

CONTEXTUAL SENSITIVITY OF THE LEXEMES *UČITEL'* [TEACHER] AND *UČITELKA* [FEMALE TEACHER]¹

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Abstract: The study deals with the lexical meaning of lexemes *female teacher*, *teacher* (male teacher and a generic meaning of the lexeme), which might be in Slovak influenced by context and discourse as well as by attitudes and gender stereotypes of interlocutors. In pragmatic research, the author focuses on semantic indeterminacy as an implicit component of lexical meaning determined by the socialization of interlocutors. Analysis of the lexemes *female teacher*, *teacher* and their collocations with the adjectives *typical*, *crazy*, *burned out*, in different contexts, has shown that the gender of the person referred to has an influence on the meaning. The implicit or socialized meaning of the lexemes of the feminine gender is frequently associated with those phenomena that are perceived negatively in society, while the names of the masculine gender do not contain this component.

Key words: female teacher, teacher, grammatical gender, lexical meaning, contextual sensitivity, socialized meaning of a lexeme

“Language is involved in determining both *what* we see and *how* we look at it, how we evaluate it.”²
(Skutnabb-Kangas 2000, p. 12)

Tove Skutnabb-Kangas stresses the coexistence of language, community and individuals, and above all, the role of language in the process of creating collective ideas about reality. The study of discourse provides much evidence that meaning is formed and changed in discourse (see, i.e. Sunderland 2004, pp. 8–9). Butler (2003) pointed this out significantly in the perception of gender as an identity constructed through a stylized repetition of communicative acts. In relation to gender and its construction, the change of perception of gender as a social and cultural category to its perception as a verb is also reflected. Christine Christie (2000) summarized the research on this topic. “Where gender is conceptualized as a verb, the use of specific

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² “Jazyk sa podieľa na určení jednak toho, čo vidíme, jednak toho, ako sa na to pozeráme, ako to hodnotíme.” (Skutnabb-Kangas – transl. Z. Drábeková 2000, p. 12)

language forms is considered one way in which individuals construct themselves as more or less masculine or feminine. From this perspective, individuals perform gender, and gender identity is perceived as an effect of language, rather than an a priori factor that determines linguistic behavior” (Christie 2000, p. 34). The communication process is therefore fundamental in creating a certain cultural image as well as identity.

Discourse and text as its part are an example of forming the meanings of lexemes in a certain society and producing ideas about real entities. Pragmatic research emphasizes the social, cultural or political basis of language use, and communication is perceived as a discourse and context-based process. Interlocutors are influenced by certain discourse and according to various factors – both individual and collective – they perform certain utterances which do not contain everything the speaker intends to convey, or they contain parts the speaker conveys without intention. Anita Fetzer (2019, p. 262) writes: “Participants-anchored construals of context lie in the local discourse context. They share the premise that communicative action in general and communicative acts in particular can never be fully explicit.” Christine Christie (2000, p. 29) supports the idea that speakers are not in control of meaning because they do not create it in a socio-cultural vacuum.

The underdeterminacy is what interests us about the meaning of lexemes that denote persons of both genders. Since underdeterminacy is also part of the discourse, we assume that it is somewhat conventionalized. The implicit component of lexical meaning is created on the basis of the socialization of interlocutors and preserves the cultural projection of a certain entity. The research approach and aim were first introduced in the publication *Personálna a sociálna deíxa v slovenčine* [*Personal and Social Deixis in Slovak*] (Kesselová ed. 2019), in which attention was paid to the grammatical gender of nouns as a concept of referring to a person’s social status (Urbancová 2019). When considering the construction of linguistic meaning (ibid., pp. 216–218), an example of meaning differentiation based on different grammatical genders using of the lexemes *female teacher* and *teacher* by Jana Valdrová was used (Valdrová 2018). She considers an utterance from the press³ to conclude: “No one will associate an incompetent cow with a teaching man, but a capable teacher evokes the idea of a man” (ibid., p. 110).⁴ This opinion, as well as observing the discourse aimed at teachers, has led to the investigation of that part of the meaning *učiteľka* [female teacher] and *učiteľ* [teacher] which is influenced by society and the

³ “Podporujeme stav, kdy – natvrdo řečeno – leckde učí žáky nějaká neschopná kráva v přepychové multimediální učebně, zatímco schopný kantor by dokázal víc s křídou a tabulí.” (Komárek 2003, according to Valdrová 2018, p. 111). [We support a situation where – to be honest – an incompetent cow teaches in a luxury multimedia classroom, while a good teacher could do it better with chalk and a blackboard.]

