous one by stating literally the obvious benefits of practising truth. *Cult.:* the practical benefits of truth (+).

The truth is better than a lie (DAP). This proverb statement is a truism, and truisms are facts taken for granted and recognized by all. The fact that this truism is also an established proverb comes to show that some truths have to be recalled and reaffirmed regularly lest they get forgotten by the new generations. *Cult.:* the supremacy of truth over a lie (+).

There is no lie spun so fine, through which the truth won't shine (DAP), 'No matter how clever the lie, one will always be drawn to the truth it is trying to suppress or conceal.' The proverb suggests that the intrinsic value of truth exerts an enormous power on people, a power which surpasses that of even the most cunning and attractive of lies. *Cult.:* the supremacy of truth to even the most cleverly devised lie (+).

Truth always brings division between right and wrong (DAP). *Cult.:* the innate property of truth to help people separate right from wrong (+).

(The) Truth shall make you free (DAP), 'Only the truth of Jesus Christ can make a man free.' *Cult.:* the truth of Jesus Christ, which is the only road to freedom (+).

Truth has no confines (DAP), 'Truth cannot thrive in an atmosphere of suppression, it needs complete freedom.' This implies that truth wouldn't exist in an environment of duplicity, coercion, (political) propaganda, or any other kind of falsity. Truth needs complete freedom in order to exist. *Cult.:* the innate property of truth to transcend limits and be completely free (+).

There is nothing so kingly as kindness and nothing so royal as truth (DAP). 'Truth and kindness are most supreme virtues.' *Cult.:* the supremacy and magnificence of truth (+); [the equal supremacy of kindness (+)].

Without truth there can be no virtue (DAP), 'Virtue can only thrive in an environment of truthfulness, openness and sincerity.' This proverb teaches that only the truthful, open and sincere person can be virtuous and that virtue cannot be practiced in an en-

vironment of suppression, delusion or self-deception. *Cult.:* truth, openness and sincerity as conditions for virtue (+).

True worth is in being, not in seeming (DAP), 'The true dignity of a person is inseparable from his/her authentic feelings and behaviour.' This proverb once again draws a dividing line between authenticity and falsity or pretence. *Cult.:* the true value of man, i.e, his dignity, which consists in being authentic and not in seeming or pretending (+).

True worth is in being, not in seeming; in doing, not in dreaming (DAP), 'The true dignity of a person is inseparable from his authentic feelings, behaviour and also deeds.' This proverb draws a dividing line between authenticity and false pretence as well as between acting (doing) and fantacizing about acting or just wishing to act. *Cult.:* the true value of the human being, i.e, his/her dignity, which consists in being authentic and not in seeming or pretending to be someone else, in doing and not in dreaming and fantacizing about acting or only wishing to act (+).

Truth is the spring of heroic virtue (DAP), 'Truth is the foundation for, and a condition of, heroic virtue.' The proverb states that heroism is inseparable from truth, further implying that liars and cheats can never be heroes. *Cult.:* truth as the foundation for, and condition of, heroic virtue (+).

Truth is the basis of all excellence (DAP), 'Truth is the condition of perfection and excellence.' Another property of truth is that those who follow it achieve excellence in everything they do. *Cult.:* truth as the condition of perfection and excellence (+).

Beauty is truth, truth is beauty, 'Beauty and truth are inseparable.' This famous dictum of the English Romantics stresses on the Platonic unity of the logical and aesthetic perception of the beauty-and-truth integral. It states that the truthful can never be ugly or repulsive and implies further that ugliness is a sure indication of falsity. Thus it seems to refute the message of the proverbs warning against the misleading and deceptive nature of good looks, unless by beauty is meant inner beauty (of the character, of the soul, of one's principles, etc.). *Cult.:* truth as equal to beauty (+); beauty as equal to truth (+).

The ideal is but the truth at a distance (DAP), 'What we perceive as truthful is the ultimate, perfect and eternal ideal.' This philosophical proverb is an allusion to some basic tenets in Pla-

to's teaching and Kant's philosophy. It relates truth to the ideal implying that ideals, which by definition are timeless, eternal and perfect, are much more true and real than their tangible and transient manifestations in people's everyday lives. *Cult.:* the perfect and timeless ideal as the truth "seen" from a distance (+).

Truth is the gate of justice (DAP), 'Truth is a condition for justice.' This proverb states the obvious fact that truth and justice are inseparable and, by implication, that liars and cheats cannot be just and fair. *Cult.:* truth as the condition for justice (+).

The truth of the soul is in the spirit (DAP), 'The true essense of the soul has a spiritual foundation.' A more exhaustive and profound interpretation of this proverb would require an in-depth theological analysis of the soul-and-spirit relationship. *Cult.:* the true essence of the soul, which is to be found in its connectedness to the spirit (+).

The second dominant thematic subgroup of Anglo-American proverbs about truth promotes the cultureme ***the great value of truth (+).*** Its semantic density is quite high: it is shown in 17 texts, whose 18 explanatory culturemes are all positive. In terms of content, this complex cultureme unites diverse philosophical, theological, aesthetic, and literary aspects of truth, which show it as perfect, supreme and absolute. Truth makes us moral human beings (we become capable of distinguishing right from wrong); it is a highly beneficial commodity which enhances the quality of our everyday life, but is also related to entirely abstract concepts like the soul and the spirit. Truth is inseparable from fundamental cultural values like freedom, justice, dignity, heroism, beauty, excellence, magnificence, greatness, perfection (e.g., the ideal) and authenticity. Two proverbs compare it to the lie only to stress its unquestionable supremacy. The single biblical proverb in the group stresses the most important condition for attaining ultimate freedom and truth – the personal relationship with Jesus Christ.

3.   The truthful, honest and just person – 14 prov. / 14 cult. = 6 (+) + 8 (–)

A prophet is without honor in his own country (DAP). This biblical proverb telling about the invariably tragic fate of the prophets in the times of the Old Testament now has a much broader application: the prophet means anyone telling the truth, any hon-

est and principled person. 'The person telling the truth is rarely respected by his friends, family, co-workers, or fellow-countrymen.' *Cult.:* the lack of respect shown to the honest person by his social and family environment (–). Below are three variants of this proverb.

A prophet is not without honor, save his own (save in his own country) (DAP). *Cult.:* the lack of respect to the honest person in his own environment (–).

A prophet is not without honor, save in his own country and in his own house (DAP). *Cult.:* the lack of respect to the honest person in his own environment (–).

No man is a prophet in his own country (DAP). *Cult.:* the lack of respect to the honest person in his own environment (–).

Truth seeks no corners (DAP), 'The open and honest person does not hesitate, dissemble, lie or conceal the truth.' *Cult.:* the truthfulness, opennness and straightforwardness of the honest person (+).

Truth may be blamed, but never shamed (DAP), 'The truthful and honest person may easily fall victim to false accusations, but he/she will never lose his/her dignity.' *Cult.:* the indestructible dignity of the honest and truthful person (+).

Some people have tact, others tell the truth (DAP). *Presupposition:* Being tactful is the same as being a liar. 'Honest people tell the truth while the so called tactful people tell lies.' *Cult.:* the honest person who always speaks the truth (+); [the so called tactful person who often resorts to lying (–)].

Truth finds foes where it makes none (DAP), 'The honest and truthful person can easily turn others into his/her enemies.' *Presupposition:* It is truly tragic that good, honest and well-meaning people should so easily turn others into their enemies by telling them openly some truths that are hard to accept. *Cult.:* the unfortunate propensity of honest people to easily turn others into their enemies by telling them openly some bitter truths (–).

Flattery begets friends, but the truth begets enmity (DAP). *Presupposition:* It is truly tragic that people who flatter others should beget friends, while truthful and honest people tend to turn others into enemies. *Cult.:* the tragic propensity of the truthful and honest person to easily turn people into enemies (–); [the ironic propensity of the flatterer to make friends so easily and quickly (–)].

Truth gives a short answer, but lies go round about (DAP).
'Honest people give short and clear answers, while liars speak
long trying to confuse others and obfuscate the truth.'*Cult.:* the
honest person, who speaks to the point (+); [the liar, who speaks
a lot and in a manner meant to confuse and mislead his/her vic-
tim (–)].

Truth fears nothing but concealment (DAP), 'Honest people
are only afraid when others hide the truth.' The honest people
can suffer only when others twist the truth; in an honest and open
environment they have nothing to fear. *Cult.:* the concealment of
truth, which is the only danger for the truthful and honest person
(–).

Truth fears (needs) no colors. Infm.: Truth fears no enemy
(DAP), 'Honest people are not afraid of enemies.' *Presupposi-*
tion: Honest people are very good fighters who are never afraid
to stand by their principles. *Cult:* the indomitable fighting spirit
of the truthful and honest person (+).

The man who fears no truth has nothing to fear from lies
(DAP), 'The person who is not afraid of truth, is not afraid of
lies either.' *Cult.:* the indomitable fighting spirit of the truthful
and honest person when attacked by liars (+).

The greater the truth, the greater the libel (DAP), 'The greater
a deed is, the greater the hatred and envy it attracts.' *Cult.:* the
tragic fact that a truly great exploit always attracts great hatred
and envy (–).

Like the previous leading thematic subgroups, the proverb
subgroup describing the honest person has a high semantic den-
sity – 14 texts and 14 culturemes, of which the negative ones
predominate (8 negative to 6 positive). Its content is varied and
diverse. The positive character traits like the great courage, in-
domitable fighting spirit and deep and unchanging love of truth
make the honest person look like a hero. But such a person is
also very vulnerable. He/She is not respected by those close to
him and can be often blamed for lack of tact, he/she easily turns
others into bitter enemies, his/her great exploits attract envy and
hatred instead of love and admiration, and he/she is often forced
to survive in an environment of hatred and suspicion dominated
by flatterers and liars. Honest people lead heroic but tragic lives
of loneliness, isolation and opposition.

4.   The empirical and factual nature of truth – 14 prov. / 14 cult. = 13 (+) / 1 (–)

Experience is the first path to truth (DAP), 'Truth is based on experience, i.e., we learn certain truths through practice and while living our everyday lives rather than from books.' *Cult.:* practical everyday experience as the surest road to truth (+).

