

CONCEPTS-POLITONYMS AS A REVEAL OF THE POLITICAL “WE IMAGE”

Yaremko Ya. P.

INTRODUCTION

Concepts-politonyms clarify the Ukrainian understanding of *freedom* connected to the native land in both nation of sowers and nation of warriors' consciousness. Thus, land for Ukrainians appears to be not just the provision source but also the source of vital internal power, invincibility of the national spirit as well as the personal territory of freedom. The Ukrainian cordocentric soul always considered the land to be sacred and consequently the vision of land-mother turns up. I. Franko says:

My native land of fertility
Give me the power living in you
For not to fall in a battle¹...

In this context it is clearly seen the unbreakable connection between the two concepts – *freedom* which is necessary to gain in a fight and *land*. The protection of mother-land becomes the issue of dignity and honor despite the obvious defeat in unfair struggle. The failure however is just physical and never moral or psychological. The realized duty to the god-chosen land gives a human power to become undefeatable and free. A. Camus admitted in his book that *freedom* is not a privilege but responsibility. This is internal dimension of *freedom*. The *internal freedom* acquires the essential value in case of absence of *external freedom* (some rights given by the state, society and the support of their realization) when the native land suffers from hostile invasion.

The vision was characteristic of the rebellious Ukrainians at the time of liberation struggle. “Their highest ideal which served the inspiration for the exploits of sacrifice” according to the participants of the liberation movement were *God and Ukraine*². We may answer the question why the chthonic feature that is the unbreakable merge with the native land in need of being protected as well as the right to save the personality uniqueness on this land, the right of the national identity became the most relevant feature of the Ukrainian nature. The fundamental reason of the Ukrainian liberation movement was the moral requirement to protect the land of

¹ Франко І. «Земле моя, всеплодющая мати» // Зібрання творів : У 50 т. К., 1976. Т. 1. С. 28.

² Михаськів М. Історичний нарис сіл Сівки-Войнилівської і Мошковець. Львів : Ліґа-Прес, 2007. 157 с.

predecessors and to be a lord of this land. According to the Ukrainian thinker Serhiy Krymskyi “the first thing that attracts our attention is the motivation caused by the necessity to get honorable features at the beginning of the liberation movement headed by Bohdan Khmelnytsky. One of the brightest examples is the activity of UPA when its participants realizing the danger of fighting against the Polish army and two armies of totalitarian regimes demonstrated the striking *will for freedom*. Thus, the ideal of freedom was archetypal for the Ukrainian mentality³. It is clearly observed that the semantic closeness of the two notions *will* and *freedom* promoted their merge into one – *will for freedom* as conscious, assertive, often sacrificial desire and achievement of a noble goal.

1. Semantic Realization of the Concept Land

Another crucial concept in the Ukrainian consciousness is the concept of *land*. Ukrainians believed that the land saved and passed them the strength and glory of their ancestors. Thus the cult of land as a life giving force appeared. The land was preyed to, wowed to; the lump of ground was taken as a charm on the war or long travel. These actions show the ideas of the *land* holiness in the perception of Ukrainians.

Whatever hard the work was whatever sacrificial the efforts made to protect the land were, the national attitude to the land was changelessly respectful. The land cult generated the emergence of the derivatives with the positive pragmatic connotation: *zemelka*, *zemlytsia*, *zemlenka*. A Bow to the ground was regarded as a special reveal of gratitude finding its representation in the phraseme: *uklonytysia do zemli* “to bow very low showing great respect” [DUL III, 558]. The typical epithets *sviata* (holy), *sviashchenna* (sacred), *blagoslovenna* (blessed), *vilna* (free), *vichna* (eternal), *doroga* (treasured), *drevnia* (ancient), *kozatska* (Cossack), *krovno-ridna* (cognate), *shchedra* (generous), *bagata* (rich), *plodiucha* (fertile) etc indicate the national perception of *land*.

The connoisseur of the Ukrainian mentality, G. Lypynsky considered land to be the ethnic basis possessing the special energy that is able to influence the destiny and individuality of a nation⁴. The strong connection with the land created the wide realization of *freedom* as the combination of three dimensions: the political, ethical and moral, and religious. On this harmonious unity, the spiritual integrity of a nation emerges. The deep perception of this existential category I. Ilyin’s philosophy reflects: “This integrity is being worked out historically, in struggle, in establishing the only spiritual culture and in self-defense from the attacking conquerors...