⁴ “Neschopnou krávu si nikdo nespojí s vyučujícím mužem, zato schopný kantor navozuje představu muže.”

socialization of interlocutors. The question we ask ourselves is how the broader contextual factors, linguistic and nonlinguistic, are manifested in the lexemes functioning as social deictic centers. Attention is paid to cultural and social factors mirrored in the meanings of lexemes that denote people of different genders. Male and female names are appropriate for such research because they are closely linked not only to the cultural and social background, but also to the identity of the people.

Examples show the use of the same lexeme in a different context, which influences the part of the meaning depending on it:

- (1a) *A: Teraz si ako učiteľ'ka.* [Now you are like a teacher.]
- (1b) *B: No dovoľ!* [Excuse me!] (Observed dialogue.)

- (2) *Zase sa potvrdilo že učiteľ'ka je diagnóza...* [It has been confirmed again that the teacher is diagnosed...] (www)

- (3a) *M: Pri masáži rád rozprávam, ale vždy beriem ohľad na klientku.* [I like to talk during the massage, but I always take the client into account.]
- (3b) *K: Dnes ste natrafili na učiteľ'ku.* [Today you came across a teacher.] (Interview heard.)

- (4) *M: Ty si typická učiteľ'ka.* [You are a typical teacher.] (Reaction after the listener attempts to interrupt the speaker.)

- (5) *Ty si určite učiteľ'ka.* [You must be a teacher.] (Estimation of employment during the first meeting in an informal social situation.) (Observed dialogue.)

The basic meaning of the lexeme *female teacher* is a woman who teaches by profession (Pisárčiková 2004). If we apply this meaning exclusively to the interpretation of the above utterances, they would remain unclear. The new, contextualised part of the meaning is the conventionalized meaning created on the basis of the social experience. The lexemes under research are context-sensitive, so their meaning is significantly dependent on the context, and it is also influenced by the socialization of interlocutors. Examples suggest that a *female teacher* may be a negative expressive word and its use is meant to be offensive (1), it may refer to a person who has an occupational disease, diagnosis: female teacher (2), may refer to a communicative person (3) or a person that interrupts the speaker (4). The fifth utterance draws attention to the meaning limits and underdeterminacy of the utterance. It is not clear which characteristics of the teacher are significant in a particular situation.

The research of context-sensitive meaning follows a pragmatic approach and the lexemes under the research are seen as examples of social deixis. Deictic

expressions are generally characterized by a situational plurality. Unlike deixis, social deixis does not refer to the “world” of things but to social relations (Auer 2014, p. 157), “...the relationship between the language form and its meaning is characterized by significant changes that may require complex interpretive work” (Auer 2014, p. 157).⁵ The plurality of meanings of social deixis is limited by the actual social situation.⁶ When considering social deixis, the identity of the interlocutors is important, and it influences utterances perception and interpretation of utterances. The meaning of social deixis is anchored in a group of people, and it is closely related to the cultural and social life of the group. By using a lexeme with social-deictic potential, the speaker can also reveal their affiliation to a certain group of people.

The text focuses on lexemes that denote male and female persons and parts of the meaning resulting from gender differentiation. We identify a socialized component of meaning, that is, one that lives in a certain community without being included in the dictionary definition. We are looking for manifestations of discursive activities that create a cultural image of the lexeme *female teacher* and *teacher*. Slovak words *učiteľ* and *učiteľka* are translated as *teacher* and *female teacher*. We do not use the expression *male teacher* because in many cases the word *teacher* is used with a generic meaning, and it refers to both genders.