Facts are stubborn things (DAP), 'Facts are solid, real, true, and very important and we must accept them even if we don't like them. It is impossible to argue with facts and hence useless to deny them.' *Cult.:* the objective reality and ultimate importance of facts (+).

One fact is stronger than a dozen texts or pretexts (DAP). *Presupposition:* The explanations and interpretation of facts can be misleading. 'Objective facts are far more important than explanations, which may often be biased and misleading.' *Cult.:* the supremacy of objective facts over biased and misleading explanations (+).

Facts are better than theories (DAP). *Presupposition:* Theories can be misleading. 'Objective and truthful facts are far superior to theories, which may be incorrect and misleading.' *Cult.:* the supremacy of the objective facts over theories that may be incorrect and misleading (+).

Facts do not cease to exist because they are ignored (TG), 'Objective facts exist whether or not there is a knowing subject acknowledging their reality.' This basic philosophical tenet of objective materialism is in direct opposition to the view maintained by subjective idealists who propose that reality *per se* does not exist, but it is people with their subjective powers (consciousness, thinking, will, emotions, perceptions, knowledge, memory etc.) who are creating it. *Cult.:* the ultimate reality of facts regardless of the presence or absence of a knowing subject (+).

A single fact is worth a shipload of argument (DAP). *Presupposition:* Arguments are subjective and can be misleading and confusing. 'Objective facts are far more important than subjective and biased arguments.' *Cult.:* the supremacy of objective facts over arguments that can be biased and subjective (+).

A thousand probabilities do not make one truth (DAP). *Presupposition:* Probabilities may be incorrect. 'Objective facts are far more important than probabilities, which may be incorrect.'

Cult.: the supremacy of objective facts over probabilities that can be potentially incorrect (+).

No ideal is as good as a fact (DAP) *Presupposition:* The ideal as a figment of the human imagination is subjective and hence potentially untrue. 'Objective facts are far more important than ideals, which may often be detached from the truth.' *Cult*.: the supremacy of objective facts over ideals that can be too detached from reality (+).

Facts are facts (DAP), Facts are objective, real, truthful, indisputable and must be accepted such as they are, because nothing and nobody can change them.' *Cult*.: the solid and unquestionable reality of facts (+).

Facts don't lie (DAP). *Presupposition:* Opinions may lie and mislead. 'Facts are real and truthful, while opinions may lie and mislead.' *Cult*.: the solid and unquestionable reality of facts (+); [the questionable truthfulness of opinions (–)].

Figures don't (won't) lie (DAP). *Presupposition:* Descriptions, impressions and opinions may be incorrect. 'Figures and data are real and truthful, while descriptions, impressions and opinions may be incorrect.' *Cult*.: the solid and unquestionable reality of figures and data (+); [the questionable truthfulness of decriptions, impressions and opinions (–)].

To ignore the facts of history is to repeat them (DAP). *Presupposition:* History is full of tragic events, which should serve as lessons for future generations. 'Forgetting the hard lessons of history invariably results in repeating the same or similar tragic mistakes.' *Cult*.: the ignoring of the hard lessons of history, which leads to repeating the same mistakes and creating new tragic realities (–).

Pictures don't lie. P.A. *Presupposition:* A person, when presenting or introducing himself/herself, may want to withhold some truths about himself/herself. 'A picture however presents the person in the most truthful and realistic way.' *Cult*.: the picture of a person, which presents him/her in the most truthful and realistic way (+).

What you see is what you get. P. A. This proverb comes from the computer jargon and is related to the practice of printing. It originally warned that when we want to print a document, the printer would reproduce exactly what we see on the screen. The figurative meaning is that truth is often quite literal, simple, ob-

vious and factual, that it cannot be denied or made different and that in some cases there is nothing else but this obvious truth. It is based on the presupposition that appearances usually conceal the truth (as stated in many other proverbs). *Cult.:* the apparent, obvious, simple and complete truth about something (+).

The fourth leading subgroup of Anglo-American proverbs about truth shares the same position as the preceding subgroup and hence has the same cultural significance. It presents truth from the perspective of objective materialism, i.e., from a factual and empirical viewpoint. It is made up of 14 proverb sentences that put emphasis on facts (including figures, pictures, and what we see on the computer screen) rather than on their interpretations. Its 13 explanatory positive culturemes show facts as far superior to opinions, desires, interpretations, explanations, probabilities, theories and even arguments, which are ascribed the property of "potentially untrue." There is only one negative cultureme and it does not deny the importance of facts but condemns the lack of attention to historical facts. This subgroup very well demonstrates the "cult" of the fact so typical of the "Anglo" mindset (Wierzbicka 2010).

5. The hidden nature of truth and deceptive nature of appearance – 13 prov. / 15 cult. = 2 (+) + 13 (–)

All that glistens is not gold (P. L.), 'Not everything or everybody that looks good or is perceived by others as valuable is truly good or valuable.' The example given by P. Lawrence to illustrate the proverb's meaning is "Money and wealth are not the most valuable things in life. There are other things just as valuable such as one's family or good health." *Cult.:* the potential falsity of fine appearances and publicly upheld values (–).

We are deceived by fair appearance (DAP), 'What looks good is not truly good.' This proverb statement is an exaggeration, since we know from experience that fair appearance is not always deceitful and that ugliness is certainly not always an indication of virtue. The proverb hyperbole stresses the idea that fair appearance may often be misleading. *Cult.:* the generally false nature of fair appearance (–).

Appearances are deceiving (deceptive) (DAP), 'Appearances conceal the truth.' *Cult.:* the generally false nature of fair appearance (–).

Judge not according to appearances* (*Never judge from appearances) (DAP), 1526, Tyndale, *New Testament, John 7:24*, 'We can't form a truthful opinion about someone or something on the grounds of what we see.' *Cult.:* the generally false nature of fair appearance (−).

Don't judge according to appearance, but judge righteous judgment (DAP), 1526, Tyndale, *New Testament, John 7:24*, 'Do not take appearances for truth, but try to form right and truthful judgments.' Like the three biblical proverbs above, this proverb expressly warns that appearances may often be wrong and that we must do our very best to reveal the truth and to always abide by it. *Cult.:* right and truthful judgments (+); the generally false nature of fair appearance (−).

Don't judge men's wealth or piety by their Sunday appearance (DAP), 1526, Tyndale, *New Testament, John 7:24*, 'Don't make conclusions about people's real wealth and good morals from the way they look in public.' The image of the people in church wearing their Sunday clothes suggests conformity with the public standards and a certain degree of hypocrisy. *Cult.:* making true judgments about people's wealth and morals regardless of their fair appearance in public (−).

Believe only half of what you see and nothing hear (You can only believe half of what you hear, Believe nothing you hear and half you see, Believe not half you hear, and repeat not half you believe, Don't believe anything you hear nor half what you read) (DAP), 'Know that the truth is often very different from what you see and what people say or write about.' This small group of proverb variants advises us not to expect the truth from our interlocutors or from the way they behave, since they may be acting out of habit or even deliberately misleading and deceiving us. *Cult.:* looking for the truth beyond what we see, hear or read (+); believing fully what we see, hear or read (−).

Things are not always what they seem (DAP), 'Truth is sometimes different from appearances. *Cult.:* the largely deceptive nature of appearances (−).

To appear so does not prove a thing to be really so (DAP), 'Truth is very different from appearances.' *Cult.:* the generally false nature of fair appearance (−).

Do not trust too much in an enchanting face (DAP), 'Know that some people may have ulterior, i.e., bad, motives and inten-

tions, although they may looking charming and friendly.' *Cult.:* trusting people who look charming and friendly (–).

There is no trusting to the countenance (DAP), 'We can't form a truthful opinion from what we see.' *Cult.:* the generally false nature of fair appearance (–).

Truth lies (keeps to) at the bottom of a well (her well) (DAP), 'The truth is hard to find but worth finding.' The image of the well suggests cool and fresh water which might be highly prized in a situation when, for example, people are suffering from a prolonged drought. This image may also suggest something small and precious which has been accidently dropped into the well. *Cult.:* the difficulty of accessing some highly prized truths (–).

Don't (Never) judge (You cannot judge (can't tell)) a book by its cover (binding) (DAP), 'We can't form a truthful opinion about someone or something on the grounds of only what we see.' The image of the book and its cover or binding suggests the idea that because the form can sometimes be very different from the content, we need to make a special effort to discover the content, which is always more important than the form and more rewarding. *Cult.:* the generally false nature of fair appearance (–).

The fifth leading sub-theme of the corpus, represented by 13 proverb texts with a total of 13 negative and 2 positive culturemes, expresses the twin idea of the deceptive nature of appearances and the hidden nature of truth. By means of hyperboles and various images – the glamorous appearance, the attractive book cover, the enchanting face, the fine clothes of the church-goers, the glistening precious metal – the compact core of 14 negative culturemes expressly warns how deceitful appearances may be. The two positive culturemes advise us to persevere in making correct judgments by painstakingly searching for the truth beyond what we see, hear or read. The presence of three biblical proverbs in this thematic subgroup is an indication of how important it is for people as moral beings to strive to attain truth in spite of the effort.

6.   The love of truth – 13 prov. / 15 cult. (+)

Love truth for truth's sake (DAP). *Cult.:* the love of truth for its own sake (+).

Buy the truth but never sell it (DAP), 'Search for the truth and do not exchange it for anything else.' *Cult.:* searching for truth and treasuring it (+).

Betray no trust; divulge no secret (DAP). *Cult.:* honouring trust (+); keeping other people's secrets (+); betraying trust (–); betraying othet people's secrets (–).

Better suffer for truth than prosper by falsehood (DAP). *Cult.:* abiding by the truth in spite of the suffering it entails (+); [avoiding falsehood in spite of the profits it brings (–)].

Dare to be true; nothing can need a lie (DAP). *Cult.:* the fearless speaking of the truth (+).

Speak the truth bravely, cost as it may; hiding the wrong act is not the way (DAP). *Cult.:* exposing fearlessly the wrongdoers (+).

Never speak to deceive nor listen to betray (DAP). *Cult.:* speaking the truth (+); listening to others with good intentions (+); [deceiving people (–); trying to learn other people's secrets and betraying them (–)].