³ Кримський С. Під сигнатурою Софії. К., 2008. 367 с.

⁴ Кримський С. Під сигнатурою Софії. К., 2008. 367 с.

The call of a nation is to accept their national and historical “reality” and to figure out it spiritually, to make it alive performing the specific national and historical act. This is their undisputable sacred right and at the same time it is their historical, human and what is more religious duty. They do not have any spiritual right to reject this duty and predestination. Once they reject, they are doomed to the spiritual decay and death; they will vanish from the pages of history⁵. The Russian thinker reveals vital (let us say crucial) role of the national factor in self-expression of the conceptual personality – a person or nation: “Only a man or a people can say something great exclusively in their way, the genius can be born only from the national experience, spirit and common life. Denationalization leads to the loss of spirit sources and sacred flame of life; these sources and flame are always national: they bring the national achievements, struggle, and observations, prayers and thoughts for ages”⁶.

It is obvious that it is completely impossible to imagine human’s worthy existence without national “khrynytsia dukhu” (the spirit source) and “vogni zhyttia” (the life flame). This form can be implemented only “at home” – the native state. It is a key to freedom as the highest form of spiritual value of life. However, the *land* image in people’s consciousness is multi-dimensional. The powerful connection with land can promote not only desire for freedom in its ternary entity (political, ethnic-moral, religious) but also become the reason of unfreedom, extreme selfishness, silent betrayal. Then next to the best landwise features of human nature appear the unhuman ones. Eventually “in any society there was always a person who worked on their plot bought for thirty pieces of silver”⁷. Its deep meaning Lina Kostenko marked not only with poetical but also with suffered aphorism: “My freedom is always with me”. The plot image in the above-mentioned context acquires the symbolic meaning – “the thing for sale as a means to gain pragmatic goals”. Those who work “on the plot bought for thirty pieces of silver” serve the bright example of a human-slave. The problem of apostasy as ancient as relevant in politics. The historical evolution of the Ukrainian people reflects the issue where one can observe the stoic heroism next to careless “khataskrainist” (careless attitude towards other people and events outside the house) and even betrayal.

It comes without any doubt that the external freedom supports the development of the internal one. That harmonious interaction becomes possible only in civil democratic society. However, its implementation is

⁵ Ильин И.А. Путь духовного обновления // Путь к очевидности. М., 1993.

⁶ Ильин И.А. Путь духовного обновления // Путь к очевидности. М., 1993.

⁷ Костенко Ліна. Поет, що ішов сходами гігантів // Українка Леся. Драматичні твори. К. : Дніпро, 1989.

quite problematic because of the restrictions of the external freedom in totalitarian state formations where Ukraine belonged to for a long while. Under the conditions of state absence, the center of the internal freedom shifts to the internal one. The feeling of the internal freedom supports the state of “upright position”, psychological confidence in their life, makes the thoughts and deeds worthy. Consequently, “the internal freedom gives birth to the will to fight for the worthy life...”⁸.

Modelling their daily behavior in unfavorable conditions, an internally free person follows the imperative of duty. The personalities of passionate type are the alive incarnations of internal freedom, “slaves of freedom” (I. Franko). “This is that voluntary thus integral internal must (“a must is a great lord” – says the old proverb) that motivated I. Franko, Lysenko, Grinchenko, Kotsiubynsky, Starytsky and Lesia Ukrainka...and the thing usually called vein was full of devotion... – Ivan Dziuba admits⁹ in his work with distinct cognitive vector “In the world of Lesia Ukrainka’s Thought”.

The conceptosphere created by passionate persons facilitated the development of the national cognitive picture of the world and consequently supported the national evolution. Their Ukraine centric world and civil devotion gave birth to the future fighters for freedom who remembered the suffered wisdom of Lesia Ukrainka:

The one who free themselves will gain the real freedom.

The one who free the others will enslave them¹⁰. The cultural idea of the Ukrainian concept *freedom* contains the universal, human constants. That is the unbreakable relation – explicit or implicit – to the concept *duty*. The words of a famous state figure Konrad Adenauer who Churchill called “the most intelligent German politician since Bismarck time” can serve a good example. “Happiness consists not in getting and retaining great success. Happy is the one who performs the duty and acts according to their values even if they fail”¹¹. This idea may seem to be illogic for the people who lost relatives or suffered from other troubles. Nevertheless, in the spiritual dimension the devotion to the preserved duty represents the national spirit on the transcendental level getting to the top of personality.

