ETNOLINGWISTYKA
PROBLEMY JĘZYKA I KULTURY
ETHNOLINGUISTICS
ISSUES IN LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

28

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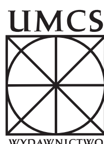

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From the Editors

The journal *Etnolingwistyka. Problemy języka i kultury* [Ethnolinguistics. Problems of language and culture] has been appearing on an annual basis since 1998, published by the Faculty of Humanities, Maria Curie-Skłodowska University (UMCS) in Lublin, Poland. The journal's founder Jerzy Bartmiński, in his Introduction to vol. 1, defined its scope in broad terms, in alignment with the idea of ethnolinguistics as a trend in contemporary language sciences that is concerned with "language in its complex relationship to culture. The relationship thus embraces the language system as an institutionalised social product in the whole richness of its varieties, variants, and styles, as well as in the diversity of its uses, in relation to culture as a patterning of human endeavours, along with the models and values inherent therein, as well as to culture as a product of these activities" (p. 5).

The journal was conceived of in connection with the work on the *Dictionary of Folk Stereotypes and Symbols*, with a view to discussing the specific issues of cultural and cognitive linguistics, especially those connected with the linguistic worldview, linguistic stereotypes, and value terms. It has seen the publication of fieldwork data and preliminary analyses to be then included in the dictionary, extending its scope in time onto national stereotypes and nationwide axiological concepts, such as EQUALITY, TOLERANCE, US/THEM opposition, etc.

Recently an international committed circle of authors has emerged associated with the journal, working within the open framework of the EUROJOS project, especially on comparative analyses of linguistic worldview and the semantics of value terms (cultural concepts). This circle of authors has engaged in collaboration with Western ethnolinguistics, especially in English-speaking countries. In 2004, *Etnolingwistyka* became the organ of the Ethnolinguistic Commission of the International Slavic Committee, as well as of the Ethnolinguistic Section of the Linguistic Committee, Polish Academy of Sciences.

In twenty-eight volumes of the journal that appeared in the years 1988–2016, 161 articles out of the total of 365 (ca. 44%) have been au-

thored by scholars from abroad, mainly from Russia. Indeed, it is fair to say that *Etnolingwistyka* has become an important platform of Polish-Russian scholarly cooperation, especially between the Lublin- and Moscow-based ethnolinguistic teams (the latter being supervised by Nikita and Svetlana Tolstoy). Russian is also the most common language of publication in the journal besides Polish. All articles, however, are accompanied by English abstracts.

Volume 28 of the journal is the first one to also appear in English, thanks to financial support from the Ministry of Science and Higher Education, the National Programme for the Development of Humanities (module 3.b "Internationalisation"), project titled "English edition of the journal *Etnolingwistyka. Problemy języka i kultury* in electronic form" (no. 3bH 15 0204 83). The English translations have been produced by Rafał Augustyn, Klaudia Dolecka, Agnieszka Gicala, Adam Głaz, and Agnieszka Mierzwińska-Hajnos. The team worked under the supervision of Adam Głaz, who also copy-edited the entire volume.

The Polish version of *Etnolingwistyka*, vol. 28, which came out in 2016, contains fifteen research articles, four reviews (of publications by Elżbieta Kucharska-Dreiß, Renáta Zechová, Dejan Ajdačić and Lidia Nepop-Ajdačić, and Barbara Cassin (ed.)), conference and seminar reports, book notices, a list of books and journals received, and the authors' biographical notes. The English version contains the research articles and a report on the fifteen years of the EUROJOS project. We hope that the project, whose outcome is *The Axiological Lexicon of Slavs and their Neighbours*, will serve as a forum for a more in-depth discussion with Western, non-Slavic scholars.

Volumes 1–24 of *Etnolingwistyka* are available through UMCS Digital Library (Biblioteka Cyfrowa) and at www.umcs.pl/etnolingwistyka. Volumes 25–28 (i.e., including the parallel Polish and English versions of vol. 28) are available in Open Access through the university's e-journal platform (www.journals.umcs.pl/et). The journal is indexed by SCOPUS, Arts & Humanities Citation Index, The Central European Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities (CEJSH), and Index Copernicus.

I. Research articles

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Jerzy Bartmiński
(UMCS, Lublin, Poland)

Ethnolinguistics in the Year 2016*

This article is the voice of *Etnolingwistyka*'s Editor-in-Chief on the current tasks of ethnolinguistics as a scholarly subdiscipline, as well as those of the journal. According to the author, of the two foundations of Slavic ethnolinguistics mentioned by Nikita Tolstoy (i.e., its pan-Slavic character and the unity of language and culture) it is mainly the latter that has preserved its topicality: language is the source of knowledge about people and human communities, as well as the basis for building one's identity (individual, national, regional, professional). The agenda of cultural linguistics has been followed by the contributors to the present journal and its editorial team with a focus on various genres of folklore, the problems of the linguistic worldview, and in recent issues with studies on the semantics of selected cultural concepts (FAMILY, DEMOCRACY, EQUALITY, OTVETSTVENNOST', etc.). An ethnolinguistics that thus seeks "culture in language" (i.e. in the semantic layer of linguistic forms) is close – especially in its cognitivist variant – to Western cultural or anthropological linguistics. When Slavic ethnolinguistics focuses on the semantics of value terms, it stands a good chance of engaging in a dialogue with Western anthropological linguistics and contribute original insights to the common body of research on values. A specific proposal in this direction is the international project EUROJOS.

Key words: cultural linguistics, culture in language, *Etnolingwistyka*, EUROJOS, *Axiological Lexicon of Slavs and their Neighbours*, cultural concepts

* This is a revised and extended version of the paper presented at the conference *Slawische Ethnolinguistik: Methoden, Ergebnisse, Perspektive* (17–19 December, 2015), organized by the Department of Slavonic Studies at the University of Vienna. The article appeared in Polish as "O aktualnych zadaniach etnolingwistyki" in *Etnolingwistyka* 28, pp. 7–29. The present English translation has been financed by the Ministry of Science and Higher Education, project titled "English edition of the journal *Etnolingwistyka. Problemy języka i kultury* in electronic form" (no. 3bH 15 0204 83).

1. New challenges for the discipline and the journal

More than a decade ago, when I surveyed the then state of the art in Slavic ethnolinguistics (Bartmiński 2004),[1] I endeavoured to sum up its achievements and review its general problems, relating to the discipline's subject matter and methodology. After a brief synthesis of research on the language of folklore, the problems of ethnopoetics and ethnosemantics, I went on to underscore the importance of intercultural comparative analyses, mainly those that focus on values. Since then, many new studies of a wide array of data have been published (too many to list, in fact), novel theoretical and methodological approaches have been proposed. The social space of our research has broadened, new vistas for intercultural inquiries have opened, including cooperation between Central/Eastern and Western Europe.

Today, one should again reflect on the appropriate focus of ethnolinguistic research (folk, national, trans-national culture?), on its new methodologies (how does one define values?), on the sources and types of data (questionnaires, corpora, associative tests?). One can wonder what are the most urgent issues, as well as perspectives for the development of the discipline. What chances are there for ethnolinguistics to find its position in the vast research area of contemporary linguistics and the new European communicative space? In what directions can and should this journal develop, now that it has been on the market for a quarter of a century and has recently acquired a more international flavour? As its founder and current Editor-in-Chief I also wonder what questions it should address and what methodologies should be favoured. In this article I will try to inquire into the future of the discipline, as well as into that of the journal, designed from its inception to document and facilitate progress of the ethnolinguistic endeavour.

2. From a dialectological to a cognitive ethnolinguistics

Slavic ethnolinguistics has emerged from etymological and dialectological research. The goals and theoretical foundations of the discipline were first formulated in a straightforward manner by Nikita Tolstoy; they were accepted and followed for many years in Russia, Belarus, Ukraine, Serbia, and partly in Poland. Tolstoy proposed that ethnolinguistics can be understood narrowly (as a branch of linguistics) or broadly (as a branch of cultural studies) – but in fact he favoured the latter by viewing ethnolinguistics as an all-embracing endeavour that investigates cultural content transmitted through a variety

[1] The study was published in English ten years later, as in 2014 (cf. Bartmiński 2004 in the References).

of formal means (language, artefacts, customs, images, etc.), the key notion integrating the totality of linguistic and cultural data being the *cultural code*. Tolstoy's ethnolinguistics was designed to study the traces of the past in the folk cultures of all Slavic nations (the so called *zhivaya starina*), to reconstruct the spiritual proto-homeland of the Slavs, all with the aid of comparative and cartographic methods. The crowning achievement of Russian ethnolinguistics – meticulously documented by Agapkina (2013) – is the monumental dictionary *Slavyanskiye drevnosti: Etnolingvisticheskiy slovar' v 5 tomakh* [Slavic Antiquities: An Ethnolinguistic Dictionary in 5 volumes] (*SD* 1995–2012), edited by Nikita Tolstoy himself. In a recently published article, Svetlana Tolstaya, the undisputed leader of Moscow ethnolinguistics after the her husband's death, notes that during the so-called Polesia expedition, initiated in the 1960s, Tolstoy concluded:

> [A] "purely linguistic" approach to investigating the lexis of spiritual culture, without reference to beliefs, customs, rules of everyday life, mythological imagery of language speakers, is not possible. [. . .] Thus a new trend in the humanities was born: Slavic ethnolinguistics, which set out to investigate language and culture in the organic relationship between them, and to do so on the basis of all kinds of data available: language, customs, beliefs, folklore, all in relation to archaic views of the world and of humans – in short, to the worldview of Slavs. (Tolstaya 2013: 17)

Many years later, the programme was systematically laid out in Tolstaya (2006).