Speak truth to power (DMP), 'Speak the truth even to those in power.' This proverb implies that one would need a lot of courage to defy those who are more powerful than him. *Cul.:* fearlessly exposing the truth before the powerful (+).

Tell the truth if it kills you (DAP), 'Speak the truth even if this involves great risk.' *Cult.:* fearlessly speaking the truth (+).

Live truth instead of professing it (DAP). *Cult.:* living according to the truth (+); [professing the truth but not living it (–)].

Speak the truth and embarrass the devil (Smith), 'Tell the truth in spite of the strong temptation to conceal it.' *Presupposition:* The truth is unpleasant and telling it may have some bad consequences for the person who exposes it. *Cult.:* overcoming one's temptation to conceal an unpleasant truth (+); exposing the truth fearlessly (+).

Tell the truth (Come tell the truth/ It takes the truth) and shame the devil (DAP). *Cult.:* overcoming one's temptation to conceal an unpleasant truth (+); exposing the truth fearlessly (+).

When in doubt, tell the truth (DAP). *Cult.:* overcoming one's fear of telling the truth (+).

The subgroup of proverbs commenting on the love of truth occupies the sixth position in terms of semantic density in the list of thirty positions, which attests to its high cultural significance.

The love of truth is the main theme of 13 proverbs, while the number of culturemes they promote is greater – 15, and they are all positive. It is interesting to get a glimpse of the kind of love promoted so emphatically by this subgroup of proverbs. We are advised to love truth for its own sake, never to exchange it for anything else and to live it instead of only to profess it. Some proverbs advise us to speak the truth fearlessly regardless of the high cost and great risk this may involve, others advise us to overcome the temptation to conceal the truth, still others remind us to be loyal to people and never betray their secrets. This subgroup of proverbs is thus another lesson on how to be good and virtuos.

7.   The verification of truth – 12 prov. / 12 cult. (+)

Test (Try) before trusting (before you trust) (DAP), 'Before we decide to put our trust in someone, we must make sure this person is trustworthy.' *Cult.:* testing a person before trusting him/her (+).

Trust but verify (DAP), 'Before we decide to put our trust in someone, we should make sure this person is trustworthy.' *Cult.:* testing a person before trusting him/her (+).

Believe every man a liar until he proves himself true (DAP). This pessimistic proverb takes the message of the two previous ones one step further by asking us to assume that all people are liars until proved innocent.' *Cult.:* testing a person before trusting him/her (+); [believing that all people are liars (–)].

The test (The proof) of the pudding is in the eating (lies in its eating) (DAP), 'In order to test the qualities of something, we need to put it to practice.' This meaning of the proverb is confirmed by three more illustrations of its usage: "To believe that something is correct, you must observe or witness it firsthand" (P. Lawrence); "You can only say something is a success after it has been tried out or used. *I know you didn't think it was a very good product, but just look at the fantastic sales figures. That's the proof of the pudding"* (en.wiktionary.org); "The quality, effectiveness or truth of something can only be judged by putting it into action or to its intended use" (http://www.word-detective.com). *Cult.:* proving the true value of something by putting it into action or to its intended use (+).

The proof is in the pudding (DAP). The proverb is a shortened variant of the previous one. *Cult.:* proving the true value of something by putting it into action or to its intended use (+).

Ridicule is the test of truth (DAP). *Presupposition:* If something lends itself to ridicule, it is not truly good. 'Ridicule is a good test for real value and truthfulness.' *Cult.:* using ridicule as a test for proving or disproving real value and truthfulness (+).

That must be true which all men say (DAP), 'If all people agree about something, then it should be true.' *Cult.:* unanimous public opinion as the validation for the truthfulness of something (+)

Seeing is believing (DAP), 'Nothing is true but what can be perceived by the senses.' This empirical proverb limits the validation of truth to our sensual perception.' *Cult.:* the validation of truth by sensual perception (+).

Seeing is believing, but touching is the truth (DAP). This proverb is an exaggerated version of the previous one. *Cult.:* the multiple validation of truth by sensual perception (+).

A (The) tree is known by its fruit (DAP***)*** (*Matthew* 12: 33, KJB), 'The truth about someone becomes clear from his/her deeds.' *Cult.:* making truthful judgements about people from their deeds. The next two texts, which are synonyms to this proverb, have the same explanatory cultureme.

Judge a tree (You can judge a tree) by its fruit (by the fruit it bears) (DAP) (*Matthew* 12: 33, KJB).

As the tree, so the fruit (Such as the tree is, so is the fruit) (DAP). This old proverb first recorded in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* ca 1389 (*Parson's Tale)* has the same meaning as "The tree is known by his fruit" (*Matthew* 12: 33, KJB), which belongs to the topics "appearance and human nature" (ConsOxf DictProv).

The twelve proverbs in this subgroup contain twelve positive culturemes. They unanimously maintain that truth must be verified at all times and that we must form our judgements and opinins with great caution and after much checking. Nothing should be taken for granted and nobody should be trusted blindly. There are several ways to check truth: by putting something to the test of the senses, by comparing it to public opinion, by putting it to the test of ridicule, and by critically observing the actual deeds of a person regardless of his/her verbal declarations. The fact that one fourth of the texts are biblical shows that the idea of prudent-

ly seeking verification of the good character of others should be part of our religious and moral education.

8. The natural, unassuming and authentic behaviour – 11 prov. / 16 cult. = 13 (+) + 3 (–)

Act what you are and not what you aren't (DAP), 'Be yourself and do not dissemble.' *Cult.:* authentic behaviour (+); dissembling (–).

Speak what you feel, not what you ought to (DAP), 'Be honest, truthful and sincere in your speech instead of trying to please others.' *Presupposition:* People often have to speak insincerely in order to appear tactful or diplomatic. *Cult.:* sincere, honest and truthful speech (+); insincere speech (–).

Be what you are. This is the first step toward becoming better than you are (TG). *Cult.:* authenticity as a condition for improvement (+).

It is better to be hated for what you are than to be loved for something you are not (TG). *Cult.:* being authentic regardless of the cost and consequences (+).

Best be yourself, imperial, plain and true! (TG). *Cult.:* authenticity, which is imperial, plain and true (+).

Be yourself (P.A.). *Cult.:* authenticity (+).

Don't try to be someone you are not (DMP). *Cult.:* authenticity (+); pretending you are someone else (–).

This above all: to your own self be true (DAP). From *Hamlet*, Shakespeare. *Cult.:* authenticity (+).

To your own self be true, and it must follow, as the night the day, you cannot then be false to any man (DAP). From *Hamlet*, Shakespeare. *Cult.:* authenticity (+); honesty to others (+).

To your own self be true. You cannot then be false to any man (DAP). From *Hamlet*, Shakespeare. *Cult.:* authenticity (+); honesty to others (+).

If you aren't what you ain't, then you ain't what you are (DAP). *Cult.:* authenticity (+); affected and pretentious dissembling (–).

The subgroup of proverbs about the natural, sincere and unaffected behaviour, which occupies the eighth position out of thirty positions on the scale, is promoted by a fairly large number of proverbs – 11, bearers of 13 positive and 4 negative culturemes. The positive ones promote authenticity, sincerity and

natural and honest behaviour describing it as a superior virtue, while the negative ones condemn and ridicule insincerity and affected pretense and dissembling.

9.   The calm, sober and realistic attitude to truth – 11 prov. / 15 cult. = 10 (+) + 5 (–)

The truth never shocked a man (DAP), *Presuppoition:* Some truths can be very strange, even shocking. 'Even the strangest and most shocking truths can be accepted by people. *Cult.:* the innate human ability of accepting even the strangest and most shocking of truths (+).

Open your eyes to the facts (DAP), 'Acknowledge and accept reality as it is.' *Cult.:* acknowledging and accepting the facts as they are (+).

Let's face the facts and get at the root of trouble (DAP), 'We need to discover the real reasons for a problem in order to solve it.' *Cult.:* finding the real reasons for a problem (+).

Don't believe half-truths (DAP). *Cult.:* believing half-truths (–).

God give me strength to face a fact though it slay me (TG). *Presupposition:* Some truths are very hard to accept. *Cult.:* fearlessly accepting the hard facts (+).

If it looks like a duck, walks like a duck and quacks like a duck, it's a duck (DMP), 'If someone behaves in a typical way and shows all other typical characteristics, then you have every right to believe he/she is the person you think he/she really is.' *Presupposition:* Appearances often deceive. This ridiculing proverb makes fun of the people who sometimes obstinately refuse to acknowledge an apparent fact. *Cult.:* acknowledging the obvious truth about someone or something when the evidence is there for all to see (+).

A polecat is a polecat, no matter what you call it (DAP). *Presupposition:* The polecat has a very bad smell. 'An unpleasant fact cannot be made pleasant even though we use nice words to describe it.' *Cult.:* accepting the fact that truly bad realities cannot become good even though we may use nice words to talk about them (+).

Don't believe that story true that ought not to be true (DAP), 'We should use our common sense not to believe a story which is quite obviously made up.' *Cult.:* using our common sense to

doubt the authenticity of a clearly made up story (+); taking obviously made up stories for true (–).

That that is, is; that that is not, is not; that that is, is not that that is not; that that is not, is not that that is (DAP). This proverb joke ridicules the awkward and tortuous way of thinking of some foolish and naive people. *Cult*.: the "profound conviction" of some naïve and foolish people in certain blatantly obvious truths (–) / (+). The negative sign of the cultureme shows that the proverb can be used to criticize such people, while the positive sign is an indication that it can be used as a harmless joke.

That that is, is (DAP). This is a shortened version of the proverb above and has the same culturemes.

It is just as is and ain'e no is-er (DAP). This funny proverb synonym shares the same meaning and culturemes with the previous two proverbs.

The ninth subgroup of Anglo-American proverbs about truth promotes a sober, realistic, calm, dispassionate and disciplined attitude to the realities people deal with in their everyday lives. The number of explanatory culturemes (15) surpasses that of the proverb texts (11). The positive culturemes predominate (10 positive to 5 negative). They promote using our rational powers, common sense and truthful language to assess and describe the situations we are confronted with in our everyday lives, while the negative ones warn us not to believe half-truths and made up stories and not to deny the truths that are blatantly apparent.