“In the history of Ukraine the spiritual act of heroism is considered to be equal to the military one”¹². The reason is that the objective is common – to protect and support the development of *national freedom*. Let us look back to the Ukrainian Renaissance of 20s XX century and those

⁸ Пахльовська О. «Прямим проломом пам’яті в безмежність» // День. 11-12 листопада 2011 р. С. 6.

⁹ Дзюба І. У світі думки Лесі Українки. Луцьк, 2006

¹⁰ Пахльовська О. Імператив інтелектуального опору // День. 2-3 квітня 2010 р. С. 21.

¹¹ Райхель Ю. «Найрозумніший німецький державний діяч із часів Бісмарка» // День. 31 жовтня 2009 р.

¹² Кримський С. Під сигнатурою Софії. К., 2008. 367 с.

who “persistently plowed up the divine plots and worked on the cultural plot. They were tired, confused and disappointed but always full of categorical and powerful, not understandable for many, disrespected by the most “a must”¹³. As a result, the major part of the Ukrainian intellectuals ended up in Solovky. Can anyone find the equivalent in other languages rendering the same axiological sense of the expression “executed Renaissance”? The image of “executed Renaissance” explains the concept of the *Ukrainian freedom* having lived in the archetypal depth of the national body, in the political thought, fiction prose contrary to the social and historical circumstances. According to Franko, it was nothing but the freedom of the Ukrainian conceptual personality.

It is useful to mention another consituation related to the sixtiers phenomenon. Martha Dziuba shared with her memories: when after the coming out of the book “Internationalism or Russification” by I. Dziuba, the aithor was taken under arrest the famous translator M. Lukash “could not deal with the fact of the arrest and wanted to write a letter suggesting staying in prison instead of Ivan. It was being discussed in Kochur’s house in Irpin. I was there and told Mykola that his efforts would not help but can easily worsen the situation [...], in two days he came and said, “I have written the letter. I have done this not for Ivan or for you but for myself. Because I could not live with this. It resulted in the complete cessation of publishing of his works”.

The provided context of the concept of the internal freedom syncretizes with the concept of duty. It is the reveal of natural “selfishness” equal to altruism.

The sixtiers were also performing their duty; their great “Must” (the word of V. Stus)¹⁴ to the native people. Protecting the national dignity they protected their own as well the price often was their life.

“Must” is a link that can help to figure out the concepts *internal freedom* and *duty*. The noun comes from the verb *musyty* borrowed through the West Slavic languages from German *mussen* related to *messen* “to measure” and close to Latin *mediator* “to think over, to have an intension”, Gr. μεδομαί “to care for”¹⁵. In modern Ukrainian, the synonym of *musity* is *buty zobovyzanym* (to be obliged). The word *mus* in MUL¹⁶ is qualified as dialectal and synonymic to the word *prymus* with the meaning “someone’s pressure, coercion’ and semantic shades “efforts over

¹³ Дзюба І. У світі думки Лесі Українки. Луцьк, 2006.

¹⁴ Сюддюков І. Той, хто не гнув голови // День. 4 вересня 2009 р.

¹⁵ Етимологічний словник української мови у семи томах/ АН УРСР, Інститут мовознавства ім. О. О. Потебні. Головний редактор О. С. Мельничук. Київ : Наукова думка, 1982–2012.

¹⁶ Етимологічний словник української мови у семи томах/ АН УРСР, Інститут мовознавства ім. О. О. Потебні. Головний редактор О. С. Мельничук. Київ : Наукова думка, 1982–2012.

yourself” “conditioned necessity to act in some way regardless your will”; “stipulated by law”¹⁷. The lexeme *musyty* and the derivative *mus* render the meaning, which goes beyond the scope of the common lexicon. The combinability with the attribute *velyky* (great) and writing with the capital letter of the word *Mus* and the phraseological expression “*mus* is a great lord” provide the meaning with the exaltation and actualize the connotations connected with moral duty as to some extent moral absolute, codex of honor. Besides the moral dimension, the pragmatic meaning of the word *mus* relates to *freedom* both internal and external. “The presence” of freedom outlines the context of Cossack age. In Ivan Mazepa’s worldview the word *mus* acquires heroic and at the same time tragic air. The way of his state thinking supported the perception of *Oychyzna* (motherland) as the land given by the God. Thus to die for Fatherland is the duty of the greatest honor: the immortal human soul realized itself with the help of the highest “land” sacrifice. To be careless means to be doomed to death: “Kto bovim za oychyznu yt khoche vmyraty, toi po tom z oichyzyou musyt pogybaty” (the one who rejects the death for the land must die with it)”¹⁸.