A similar approach was adopted by the team of Lublin-based dialectologists and folklorists who in 1976 commenced work on a new dictionary of the language of Polish folklore. A preliminary installment was published in 1980 (*SLSJ* 1980) – so as to aid the preparation of the dictionary the journal *Etnolingwistyka* was launched in 1988 and the actual dictionary began to appear (in installments) in 1996 under a somewhat modified title Dictionary of Folk Stereotypes and Symbols (*Słownik stereotypów i symboli ludowych*, *SSiSL* 1999–).

Work on the Russian and Polish ethnolinguistic dictionaries bore fruit in the form of a substantial number of studies devoted to specific problems of both analytical and theoretical orientation (cf. the relevant bibliographies: Agapkina 2013; Maksymiuk-Pacek and Niebrzegowska-Bartmińska 2009; Tomczak 2010; Boguta 2010).

3. A pan-Slavic community: fact or fiction?

For Nikita Tolstoy, the two fundamental principles of Slavic ethnolinguistics were its pan-Slavic character (*obshcheslavyanskoe izmerenye*) and the unity of language and culture (*edinstvo yazyka i kul'tury*).

The first of these principles found its way to great pan-Slavic projects, developed since 1960s, namely the *Obshcheslavyanskiy lingvisticheskiy atlas* (Slavonic Linguistic Atlas, *OLA* 1988–)[2] and Proto-Slavic dictionaries compiled in Moscow (Trubachev 1974–), Kraków (Sławski 1974–2001, actually published in Wrocław) and a little later in Prague (Havlová 1989–). Both the Moscow and the Kraków projects were to document the cultural and linguistic unity of the Slavic world and both were abandoned half-way, not only for political but also for cultural reasons. A pan-Slavic community proved to be an unrealistic and unattainable ideal, or – to be more precise – a relative category, limited to a certain historical, linguistic, and cultural context. This was largely dependent on the older Indo-European context (cf. the solid accounts in Benveniste 1969 or Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984), as well as on diverse later cultural contexts: antique (Greek and Roman), Judeo-Christian, Byzantine, and Western European (cf. Bartmiński 2015). The most dramatic influence on inter-Slavic relations was exerted by national ideologies, which lead to unsurmountable conflicts, additionally fed by the Western-vs.-Eastern Christianity divide. The division into *Slavia Latina* and *Slavia Orthodoxa* can also be felt in folklore and ethnolinguistic studies, even if both disciplines can legitimately question that division, fostering the common Indo-European and Christian roots of Slavic cultures.

The second of Tolstoy's principles, however, that of the unity of language and culture, has remained fully valid. The scholar formulated the most radical theory of "culture-language isomorphism" in language-and-culture research, a theory based on the ideas of the Moscow-Tartu semiotic school (cf. especially Tolstoy 1990, also Tolstoy 1995).

It is against this backdrop that the profile of the present journal should be appreciated. In the Foreword to its first issue (Bartmiński 1988), the Editor-in-Chief declares to pursue ethnolinguistic research along the lines laid out by the German Wilhelm von Humboldt, the Americans Franz Boas, Edward Sapir and Benjamin Lee Whorf, the Russians Vyacheslav Ivanov and Vladimir Toporov, or Nikita and Svetlana Tolstoy, the Poles Jan Karłowicz, Kazimierz Moszyński, Bernard Sychta, Wanda Budziszewska, Hanna Taborska, as well as two authors mainly writing in English: Bronislaw Malinowski and Anna Wierzbicka. Consider the following excerpt from this programmatic declaration:

> Ethnolinguistics is an enterprise within contemporary linguistics concerned with language in its complex and multifarious relations to culture. Its focus is thus on the

[2] Work on *OLA* began in the wake of the 4th International Congress of Slavists (Moscow, September 1958), when a special international committee was set up for the purpose.

language system as an institutionalised social product in the whole richness of its many varieties, variants, and styles, in the diversity of its use, in relation to the system of culture as human activity, together with the patterns and values that reside therein, as well as to culture as a product of that activity.

Language and culture are linked through a similarity so profound that they can be studied with analogous methods and described in compatible terms. The relevant categories include: system, contrast and opposition, paradigm and syntagma, text, model, variant, communicative patterns, etc.

Language and culture are *par excellence* human phenomena – universal, semiotic, and systemic. They have their respective lexicons and grammars, and both serve for the purposes of communication. At the same time, they do not only symbolise the outside world but model, design, and co-create that world in order to meet the needs of their users. Language and culture transform objects of "objective reality" into objects of culture that belong to the world of humans, i.e., into connotation-rich mental objects.

The mutual relations between language and culture are very difficult to investigate systematically – ethnolinguistics aims to analyse them on the basis of linguistic data. The most fertile notion it operates with is the linguistic worldview: a worldview that is "naïve", encoded in the very fabric of a language's grammatical structure and lexicon, as well as in the structure and meaning of texts. (Bartmiński 1988: 5)

Some twenty years later, Wojciech Chlebda (2010) wrote:

The birth of Polish ethnolinguistics coincided with changes in the paradigms in linguistics in general, and indeed, in the humanities. The good old structuralism was in the best of shapes, when the "human factor" began to claim increasingly more attention for itself: the notions of idiolect, linguistic profiles of the speaker and hearer, communicative intentions and consequences of speech events, creation and reception of texts, their influence on individuals and communities, the functioning of humans in the space of discourse, history, and culture. Not so much a retreat as a shift away from taxonomic linguistics to anthropological-cultural linguistics, to the communicative perspective, linguistic pragmatics, discourse theory, narratology, cognitivism, took place exactly at the time when Polish humanities saw the birth of what was later termed the "Lublin school of ethnolinguistics". [...] Ethnolinguistics became a crucible for testing factors and elements new to the Polish context. (Chlebda 2010: 8-9)[3]

At present, a few schools are usually mentioned as important places on the Slavic ethnolinguistic map: Vladimir Toporov's etymological school, Nikita Tolstoy's dialectological school, Yuriy Apresyan's semantic school, or the recently recognised Aleksandra Matveeva and Yelena Berezovich's onomastic school in the Urals. The Lublin-based ethnolinguistic research is referred to as cognitive ethnolinguistics.

[3] For a discussion of the problem in English see Chlebda (2013).

4. Common theoretical assumptions of Slavic ethnolinguistics

Slavic ethnolinguistics maintains its coherence through following the following general assumptions:

1) language and culture are one: the bond is so profound that they can only be studied jointly;

2) the cognitive function of language is as important as its communicative function; language contains codified interpretations of reality and classifications of experiences; onus should be put on the semantic dimension of the lexicon;

3) language is a peculiar repository of cultural content, something that preserves a memory of the past (in Russian: *zhivaya starina*); symbolic meanings and the mythological layer of culture should be foregrounded;

4) the linguistic-cultural worldview, including the view of humans, should be reconstructed on the basis of a broad array of language data (the language system, lexis, texts, usage), as well as beliefs and behaviours (the "co-linguistic" data) of a given community; ethnolinguistics thus synthesises data from the domains of dialectology, folklore studies, and ethnography;

5) analysis of archived data should be combined with intense fieldwork, involving interviews with speakers of a given language, variety, or dialect; it is important to engage students in the fieldwork;

6) data elicitation during fieldwork, analyses and interpretations of the data should be combined with the processes of editing the texts and source materials thus obtained;

7) the ultimate goal of ethnolinguistic research is to account for the conceptualisations of the world constructed by the language speakers, i.e. for the speakers' mentality.[4]

5. *Etnolingwistyka*: a local and an international journal

It is this kind of agenda that was welcomed and actually followed by the authors publishing their work in the journal *Etnolingwistyka* in the years

[4] Commenting on the last point, Adam Głaz (private correspondence) opined that this kind of ethnolinguistics actually becomes a subdicipline of anthropology: "We move, as it were, in two directions: on the one hand we accentuate language and culture in language (which is the domain of linguistics), on the other hand, we are concerned with the speakers of that language (which is the domain of anthropology). A similar dilemma has been present in Western scholarship for decades: the term *linguistic anthropology* seems to prevail over *anthropological linguistics*". In the East, ethnolinguistics is often referred to as *linguo-culturology* (Pol. *lingwokulturologia*).

1988–2015 (cf. Tomczak 2010). The range of issues discussed on its pages did undergo modifications over the course of twenty-seven years, but as declared by the Editor-in-Chief in vol. 1 (Bartmiński 1988), the focus of interest was unwaveringly the linguistic or the linguistic-cultural worldview (the authors frequently referred to the beliefs and ritual behaviours of the people(s) they were describing).