The source of data is the Slovak National Corpus (SNC, version prim-9.0-public-all) and websites.⁷ We assumed that the attributes of the profession under investigation would be clearly evident in the collocation with an adjective *typický* [typical] and we sourced collocations *typická učiteľka* [typical female teacher] and *typický učiteľ* [typical teacher].

⁵ “...vztah mezi jazykovou formou a jejím významem se vyznačuje výraznými posuny a zlomy, které mohou vyžadovat komplexní interpretační práci” (Auer 2014, p. 157).

⁶ A good example is the manifestations of gender stereotypes in the meaning of lexemes, i.e. the text that appeared on the back of the car: *A woman has just overtaken you*. It has sense if women are perceived as bad riders.

Other examples are from the informal conversation but with an unknown person, for example in a shop. It is a dialogue between two strangers, but in order to understand, the deictic centre should be clearly identifiable.

A: *Povedala som si, že si budem menej kupovať oblečenie.* [I said I would buy less clothes.]

B: *Aj ja som nad tým rozmýšľala, ale sme predsa ženy...* [I thought about it too, but we are women...]

In a friendly conversation between people, the meaning of the lexeme can be linked to individual experience and is known only by interlocutors or a small group of people. In this way, for example, communication could work in order to conceal something, hide the meaning of the word and replace it with another, or to present language or communication creativity

In communication, we not only mark, but also emphasize belonging to a certain group.

⁷ We do not list specific websites for www examples. We proceed in accordance with the examples from the Slovak National Corpus, for which the authorship of the text is also not specified.

Typická učiteľka [typical female teacher]:

- (6) *Nie je to typická učiteľka, čo by žiakovi „klepla“ po prstoch, ak ich nedrží správne. Lucia učí spôsobom, ktorým motivuje svojich žiakov, aby sami chceli byť lepšími.* [She is not a typical female teacher who would “tap” student’s fingers if they do not hold them properly. Lucia teaches in a way that motivates her students to improve.] (www)
- (7) *Nie som taká typická učiteľka. Som prísna, ale aj priateľská...* [I’m not such a typical female teacher. I am strict but also friendly...] (www)
- (8) *Na prvý pohľad vyzerá Nonna strohá, nudná a nudná. Toto je typická učiteľka a hysterická žena.* [At first glance, Nonna looks stern, boring and boring. This is a typical female teacher and a hysterical woman.] (www)
- (9) *Pri jeho trocha impertinentnej poznámke vytiahla jednu polovicu svetlohnedého obočia, hneď vyzerala ako typická učiteľka.* [At his slightly impertinent remark, she raised one-half of her light brown eyebrows, immediately looking like a typical female teacher.] (SNC)
- (10) *Napokon, presne tak vyzerá – typická učiteľka.* [Finally, that’s exactly how she looks like – a typical female teacher.] (SNC)
- (11) *Vysoká, dobrá postava, sivé, vkusne upravené vlasy. Vznešená a rozvážna, a ako sa mu zdalo, uvedomuje si vlastnú dôležitosť. Trochu mu pripomínala slečnu Bulstrodovú: bola typická učiteľka.* [Tall, good figure, gray, elegant hairstyle. Sublime and sober, and he assumed that she was aware of her importance. It reminded him a little of Miss Bulstrode: she was a typical female teacher.] (SNC)
- (12) *„My nie sme spokojní s tým, čo pán Ondek vyrokoval,“ hovorí učiteľka. V okuliaroch, nemodernom svetri, so silným hlasom. Typická učiteľka, komiksová učiteľka. Keď ide prehovoriť, vždy sa postaví.* [“We are not satisfied with what Mr. Ondek has negotiated,” says the female teacher. In glasses, wearing a sweater out of fashion, with a strong voice. Typical female teacher, a comic book female teacher. When she wants to talk, she always stands up.] (SNC)
- (13) *Keď som ju zbadala, mladistvý vzhľad, perfektne vyšportovaná postava, svižný krok a elegancia mi vyrazili dych. Pre istotu som sa opýtala, či je to osoba, ktorú hľadám. Najmenej 20 i viac rokov by som jej ubrala. Predstavy o typickej učiteľke, poznačenej polstoročnou pedagogickou činnosťou, som v tej sekunde*