The semes “nakazovist” (order) and cordocentrism carried out in the expression “nakaz sertsia” (the order, demand of the heart) enrich the implicit meaning of *musyty* (*mus*). According to the memories of the Deputy Commander-in Chief of the UPA Army V. Kuk, R. Shukhevych confessed his participation in OUN and explained it by “the demand of his heart”. He was sentenced for three years of prison...”¹⁹.

“The conclusion is – S. Krymsky points out, – that there is the high sense being above success and failure and there are the historical acts when heroes are inspired with the goal bigger than the price for the specific defeats and victories”²⁰. This lofty goal, the freedom of motherland and a person, inspired those who passed away in Poltava battle or Solovky, in the UPA or OUN armies, in Kholodny Yar or the Arctic Circle, in Norylsk or Kandehirsk uprisings. The rebellious spirit shook GULLAG, and soon the totalitarian Stalin regime petrifying the whole world. “The history of Ukraine demonstrates that the victory issue has broader context than success or failure. Duke Wellington once said: “There is nothing more tragic than victory if not consider defeat. The winners are never judged”²¹. The winners become judges. They write the history.

¹⁷ Словник української мови : В 11-ти томах. / АН УРСР. Інститут мовознавства; за ред. І. К. Білодіда. К. : Наукова думка, 1970–1980.

¹⁸ Пахльовська О. Мазепа – архітектор європейської України? // День. 29 червня 2009 р. С. 7.

¹⁹ Кук В. Генерал-хорунжий Роман Шухевич. Головний Командир Української Повстанської Армії. Львів, 2005.

²⁰ Кримський С. Під сигнатурою Софії. К., 2008. 367 с.

²¹ Кримський С. Під сигнатурою Софії. К., 2008. 367 с.

In their ideologically accented interpretation, the defeated become “a traitor”, “a criminal”, “collaborationist” it should result in historical inevitability of the victory of the one side and doom to defeat of another. However to destroy is not to win. Why then the national consciousness keeps the other axiological features the shooters’ graves are made according to the Cossack tradition with the message of holiness and gratitude as a symbol of memory: “to the fighters for the freedom of Ukraine”. This context renders the common knowledge of the communicators on the historical events, common perception and esteem. This merge of cognitive areas promote the appearance of presupposition implemented in communication: “Both an idea and human being live until the moment they are remembered”. Ihor Yuhnovsky, the head of the Ukrainian Institute of the National Memory pointed out: “The fight of Ukrainians for independence in transition periods acquired various forms indeed it was always tragic for the participants. The main reason of the tragic character was that the memory of their names was neglected by ruling regimes. Official documents demonstrate them as “criminals”, “traitors”, “spies”, “saboteurs” etc. this contempt has been imposing on the nation memory for centuries. They tried to deprive the nation of its memory²².”

Freedom considers the right of choice: “Aut – Aut”, “Either – or” using the formula of one of the founders of existentialism Soren Kierkegaard. The choice issue as a main existential question that gets urgent in boarder causal situations. Consequently, psychological Self-concept of personality the real self (the state of being at present) and the ideal self (the desirable being) can get closer or on the contrary move away which is destroying for the person. The position of the person in internal coordinates depends on the codex of honor or its absence. You cannot escape from yourself. Thus, victory may appear to be something different and defeat may have nothing to do with failure. Lesia Ukrainka represented this psychological drama in the poem “Robert Bruce, the King of Scots”. According to its deep context, this work deals with conceptually polar notions – *freedom* and *not freedom* leading to treason. There are two conflicts observed: external – the struggle between Scotland and England, when the Scots fought for the independence lead by Robert Bruce; and internal, existential – struggle between the spiritually high, honorable with the vile and sneaky. Apparently, it is not just ethnic or social conflict between the peasants and lords, the conflict is between “close people”. The Scottish army consists of peasants because:

²²Юхновський І. Про ідеологію і політику Українського інституту національної пам’яті // Дзеркало тижня. 27 жовтня 2007 р.