With regard to thematic preferences, at least three stages in the journal's history can be distinguished. The first seven volumes were to aid the preparation of the newly launched Dictionary of Folk Stereotypes and Symbols (*SSiSL*). The dictionary's database was supplemented in this way with texts of various genres of folklore, such as tales, magic spells, the dream book, wedding songs, spring carols, songs for St. John's Eve (June 23), folk accounts of the universe, as well as accounts of magic behaviours, funeral rituals, wedding-ceremony personas and artefacts. Preliminary versions of the following dictionary entries were also published: ZMORA 'bogy, spectre', STRZYGOŃ 'vampire-like demon', MARMUR 'marble', KOROWAJ 'korovai; traditional wedding bread', DROGA 'road', MIEDZA 'balk, field boundary', MORZE 'sea', POPIÓŁ 'ash', DUNAJ 'river', SŁOŃCE 'sun', NÓW 'new moon'.

The second stage began in 1995 with vol. 8. The journal obtained a new graphic layout but more importantly, an international Advisory Board was established to accommodate the extended scope of interest in the general variety of Polish and cross-linguistic comparative studies. Papers were being published on the theoretical and methodological aspects of the linguistic worldview conception, along with more analyses of specific segments of the worldview: LUD 'people', GNIEW 'anger', OŁÓW 'lead', TĘCZA 'rainbow', DĄB 'oak', OSIKA 'aspen', KOT 'cat', BOCIAN 'stork', DUSZA 'soul', REGION 'region', WOJNA 'war', PŁACZ 'crying', KOBIETA 'woman'.

The third stage began with volume 16 (2004), when the journal became the organ of two ethnolinguistic commissions: international (affiliated with the International Committee of Slavists) and domestic (affiliated with the Committee of Linguistics, Polish Academy of Sciences). By the same token, it undertook the initiatives on the agendas of the two bodies.[5]

[5] The tasks placed before the Ethnolinguistic Committee, which was set up in Ljubljana, Slovenia, on August 16, 2003, include an inquiry into "the fundamental problems of contemporary and historical Slavic ethnolinguistics, including the work on ethnolinguistic dictionaries, both pan-Slavic [...] and national", as well as "comparative research on the linguistic worldview of Slavs and their neighbours, with an axiological component (the semantics of value terms, axiological lexis in lexicography), linguistic stereotypes (especially national, self- and hetero-stereotypes, conceptualisations of time and space in language systems and usage" (Niebrzegowska-Bartmińska 2003: 280–281).

The next volume, no. 17, contains analyses of the Russian, Byelorussian, Lithuanian, German, French and American stereotypes of the Pole. The subsequent volumes were dominated by axiological studies, a result of the momentum gained by the EUROJOS project at the time. In vol. 21 the following axiological concepts are discussed: RÓWNOŚĆ 'equality', DEMOKRACJA 'democracy', NARÓD 'nation', PATRIOTYZM 'patriotism', NACJONALIZM 'nationalism', RODZINA 'family', KARIERA 'career', or the Russian OTVETSTVENNOST' 'responsibility'; in vols. 22-27, we have DOM 'house/home', PRACA 'work', WOLNOŚĆ 'freedom, liberty', UCZUCIA 'feelings, emotions', RADOŚĆ 'joy', PAMIĘĆ 'memory', BIEDA 'poverty'; the Russian SVOBODA 'freedom', CHESTNOST' 'honesty', SAMOLUBYE 'pride', and ZHIZN KAK TSENNOST' 'life as a value'; the Polish, Ukrainian, and Russian perspectives on Europe; the Polish HONOR and the Russian CHEST', the Czech VÁNOCE 'Christmas', the Croatian HIŽA 'house/home', and the English HOME and HOMELAND.

Two special theme issues have appeared: on death and dying (vol. 9/10) and on the US/THEM opposition (vols. 19–20). We have also engaged in discussions on the European axiological canon (vol. 23) or the role of etymological investigations in the linguistic worldview research (vol. 24). A whole series of articles was devoted to stereotypes of nationalities (Poles, Russians, Jews) and the semantics of colour. Self-reflecting divagations on ethnolinguistics' goals and possible applications appeared in vol. 18 (2006).[6]

Some volumes have been dedicated to distinguished ethnolinguists: Anna Wierzbicka, Nikita Tolstoy, Vladimir Toporov, Jadwiga Puzynina, Svetlana Tolstaya, Renata Grzegorczykowa, Hanna Popowska-Taborska.[7]

In our research on the linguistic worldview we have moved between folk dialects (continuously the main focus of Lublin-based ethnolinguistics) and the standard, national variety of Polish – but we have also looked at the languages of small, regional, and socially-defined communities. To a progressively larger extent we have now been moving into the realm of comparative, cross-linguistic analyses, which has drawn more authors from outside Poland (some contributing more than once), nearly half of the total

[6] Cf. Tolstaya (2006) on Moscow ethnolinguistics, Feoktistova (2006) on ethnolinguistics at the Ural State University, Antropov and Volodina (2006) or Ajdaczić (2006) on ethnolinguistics in Belarus and Serbia, Bartmiński (2006) on Lublin ethnolinguistics. A series of papers dealt with ethnolinguistics' relations to other disciplines, such as dialectology (Pelcowa 2006), folklore studies (Wrocławski 2006), ethnography (Tyrpa 2006), anthropology of culture (Sulima 2006), or pedagogy (Zgółka 2006). An especially valuable contribution is that by Pieter Plas (2006), who juxtaposes Slavic ethnolinguistics with Anglo-American anthropological linguistics.

[7] Vol. 27 is dedicated to the present author on the occasion of his 75th birthday.

number in the last ten volumes of the journal.[8] The most numerous group have been Russian authors: Albert Bayburin, Olga Byelova, Lena Berezovich, Aleksandr Khrolenko, Varvara Dobrovolskaya, Marina Eremina, Lyubov Feoktistova, Olga Frolova, Natalya Komleva, Yuriy Kostylev, Andrey Moroz, Irina Syedakova, Yevgeniy Stefanskiy, Svetlana Tolstaya, Vladyslava Zhdanova.

The Byelorussian authors publishing in the journal in the years 2006–2015 are: Nikolay Andropov, Mariya Konyushkyevich, Alla Kozhynova, Alena Rudenka, Nina Myechkovskaya, Vyacheslav Shcherbin, Tatyana Volodina. The Ukrainian authors are: Natalya Khobzey, Galina Yavorska, Aleksy Yudin, Svitalna Martinek, Lidya Nepop-Ajdačić, Margaryta Zhuykova. Other foreign contributors come from the Czech Republic (Irena Vaňková), Bulgaria (Katya Mikhaylova, Petar Sotirov), Serbia (Dejan Ajdačić, Lubinko Redenković, Mariya Vuchković), Croatia (Amir Kapetanović), Slovenia (Mariya Stanonik), Lithuania (Aloyzas Gudavičius), Latvia (Elena Koroleva), France (Galina Kabakova and James Underhill), Germany (Jörg Oberthür, Magdalena Telus, Jörg Zinken), Belgium (Pieter Plas), Japan (Koji Morita), and Australia (Anna Wierzbicka).

In the last decade the journal has also published Polish translations from Russian (Yuriy Apresyan, Aleksandr Góra, Vladimir Toporov) and English (Teun van Dijk, George Lakoff, Ronald Langacker, Eleonor Rosch). Prior to that, translations of the work by, among others, Nikita Tolstoy, Michael Fleischer, or Anna Wierzbicka had also appeared.

As can be seen, the languages of publication in *Etnolingwistyka* are Polish and Russian, and recently also English. Volumes 28–30 of the journal will appear in two versions: Polish and English. However, Russian will continue to enjoy the status of the privileged foreign language, for two reasons. First, it is through that language that we can make the journal accessible to most of its overseas readers, not only from Russia, Ukraine, or Belarus but also from the Czech Republic, Bulgaria, and Serbia. Second, the journal *Etnolingwistyka* and ethnolinguistics as a discipline have been functioning and will hopefully continue to function as a platform for intensive cooperation between Polish and Russian scholars, regardless of the unstable political climate between the two countries.[9]

[8] More precisely, 167 articles have been written by 78 authors from abroad (45 in Russian, 8 in English, the others in Polish). Of the Polish authors, 34 have come from the Lublin circles and 55 from other institutions.

[9] The issue was mentioned by several delegates to the 2009 conference in Lublin: Jerzy Bartmiński, Stanisława Niebrzegowska-Bartmińska, and Feliks Czyżewski on the Polish side, and Svetlana Tolstaya and Yelena Berezovich on the Russian side (cf. the reports by several participants in the event in *Etnolingwistyka* 22, 2010: 256-270). Cf. also Tolstaya (1993) and Bartmiński (2011).

6. Two ethnolinguistic dictionaries: from Moscow and Lublin

The ethnolinguistic dictionaries compiled by the Moscow-based and Lublin-based teams are each an original contribution to the field: the five-volume *Slavyanskiye drevnosti* (*SD*, initiated by Nikita Tolstoy and finished in 2012 by Svetlana Tolstaya) and the Dictionary of Folk Stereotypes and Symbols (*SSiSL*, ed. Jerzy Bartmiński and Stanisława Niebrzegowska-Bartmińska). According to Svetlana Tolstaya:

> ... with the publication of the first volume of the Lublin-compiled Dictionary of Folk Stereotypes and Symbol (1996) and the Moscow-compiled *Slavyanskiye drevnosti* (1995), ethnolinguistic lexicography has become an independent discipline within Slavic studies, representing an integral approach to language and culture. (Tolstaya 1997: 53)

Both publications share the basic assumptions of ethnolinguistic research (an integral approach to folk culture, a quest for symbolic meanings in culture), as well as a coherent treatment of linguistic data (lexis of folk dialects), folklore data (folk oral texts), and ethnographic records of beliefs and practices. They are both "designed as attempts to synthesise folk knowledge" (Niebrzegowska-Bartmińska 2010: 21). But they also exhibit certain non-trivial differences. The Moscow *SD* embraces folk traditions of all Slavs, which allows for a high level of intepretive credibility. On the other hand, the format of the Lublin dictionary, based on Polish data alone, allows its authors to include richer documentation, embrace a variety of folk genres, and propose more detailed semantic analyses in the format of the so called cognitive definition.