zahnala. Všetko je úplne inak. Je to stále šarmantná, čulá a pokojná dáma. Prosto pani učiteľka, ktorá nekričí, aby bolo ticho aj vtedy, keď nikto ani nemukne. [When I noticed her, her youthful appearance, perfect athletic figure, brisk movements and elegance took my breath away. To be on the safe side, I asked if this was the person I was looking for. I would take her at least 20 or more years. I dismissed the idea of a typical female teacher, marked by half a century of pedagogical activity, at that second. Everything is completely different. She is still a charming, snappy and relaxed lady. Just a female teacher who doesn't shout to keep silence even when no one dares to say anything.] (SNC)

- (14) *Dnes podpora učiteľov zo strany verejnosti nie je síce jednoznačná, ale je silnejšia, ako bola kedysi, tvrdí Branislav Pupala, ktorý sa na prieskume podieľal. „Ludia sa stali citlivejšími na problémy štrajkujúcich učiteľov. Tiež ich oslovuje mladšia generácia, ktorá je pre verejnosť dôveryhodnejšia ako typická učiteľka z čias socializmu,“ povedal Pupala.* [Today, public support for teachers is not clear, but it is stronger than it used to be, Branislav Pupala says, who took part in the survey. “People have become more sensitive to the problems of striking teachers. They are also addressed by the younger generation, which is more credible to the public than a typical socialist female teacher,” Pupala said.] (SNC)
- (15) *A ona tam učí. Ako typická učiteľka nemá ani štipku zmyslu pre humor.* [And she teaches there. As a typical female teacher, she has no sense of humor.] (SNC)
- (16) *Ulice Madridu boli úplne zaplavené mladými. Ako typická učiteľka si vzala za úlohu previesť svojich priateľov bezpečne cez cestu.* [The streets of Madrid were completely flooded with young people. As a typical female teacher, she set out to take her friends safely across the road.] (SNC)
- (17) *V učiteľskej profesii je ale väčšina učiteľov počas profesijného života v jednej hlavnej spoločenskej role. Preto niektoré zručnosti sebariadeného učenia sú rozvinuté inak, pri viacrozmernosti myslenia dokonca menej, ako v iných profesiách. Ironicky to býva označované spojením „typická učiteľka“, čím sa obvykle myslí jednostranná orientácia na poučovanie a prikazovanie.* [In the teaching profession, most teachers have one major social role during their professional life. Therefore, some skills of self-directed learning are developed differently, with less multidimensional thinking even less than in other professions. This is often ironically referred to as the “typical female teacher”, which usually means a one-sided orientation to teaching and ordering.] (Kosová 2007)

Typický učiteľ [typical teacher/male teacher]:

- (18) *Keď chceme zistiť, či niekto môže, alebo nemôže byť dobrým pilotom, ministrom či učiteľom, zoberieme si nejakého predstaviteľa tejto profesie a detailne skúmame všetku jeho činnosť za určité časové obdobie. Čo robí pilot od rána do večera? Čo robí minister, čo učiteľ? Všetko sa pozoruje, nahráva, analyzuje a vznikne z toho akási mapa, ktorá povie: typický učiteľ väčšinu času rozpráva, komunikuje, toľko a toľko percent venuje tým a toľko zase iným činnostiam. Potom sa spätne analyzuje, aké má mať človek predpoklady, aby bol úspešným učiteľom: musí byť trpezlivý, musí sa vedieť vyjadrovať, mať dobrý vzťah k žiakom.* [When we want to find out whether or not someone can be a good pilot, minister or teacher, we take a representative of the profession and examine in detail all their activities over a period of time. What does the pilot do from morning till night? What does a minister do, what a teacher? Everything is observed, recorded, analyzed, and a map emerges that says: the typical teacher talks, communicates most of the time, devotes so much and so much percentage to these and so much to other activities. It then analyzes retrospectively what person's preconditions are for being a successful teacher: he must be patient, he must be able to express himself, he must have a good relationship with the students.] (SNC)
- (19) *Cestujeme do Dvorca navštíviť Jozefa Kláska (podľa Kolomana je to typický učiteľ zo zapadnutej dedinky).* [We travel to Dvorec to visit Jozef Klásek (according to Koloman, he is a typical teacher from a small village).] (SNC)
- (20) *Ak hodnotia vlastnú preferenciu správania (Ktorý prístup by ste zvolili vy?) tak používajú konštruktívnejšie riešenia situácií, pričom v atribuovanej preferencii prisudzujú typickému učiteľovi viac reštriktívne riešenia pedagogických situácií.* [When evaluating one's own behavioral preference (Which approach would you choose?), they use more constructive situation solutions, while they assign more restrictive solutions to the typical teacher in general.] (SNC)
- (21) *Porovnajme moje postavenie s postavením typického učiteľa na Harvarde, ktorý učí, povedzme, mikroekonómiu. S materiálom sa dôkladne oboznámil už zamladi a keďže študoval na dobrej univerzite, mohol tiež pozorovať metódy, aké na prednáškach a seminároch používali jeho učitelia. Pred tridsiatkou ho mohli vymenovať za odborného asistenta a do päťdesiatky či šesťdesiatky mohol učiť tie isté veci už dvadsať, prípadne tridsať rokov. Jediné, čo musel urobiť, bolo meniť svoje prezentácie, zaraďovať užitočné nové myšlienky z literatúry a aktualizovať štatistiky.* [Let's compare my position with that of

a typical Harvard teacher who teaches, say, microeconomics. He became thoroughly acquainted with the material when he was young, and since he was studying at a good university, he could also observe the methods used by his teachers in lectures and seminars. Before he was thirty, he could be appointed an assistant professor, and by the age of fifty or sixty he could have taught the same things for twenty or thirty years. All he had to do was to change his presentations, incorporate useful new literature ideas, and update statistics.] (SNC)

- (22) *Ocenením Palových kvalít je aj od roku 1999 jeho funkcia hosťujúceho profesora na univerzite v anglickom Sunderlande, kde jeho manželka pôsobí už niekoľko rokov. Nasledovať ju však nemieni, necíti sa typickým učiteľom.* [Pavol's position of a visiting professor at The University in Sunderland in Britain since 1999 is recognition of his quality. His wife has been working there for several years. However, he does not plan to follow her, he does not feel to be a typical teacher.] (SNC)
- (23) *Nikdy som nemal žiadneho iného učiteľa, ale otec vlastne nebol žiadnym typickým učiteľom, skôr mi ukazoval veci, púšťal hudbu a najmä sme čo najviac spolu hrali.* [I have never had any other teacher, but my father wasn't really a typical teacher, he rather showed me things, played music, and especially we played as much as possible.] (SNC)

Some given examples also provide an explicit meaning of the collocation *a typical female teacher*, *a typical teacher*, so we can create a set of characteristics based on them. Typical female teacher: she is strict, she demotivates by “tapping” fingers instead of explaining, she is not friendly, she is austere, boring, she has a strict facial expression, she has a typical/characteristic appearance – on the one hand she is tidy, on the other hand she does not have elegant or stylish clothes, she is aware of her own importance, she has a strong voice, she is the opposite of a charming, sensitive, calm lady, she screams even when there is silence, she is attentive to others, she talks down to people and she orders. A typical teacher is either a prototype representative of the profession or a specific person; specific attributes are specified in the 18th example: *he must be patient, he must be able to express himself, he must have a good relationship with the students.*

The examples show that if the content is general and the teaching profession is described, its representative is identified in the masculine gender, which represents the use of generic masculine. The location by which *a typical teacher* refers to a particular person does not have a more precise definition, e.g. (19). When a *typical female teacher* is used, it refers to either a specific person or an often negatively perceived female representative of the profession. The generic masculine in our

examples has a basic meaning (neutral, dictionary). Thus, in the “social life” of collocations, a *typical teacher* usually does not have a negative connotation. In contrast, the collocation of *a typical female teacher* is mostly associated with negative characteristics. The difference may be partly due to the fact that the teaching profession is mainly done by women, so it is likely that there are more examples of different attributes in this gender group. However, the explanation is not satisfactory because the identified attributes are only negatively oriented and, like the real teacher sample, are not differentiated.