<u>10. The benefits of truth – 10 prov. / 13 cult. = 10 (+) + 3 (–)</u>

Truth is a useful idea (DAP). *Cult*.: the usefulness of truth (+).

The truth always pays (DAP), 'It is beneficial for people to be sincere, honest and principled.' *Cult*.: the usefulness of truth (+).

Truth is the best advocate (DAP), 'Truth is the best defence.' *Cult*.: the usefulness of truth as the best defence (+).

Truth never hurt the teller (DAP), 'The truthful and honest people have never suffered from telling the truth.' This proposition has been refuted by several other proverbs which claim just the opposite, a fact which once again shows that proverbs often contradict themselves. But if the verb 'harm' is taken to mean 'destroy the reputation,' 'make someone suffer from bad conscience,' or 'ruin someone's inner peace and integrity,' then this

proverb tells the truth. *Cult.:* the property of truth never to harm those who abide by it (+).

The truth never hurt (never hurts anyone) (DAP). This proverb variant has the same meaning and cultureme as the previous proverb.

Truth, harsh though it is, is a faithful friend (DAP), 'Although harsh and unpleasant, truth always helps people.' *Cult.:* the harsh and unpleasant truth, which always helps people (+).

Truth, although (though) severe, is a true (faithful) friend (DAP), 'Although severe, truth always helps people.' *Cult.:* the severe truth, which always helps people (+).

Tell the truth; it's easier to remember what you said (DAP). This proverb makes fun of some people's propensity to lie by recommending them to speak the truth as this would spare them the trouble of memorizing all their previous lies. *Cult.:* the great comforts of telling the truth (+); the great discomforts of lying (–). This proverb shares the same meaning and culturemes with two more variants, that are listed below.

Tell the truth all the time and you won't have to remember what you said (DAP).

If you tell the truth, you won't have to remember anything (DAP).

This proverb subgroup of 10 texts and 10 positive and 2 negative culturemes promotes the idea of the practical benefits of truth. Apart from the defence and help truth seems to guarantee, the other benefits are not described specifically. By implications these might include good reputation and inner peace, among other things. The small number of negative culturemes (3) contributes to the dynamic of the subgroup by adding the opposite idea – that lying causes great inner discomfort.

11. The withholding and twisting of truth – 10 prov. / 10 cult. (–)

If we tell untruths, no one will believe us (even) when we (do) speak the truth (DAP). *Cult.:* lying, which causes complete and utter loss of trust in the person who repeatedly lies (–).

There are no facts, just interpretations (of facts) (DMP). This sarcastic twentieth-century proverb implies that today people tend to disregard facts rather than acknowledge them and tend to prefer their personal interpretations instead of the truth. *Cult.:*

the widespread general disregard of facts and the preference of personal opinions (–).

Half is false of what you hear (DAP). *Cult.:* the great scarcity of truth (–).

To withhold the truth is to bury gold (DAP). The withholding of truth is comparable to a collosal loss. Cult.: the colossal loss for the people from withholding the truth (–).

Repeating a lie doesn't make it true (DAP). *Cult.:* the repeating of a lie, which will never make it true (–).

Half a truth (A half-truth) is (often) a whole lie (DAP). *Cult.:* the withholding of the whole true, which turns ito a lie (–).

History is fiction with the truth left out (DAP). This ironic and bitter proverb condemns the ideological and political manipulation of history. *Cult.:* the ideological and political manipulation of history (–).

Never let facts (the truth) get in the way of (interfere with) opinions (DMP). This sarcastic modern American proverb condemns the manipulation of facts in the service of someone. *Cult.:* the manipulation of facts in the service of someone (–).

Opinions are like assholes (armpits) everybody's got one (and they all stink) (DMP). This extremely vulgar modern American proverb lashes severe criticism on the freedom of opinion, which has been completely misunderstood and abused by large masses of uneducated and morally irresponsible people. *Presupposition:* the opinions of foolish, uninformed and irresponsible people cannot be true and should not be respected. *Cult.:* the much abused freedom of personal opinion in the modern democratic society (–).

Popular opinion is the greatest lie in the world (DAP). This traditional eighteenth-century English proverb (first recorded in Fuller's *Gnomologia* in 1732) blatantly condemns the falsity of popular opinion. *Cult.:* the falsity of popular opinion (–).

The group of 10 proverbs that comment on the abuse of truth with its 10 texts and 10 culturemes occupy a fairly dominant position among all proverbs about truth. Its negatively charged culturemes and the use of sarcasm reinforce the highly negative attitude to this great modern and traditional vice.

12. The noble modesty and simplicity of truth – 9 prov. / 9 cult. (+)

Beauty, like truth, is never so glorious as when it goes plainest (DAP). *Cult.:* the modest glory of simple and plain truth (+).

Plain words make the most ornamental speeches (DAP). 'The simple, plain and truthful speech of the orator (speaker) is his true mastery. *Cult.:* the orator's skill, which consists in speaking clearly, plainly, truthfully, and to the point (+).

Truth is simple, requiring neither study nor art (DAP). *Cult.:* the simplicity of truth (+).

If any man seek for greatness, let him forget greatness and seek truth (DAP). This literal proverb encourages us to prefer the greatness of truth to any other type of greatness. *Cult.:* the simple greatness of truth (+).

Nothing is more simple than greatness; indeed, to be simple is to be great (DAP). This literal proverb compares true greatness to being simple. *Cult.:* true greatness, which consists in being simple (+).

The greatest truths are the simplest, and so are the greatest men (DAP). *Cult.:* the simplicity of great men and great truths (+).

The expression of truth is simplicity (DAP). *Cult.:* simplicity as an expression of greatness (+).

Simplicity is truth's most becoming garb (DAP). 'Truth must be simple and modest.' *Cult.:* the simplicity and modesty of truth (+).

The most useful truths are the plainest (DAP). *Cult.:* the most useful truths, which are the plainest (+).

This proverb subgroup with an equal number of texts and positive culturemes (9) puts across the idea of the modesty and simplicity of truth. Such qualities make truth noble, magnificent and great. The subgroup implies that striving for complexity is not worthwhile. Truth should be clear, simple, natural and easy to understand.

13. The naïve, open and sincere people (children, idiots, drunkards, fools) who speak the truth – 7 prov. / 7 cult. (+)

If you want the truth, ask a child (go to a child or a fool) (DAP). *Cult.:* the propensity of children and fools to always speak the truth (+).

Children and fools speak (tell) the truth (DAP). *Cult.:* the propensity of children and fools to always speak the truth (+).

Fools and children cannot lie (DAP). *Cult.:* the propensity of children and fools to always speak the truth (+).

Children and crazy people speak the truth (DAP). *Cult.:* the propensity of children and fools to always speak the truth (+).

Children and drunkards speak the truth (DAP). *Cult.:* the propensity of children and drunkards to always speak the truth (+).

Mad folks and proverbs reveal many truths (DAP). *Cult.:* the propensity of idiots and proverbs to always tell the truth (+).

Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings come great truth (DAP). *Cult.:* the propensity of little children to always speak the truth (+).

The thirteenth subgroup of 7 proverb variants and synonyms, whose 7 culturemes are all positive, conveys the idea of the propensity of immature and naïve people (infants, children, fools, idiots, drunkards) as well as of the proverbs to always tell the truth. No explanation is given why this should be so. Such people are neither well educated nor mature, nor are they better informed than the rest or highly respected in their communities. What seems to unite them all is their sincerity, openness, naivity and simplicity.

14. The prudent and cautious use of truth – 7 prov. / 7 cult. (–)

Follow not truth too near the heels lest it dash out your teeth (DAP), 'We shouldn't be too loyal to truth at all times, since this may be ruinous to us.' *Cult.:* the bad consequences of our passionate attachment to truth (–).

He who follows truth too closely will have dirt kicked in his face. (DAP), 'We shouldn't be too loyal to truth at all times, since this may attract great hatred.' The image of the dirt kicked into someone's face invokes the association of a ruined public

image. *Cult.:* the bad consequences to our public image as a result of our passionate attachment to truth (–).

Men who tell you almost nothing but the truth tell you almost nothing (DAP). *Presupposition:* The complete truth about a case requires more than just the bare facts: we need the history of the problem, knowledge of the parties concerned, attitudes, assumptions, emotions and other indirect information to get a complete picture of the case and form a truthful opinion. 'The people who do not supply additional information about a case but only state facts do not contribute to revealing the truth.' *Cult.:* the upholding of indirect information when trying to reveal the truth about a case (–).

Always tell the truth, but don't always be telling the truth (DAP). *Presupposition:* People cannot endure too much truth. 'It is not prudent to always speak the truth; truth should be told with great caution.' *Cult.:* telling the truth bluntly and at all times (–).

All truths (The truth) must not be told (is not to be spoken) at all times (DAP). *Presupposition:* People cannot endure too much truth. 'It is not prudent to always speak the truth; truth should be told with great caution.' *Cult.:* telling the truth blatantly and at all times (–).

The truth cannot always be told (DAP). *Presupposition:* People cannot endure too much truth. 'It is not prudent to always speak the truth; truth should be told with great caution.' *Cult.:* telling the truth blatantly and at all times (–).

A truth that's told with bad intent beats all the lies you can invent (DAP). *Cult.:* telling the truth, but with a bad intention (–).

The fourteenth subgroup of Anglo-American proverbs of truth deals with one additional attitude to truth – caution and measure. These texts warn us to abstain from telling the truth when this is not practicable. Compared to the much larger group of proverbs that encourage the love of truth with its 13 proverbs and 15 positive culteremes, the message conveyed by the proverbs in this subgroup, which is twice as small (7 proverbs and 7 negative culturemes), is not as forceful. Some of the texts explain why people should be prudent when handling the truth: their public image may suffer, or they may not be telling the truth in the right way (which is telling the whole truth, and acting from good intentions only).

15. The pain caused by truth – 6 prov. / 6 cult. = 1 (+) + 5 (–)

The truth (often, always) hurts (DAP). *Cult.:* the propensity of truth to cause pain (–).

It's the truth that hurts (DAP). *Cult.:* the propensity of truth to cause pain (–).