7. Slavic ethnolinguistics vs. Western (English-language) ethnolinguistics

In the first decade of the 21st c., Slavic ethnolinguistics (especially in Poland, after the country's accession to the EU in 2004) found itself in a new communicative context, in direct contact with Western ethnolinguistics, mainly as it is practiced in English-speaking circles. A closer cooperation thus became possible. The first signal of interest on the part of Western scholars in Slavic research came from the young German scholar (then a doctoral student) Jörg Zinken, who after a research stay in Lublin published an article on the "Lublin school" (Zinken 2004). Soon afterwards, the Belgian Slavist Pieter Plas (2006) compared Slavic (more precisely: Moscow and Lublin) ethnolinguistics with its Anglo-American counterpart and with linguistic anthropology. The author points to a parallelism between the two with

regard to the anthropological aspect of the research: both find it necessary to underscore the inalienable link between language, culture, and cultural identity, as well as the importance of folk ethnographic accounts. On the other hand, what gives Slavic ethnolinguistics its unique flavor, claims Plas, is the privileged status it assigns to lexical semantics, especially the cultural, ideological, and axiological aspects of word meanings, rather than to the dynamic pragmatic and functional context, the latter being the case in the Anglo-American publications.

The next move was to publish, again at the initiative of Jörg Zinken, a selection of articles of the present author (in book form and in English). The volume came out in Equinox Publishing (Bartmiński 2009), with the editor's introductory chapter (Zinken 2009). It has enjoyed considerable interest[10] and positive reviews.[11]

In 2011, the Department of English Studies at UMCS, Lublin, Poland, organised a conference titled *The Linguistic Worldview or Linguistic Views of Worlds?*. The proceedings, plus a few other contributions dealing with Lublin ethnolinguistics[12] and commenting on them,[13] were then published as Głaz, Danaher, and Łozowski (2013). The volume, as a whole, juxtaposes and compares the work of Lublin-based ethnolinguists with ethnolinguistic and cognitive linguistic research as it transpires through English-language publications (especially by such authors as Anna Wierzbicka and Ronald Langacker).

In the concluding section to her chapter, Elżbieta Tabakowska writes:

> What it does, it does extremely well. It has many merits. First, it builds welcome bridges between the "West" and the "East" – not only in the literal, geographical sense by developing networks embracing scholars working in Poland's eastern neighboring countries, but also by striving for closer integration of PCS [Polish Cognitive Studies] with "mainstream" brands of linguistic cognitivism. On the other hand, it promotes Slavic languages in non-Slavic academic circles, where the knowledge of and about them is still rather scare.
>
> Second, the postulate of bringing linguistic and literary studies closer together and bridging the gap dug by advocates of strict demarcation lines between disciplines that

[10] Cf. Nowosad-Bakalarczyk (2010); Kiklewicz and Wilczewski (2011); Głaz (2013).

[11] Cf., among others, Bernárdez (2010); Šarić (2012); Degani (2012); Kulpina and Tatarinov (2012).

[12] Chapters by Jerzy Bartmiński, Agata Bielak, Małgorzata Brzozowska, Dorota Filar, Stanisława Niebrzegowska-Bartmińska, Marta Nowosad-Bakalarczyk, Anna Pajdzińska, Dorota Piekarczyk, Katarzyna Prorok and Adam Głaz, and Aneta Wysocka.

[13] Contributions from scholars from outside Poland: David Danaher (USA), Enrique Bernárdez (Spain), James Underhill (France), Irena Vaňková (Czech Republic), Anna Wierzbicka (Australia); and from Poland: Wojciech Chlebda, Agnieszka Gicala, Adam Głaz, Przemysław Łozowski, Agnieszka Mierzwińska-Hajnos, Elżbieta Tabakowska.

build up the field of humanistic studies is invaluable. Practical results of that work are easily seen, if only by reading papers published in the "red series", are written both by linguists and by literary scholars.

Last but not least, by their focus on colloquial language and folklore, PCS draws linguists' attention to phenomena that tend to be ignored by other schools of contemporary linguistics, e.g. the investigation of "pragmatic residua" or folk etymologies. (Tabakowska 2013: 334–335)

Slavic ethnolinguistics met with serious interest, followed by actual cooperation, from the Scottish linguist and translator, the France-based specialist in Czech James Underhill (see Underhill 2009, 2011, 2012 on the linguistic worldview), who in 2015 initiated the Rouen Ethnolinguistics Project (REP)[14] and began to organise international ethnolinguistic seminars.[15]

In Underhill (2013), the author points out seven characteristic "dimensions" of Lublin ethnolinguistics: attention to the influence of ideology on language, along with the practice of "appropriation" of culturally salient words (such as *the people*) by politicians; the use of interviews and questionnaires as a data elicitation procedure; interest in local rural traditions, in the peripheries distant from metropolitan centres; openness to students and young scholars, both from Poland and overseas; a coherent and joint approach to synchrony and diachrony; sensitivity to belles-lettres; the conception of profiling of base concepts in diverse political and social contexts, which allows for a new perspective on word meaning (Underhill 2013: 340–342). The author also lists, in a symmetrical fashion, seven challenges to Lublin ethnolinguistics: the need for a greater recognition of religious (especially biblical) texts in documenting and reconstructing the linguistic worldview; the need for greater attention to internal semantic diversification (of the *freedom*-vs.-*liberty* type); more precision in discussing the relationship between prototypes and stereotypes; the validity of prioritizing connotation with respect to denotation (*kochać* 'love' and *uwielbiać* 'love, adore, worship' denote similar emotions but differ semantically); the need for a recognition of corpora; the need for a more systematic treatment of translated works in the process of linguistic worldview reconstruction.

The "new opening" on the part of Slavic ethnolinguistics onto the proverbial West was marked by the publication, in volume 27 (2015) of this journal, of articles in English authored by Gary B. Palmer (2015), Bert Peeters (2015), Irena Vaňková (2015) (with references to Lublin-produced work), as well as by Polish authors (but also in English), Przemysław Łozowski

[14] https://rep.univ-rouen.fr

[15] The latest of those took place in Prague in June 2016. Titled *Kulturní lingvistika pro dnešní Evropu/Cultural Linguistics for Today's Europe*, it was co-organised by Charles University and Université de Rouen.

and Anna Włodarczyk-Stachurska (2015). The section is preceded, for the benefit of the Polish reader, by an introductory contribution from Adam Głaz (2015).

The latter author says this about a prospective encounter of diverse ethnolinguistic traditions:

> It would be instructive to think which of the methodological procedures [of Lublin ethnolinguistics] can be attractive to linguists in the West. In my opinion, good candidates are: the tripartite, balanced SQT (System-Questionnaire-Text) procedure, enriched with corpus analysis; the inclusion of co-linguistic data in linguistic description [...]; the conception of profiling; the fundamental role of cultural values in reconstructing worldviews; the notion of the stereotype, especially in relation to prototype theory... (Głaz 2015: 17)

At the same time, however, the author adds:

> One must also reverse the question and ask in what way Lublin ethnolinguistics can progress through contact with other approaches. Two areas come to mind in this respect: first, an incorporation of corpus analysis into the SQT model (as postulated by Underhill 2013: 344); second, the need for a more systematic treatment of translated works in the process of linguistic worldview reconstruction (in the target language and culture) (cf. also Underhill 2013: 344). (Głaz 2015: 17).

In fact, both proposals have partially been met. Corpora *are* taken into account in Lublin ethnolinguistics but they are treated as collections of texts (which means that the problem is actually a broader one and concerns the use of texts; cf. Bartmiński 2014: 284). The proposal to consider the influence of translations on the linguistic worldview in the target culture is legitimate but, again, it comes within a broader issue, namely the selection of the sources for the reconstruction process and the heterogeneity of those sources (also, cf. Popowska-Taborska (2010) on the loan translations, into Polish, of the terms for HONOUR and WORK).

Vistas for fruitful collaboration open with and within the EUROJOS project, where the respective experiences of Slavic and Western ethnolinguists can enrich the repertoire of the questions being posed and supply analytical tools novel to the other side. The project also has a chance to become a platform for matter-of-fact debate and possibly common initiatives (cf. below).

8. The name of the discipline: a few problems

Comparing Slavic ethnolinguistics with its Western counterpart is no easy task inasmuch as the latter enterprise goes by an assortment of names. Similar or plainly the same issues are discussed within disciplines identified through different labels.