The difference in the use of the masculine and feminine gender as a difference between referring to a profession and referring to a specific person is also visible in the collocation *a burnout female teacher* and *a burnout teacher*. *A burnout female teacher* is used in connection with certain persons:

(24) *Tá vyhorená učiteľka, hovorila som si, ako môže robiť s malými detičkami? – a úzkosť vo mne rástla. (...) Lebo priatel'ia, nemôže za to vyhorená učiteľka. Nemôže za to riaditeľka, ktorá robí, čo sa dá, aby všetko fungovalo, ale nemá na výber.* [That burnout female teacher, I was wondering, how she can work with little children – and my anxiety grew. (...) Dear friends, the burnout female teacher is not to blame. Neither the female director, who does what she can to make everything work, but has no choice.] (SNC)

(25) *Kruh ľudí, ktorí sa práve chcú dozvedieť čosi o syndróme vyhorenia, tvoria učiteľky.* [The group of people who just want to know something about burnout are female teachers.] (www)

Burnout teacher is used in a general sense to refer to a group of people in a teaching profession. It is possible that in some cases the collocation could refer to a specific person or males, but this is unlikely due to the existence of generic masculine or is not clear in the text [e.g. (26)–(31)]:

(26) *A hádam by aj rád pravidelne predkladal výsledky svojej práce (t. j. prípravy na nový model vzdelávania) na kontrolu ktorémukoľvek inšpektorovi. Od vyhoreného učiteľa nič také čakať nemôžeme.* [And I guess they would also like to regularly present the results of their work (i.e. preparation for a new model of education) for inspection to any inspector. We can't expect anything like that from a burnout teacher.] (SNC)

(27) *Neviem, ako presne vyzerá vyhorenie, kedysi som o tom čítala pár psychologických článkov, väčšina sa týkala vyhorených učiteľov, ale v tom období som si bola akurát schopná predstaviť učiteľa s tlejúcimi vlasmi a oblekom od popola.* [I don't know exactly what burnout looks like, I used to

read a few psychological articles about it, most of them related to burnout teachers, but at that time I was just able to imagine a teacher with rotting hair and a suit covered by ash.] (SNC)

- (28) *Ženy prikyvujú, to by bolo riešenie pre mnohých vyhorených učiteľov.* [Women agree, this would be the solution for many burnout teachers.] (SNC)
- (29) *Výskumy hovoria o množstve vyhorených učiteľov, ktorých už nič nemotivuje.* [Research shows a number of burnout teachers who are no longer motivated.] (SNC)
- (30) *Na otázku, či je vyhorený učiteľ pre žiakov nebezpečný, Zelina hovorí, že iba v tom, že študentov už nie je schopný aktivizovať, nerozvíja ich tak, ako by mohol a nedáva im to, čo by mal.* [Asked if a burnout teacher is dangerous to students, Zelina says that just because he is no longer able to activate students, does not encourage them as he could and does not give them what he should.] (SNC)
- (31) *Vyhorený učiteľ navyše nemá silu (a stráca aj záujem) robiť nejaké kurikulárne zmeny, premýšľať nad redukciou obsahu osnov a podobne.* [The burnout teacher does not have the strength (and loses interest) to make some curricular changes, to think about reducing the content of the curriculum, and so on.] (SNC)

The collocation *a crazy female teacher*, *a crazy teacher* is not frequent on the Internet or in the SNC, but the examples we have seen also differ according to the gender of the referred person. For the female gender, the collocation has a negative meaning:

- (32) *Považujú ma za hypochondra alebo bláznivú učiteľku.* [They consider me a hypochondriac or a crazy teacher.] (SNK)

When entering *a crazy teacher*, examples from fiction or film reviews appear in SNC:

- (33) *A povedal si ako vždy: nešťastie, títo buditeľskí učitelia; a dnes k tomu ešte: hotové nešťastie ten bláznivý učiteľ...* [And he said to himself as always: misfortune, these awakening teachers; and today to that: misfortune this crazy teacher...]