The truth doesn't hurt until it ought to (DAP). *Presupposition.* Some people do not want to feel the pain of the unpleasant truth about themselves. 'Truth should be accepted calmly, but some people get truly hurt when they learn the unpleasant truth about themselves.' *Cult.:* the inability of some people to endure the unpleasant truth about themselves (–).

The sting of a reproach is the truth of it (DAP). *Cult.:* the painful truth of the honest reproach (–).

Truth tastes (is) bitter (DAP). 'Truth is unpleasant and hurts.' *Cult.:* the unpleasant and hurtful truth (–).

Truth and (like) roses have thorns (about them) (DAP). The rose is traditionally considered as the most superb member of the plant kingdom. The image of the rose suggests nobleness and magnificence. 'Truth is beautiful and noble but hurtful.' *Cult.:* the magnificent and noble but hurtful truth (–).

The much smaller fifteenth subgroup of Anglo-American proverbs of truth (including 6 texts and 6 negative culturemes) deals with the hurtful nature of truth. The proverbs describe truth as butter and painful, but also as healing, noble and magnificent.

16. The roadblocks to truth – 5 prov./ 5 cult. (–)

Sudden trust brings sudden repentance (DAP), 'When we imprudently place our trust in an unreliable person, we are bound to be bitterly disappointed.' *Cult.:* the bad consequences of placing our trust imprudently in an unreliable person (–).

Passion is ever the enemy of truth. (DAP: 451). *Cult.:* passion as the enemy of truth (–).

When money speaks, truth keeps his mouth shut (keeps silent) (DAP), 'When someone receives a bribe, he/she conceals the truth.' *Cult.:* the bribe, which makes people conceal the truth (–).

Between wrangling and disputing truth is lost (DAP). *Cult.:* the wrangling and disputing, which always destroy truth (–).

If a fool is associated with a wise man all his life, he will perceive the truth as little as a spoon perceive the taste of soup.

(DAP). *Cult.:* the utter inability of the fool to perceive and appreciate truth (–).

This small thematic subgroup in the sixteenth position, made up of 5 texts and 5 negative culturemes, informs about some of the most widespread impediments to truth in American society: the placing of our trust in persons who don't deserve it, corruption and bribery, high emotions instead of cool reason, bitter wrangling instead of impartial discussions and instructive conversations, and foolishness and stupidity.

17. The unquestionable objectiveness of truth – 4 prov. / 4 cult. = 2 (+) + 2 (–)

Repeating a lie doesn't make it true (DAP). *Presupposition:* When a lie is repeated many times, people get used to it and begin perceiving it as true. *Cult.:* the repeating of a lie, which however will never make it true (–).

Mere assertion is no proof (DAP). *Cult.:* the untruthful assertion (–).

There are three sides to every story your side, my side, and the right side (DAP). *Cult.:* The existence of an objective and truthful side to every situation (+).

There is your way, my way, and the right way (DAP). *Cult.:* The existence of an objective and truthful side to every situation (+)

The seventeenth thematic subgroup covers four texts with two pairs of differently charged culturemes. It conveys the idea of the unquestionable reality of truth, which can be seen in the existence of a truthful side to every situation in life. Truth does not depend on assertions or on repeating a statement many times. It is independent of our plans, desires and emotions.

18. The ways to attaining truth – 3 prov. / 3 cult. (+)

Discussion is the anvil upon which the spark of truth is struck (DAP) *Cult.:* discussion is a condition for truth (+).

Adversity is the first path to truth (DAP). *Cult.:* misery and suffering, which help people attain truth (+).

Where doubt is, truth is (DAP). This proverb envisages critical thinking. *Cult.:* healthy skepticism as part of critical thinking, which is a sure road to truth (+).

According to the three texts that make up the eighteenth subgroup and their three positive culturemes there are three ways (not to mention others) of attaining truth: unbiased discussion

and robust skepticism, rekated to critical thinking, and life itself with its tragedies, betrayas, trials and tribulations.

19. Adversaries and truth – 3 prov. / 3 cult. (+)

Truth may sometimes come out of the devil's mouth (DAP). This proverb hyperbole implies that even wicked people can sometimes help others learn the truth. *Cult.:* wicked people who can sometimes help others learn the truth (+).

Truth is truth, though spoken by an enemy (DAP). *Cult.:* wicked people who can sometimes help others learn the truth (+).

If you want to hear the whole truth about yourself, anger your neighbor (DAP). *Presupposition:* When you provoke your neighbor consciously, he/she may get angry and "spill the beans", i.e., tell an unpleasant truth about you that has been spared you by your friends or dear ones since it may hurt you. *Cult.:* provoking someone to tell us something bad but true about us (+).

20. Truth as a deeply ingrained thirst for the unknown – 3 prov. / 3 cult. (+)

Faith is inward truth daring the unknown (DAP). *Cult.:* truth as the inner drive that makes us strive to discover the unknown (+).

All things are false and yet the heart is true (DAP). *Cult.:* the heart as the only source of truth in this false and corrupt world (+).

Principle is a passion for truth and right. (DAP). *Cult.:* our principles as the passionate yearning for truth and justice (+).

The three proverbs in this subgroup and their positive culturemes affirm the real source for truth: the human heart, soul and will to seek and discover knowledge, truth and justice.

21. The absence of truth – 2 prov. / 2 cult. (–)

Peace without truth is poison (Smith). *Cult.:* the bad and false peace, which is worse than war (–).

All fails where truth fails (DAP). *Cult.:* the ultimate self-destruction of liars and anything that is not built on truth (is fake) (–).

This pair of proverbs and their negative cuturemes warn that falsity and deception are ultimately doomed. The imminent self-destruction of false relations, institutions and people is but a question of time.

22. The relativity of truth – 2 prov. / 2 cult. (–)

Truth is the daughter of time (DAP), 'Truth changes with the times and the political regimes.' *Presupposition:* We expect truth to be constant and unchanging. *Cult.:* the instability of truth (–).

There is no standard for truth; we cannot even agree on the meaning of words (DAP). Presupposition: We expect truth to be constant and unchanging. Cult.: the relativity of truth (–).

This pair of proverbs warns that truth is not reliable; it changes with the times and regimes which makes communication impossible.

23. The miraculousness of truth – 2 prov. / 2 cult. (+)

Truth is stranger than fiction (DAP). Byron's proverbial sentence points to a most surprising feature of truth: that it is even more strange, unusual and miraculous than the most fantastic story, poem or picture. *Cult.:* the miraculousness of truth (+).

If something sounds too good to be true, then it probably is (DAP). *Cult.:* the miraculousness of truth (+).

The twenty third position on the scale is occupied by two probverbs that affirm the surprising miraculousness of reality and truth.

24. Language and proverbs as the medium of truth – 2 prov. / 2 cult. (+)

Language is the vehicle of truth (DAP). *Cult.:* language as the medium of truth (+).

Mad folks and proverbs reveal many truths. (DAP). *Cult.:* proverbs as the medium of truth (+); [mad people as the vehicle of truth (+)].

The subgroup on the twenty fourth position with its two texts and two positive culturemes affirms the idea that language and proverbs are specifically created to serve as vehicles for truth.

25. The failure of some people to understand truth – 2 prov. / 3 cult. (–)

Doubt him who serves the truth of a thing (DAP). *Cult.:* the fanatical person who focuses all his energy on one limited fragment of the truth (–).

Folks like the truth that hits their neighbor (DAP). *Cult.:* the misunderstood love of truth (–); the hatred of one's neighbour (–).

This small subgroup of two proverbs deals with some of the ways people abuse truth because they fail to understand it properly.

26. The joke as a form of truth – 2 prov. / 3 cult. = 2 (+) + 1 (–)

There's many a true word said in jest (Many a true word has been spoken in jest) (DAP), Often some unpleasant truths are disguised as jokes to become more palatable.'*Cult.:* the telling of some unpleasant truths in the form of a joke (+).

Truth struggles in strange places and often slumbers in a joke. (DAP), 'Truth survives with great difficulty in some environments where it has to take the shape of a joke.' *Cult.:* the difficult existence of truth among some people (–); the joke as a vehicle of truth (+).

This subgroup of two texts and three culturemes puts across the idea that truth, especially when it is unpleasant, can sometimes take the form of a joke

27. The untruthful and dishonest persons – 2 prov. / 2 cult. = 2 (–)

The truth itself is not believed from those who often have deceived (DAP). Cult.: the inability of liars to believe honest people (–).

Truth gives a short answer, but lies go round about (DAP). *Cult.:* telling the truth and talking to the point (+); obfuscating the truth (–).

This small thematic group describes the dishonest person. Such a person would never speak to the point and will be suspicious of everybody.

28. Putting limits to truth – 1 prov. / 1 cult. (–)

To define a truth is to limit its scope. The act of defining a truth is equal to imposing limits on it. *Presupposition:* Truth is inherently limitless and has no boundaries. *Cult.:* the defining of the inherently boundless truth, which results in limiting it (–).

29. The need of truth to be shared – 1 prov. / 1 cult. (+)

It takes two to speak truth: (one to speak and another to hear) (DAP). *Presupposition:* If truth is not shared, it may disappear (die). *Cult.:* the need of truth to be shared (+).

30. The supremacy of the individual over truth – 1 prov. / 1 cult. (+)

It is not truth that makes man great, but man that makes truth great (DAP). *Cult.:* man (the human being), who is the only one that can make a truth great, and not the other way round (+).

Linguocultural Synthesis of the Thematic Proverb Hypertext 'Truth'

The hypertext of Anglo-American proverbs about truth amounts to 211 sentences and 240 culturemes of which 170 are positive and 71 are negative (their ratio is approximately 70 to 30 percent). The marked prevalence of positive culturemes attests to the predominantly positive appraisal of truth as such in the Anglo-American proverb system and culture. The number of texts that make up this group (211) places it in the fifth leading position in the American axiosphere after God (430 texts), The World and Society (419 texts), the Human Being (369 texts) and Nature (232 texts); other typical but less pronounced themes that loom large in the American axiosphere are Happiness (135 texts), Children (72 texts) and Freedom (52 texts). We can see that Truth is almost as important as Nature.