The Scottish knighthood went
To serve in the English army
They went to defend with their sword and shield
The crown and power of England²³

The devoted pragmatic “close” lords that “were given back their rights and estates by the King of England”²⁴ are opposed to the calm stoicism and brave spirit of the Scots:

The ordinary peasant shields did not have any bright mottos
They all have just one:
“For the freedom, the motherland!
However, no one had it on the shield
But in the heart until the death”²⁵

The idea of freedom and the liberation of the motherland from the conquerors transform the army into spiritual monotheism. The contextual meaning appears eloquent in the mentioned historical discourse: “It was the demand of their heart”. Lesia Ukrainka, as a profound expert of a human self, its “tops” and “bottoms”, reveals the treason anatomy representing the slightest movements of the spiritually cloven soul, of the devastated personality unable to enjoy neither privileges nor the meeting with the native land. The internal sight notices the struggle of feelings inside those who “tomorrow...will go home”²⁶. The logical question “Why are you so sad and puzzled?”²⁷ cannot be answered logically. Instead, there is an accurate existential diagnostics:

Because of shame and sorrow
In their soul, it suffers
It seems for them that everything around
Keeps telling: “treason, treason”²⁸

Although the problem of the national apostasy of the elite or those who consider themselves to belong to the group is not historically relative to the Ukrainian subject, is eternal and universal. It remains being relevant for the Ukrainian political reality. M. Kostomarov in his work “Dvi Ruski Narodnosti” (Two Rus Nations) stressed that Ukrainians keep losing their

²³ Українка Леся. Зібрання творів у дванадцяти томах // Леся Українка. Роберт Брюс, король шотландський. К., 1975. Т. 2. С. 41–53.

²⁴ Українка Леся. Зібрання творів у дванадцяти томах // Леся Українка. Роберт Брюс, король шотландський. К., 1975. Т. 2. С. 41–53.

²⁵ Українка Леся. Зібрання творів у дванадцяти томах // Леся Українка. Роберт Брюс, король шотландський. К., 1975. Т. 2. С. 41–53.

²⁶ Українка Леся. Зібрання творів у дванадцяти томах // Леся Українка. Роберт Брюс, король шотландський. К., 1975. Т. 2. С. 41–53.

²⁷ Українка Леся. Зібрання творів у дванадцяти томах // Леся Українка. Роберт Брюс, король шотландський. К., 1975. Т. 2. С. 41–53.

²⁸ Українка Леся. Зібрання творів у дванадцяти томах // Леся Українка. Роберт Брюс, король шотландський. К., 1975. Т. 2. С. 41–53.

elite: “The thing about the south Rus tribe is that those who stopped being the part of the majority usually lost their nationality; earlier they became the Poles and now they are becoming Velykorosy. The South Rus nationality has always been the inheritance of the ordinary people”²⁹.

In the traditional Ukrainian consciousness the moral conviction of indignant actions was usually carried out by the “land” court. A person feeling remorse is afraid of facing the land. Land as a sacred phenomenon has extremely intense influence on a human soul, behavior, perception of their selves as spiritual creatures. When “prodigal son” returns, the land reminds of the national sacrifice and refers to conscience the function of the internal moral actualization that gained ground in the soul, “tear it apart”, asks “awkward” questions. The ideas rendering the internal psychological state of the spiritual slavery are represented in the idioms with the component “zemlia” (land). They compose the source of the national pedagogy and didactics: *zemlia zapadayetsia* “the dead end”³⁰; *ponuryty golovu v zemliu* (to bow one’s head to the ground); *potupyty (opustyty, vtupyty) ochi (ochytsi) u zemliu (do zemli)* (to look down, turn one’s eyes to the ground) “to bow feeling shame, embarrassment, awkwardness, to look down”³¹; *goryt zemlia pid nogamy* (the ground is burning under one’s feet) “terrible conditions, predicament”³². These row of idioms being built according to the principle of amplification highlights the internal state of the moral devastation of an apostate.