The term *ethnolinguistics* was introduced by Bronislaw Malinowski.[16] It then made its way to German (*Ethnolinguistik*), French (*ethnolinguistique*), Russian (*ètnolingvistika*), as well as Czech, Slovak, Serbian, Lithuanian, Polish, and other languages. Malinowski's focus was to capture the worldview of native speakers of a language through observing (actually in the form of participant observation) of their lifestyle, studying their beliefs, and analysing their linguistic behaviour.

In the United States, language in its relations to beliefs and cultural patterns is studied within anthropological linguistics and linguistic anthropology, whereas ethnolinguistics focuses on the languages of ethnic minorities and the socio-pragmatic aspects of language use (Crystal 1987: 412). The relationships between language, culture, and society are also investigated under the rubrics of metalinguistics, macro-linguistics, general semantics, and cognitive anthropology.

In Europe, ethnolinguistic research is mainly concerned with lexical semantics; for example, according to Greimas and Courtés (1979: 134–135), in France it functions as *etnosémiotique*, with *ethnolinguistique* as its component.

In Germany, research on the linguistic worldview has a long and notable tradition,[17] pursued within the framework of the so-called "content-related grammar" (*die inhaltbezogene Grammatik*; cf. Helbig 1970), but the term *Ethnolinguistik* is not enjoying favourable reception to the extent that for Gunter Senft (1998)[18] the focus of ethnolinguistics is the same as that of anthropological linguistics and linguistic anthropology.[19]

On Slavic territory, ethnolinguistics – albeit originating with the German linguistic anthropology of Johannes Herder (1744–1803) and Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767–1835) – has moved far beyond these original inspirations and, in the context of linguistic relativity, overtly evokes the work of the Americans Franz Boas, Edward Sapir, and Benjamin Lee Whorf. Over the last two decades of the 20th c., Slavic ethnolinguistics enjoyed its "second birth"

[16] Such is the claim made by Senft (1998) and Głaz (2015: 8); cf. also Kijewska-Trembecka (1984).

[17] Cf. surveys in Mańczyk (1982) and Anusiewicz (1990).

[18] Gunter Senft, professor of linguistics at the University of Cologne, is a specialist in several languages, notably in Kilivila, spoken on one of the Trobriand islands. Senft continues Malinowski's work by employing the famous anthropologist's participant observation method: together with his wife, he spent 25 months on the island, studying its language.

[19] Senft compares William Foley's *Anthropological Linguistics* (1997) with Alessandro Duranti's *Linguistic Anthropology* (1997) and concludes that in fact these are synonymous names of the same discipline, dealing with language as a cultural resource and with speaking as cultural practice.

(in the parlance of Nikita Tolstoy): it engaged into new kinds of relationship with sociolinguistics, ecolinguistics,[20] and especially with cognitive linguistics, yet remaining distinct from each.

9. Two perspectives on the language-culture relationship

Mutual compatibility of various models of ethnolinguistic research rests in, as has already been said, their coherent focus on the language-culture relationship. This "reciprocal dependence" kind of relationship can be viewed from two perspectives: one can investigate the role of language in culture or that of culture in language.[21] If we take the "language-in-culture" approach, we inquire about the role of language in social life, about its status, prestige, contact with other languages, multilingualism – in other words, we treat language as a part of culture, where the preferred focus are small social and cultural groups, such as ethnic minorities (cf. Crystal 2000; Ziółkowski 1987; Zieniukowa 1998). This, in effect, is the focus, not of ethnolinguistics but sociolinguistics (Helbig 1986: 239) or of the new discipline of ecolinguistics, initiated by Einar Haugen (cf. Wysoczański 2000).

If, however, we inquire into the place of culture in language, which is what ethnolinguistics pledges to do, we strive to reconstruct the subjective (i.e., subject-driven) worldview entrenched in language, in its grammatical forms, in the structure of lexical fields, or in word meanings. Does this kind of reconstruction amount to severing language and the mental sphere that accompanies it from reality, as is suggested by some scholars (cf. Łozowski 2014)? Does conceptualisation pull the linguistic worldview away from the actual object, the real-life referent? We do not go that far. The concept of HOME as 'dwelling, living' does not nullify the image of the physical 'place for living'. By introducing the notion of the conceptualising and speaking subject (*homo cogitans*, *homo loquens*), we want to relate to psychological, social, and axiological experience, but also to the most basic somatic, sensuous experience, the denotation of the lexemes *homes* and (especially) *house* that links their semantics with the physical, material object. Language functions in specific situational frames, in connection with the behavioural sphere – it is verified by practice. The "final" or "ultimate interpretant" of meaning (in the sense of Charles S. Peirce) is one's attitude to a given utterance, action

[20] Głaz (2015: 8) notes a close affinity between ethnolinguistics and ecolinguistics but regards them as distinct disciplines.

[21] Łozowski (2014) also draws attention to the symmetrical or asymmetrical nature of the relationship.

taken with respect to what the utterance links with. And it links with the image of a real-life object (i.e., the meaning, concept, idea), as well as with the object itself.

10. Ethnolinguistics, i.e. cultural linguistics

In his *magnum opus*, Janusz Anusiewicz (1995) rightly distinguishes cultural linguistics (with its focus on language) from linguistic anthropology (with its focus on culture). He also, this time without an equally good justification, treats it as distinct from ethnolinguistics (anthropological linguistics) – indeed, he contrasts the two.[22] Anusiewicz's error was corrected several years later by Anna Dąbrowska:

> My impression is that the subject matter of [ethnolinguistics] aligns rather closely with that of [cultural linguistics]. The impression is nearly palpable when one considers the content of at least some of the volumes of the journals *Etnolingwistyka* and *Język a Kultura*.[23] (Dąbrowska 2005: 100)

Therefore, according to the author,

> the two labels [*ethnolinguistics* and *cultural linguistics*, JB] can be used interchangeably, either being the potentially preferred term. (Dąbrowska 2005: 100)

Myself, I offered a few comments on the issue in Bartmiński (2008). In the Lublin circles the term *etnolingwistyka*/*ethnolinguistics* has been favoured from the beginning, not least because it allows, in Polish, for handy derivations of an adjective (*etnolingwistyczny* 'ethnolinguistic') or of an agentive noun (*etnolingwista* 'ethnolinguist').[24] However, the priority of the language-culture relationship for the scholars associated with the Lublin circles can be seen in the subtitle to an edited volume dedicated to myself on the occasion of forty years of my academic career: "In the mirror of language and culture" (Adamowski and Niebrzegowska 1999).

In the course of work on the Dictionary of Folk Stereotypes and Symbols, the Lublin ethnolinguistic team have worked out a cognitive ethnolinguistic

[22] Anusiewicz's argument that ethnolinguistics "is currently concerned with the relationship between folk dialects and folklore, rather than between the standard variety and general culture" (1995: 11) was misinformed from the very beginning and uncorroborated even by the content of the first volumes of *Etnolingwistyka*, to which the author actually refers. An equally erroneous claim was that the notions of stereotype and cognitive definition can only be applied to the "peculiar kind of culture that folk culture is" (Anusiewicz 1995: 105).

[23] Eng. "Language and Culture", a journal published by Wrocław University Press, available at http://jk.sjol.eu.

[24] No such preference seems to arise in the case of the English term. [translator's note]

approach with a whole terminological-descriptive toolbox that contains the following notions: linguistic worldview, stereotypes (colloquial mental images of people, objects and phenomena held by a given community), cognitive definition (to account for the language-entrenched interpretation of the world maintained by the language speakers), point of view and perspective for viewing reality, profiling of base images, and finally the importance of the experiencing, conceptualising, and speaking subject, operating with his/her experiential database and following specific intentions in cultural communication, relative to such and such values.[25]

11. Values as a privileged theme in ethnolinguistic research

Values enjoy a privileged status in this array. Their role in culture cannot be overestimated, they constitute an inalienable aspect of language, its obligatory parameter.[26] Interest in values in language (or, in the words of Jadwiga Puzynina, "the language of values") increased in Poland and Russia when analyses of the communist newspeak revealed the influence of language on people's perception of reality and on their behaviour, as well as the existence of "symbolic power" (in the sense of Pierre Bourdieu). Indeed, for some time we have been witnessing what can be called an "axiological turn" in linguistics.[27]

In 1985, a Polish axiological dictionary was conceived, soon to be extended onto a project for a Slavic axiological dictionary (Yudin 2003), and then followed by broader cross-cultural research. In the early 2000s these ideas took specific shape in the form of the EUROJOS project,[28] with the goal to compile and describe an axiological lexicon of Slavs and their neighbours.

[25] Each of these notions was at a certain point the theme of a separate conference, whose proceedings were published in the so-called "red series" of the Department of Polish Philology, UMCS, Lublin.

[26] Cf. Krzeszowski (1994) for an especially convincing argumentation.

[27] In Russia, there is work of Nina Arutyunova, Anna Zaliznyak, Irina Levontina and Aleksey Shmelev, Irina Sedakova, Lena Berezovich, Svetlana Tolstaya; in Poland, the authors active in this field are Zofia Zaron, Jadwiga Puzynina, Elżbieta Laskowska, Renata Grzegorczykowa, Tomasz P. Krzeszowski, Jerzy Bartmiński. The trend also includes the work of Anna Wierzbicka on cultural key words, first in Polish, then in English (1997, 2010) and Russian.

[28] Cf. Bartmiński and Bielińska-Gardziel in this volume.