The subject content of the Truth proverb hypertext is extremely varied and rich. As we have seen from the analysis, the subthemes range from **The invincibility and endurance of truth**, **The absolute value of truth**, **The truthful person**, **and the Empirical character of truth**, which are at the top of the scale and are represented by 24, 17, 14 and 14 texts respectively, down to three topics represented by a single proverb. In between are distributed twenty three more topics in declining order: The hidden nature of truth (13), The love of truth (13), The verification of truth (12), The natural and sincere behaviour (11), The sober attitude to truth (11), The benefits of truth (10), The withholding of truth (10), The noble simplicity of truth (9), The naïve and simple people (7), The cautious use of truth (7), The pain caused by truth (6), The roadblocks to truth (5), The objectiveness of truth (4), The ways to attain truth (3), Adversaries and truth (3), Truth as a deeply ingrained thirst for knowledge (3), The absence of truth (2), The relativity of truth (2), The miracle of truth (2), Language and proverbs as the medium of truth (2), The failure to understand truth properly (2), The joke as a form

of truth (2), The dishonest persons (2), Putting limits to truth (1), The need for truth to be shared (1), and The supremacy of the human being to truth (1). The titles of the topics seem to exhaust the enormous diversity of the subject content of truth as perceived by many generations of Americans of all ages and from all walks of life. Truth is presented from a wide range of perspectives: philosophical, pragmatic, religious, moral, historical, psychological, romantic, rationalistic, empiricist, artistic, linguistic, social, humorous, sarcastic. The key topics with the greatest semantic density emphasize the absolute value of truth, its endurance and invincibility and praise highly the honest and principled person. The religious (biblical) texts occupy a small part in the hypertext and all belong to the New Testament. The rationalistic, empirical perception of truth is seen in its relatedness to fact, observation, validation, dispassionate logic, skepticism and critical thinking. These accents in the semantics of the hypertext can be explained with the powerful and enduring influence of the Elightenment on the English language and through it on American culture in general (we know that the framers of the Declaration of Independence and the U.S. Constitutions, which together with the Bible are the most sacred texts in American history that have shaped several generations of writers, educators and statesmen, were steeped in the tradition of the European Enlightenment). To this should be added that the sources of many of the proverbs also point to the Enlightenment.

This study of this thematic fragment of Anglo-American proverbs clearly demonstrates the influence of the rationalistic and empiricist tradition, a direct legacy from the European Enlightment, on the Anglo-American proverb system, a tradition that has shaped to a large extent the axiosphere of the American mindset and worldview.

Notes
[1] Across the Pacific, in Australia, Anna Wierzbicka, coined a similar term – key words (cf. Wierzbicka 1997).
[2] The author of this article, while belonging to the "Western civilization" in terms of her English-language educational background and writing, in terms of her origin (Bulgarian) belongs to its Eastern Orthodox branch and more specifically to

its Balkan variety, which, because of its precarious existence in the course of millennia at the turbulent crossroads between the Greek and Roman Antiquity and the ancient cultures in the East, Christianity, Judaism, Islam and diverse polytheistic cults, the Slavonic, Germanic and Steppe/Nomadic cultures, and more recently, Western European civilization, Communism and Globalism, has been subject to multiple influences of widely different and often contradictory nature. This has helped form an enormously complex outlook on life shared by many people who inhabit this part of the world, which inevitably reflects on the author's way of thinking and feeling about the topic under discussion.

[3] For a clear and systematic overview of the logical approaches to language, see Kazia M. Jaszczolt's article "Linguistics and philosophy" in Keith Allan's (ed.) *The Routledge Handbook of Linguistics* (2016). This article traces the long and distinguished history of this approach in Western philosophical thought.

[4] After his expulsion from Russia by Lenin, Berdyaev lived first for a short time in Germany and then for more than two decades in France, where he wrote and published his most mature philosophical works.

[5] For a concise explanation of Advaita see the extensive article *Advaita Vedanta* in Wikipedia on https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Advaita_Vedanta. In summary (very crude), by Advaita, among other things, is meant the direct realization of the self through a process of self-knowledge called by its founder Vivekananda immediate intuition. Advaita is different from the Western-style process of knowing in that it removes the duality between subject and object (i.e., the knower "merges" with the "known").

[6] Cf. also Lobanova (2013).

[7] In linguoculturology, precedent texts as part of the large body of precedent phenomena characterizing a culture are the texts that have helped shape this culture. They may include traditional texts, historical documents, folk narratives, poems and lyrics, jokes and anecdotes, but also mini-texts like proverbs, sayings and phraseological units. These texts are generally well-known and greatly admired and loved by the majority of the people (cf. Petrova and Denizov 2014a).

[8] In philosophical terms, the axiosphere of a culture is the system of values that is its distinctive characteristic and most fundamental part (Hart 1971; Belyaeva 2009; Vyzhletsov 2000; Pivoev 2011; Hofstede, Hofstede, and Minkov 2010). It is the unity of the sacral and the prophane, the continual and the discrete, and the immanent and the transcendent of this culture (Taranova 2004: 143).

SOURCES AND ABBREVIATIONS

1. Proverb Sources

DAP: *A Dictionary of American Proverbs*. Wolfgang Mieder, editor in chief, Stewart A. Kingsbury and Kelsie B. Harder (eds). New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.

DMP: *The Dictionary of Modern Proverbs*. Charles Clay Doyle, Wolfgang Mieder and Fred Shapiro (eds.). New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2012.

Manser: Martin H. Manser, Rosalind Fergusson, and David Pickering. *The Facts on File Dictionary of Proverbs*. Infobase Publishing, 2002, 2007.

This dictionary provides explanations of the proverbs and illustrations in literary context.

OxfConsDictProv: John Simpson, and Jennifer Speake (eds.). *Oxford Concise Dictionary of Proverbs*, 4ᵗʰ ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003. This dictionary provides illustrations of the proverbs from literature and a thematical index.

P. Lawrence: Paul Lawrence is the moderator of the website *Learn American English Online, which provides 306 common American proverbs with explanationations*–http://www.learnamericanenglishonline.com/Proverbs/Proverbs.html

Smith: Lemer L. Smith (ed.), "American Proverbs, Maxims & Folk Sayings" – In: *The Wit and Wisdom of Yesterday*. Lebanon, PA: Applied Arts Publishers, © 1968. – http://www. brownielocks.com/folksayings.html The corpus totals 1500 proverbs, from which only those that are missing in DAP and SMP are taken.

TG: *The Quote Garden*, compiled by Terri Guillemets – http://www.quote garden.com

YankeeProv: Mieder, Wolfgang. *Yankee Wisdom*. *New England Proverbs*. Shelburn, Vermont: The New England Press, 2001.

P.A.: Personal Archive.

2. Lexical Dictionaries

Longman: *Longman New Universal Dictionary*. © G and C Merriam Company and Longman Group Limited, 1982.

FreeDict: *The Free Dictionary* – http://www.thefreedic tionary.com/ (Accessed 1.03.2015)

3. Bibles and Translations of Bible Books

KJB: *King James Bible (Authorized Version),* Cambridge Edition – http://www.kingjamesbibleonline.org/

Петрова 2012: Конкорданс. – В: Румяна Петрова. *Културемите в Книга на притчите (The Book of Proverbs) в Авторизираната версия на Библията (AV/KJB)*. Русе: Лени Ан, 2012, 230-439.

LITERATURE

Advaita: *Advaita Vedanta* in Wikipedia – https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Advaita Vedanta (Accessed 3 July 2018).

Bacon 1908: *Essays by Frances Bacon*. Edited, with introduction and Notes by Mary Augusta Scott, Ph.D., Professor of the English Language and Literature in Smith College. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1908 – https://www.stmarys-ca.edu/sites/default/files/attachments/files/Essays.pdf

Bayramova 2011: Луиза К. Байрамова: *Аксиологический фразеологический словарь русского языка*. Изд. 2-е. Казань: Центр инновационных технологий, 2011.

Bayramova 2011a: Луиза К. Байрамова. *Аксиологический фразеологический словарь английского языка*. Казань: Центр инновационных технологий, 2011.

Bednarek 2009: Monika Bednarek. Language patterns and Attitude. – In: *Functions of Language* 16/2, pp. 165-192.

Berdyaev 1996: Николай Бердяев. *Истина и откровение*. СПб.: Изд-во Русского Христианского гуманитарного института, 1996. – Error! Hyperlink reference not valid..

Berdyaev 2006 [1951]: Николай Бердяев. *Царството на Духа и царството на кесаря*. – В: *Николай Бердяев. Съчинения в шест тома. Т. 5. Философия на свободния дух*. Проф. д-р Исак Паси (гл. ред.), Надя Попова (прев. от руски) [Н. А. Бердяев. *Царство Духа и царство Кесаря*. Париж: YMCA Press, 1951]. София: Изд-во „Захарий Стоянов", 2006, 7-131.

Branchaninov: Святитель Игнатий (Брянчанинов). *Аскетические опыты* – http://xn--80abexxbbim5e6d.xn--p1ai/

Grigas 2002: Kazis Grigas. Some Semantic Enigmas of Proverbs. – In: *Proverbium 19: 2002*, 149-170.

Foley 2016: William A. Foley. Anthropological Linguistics and Field Linguistics. – In: Keith Allan (ed.), 2016) *The Routledge Handbook of Linguistics*, New York, NY: Routledge, 2016, 250-263.

Chekulay 2006: Игорь Владимирович Чекулай. *Ценность и оценка в категориальной структуре современного английского языка*. Автореферат дисс. докт. филолог. наук., Белгород, 2006.

Voigt 1978: Вильмош Фойт. Разработка общей теории пословиц. Перев. с нем. – В: *Паремиологический сборник*. Г. Л. Пермяков, отв. ред. Москва, 1978, 230-238.

Halliday 2003 [1977]: M.A.K. Halliday, 1977. "Ideas about Language." – In: *Occasional Papers I*. Applied Linguistics Association of Australia, 1977, pp. 32-55. Repr. in: Halliday, M.A.K. & Jonathan Webster. *On Language and Linguistics. Collected Works of MAK Halliday, Vol. 3*. Edited by Jonathan Webster. London: Continuum, 2003.