The conceptual features, that form the context of the concept *freedom*, it is necessary to consider another Lesia Ukrainka’s lesson – *personality freedom*. *National freedom* cannot do without it. The only ones, who dare to kill a slave inside, can build the world of freedom. They do not complain about their bitter destiny or unfavorable conditions – they change them instead. They create the space of freedom around themselves taking proud of the freedom they have. Lesia Ukrainka’s reflection in the letter to A. Krymsky is a bright example of the spiritual stoicism: “If to think over I have never experienced the drastic change of character, though the evolution took place anyway. Life has been breaking conditions around (well and sometimes my bones), but my nature has never changed and I doubt it will. I am flexibly stubborn (there are lots of such among

²⁹ Костомаров Н.И. Об историческом значении русской народной поэзии // Костомаров М. И. Слов’янська міфологія. К., 1994.

³⁰ Словник української мови : В 11-ти томах. / АН УРСР. Інститут мовознавства; за ред. І. К. Білодіда. К. : Наукова думка, 1970–1980.

³¹ Словник української мови : В 11-ти томах. / АН УРСР. Інститут мовознавства; за ред. І. К. Білодіда. К. : Наукова думка, 1970–1980.

³² Словник української мови : В 11-ти томах. / АН УРСР. Інститут мовознавства; за ред. І. К. Білодіда. К. : Наукова думка, 1970–1980.

women), with skeptical mind, deeply sensitive and I acquired the “tragic outlook” being that good at making people tough”³³.

One of the reveal of the spiritual freedom is the independence of behaviour that on the subconscious level censored with sacramental: “What will people say”. Lesia Urainka sticks to according to Nietzsche “something close to high morality”³⁴ has never fallen into a trap of that stereotype: “I still cannot figure out what prevented us from seeing each other? Could that be your friends making fun of our amity? (You told me once on that point in Tiflis). What I can say about that great man “Qu’en dira-t-on” (“what they will say”, Fr.) so then and actually always I was indifferent to him moreover he is hardly ever grateful for the donations given”³⁵.

Despite her “eternal deceases”,³⁶ the woman from the noble Kosach family demonstrates the amazing aristocracy of spirit. Can anyone cease feeling its emanation that the sincere character of the addressing of one genius personality to another illuminate? – Lesia Ukrainka’s to A. Krymsky: “Eventually I have not lived in poverty. There is nothing to complain. Why should we think about the catastrophes, my dear friend? They may definitely happen to us but luckily, we do not know the exact time. You see, I invite you to my house but how can I know that my life will not end before? Although the Berliner medical “guru” gave me 15–20 years, the 5 of them have passed, the last 5 could hardly deal with the real life thus I have just 5-10 years...I may live as long as Pobiedonostsew managed to, against all odds. I am extremely stubborn as I said”³⁷. In less than two years the aristocrat of spirit who could “lough through tears” and asked with challenge “Who told you I was weak” passed away.

The contextual additional meanings of *freedom* in Lesia Ukrainka’s discourse assign to the concept transcendental character. The notion freedom radiates not only political but also spiritual dimension. Indeed a spirit is a generator of human spirit as a spiritual creature. It defines the internal world of a person, the state of their soul and physically it determines their behavior in particular the communicative one.

2. Political Metaphors Emerged from Associations

One of the means to represent the internal world – the world of freedom – are the cognitive metaphors. It is necessary to consider the perception hierarchy of freedom in human consciousness – starting with personal

³³ Українка Леся. Осіння казка // Леся Українка. Драматичні твори. К., 1989.

³⁴ Пахльовська О. Мазепа – архітектор європейської України? // День. 29 червня 2009 р. С. 7.

³⁵ Українка Леся. Осіння казка // Леся Українка. Драматичні твори. К., 1989.

³⁶ Українка Леся. Осіння казка // Леся Українка. Драматичні твори. К., 1989.

³⁷ Українка Леся. Осіння казка // Леся Українка. Драматичні твори. К., 1989.

freedom to the political national one. When the individual and social elements act as the integrity, they reflect the civil readiness of society.

This synthesis in the Ukrainian concept freedom can be observed during the struggle for the state independence. The specific markers of the evolution of the concept are political metaphors emerged from associations:

Freedom as substance (dish): If less numerous nations do not intend to lose their language and ethnonational identity: Czechs, Croats, the Swedes, Fins, the Danes, the Islanders etc – so there is no reason to expect that 50 million Ukrainian nation will ever do this as they have already felt the *taste of freedom* and value of national dignity”³⁸.

Freedom as unusual life conditions: “Niccolo Machiavelli (1469–1527) drawing on the Italian experience stated: “People, who suffer from tyranny for a long time, lose the precious gift of gods – independence, courage, honesty. Instead cowardice, hypocrisy and subservience develop. When the form of government suddenly changes, it is usually hard for the people to get used to freedom”³⁹.