12. The EUROJOS project and the future of cultural linguistics

The international EUROJOS project is currently the most important avenue of research within ethnolinguistics *qua* cultural linguistics.

The axiological lexicon is an attempt to produce parallel descriptions of values in Slavic languages, but also against the backdrop of values as encoded in other languages. Values constitute the very core of any culture: to define one's identity, both at the individual and the communal level, it is necessary to identify the values people cherish and specify one's relationship to them. Specific analyses were launched with an inquiry into five concepts: HOUSE/HOME, EUROPE (for Europe is the home we live in, it is the place where we want to feel "at home"), WORK (an object of special interest in today's uncertain employment situation), FREEDOM (for it is a flagship value in our part of the world), and HONOUR (for it reaches back to the very origin of European culture, to ancient Greece, while the related notion of dignity is mentioned in the United Nations' 1948 *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*). The lexicon will aim to identify the similarities and the cultural specificities in those concepts. Its guiding idea is a quest for "unity in diversity".

The lexicon is being compiled with the aid of a conceptual and terminological toolbox agreed on through a series of meetings and seminars. The actual descriptions and definitions are constructed in parallel fashion and are based on a comparable set of sources. Values are treated as "cultural concepts", ones that are axiologically laden, endowed with culture-specific connotations. So far (June 2017) volumes on HOUSE/HOME (Bartmiński, Bielińska-Gardziel and Żywicka 2015), WORK (Bartmiński, Brzozowska and Niebrzegowska-Bartmińska 2016), and HONOUR (Ajdaczić and Sotirov 2017) have been published, the subsequent volumes (on EUROPE and FREEDOM) are in preparation.[29] Both the EUROJOS project and the axiological lexicon will be further pursued under the patronage of the Ethnolinguistic Commission affiliated with the International Slavic Committee, the Institute of Slavic Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences, and the Department of Polish Philology of UMCS in Lublin.

translated by Adam Głaz

[29] Cf. a report in Bartmiński, Bielińska-Gardziel, and Chlebda 2016.

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I. Research articles

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Farzad Sharifian
(Monash University, Australia)

Cultural Linguistics*

Cultural Linguistics is a multidisciplinary area of research that explores the relationship between language, culture, and conceptualisation. Originally, this area grew out of an interest in integrating cognitive linguistics with the three traditions present in linguistic anthropology, namely, Boasian linguistics, ethnosemantics, and the ethnography of speaking. In the last decade, Cultural Linguistics has also found strong common ground with cognitive anthropology, since both explore cultural models, which are associated with the use of language. For Cultural Linguistics, many features of human languages are entrenched in cultural conceptualisations, including cultural models. In recent years, Cultural Linguistics has drawn on several disciplines and sub-disciplines, such as complexity science and distributed cognition, to enrich its theoretical understanding of the notion of *cultural cognition*. Applications of Cultural Linguistics have enabled fruitful investigations of the cultural grounding of language in several applied domains such as world Englishes, intercultural communication, and political discourse analysis. This contribution elaborates on these observations and provides illustrative examples of linguistic research from the perspective of Cultural Linguistics.

Key words: Cultural Linguistics, linguistic anthropology, cultural conceptualisations, cultural models, cultural cognition

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1. What is Cultural Linguistics?

As a sub-discipline of linguistics with a multidisciplinary origin, Cultural Linguistics explores the interface between language, culture, and conceptualisation (Palmer 1996; Sharifian 2011, 2017). Cultural Linguistics explores, in explicit terms, *conceptualisations* that have a cultural basis and are encoded in and communicated through features of human languages. The pivotal focus on *meaning as conceptualisation* in Cultural Linguistics owes its centrality to cognitive linguistics, a discipline that Cultural Linguistics drew on at its inception.

The term *Cultural Linguistics* was perhaps first used by one of the founders of the field of cognitive linguistics, Ronald Langacker, in a statement he made emphasising the relationship between cultural knowledge and grammar. He maintained that "the advent of cognitive linguistics can be heralded as a return to *cultural linguistics.* Cognitive linguistic theories recognise cultural knowledge as the foundation not just of lexicon, but central facets of grammar as well" (Langacker 1994: 31, original emphasis). Langacker further maintains that "while meaning is identified as conceptualisation, cognition at all levels is both embodied and culturally embedded" (2014: 33). In practice, however, the role of culture in shaping the conceptual level of language and the influence of culture as a system of conceptualisation on all levels of language was not adequately and explicitly dealt with until the publication of *Toward a Theory of Cultural Linguistics* (1996) by Gary B. Palmer, a linguistic anthropologist from the University of Nevada, Las Vegas. In this book, Palmer argued that cognitive linguistics can be directly applied to the study of language and culture.

Central to Palmer's proposal was/is the idea that "language is the play of verbal symbols that are based in *imagery*" (1996: 3, emphasis added), and that this imagery is culturally constructed. Palmer argued that culturally defined imagery governs narrative, figurative language, semantics, grammar, discourse, and even phonology.

Palmer's notion of imagery is not limited to visual imagery. As he puts it, "[i]magery is what we see in our mind's eye, but it is also the taste of mango, the feel of walking in a tropical downpour, the music of *Mississippi Masala*" (1996: 3). He adds, "phonemes are heard as verbal images arranged in complex categories; words acquire meanings that are relative to image-schemas, scenes, and scenarios; clauses are image-based constructions; discourse emerges as a process governed by reflexive imagery of itself; and world view subsumes it all" (p. 4). Since for Palmer the notion of imagery captures conceptual units such as cognitive categories and schemas, my terminological preference is

the term *conceptualisation* rather than imagery. I elaborate on my use of this term later in this paper.

Palmer's proposal called for bringing three traditional approaches found in anthropological linguistic to bear on research carried out in the field of cognitive linguistics, as follows:

> Cognitive linguistics can be tied into three traditional approaches that are central to anthropological linguistics: Boasian linguistics, ethnosemantics (ethno science), and the ethnography of speaking. To the synthesis that results I have given the name *cultural linguistics.* (Palmer 1996: 5, original emphasis)

Palmer's proposal is diagrammatically represented in Figure 1. Boasian linguistics, named after the German-American anthropologist Franz Boas, saw language as reflecting people's mental life and culture. Boas observed that languages classify experiences differently and that these linguistic categories tend to influence the thought patterns of their speakers (Blount 1995[1974], 2011; Lucy 1992).

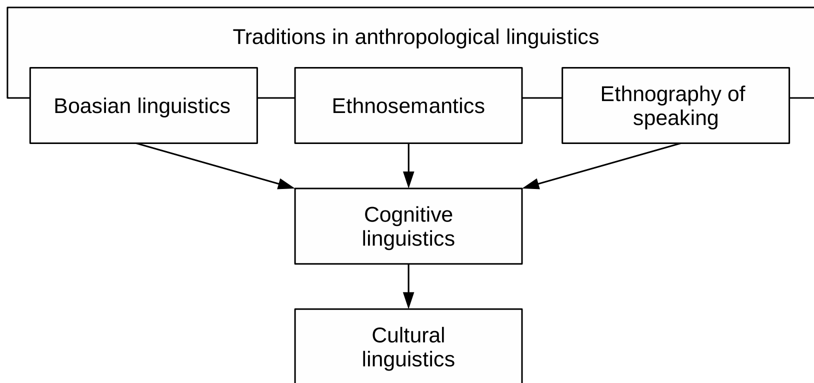

Figure 1. A diagrammatic representation of Palmer's (1996) proposal for Cultural Linguistics

The latter theme formed the basis of later work by scholars such as Edward Sapir and Benjamin Whorf. The views of the relationship between language and culture that have been attributed to this school of thought range from the theoretical position that language and culture shape human thought to one that regards human thought as *influenced* by language and culture. It is worth noting that although the former is often attributed to scholars such as Sapir and Whorf, in recent decades others have presented much more sophisticated and much more nuanced accounts of the views held by these two researchers (see Lee 1996).

A related subfield is that of ethnosemantics, which is "the study of the ways in which different cultures organise and categorise domains of knowledge,

such as those of plants, animals, and kin" (Palmer 1996: 19). For example, several ethnosemanticists have extensively studied kinship classifications in the Aboriginal languages of Australia and noted their complexity relative to the kinship system classifications in varieties of English such as American English or Australian English (Tonkinson 1998). An important field of inquiry, closely related to ethnosemantics, is ethnobiology which is the study of how plants and animals are categorised and used across different cultures (Berlin 1992).

The ethnography of speaking, or the ethnography of communication, largely associated with the work of Dell Hymes (for example, 1974) and John Gumperz (for example, Gumperz and Hymes 1972), explores culturally distinctive means and modes of speaking, and communication in general. Hymes emphasised the role of sociocultural context in the ways in which speakers perform communicatively. He argued that the competence that is required for the conduct of social life includes more than just the type of linguistic competence Chomskian linguists had studied. He proposed that a discussion of these factors be placed under the rubric of *communicative competence,* which includes competence in "appropriate" norms of language use in various sociocultural contexts. Generally, the three linguistic-anthropological traditions discussed so far "share an interest in the native's point of view" (Palmer 1996: 26) as well as an interest in the sociocultural grounding of language, although a number of anthropological linguists have simply focused on documenting, describing, and classifying lesser known languages (see Duranti 2003 for a historical review).