In the Internet discussion, a usage appeared that indicates the positive characteristics of a crazy teacher:

- (34) *Teda Dávid, prajem Ti a celému našemu školstvu, aby sa Ti darilo. Prajem si, aby môjho vnuka učil taký „bláznivý“ učiteľ ako Ty.* [That is, David, I wish you and our entire education system prosperity. I wish my grandson to be taught by a “crazy” teacher like you.] (www)

To complete the provided image, let us mention the name of the competition *Teacher of Slovakia*. The vision of the competition and the whole project is: “We are changing the way the world views teachers. We emphasize the importance of the teaching profession and try to raise its status” (Učiteľ Slovenska, website). The aim of the competition is to promote the teaching profession and emphasize its positive attributes. However, the profession is named by the generic masculine, and it stabilizes the neutral perception of masculine general.

A notable part of the discourse under investigation consists of jokes in which a certain underdeterminacy and contextual sensitivity of lexemes are expected. As an example, we present 5 jokes included in the blog under the title *5 jokes about teachers, which accurately describe the real state of our education*. (Blog Branislava Gröhlinga):⁸

- (35) - *Ako sa stupňuje slovo chudobný?*

Chudobný, chudobnejší, totálna chudoba, žobrák, učiteľ.

[What is the comparative and superlative of the word poor? Poor, poorer, total poverty, beggar, teacher.]

- *Predstav si, môj riaditeľ už rok nekompromisne kritizuje nášho ministra školstva a ten mu na to nepovedal ešte ani slovo.*
- *To je taký sebakritický?*
- *Nie, on o tom ešte nevie.*

[Imagine that my director has been uncompromisingly criticizing our Minister of Education for a year, and he has not spoken to him yet.

Is he so self-critical?

No, he doesn't know about it yet.]

- *Prečo sa učiteľky nemôžu hrať na schovávačku?*

Lebo by ich nikto nehl'adal.

[Why can't female teachers play hide and seek? Because no one would look for them.]

- *Na začiatku školského roka, pride otec so svojim synom prvý krát do školy a hovorí učiteľke: „Budete učiť môjho syna. Ak s ním nebudete spokojná, dám vás preložiť na inú školu.“*

[At the beginning of the school year, a father comes to school with his son for the first time and talks to the female teacher: “You will teach my son. If you are not satisfied with him, I will let you go to another school.”]

⁸ Branislav Gröhling was the minister of education, science, research and sport between 2020 and 2022. The quoted blog was published on 8th April 2015.

- *Traja mladí učitelia sa rozprávajú o tom, čo spravia s vianočnými odmenami.*
Prvý hovorí: „Pracujem v škole v Nemecku a z vianočných odmien si kúpim auto a za zvyšok pôjdem s priateľkou na dovolenku.“
Druhý hovorí: „Pracujem v školstve vo Švajčiarsku a za vianočné odmeny si dám spraviť bazén a za zvyšok pôjdeme na cestu okolo sveta.“
Tretí hovorí: „Pracujem na Slovensku a za vianočné odmeny si kúpim sveter.“
Ostatní sa prekvapivo pýtajú: „A čo so zvyškom?“
Tretí odpovedá: „No zvyšok mi doplatia rodičia.“
 [Three young teachers talk about what they will do with the Christmas bonus.
 The first one says: “I work at a school in Germany, and I will buy a car, and I will go on vacation with my girlfriend.”
 The second one says: “I work at a school in Switzerland, and I will have a swimming pool built, and I will go on a trip around the world.”
 The third one says: “I work in Slovakia and I will buy a sweater.”
 The others ask surprisingly: “What about the rest of the money?”
 The third one responds: “My parents will pay the rest.”]
- *A teraz ešte jeden „kameňák“ ako bonus:*
- *Prečo sa na tých vtipoch nesmeješ?*
Lebo som učiteľ’..
- *Tieto pre niekoho vtipy, znamenajú pre učiteľ’ov tvrdú realitu, v ktorej dennodenne žijú, pracujú, zápasia o prežitie. Dokedy ešte?! Kto sa bude smiať naposledy?*
 [And now a bonus:
 Why don’t you laugh at those jokes?
 Because I’m a teacher..
 For some these are jokes, for teachers it is real life, which they live, work in it, struggle to survive on a daily basis. How long? Who will be the last to laugh?]