Halupo 2013: Ольга Ивановна Халупо. Компетентностный подход в понимании и определении лингвокультурной личности. – В: *Гуманитарные и социалъные науки*, №6, 2013, 236-241.

Hart 1971: Samuel L. Hart. Axiology – Theory of Values. – In: *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research*, Vol. 32, №1 (Sept. 1971), 29-41.

Huntson and Thompson 2001: Susan Huntson and Geoff Thompson (eds). *Evaluation in Text: Authorial Stance and the Construction of Discourse*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.

Hurford, Heasley, and Smith 2007: James R. Hurford, Brendan Heasley, and Michael B. Smith. *Semantics: A Coursebook*. Second Edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Kieltika 2008: Robert Kiełtika. Axiological Bias in Semantics. – In: *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Rzeszowskiego. Studia Anglica Resoviensia 5. Seria Filologiczna. Zeszyt 51 / 2008*, 36-44.

Linguistics and Axiology 2011: *Лингвистика и аксиология. Этносемиометрия ценностных смыслов*. Коллективная монография. Коллектив авторов: Е. Ф. Серебренникова и др. Москва: Тезаурус, 2011г.

Lotman 1991: Юри Лотман. Структура на художествения текст. – В: Семиотика. Между нещата и думите. Иван Младенов (ред.). Прев. от руски. София, „Наука и изкуство", 1991.

Lotman 2000: Юрий Михайлович Лотман. *Семиосфера*. СПб.: Искусство СПБ, 2000.

Martin and White 2005: J. R. Martin and P. R. R. White. *The Language of Evaluation. Appraisal in English*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, and New York, N.Y: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.

Maslova 2001: Валентина А. Маслова. *Лингвокультуроло-гия*. Учебное пособие. Москва: Академия, 2001.

Mieder 1989: Wolfgang Mieder. *American Proverbs. A Study of Texts and Contexts*. New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 1989.

Mieder 1993: Wolfgang Mieder. *Proverbs Are Never out of Season: Popular Wisdom in the Modern Age*. New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Mieder 1997: Wolfgang Mieder. *The Politics of Proverbs: from Traditional Wisdom to Proverbial Stereotypes*. Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1997.

Mieder 2000: Wolfgang Mieder. 'A House Divided Cannot Stand': From Bible Proverb to Abraham Lincoln and on to Willie Brandt. – In: *Understanding Wisdom: Sources, Science, and Society*. Warren S. Brown (ed.). Radnor, Pennsylvania: Templeton Foundation Press, 2000, 57-102.

Mieder 2001: Wolfgang Mieder. *Yankee Wisdom. New England Proverbs*. Shelburn, Vermont: The New England Press, 2001.

Mieder 2004: Wolfgang Mieder. *The Proverb: A Handbook*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2004.

Mieder 2005: Wolfgang Mieder. *Proverbs are the Best Policy: Folk Wisdom and American Politics*. Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press, 2005.

Mieder 2007: Wolfgang Mieder. Yankee wisdom: American proverbs and the worldview of New England. – In: Paul Skandera (ed.). *Phraseology and Culture in English. (Topics in English Lingistics: 54)*. Berlin. New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 2007, 205-234.

Mieder 2012: Wolfgang Mieder. 'Think Outside the Box': Origin, Nature, and Meaning of Modern Anglo-American Proverbs**.** – In: *Proverbium 29:2012*, 137-196.

Mieder 2014a: Wolfgang Mieder. *"All Men and Women Are Created Equal." Elizabeth Cady Stanton's and Susan B. Anthony's Proverbial Rhetoric Promoting Women's Rights*. New York, Bern, Berlin, Bruxelles, Frankfurt am Main, Oxford, Wien: Peter Lang, 2014.

Mieder 2014b: Wolfgang Mieder. *Behold the Proverbs of a People: Proverbial Wisdom in Culture, Literature and Politics*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2014.

Orwell. *Orwell on Truth* – https://www.penguin.co.uk/books/ 1114450/orwell-on-truth/#iJEVchXJ0XH0ShYc.99

Paducheva 1984: Елена Викторовна Падучева. О семантических связях между басней и ее моралью (на материале басен Эзопа). **–** В: *Паремиологические исследования*. Сб. статей. Г.Л. Пермяков, сост. и ред. Москва, „Наука", 1984, 223-251.

Panchev 2010: Иво Панчев. *Лингвокултурен анализ на концептите 'добро' и 'зло' в българския и руския език*. Дисертация. София: Българска академия на науките – Институт за български език „Проф. Л. Андрейчин", 2010г.

Permyakov 1988: Григорий Львович Пермяков. *Основы структурной паремиологии*. Москва, „Наука", 1988.

Petrova 2002a: Roumyana Petrova. A Contrastive Approach to Studying English and Bulgarian Proverbs about Knowledge as Cultural Texts**.** – In: *Proceedings of the Fifth Fulbright Conference*, Sofia, 16-18 May, 2002, 277-287.

Petrova 2002b: Roumyana Petrova. Gender Aspects of English Proverbs. – In: *Proverbium 19: 2002*, 337-348.

Petrova 2003: Roumyana Petrova. Comparing Proverbs as Cultural Texts. – In: *Proverbium 20: 2003*, 331-344.

Petrova 2004a: Румяна Петрова. За пословиците и културата (студия) – В: *Ние и другите*. *We and the Others*. Библиотека Европеистика. European Studies Series. Русенски университет, Русе, 2004, 7-79.

Petrova 2004b: Румяна Петрова. Ползата от "Доброто" според английските и българските пословици. – В: *Научни трудове на Русенския университет „Ангел Кънчев"*, 2004, том 41, серия 5.2, 79-84.

Petrova 2006: Румяна Петрова. *Лингвокултурологично съпоставително изследване на английски и български пословици*. Дисертация. София, БАН – Институт за български език, 2006. Also in: *Лингвокултуро-логия (Linguistic Culturology)* – http://lingvocult.uni-ruse.bg.

Petrova 2010a: Roumyana Petrova. Bulgarian Proverbs of Reciprocity: A Culturematic Study. – In: *Proverbium 27: 2010*, 245-286. Also in: **Error! Hyperlink reference not valid.**

Petrova 2010b: Румяна Петрова. К пониманию мудрости как культурного феномена в библейской книге Притчи царя Соломона. – В: *Славянские языки: единицы, категории, ценностные константы: сб. науч. статей*. Отв. ред. Н. А. Тупикова. Волгоград: Изд-во ВолГУ, 2010, 69-76.

Petrova 2011: Румяна Петрова. Законът за отплатата според Книгата на притчите в авторизираната английска версия на Библията (лингвокултурно изследване с приложение на културемата). – В: *Езиковедски изследвания. В чест на проф. Сийка Спасова-Михайлова*. Стефана Калдиева-Захариева, Радостина Калдиева (ред. и съст.). София: Академично издателство „Проф. Марин Дринов", 2011, 501–518.

Petrova 2012a: Румяна Петрова. *Културемите в Книга на притчите (The Book of Proverbs) в Авторизираната версия на Библията (AV/KJB)*. Русе: Лени Ан, 2012.

Petrova 2012b: Румяна Петрова. За понятието „сетивна култура" на Питирим А. Сорокин. – В: *Научни трудове на Русенския университет – 2012, том 51, серия 5.2*, Русе: Русенски университет „Ангел Кънчев", 123-127.

Petrova 2013a: Roumyana Petrova. "If There Were No Clouds, We Shouldn't Enjoy the Sun": The Crosscultural View and Multifaceted Meaning of a Proverb. – In: *Proverbium 30: 2013*, 255-280.

Petrova 2013b: Roumyana Petrova. Humour in the Most Recent Anglo-American Proverbs. – In: *Phraseology in Multilingual Society // Фразеология в многоязычном обществе*. В двух томах. Т. I. Е. Ф. Арсентьева, науч. ред. Сб. статей междунар. фразеолог. конф. *EUROPHRAS*, Казань, Казанский (Приволжский) федеральный университет, 2013, 173-179.

Petrova 2013c: Румяна Петрова. *Български паремии за присмех и похвала. Лингвокултурно изследване (скала на културемите)*. Русе: Издателски център на Русенския университет „Ангел Кънчев", 2013.

Petrova 2013d: Румяна Петрова. Лингвокултурен поглед върху най-новите англо-американски пословици в Речник на съвременните пословици. – В: *Седемдесет години българска академична лексикография. Доклади от Шестата национална конференция с международно участие по лексикография и лексикология, София, Институт за български език "Проф. Л. Андрейчин" - БАН, 24-25 октомври 2012 г.* / състав., науч. ред., Лилия Крумова-Цветкова ... [и др.]. София: Акад. изд. "Проф. Марин Дринов", 2013, 536-543.

Petrova 2013e: Румяна Петрова. Родители и деца в Книгата на притчите в авторизираната версия на Библията (The Authorised Version of the Bible) (лингвокултурно изследване с приложение на културемата). – В: *Арнаудов сборник, т. 7*. Р. Русев и др. (ред.). Русе: „Лени Ан", 2013, 459–469.

Petrova and Sabrieva 2013a: Румяна Петрова и Мерял Сабриева. Опит за културематичен анализ на френски паремии в пресата (I). В: *Научни трудове на Русенския университет – 2013, том 52, серия 5.2 – Европеистика*. Русе, Издателски център при РУ, 2013, 127-131 – http://conf.uniruse.bg/bg/docs/cp13/5.2/5.2-17.pdf

Petrova and Sabrieva 2013b: Румяна Петрова и Мерял Сабриева. Опит за културематичен анализ на френски паремии в пресата (II). В: *Научни трудове на Русенския университет – 2014, том 53, серия 5.2 – Европеистика*. Русе, Издателски център при РУ, 2013, 198-203 – http://conf.uniruse.bg/bg/docs/cp14/5.2/5.2-20.pdf

Petrova 2014a: Румяна Петрова. За сложните културеми „добро (+)" и „зло (–)" в книгата на Николай Бердяев *Предназначението на човека: опит за парадоксална етика* (1). – В: *Научни трудове на Русенския университет – 2014, том 53, серия 5.2 – Европеистика*. Русе, Издателски център при РУ, 2014, 211-215. – http://conf.uni-ruse.bg/bg/docs/cp14/5.2/5.2-22.pdf

Petrova 2014b: Румяна Петрова. За някои лингвокултурни измерения на американизма (Върху най-нови англо-американски паремии). – В: *Арнаудов сборник*, т. 8, Р. Русев и др. (ред.). Русе: „Лени-Ан", 2014, 305-314.