Cognitive linguistics itself utilises several analytical tools drawn from the broad field of cognitive science, notably the notion of *schema*. The concept of schema has been very widely used in several disciplines and under different rubrics, and this has led to different understandings and definitions of the term. For cognitive linguists such as Langacker, schemas are abstract representations. For example, for him, a noun instantiates the schema of [[THING]/[X]], whereas a verb instantiates the schema of [[PROCESS]/[X]]. In classical paradigms of cognitive psychology, however, schemas are considered more broadly as building blocks of cognition used for storing, organizing, and interpreting information (for example, Bartlett 1932; Bobrow and Nonnan 1975; Minsky 1975; Rumelhart 1980). Image schemas, on the other hand, are regarded as recurring cognitive structures which establish patterns of understanding and reasoning, often elaborated by extension from knowledge of our bodies as well as our experience of social interactions (for example, Johnson 1987). An example of this would be to understand the body or parts of the body as "containers". Such an understanding is reflected in expressions

like *with a heart full of happiness.* Another analytical tool used in cognitive linguistics is the *conceptual metaphor*, which is closely associated with the work of Lakoff, and to a lesser extent Johnson (for example, Lakoff and Johnson 1980). Conceptual metaphors are defined as cognitive structures that allow us to conceptualise and understand one conceptual domain in terms of another. For instance, the English metaphorical expressions *heavy-hearted* and *light-hearted* reflect the conceptual metaphor of HEART AS THE SEAT OF EMOTION. In proposing the framework of Cultural Linguistics, Palmer persuasively argued that it is very likely that all these conceptual structures have a cultural basis.[1] His own work is based on the analysis of cases from such diverse languages as Tagalog, Coeur d'Alene, and Shona (for example, Palmer 1996, 2003).

Although Palmer believed that the link with cognitive linguistics could provide Cultural Linguistics with a solid cognitive perspective, his proposal received criticism for *not* having a strong cognitive base, specifically, in the areas of cognitive representations, structure, and processes (for example, Peeters 2001). The criticism, however, appears to be related to the fact that there are different interpretations of the term *cognitive*. What makes studies associated with mainstream cognitive linguistics "cognitive" is their emphasis on *cognitive conceptualisation,* whereas studies of cognitive processing in the subfield of psycholinguistics mostly focus on non-conceptual phenomena, such as response time and strength of response.

In recent years, Cultural Linguistics has drawn on several other disciplines and sub-disciplines in the process of developing a theoretical framework that affords an integrated understanding of the notions of *cognition* and *culture*, as they relate to language. This framework is one that may be best described as *cultural cognition and language* (Sharifian 2008b, 2009b, 2011, 2017) in that it proposes a view of cognition that has life at the level of culture, under the concept of *cultural cognition.*

Cultural cognition draws on a multidisciplinary understanding of the collective cognition that characterises a cultural group. Several cognitive scientists have moved beyond the level of the individual, working on cognition as a collective entity (for example, Clark and Chalmers 1998; Sutton 2005, 2006; Wilson 2005). Other scholars, working in the area of complex science often under the rubric of Complex Adaptive Systems (CAS), have been seeking to explain how relationships between parts, or agents, give rise to the collective

[1] The reader is also referred to a discussion of the cultural basis of metaphors (see Quinn 1991), where the cognitive anthropological perspective (i.e. metaphors reflect cultural models) challenges the traditional cognitive linguistic perspective (i.e. metaphors constitute cultural models).

behaviours of a system or group (for example, Holland 1995; Waldrop 1992). A number of scholars, notably Hutchins (1994), have explored the notion of *distributed cognition*, including factors external to the human organism, such as technology and the environment, in their definition of cognition (see also Borofsky 1994 and Palmer 2006 for the notion of *distributed knowledge* in relation to language). Drawing on all this work, Sharifian (2008b, 2009b, 2011) offers a model of cultural cognition that establishes criteria for distinguishing between what is cognitive and what is cultural and the relationship between the two in the domain of Cultural Linguistics.

Cultural cognition embraces the cultural knowledge that emerges from the interactions between members of a cultural group across time and space. Apart from the ordinary sense of *emergence* here, cultural cognition is emergent in the technical sense of the term (for example, Goldstein 1999). In other words, cultural cognition is the cognition that results from the interactions between parts of the system (the members of a group) which is more than the sum of its parts (more than the sum of the cognitive systems of the individual members). Like all emergent systems, cultural cognition is *dynamic* in that it is constantly being negotiated and renegotiated within and across the generations of the relevant cultural group, as well as in response to the contact that members of that group have with other languages and cultures.

Language is a central aspect of cultural cognition as it serves, to use the term used by wa Thiong'o (1986), as a "collective memory bank" of the cultural cognition of a group. Many aspects of language are shaped by the cultural cognition that prevailed at earlier stages in the histoty of a speech community. Historical cultural practices leave traces in current linguistic practice, some of which are in fossilised forms that may no longer be analysable. In this sense language can be viewed as storing and communicating cultural cognition. In other words, language acts both as a memory bank and a fluid vehicle for the (re-)transmission of cultural cognition and its component parts or *cultural conceptualisations,* a term elaborated upon later in this chapter.

2. Why Cultural Linguistics?

A question might be asked in relation to the need for the development of Cultural Linguistics. Scholars who have been interested in exploring the interrelationship between language and culture have faced at least two significant challenges in regards to the notion of *culture*: one is its abstractness and the other, the essentialist and reductionists implications

often associated with it. These challenges have led to the avoidance of the term by many scholars. For example, as Atkinson puts it, "[i]n the very field which innovated the concept in fact – anthropology – culture has been 'half-abandoned'" (2015: 424).[2] Many scholars have found the notion of *culture* to be too abstract to be useful in explicating the relationships that link beliefs and behaviour to language use. Although linguists have had rigorous analytical tools at their disposal, what has not been available to them is an analytical framework for breaking down cultures and examining their components, so that features of human languages could be explored in terms of the relationship between language and culture. Cultural Linguistics, and in particular the theoretical framework of cultural cognition and cultural conceptualisations, is an attempt to provide such an analytical framework.

First of all, this framework avoids the abstractness of the notion of *culture* and instead focuses on exploring culturally constructed *conceptualisations.* As this chapter has shown, the framework draws on several disciplines, such as cognitive science and cognitive linguistics, for its analytical tools, such as *cultural schemas*, *cultural categories*, and *cultural metaphors.* These analytical tools allow cultural conceptualisations to be examined systematically and rigorously. Furthermore, they enable the analysis of features of human languages in relation to the cultural conceptualisations in which they are entrenched.

As for the essentialist and reductionist tendencies associated with the notion of *culture*, the theoretical model of cultural cognition and cultural conceptualisations avoids these by, first of all, examining cultural conceptualisations rather than examining speakers and then ascribing cultures to people, or people to cultures. It also views cultural conceptualisations as *heterogeneously distributed* across the members of a group, rather than equally shared by the speakers. Both language and culture demonstrate a similar pattern of distribution across speech communities, and neither of them is homogenously held by speakers. These themes will be further expanded in the remainder of this chapter.

3. Cultural conceptualisations

Among the analytical tools that have proved particularly useful in examining aspects of cultural cognition and its instantiation in language are *cultural schema*, *cultural category* (including *cultural prototype*), and *cultural metaphor*. I refer to these collectively as *cultural conceptualisations* (Sharifian

[2] Following Mazzarella (2004: 345). [editor's note]

2011, 2017). Consistent with the view of cultural cognition discussed earlier in this chapter, these analytical tools are seen as existing at the collective or macro level of cultural cognition, as well as that of the individual or micro level (Frank and Gontier 2011). Cultural conceptualisations and their entrenchment in language are intrinsic to cultural cognition. This formulation of the model of cultural cognition, cultural conceptualisations, and language are summarised diagrammatically in Figure 2.

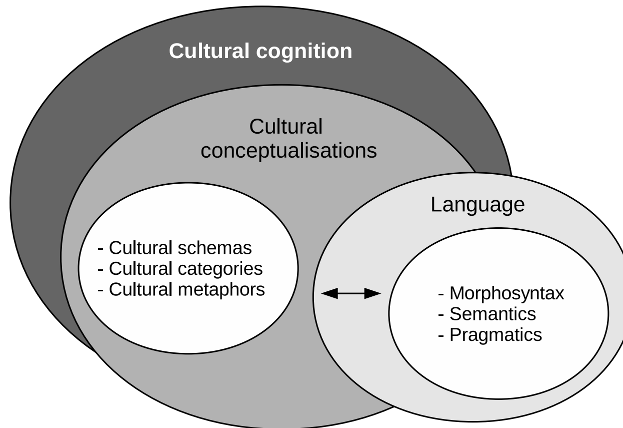

Figure 2. Model of cultural cognition, cultural conceptualisations, and language

The figure captures the close relationship between language, cultural conceptualisations, and cultural cognition. As reflected, various features and levels of language, from morpho-syntactic features to pragmatic and semantic meanings may be embedded in cultural conceptualisations in the form of cultural schemas, cultural categories, and cultural metaphors. The following section elaborates on the interrelationship between language and each of these types of cultural conceptualisations.