In the above text, we observe that lexemes *female teacher* and *teacher* appear in different contexts and their use suggests different parts of meaning. The use of a *female teacher* is in the sense of needlessness – *no one would look for her* – and the object of threatening by an influential father. Lexeme *teacher* occurs in the sense of poorly valued person, teacher-principal and profession.

The examples given in the text illustrate the different discursive functioning of words depending on gender as both social and grammatical categories. The use of masculine in a generic sense influences the meaning of the male noun. This meaning is presented in the discourse neutrally or positively with regard to the contribution

and importance of the profession. The female gender refers only to the part of the group of people with the same profession and in the examples the negative social evaluation as a part of the meaning prevails.

The following text documents how the current teacher discourse may have an impact on women's perception:

(36) *Žiaci chcú mužov*

Ak sa učiteľ zjaví na chodbe, má prirodzený rešpekt. Podľa žiakov, je lepšie, ak niektoré predmety učí muž. Veľmi často učia aj hudobnú, matematiku, či chémiu. Okrem toho ich treba hľadať aj v riaditeľni. [Pupils want men

If the teacher shows up in the hallway, he has natural respect. According to the students, it is better if some subjects are taught by a man. Very often they also teach music, mathematics or chemistry. In addition, they can be found in the directorate.] (www)

We encounter gender segregation in various professions, but especially in teaching the need for a different gender order is emphasized. A teacher as a man is portrayed as a person with natural respect, with a gift to teach certain subjects, having managerial skills that predispose him to the position of a director, and also as a person that is wanted by students.

Pragmatic research of the use of lexemes *female teacher* and *teacher* has shown differences in the meaning of collocations *typical female teacher*, *typical teacher*, *crazy female teacher*, *crazy teacher*, as well as independent lexemes *female teacher* and *teacher*. The implicit or socialized meaning associated with the female gender is characterized by those parts that are socially negatively perceived, while the male gender does not include them. The cultural projection of the teacher turns out to be different with different genders. This phenomenon is also stabilized by the use of generic masculine, which is considered asymptomatic in system linguistics, but in a pragmatic view we reveal that it mostly refers to value-neutral or positive attributes of the teaching profession, which is then transferred to the masculine gender in a non-generic sense. The teachers' discourse research reveals differences in the meaning of words that relate to people of different sex. It is also appropriate to state that in the analyzed lexemes we can consider their interpretive potential, which may not overlap with the intention of the speaker.

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Resumé

KONTEXTUÁLNA SENZITIVITA LEXÉM UČITEĽ A UČITEĽKA

Štúdia sa zaoberá časťou lexikálneho významu lexém odlišujúcich sa rodom – *učiteľka, učiteľ* –, ktorá je ovplyvnená kontextom a diskurzom. V pragmaticky ukotvenom výskume sa autorka orientuje na významovú neurčitost' ako implicitný komponent lexikálneho významu determinovaný socializáciou komunikujúcich osôb.

Analyzujúc lexémy *učiteľka*, *učiteľ* a ich kolokácie s adjektívami *typická*, *typický*, *bláznivá*, *bláznivý*, *vyhorená*, *vyhorený* v rôznych kontextoch autorka zistila, že na význam má vplyv aj rod označovanej osoby. Implicitný alebo socializovaný význam skúmaných lexém ženského rodu je frekventovane spojený s tými javmi, ktoré sú v spoločnosti prijímané negatívne, zatiaľ čo pomenovania mužského rodu tento významový komponent neobsahujú.