Freedom as the social value: “The Ukrainian elite who consider Ukraine to be more than geographical object, strongly believe that the most realistic politics is the one supporting values of freedom and democracy”⁴⁰.

Freedom as an ideal: The events called Pomarancheva Revolution proved the above mentioned [...] *Celebration of the spirit of freedom, the power of desire for freedom* were unbelievable. It is noticeable that in this case the internal and external freedoms merged into one unbreakable unity⁴¹.

The use of the political metaphors in the description of the political reality is more than just means of communicative influence. This reality can form the spiritual environment when the feeling of complex freedom appear to be the leitmotif of intentions, thoughts and behavior of a person. The feeling reaches the transcendental level of the conceptual personality and forms the top of their world sensation. “On the transcendental adoration level the language gets separated from the speaker, his consciousness and leads to its deepest layers; on that level we can touch with our *soul* (the author’s underlining) something in the language existing beyond the consciousness: metaphor losing its nominative features shifts the perception of a text from contextual to sensational”⁴².

³⁸ Райхель Ю. “Найрозумніший німецький державний діяч із часів Бісмарка” // День. 31 жовтня 2009 р.

³⁹ Райхель Ю. “Найрозумніший німецький державний діяч із часів Бісмарка” // День. 31 жовтня 2009 р.

⁴⁰ Болдырев Н.Н. Значение и смысл с когнитивной точки зрения и проблема многоязычности // Материалы Второй международной школы-семинара по когнитивной лингвистике : В 2 ч. Ч. 1. Тамбов, 2000. – С. 11–17.

⁴¹ Скаб М. Закономірності концептуалізації та мовної категоризації сакральної сфери. Чернівці : «Рута», 2008. 559 с.

⁴² Франко І. «Земле моя, всеплодющая мати» // Зібрання творів : У 50 т. К., 1976. Т. 1. С. 28.

The above-mentioned models of context verbalization of the concept *freedom* actualize positive (emotive connotative) halo. However, the evaluation characteristics can vary from positive to negative if the concept *freedom* combines with negative pragmatic component. Thus, the metaphorical constituents of the concept *freedom* may be the following:

Freedom as a stage of prehistorical culture: “The evolution of society is based on the strict principles of dignity, responsibility, professionalism that the majority stick to. Nevertheless, we under the condition of wild freedom it became common experience to violate the principles and what is more to be proud of that”⁴³.

Freedom as absence of dignity: “The Stus letter to P. Shelest, the first secretary, contains extremely interesting reflections on the distortion of the socialism ideology in the Soviet Union. They evidence the confronting the communism Stus struggled not only for the civil rights. He stood up for the personal right of freedom demonstrating the exceptional courage: “...I am getting convinced that this socialism is not socialism at all. These political liberties are not liberties. This paradise is not paradise. This “truth is the complete opposite. This enslaving of a human soul, conscious, this destroy of humanism is unbearable. Then there is the option of gaining *the freedom of a slave* who never cares when to be silent or to praise the boss, to lie about themselves, the surrounding, and the life. This appropriation of souls depreciates the human existence”⁴⁴.

CONCLUSIONS

The concept freedom is assumed to be complex, multidimensional and variable. The political metaphors intensify the dynamics of the concept. Moreover, they become the essential constituents of the discourse not only as means of optimization of communicative interaction but also as the implementation of the spirit, that “brings a man to the spiritual stratosphere”.

SUMMARY

The article is devoted to the evolution of the semantics of the concept land as a versatile mental formation, its conceptual and axiological content is researched, the semantic associations are characterized on the basis of the cognitive-discursive approach, connected with a concept.

⁴³ Баган О. Кожна влада ефективно працює лише тоді, коли боїться контролю з боку громадян // Вільне слово. – 26 серпня 2009 р.

⁴⁴ Михаськів М. Історичний нарис сіл Сівки-Войнилівської і Мошковице. Львів : Ліґа-Прес, 2007. 157 с.

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Information about the author:

Yaremko Ya. P.,

Doctor of Philology,

Professor at the Ukrainian Language Department,

Dean of the Faculty of Philology,

Ivan Franko Drohobych State Pedagogical University

24, Shevchenko str., Drohobych, 82100, Ukraine