Petrova 2014c: Roumyana Petrova. A Linguocultural Study of Religiosity in the Modern Anglo-American Proverbs. – В: *Научни трудове на Русенски университет "Ангел Кънчев", том 53, серия 5.2,*

Европеистика. Русе: Печатна база на РУ, 2014, 143-172. – http://conf.uniruse.bg/bg/docs/cp14/5.2/5.2-15.pdf

Petrova and Denizov 2014a: Румяна Петрова и Боян Денизов. За понятията „езикова личност" и „лингвокултурна личност" в лингвокултурологията. – В: *Научни трудове на Русенския университет – 2014, том 53, серия 5.2 – Европеистика*. Русе, Издателски център при РУ, 2014, 183-192. – http://conf.uni-ruse.bg/bg/docs/cp14/5.2/5.2-18.pdf

Petrova and Denizov 2014b: Румяна Петрова и Боян Денизов. За прецедентните текстове в лингвокултурологията. – В: *Научни трудове на Русенския университет – 2014, том 53, серия 5.2 – Европеистика*. Русе, Издателски център при РУ, 2014, 204-210. – http://conf.uni-ruse.bg/bg/docs/cp14/5.2/5.2-21.pdf

Petrova and Stefanova 2014: Румяна Петрова и Диана Стефанова. Културематичният анализ – един метод за откриване на културна информация във фразеологията. – В: *Научни трудове на Русенския университет – 2014*, Русе, РУ "Ангел Кънчев", 2014, 193-197. – http://conf.uni-ruse.bg/bg/docs/cp14/5.2/5.2-19.pdf

Petrova 2015a: Румяна Петрова. За сложните културеми „добро (+)" и „зло (−)" в книгата на Николай Бердяев *Предназначението на човека: опит за парадоксална етика* (2). – В: *Научни трудове на Русенския университет – 2015, том 53, серия 5.2 – Европеистика*. Русе, Издателски център при РУ, 2014, 211-215. – http://conf.uniruse.bg/bg/docs/cp14/5.2 /5.2-22.pdf

Petrova 2015b: Roumyana Petrova. Contrastive Study of Proverbs. – In: Hrisztalina Hrisztova-Gotthardt, Melita Aleksa Varga (eds.). *Introduction to Paremiology: A Comprehensive Guide to Proverb Studies*. Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co KG, 2015, 243-261.

Petrova 2015c: Roumyana Petrova. How Religious are The Modern Anglo-American Proverbs. – In: *Proceedings of the 12ᵗʰ World Congress of the IASS/AIS, Sofia 2014, New Semiotics: Between Tradition and Innovation* – http://www.iass-ais.org/proceedings2014/view_lesson.php? id=81

Petrova 2015d: Румяна Петрова. Американска рецепта за щастие: лингвокултурно изследване на паремии. – В: *Научни трудове на Русенския университет* – 2015, том 54, серия 5.2, Издателски център на Русенския университет, 2015, 210-224 (http://conf.uni-ruse.bg/bg/docs/cp15/5.2/5.2-24.pdf

Petrova 2016a: Roumyana Petrova. Happiness in Anglo-American Proverbs: a Linguocultural Study. – In: *Proverbium 33: 2016*, 383-410.

Petrova 2016b: Румяна Петрова. *Аксиосфера на американизма. Лингвокултурно изследване на паремии*. Дисертация за научната степен „доктор на филологическите науки" [*Axiosphere of Americanism: A Linguocultral Study of Proverbs*. A D.Litt. Dissertation]. Русе, 2016 – https://uni-ruse.academia.edu/ RoumyanaPetrova)

Petrova 2016c: Румяна Петрова. Автореферат към дисертацията за присъждане на научната степен „доктор на филологическите науки" „Аксиосфера на американизма. Лингвокултурно изследване на

паремии." Русе, 2016 – http://kr.uni-ruse.bg/index.php?r=procedure/index &closed=true

Petrova 2017: Румяна Петрова. Темата за децата в англо-американските паремии: лингвокултурно изследване. – В: *Арнаудов сборник, т. 9*. Р. Русев и др. (ред.). Русе: „Лени-Ан", 2017, 468-477.

Petrova and Barakov 2017: Румяна Петрова и Владимир Бараков. За културния концепт Свобода в англо-американските пословици. – В: *Свободата вчера, свободата днес, свободата утре – на върха на копието ли е?* Сборник доклади от международната научна конференция. Ред. кол. (Т. Евтимова, С. Василева, К. Илиева, П. Калинов, С. Петрова). Регионална библиотека „Любен Каравелов" – Русе, 2017г. , 347-355. [Freedom Yesterday, Freedom Today, Freedom, Tomorrow – is it at the Tip of the Spear? Proceedings from the International Scientific Conference. Editorial Board (Th. Evtimova, S. Vasileva, K. Ilieva, Pl. Kalinov, S. Petrova). Lyuben Karavelov Regional Library, Ruse, 2017, pp. 347-355].

Petrova and Stefanova 2017: Roumyana Petrova and Diana Stefanova. Evaluation in Biblical Proverbs: a Linguocultural Study from a Systemic Functional Perspective. – In: *Proverbium 34: 2017*, 293-337.

Petrova 2018: Румяна Петрова. Лингвокултурно изследване на англо-американските пословици за истината. – В: *Арнаудов сборник, т. 10* (Forthcoming).

Pivoev 2011: Василий Михайлович Пивоев. *Культурология. Введение в историю и теорию культуры*. Москва: ООО КноРус, 2011.

Popova and Bokova 2012: Т. Г. Попова, Ю. С. Бокова. Категория ценность как сущностная характеристика языка. – В: *Вестник ЮУрГУ*, № 2, 2012, с. 72-73.

Rajagopal 1956: D. Rajagopal (ed.). *Commentaries on Living from the notebooks of J. Krishnamurti*. New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers.

Sapir 1921: Edward Sapir. *Language: An Introduction to the Study of Speech*. 1921. –http://www.bartleby.com/186/10.html

Skvortsova 2012: Елена Валерьевна Скворцова. *Лексико-семантические аспекты асимметрии положительной и отрицательной зон оценки (на материале русского и английского языков. Автореферат диссертации на соискание ученой степени кандидата филологических наук*. Орел, 2012.

Sorokin 2004: Питирим Александрович Сорокин. *Кризата на нашето време в социална и културна перспектива*. Дина Н. Белева (прев. от руски) [Pitirim A. Sorokin. *The Crisis of Our Age*. Oneword Publications Ltd, USA, 1992; first published in New York: Dutton, 1947, 1957]. София: Дамян Яков, 2004.

Stepanov 1997: Юрий Сергеевич Степанов. *Константы: словарь русской культуры*. Москва: Языки русской культуры, 1997.

Taranova 2004: Татьяна Николаевна Таранова. Обучение и процесс культурации. – В: *Вестник Ставропольского государственного университета*, 38 / 2004, 142-147.

Tarlanov 1993: Замир Курбанович Тарланов. *Язык, этнос, время. Очерки по русскому и общему языкознанию*. Петрозаводск, 1993.

Thompson and Alba-Huez 2014: Geoff Thompson and Laura Alba-Juez (eds.). *Evaluation in Context*. Amsterdam / Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2014.

Tokarev 2009: Григорий Валериевич Токарев. *Лингвокультурология. Учебное пособие*. Тула: Издательство ТГПУ им. Л. Н. Толстого, 2009.

Uryson 1996: Елена Владимировна Урысон. Синтаксическая деривация и „наивная" картина мира. – В: *Вопросы языкознания*, 1996, № 4, 25-38.

Voigt 1978: Вилмош Фойт. Разработка общей теории пословиц. Перев. с нем. – В: *Паремиологический сборник*. Г. Л. Пермяков, отв. ред. Москва, 1978, 230-238.

Volf 2002[1985]: Елена М. Вольф. *Функциональная семантика оценки*. Издание второе, дополненное. Москва: УРСС, 1985.

Vyzhletsov 2000: Геннадий Павлович Выжлецов. Аксиология культуры в системе культурфилософское знание. – В: *Вестник Новгородского государственного университета* № 16 (2000г.) – http://www.admin. novsu.ac.ru/uni/vestnik.nsf/all/37C182FCDA018214C3256AC000205E21 /$file/%D0%92%D1%8B%D0%B6%D0%BB.pdf

Watson 1997: Robert P. Watson. Wittgenstein on language: toward a theory (and the study) of language in organizations. – In: *Journal of Management History*, Vol. 3 No. 4, 1997, 360-374.

Weisgerber 2004[1929]: Johann Leo Weisgerber. *Mutersprache und Geisterbildung* [1929]. Й. Л. Вайсгербер. *Родной язык и формирование духа*. Перевод с немецкого, вступительная статья и комментарии О. А. Радченко. Издание второе, исправленное и дополненное. Москва: Едиториал УРСС, 2004. – http://textarchive.ru/c-1381971-pall.html

Weisgerber, B. 2000: Bernhard Weisgerber. Schprache als Weltansicht. Zu den Quellen der Sprachtheorie Leo Weisgerber. – *LacC* 2000, S. 3-16.

Wierzbicka 1997: Anna Wierzbicka. *Understanding Cultures Through Their Key Words: English, German, Russian, and Japanese*. New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.

Wierzbicka 2010: Anna Wierzbicka. *Experience, Evidence, and Sense: The Hidden Cultural Legacy of English*. Oxford, New York, etc.: Oxford University Press, 2010.

Wierzbicka 2014: Anna Wierzbicka. *Imprisoned in English: The Hazards of English as a Default Language*. Oxford, New York, etc.: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Roumyana Petrova
Department of European Studies and International Relations
Faculty of Business and Management
University of Rousse, m 2G. 513
8, Studentska Street
7017 Rousse
Bulgaria
E-mail: roumyana.petrova@yahoo.com