3.1. Cultural schemas and language

The notions of schema and conceptual metaphor were discussed earlier in this chapter. The following section elaborates on the notion of *cultural schema* and discusses how it relates to language. Cultural schemas are a culturally constructed sub-class of schemas; that is, they are abstracted from the collective cognitions associated with a cultural group, and therefore to some extent based on shared experiences, common to the group, as opposed to being abstracted from an individual's idiosyncratic experiences. They enable individuals to communicate cultural meanings. In terms of their

development and their representation, at the macro level, cultural schemas emerge from interactions between the members of a cultural group, while they are constantly negotiated and renegotiated across time and space. At the micro level, over time each individual acquires and internalises these macro-level schemas, albeit in a heterogeneously distributed fashion. That is, individuals who belong to the same cultural group may share some, but not all, components of a cultural schema. In other words, each person's internalisation of a macro-level cultural schema is to some extent collective and to some extent idiosyncratic. This pattern is diagrammatically presented in Figure 3.

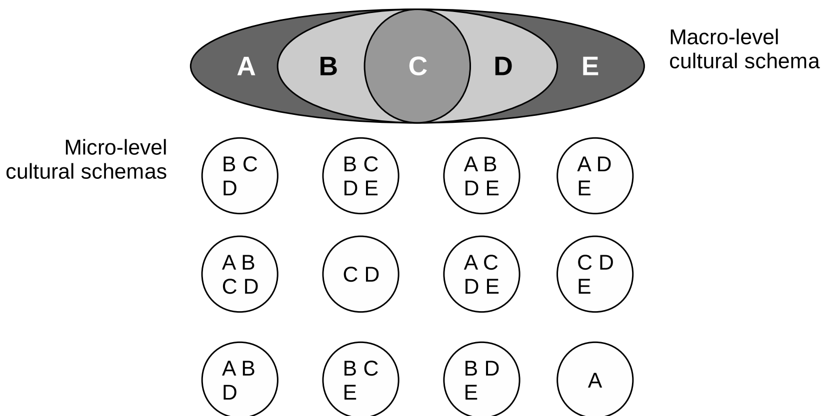

Figure 3. Diagrammatic representation of a cultural schema (adapted from Sharifian 2011)

The figure shows how a cultural schema may be represented in a heterogeneously distributed fashion across the minds of individuals. It schematically represents how members may have internalised some, but not all, components of a macro-level cultural schema. It also shows how individuals may share some, but not all the elements of a cultural schema with each other. It is to be noted that the individuals who internalise aspects of a cultural schema may not only be those who are viewed as the insiders by the cultural group. "Outsiders" who have somehow had contact and interaction with the group can also internalise aspects of their cultural schemas.

Besides its pivotal use in Cultural Linguistics, the notion of *cultural schema* has also been adopted as a key analytical tool in cognitive anthropology (for example, D'Andrade 1995; Shore 1996; Strauss and Quinn 1997). For cognitive anthropologists culture is a cognitive system, and thus the notion of *cultural schema* provides a useful tool to explore cognitive schemas that are culturally constructed and maintained across different societies

and cultural groups. A term that closely overlaps with cultural schema and has again received major attention in cognitive anthropology is that of the *cultural model* (for example, D'Andrade 1995; D'Andrade and Strauss 1992; Holland and Quinn 1987). This term, which was initially intended to displace the term *folk models* (Keesing 1987), has also been employed in the sense of "a cognitive schema that is inter-subjectively shared by a social group" (D'Andrade 1987: 112). D'Andrade constantly refers to the notion of *schema* in his explication of the term *cultural model* (ibid.) and he regards models as complex cognitive schemas. Strauss and Quinn (1997: 49) also maintain that "another term for cultural schemas (especially of the more complex sort) is cultural model". Polzenhagen and Wolf (2007), however, have used the notion of *cultural model* to represent more general, overarching conceptualisations encompassing metaphors and schemas which are minimally complex.

An example of the use of cultural models in cognitive anthropology is the exploration of the cultural model of American marriage. For example, Quinn (1987) observes that the American cultural model of marriage is based on metaphors such as MARRIAGE IS AN ONGOING JOURNEY, reflected in statements such as *this marriage is at a dead end*.

From the outset, the notion of *cultural schema* proved to be pivotal to Cultural Linguistics. In *Toward a Theory of Cultural Linguistics,* Palmer (1996: 63) maintained that "[i]t is likely that all native knowledge of language and culture belongs to cultural schemas and the living of culture and the speaking of language consist of schemas in action". Cultural schemas capture encyclopaedic meaning that is culturally constructed for many lexical items of human languages. Take an example of the word *privacy* in a variety of English such as American English. The pool of knowledge that forms a web of concepts that define *privacy* in relation to various contexts and factors is best described as the cultural schema of "privacy". The cultural construction of this schema is partly reflected in complaints that some speakers make about members of some other cultural groups, such as "they don't understand the meaning of privacy".[3]

Cultural schemas may also provide a basis for pragmatic meanings, in the sense that, knowledge which underlies the enactment and uptake of speech acts and that is assumed to be culturally shared is largely captured in cultural schemas. In some languages, for example, the speech act of "greeting" is closely associated with cultural schemas of "eating" and "food", whereas in some other languages it is associated with cultural schemas that relate to the health of the interlocutors and their family members. The

[3] http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/privacy

available literature in the area of pragmatics makes very frequent references to "inference" and "shared assumptions" as the basis for the communication of pragmatic meanings. It goes without saying that inferences about the knowledge of listeners are technically based on the general assumption that shared cultural schemas are necessary for making sense of speech acts. In short, cultural schemas capture pools of knowledge that provide a basis for a significant portion of semantic and pragmatic meanings in human languages.

3.2. Cultural categories and language

Another class of cultural conceptualisation is that of the *cultural category.* Categorisation is one of the most fundamental human cognitive activities. It begins, albeit in an idiosyncratic way, early in life. Many studies have investigated how children engage in categorizing objects and events early in life (Mareschal, Powell, and Volein 2003). Children usually begin by setting up their own categories but as they grow up, as part of their cognitive development, they explore and discover how their language and culture categorise events, objects, and experiences. As Glushko *et al.* put it:

> Categorization research focuses on the acquisition and use of categories shared by a culture and associated with language – what we will call "cultural categorization". Cultural categories exist for objects, events, settings, mental states, properties, relations and other components of experience (e.g. birds, weddings, parks, serenity, blue and above). Typically, these categories are acquired through nonnal exposure to caregivers and culture with little explicit instruction. (Glushko *et al.* 2008: 129)

The categorisation of many objects, events and experiences, such as "food", "vegetables", "fruit", and so on, and their prototype instances, are culturally constructed. It is to be noted that the reference to *wedding* as a category in the above quotation is distinct from the use of this word in relation to cultural schemas. The "wedding" as a cultural category refers to the type of event that is opposed to "engagement" or "dining out", for example. "Wedding" as a cultural schema includes all the other aspects of the event, such as the procedures that need to be followed, the sequence of events, the roles played by various participants and expectations associated with those roles.

As for the relationship between cultural categories and language, many lexical items of human languages act as labels for the categories and their instances. As mentioned above, in English the word *food* refers to a category, and a word such as *steak* is an instance of that category. Usually categories form networks and hierarchies, in that instances of a category can themselves serve as categories with their own instances. For example, *pasta* is an instance of the category of "food" with its own instances, such as *penne* or *rigatoni.*

Apart from lexical items, in some languages cultural categories are marked by noun classifiers. For example, Murrinh-patha, an Australian Aboriginal language, uses ten noun classes which are reflective of Murrinh-patha cultural categorisation (Walsh 1993; Street 1987). These categories are identified through noun class markers that appear before the noun. The following list from Walsh (1993: 110) includes the class markers and the definition of each category:

Kardu: Aboriginal people and human spirits
Ku: non-Aboriginal people and all other animates and their products
Kura: potable fluid (i.e., "fresh water") and collective terms for fresh water (i.e., "rain", "river")
mi: flowers and fruits of plants and any vegetable foods; also faeces
thamul: spears
thu: offensive weapons (defensive weapons belong to *nantht*), thunder and lightning, playing cards
thungku: fire and things associated with fire
da: place and season (i.e. dry grass time)
murrinh: speech and language and associated concepts such as song and news
nanthi: a residual category including whatever does not fit into the other nine categories

The above categorisation also allows for multiple membership in the sense that depending on its function, a noun may be categorised into one class at one time and another class at another. For instance, a boomerang may be categorised as *nanthi* when it is used as a back-scratcher and *thu* when it is used as an offensive weapon (Walsh 1993). Also, in the Dreamtime Creation stories, when the Ancestor beings turn into animals while engaged in their journey of creating the natural world this change is signalled by a switch from one noun class into another. This system of noun classification is entrenched in Murrinh-patha cultural categorisation, which in turn is based on the Murrinh-patha world-view. For instance, as Walsh argues, the fact that fresh water, fire, and language are classified separately indicates that each holds a prominent place in the culture of the Murrinh-patha.

Apart from noun classifiers, there are pronouns in many Aboriginal languages that reflect cultural categories, through marking moiety, generation level, and relationship. In Arabana, as an example, the pronoun *amanthara,* which may be glossed into English as 'kinship-we', captures the following complex category:

Amanthara = we, who belong to the same matrilineal moiety, adjacent generation levels, and who are in the basic relationship of mother, or mothers' brother and child. (Hercus 1994: 117)

In Arabana, this cultural categorisation of kin groups is also marked on the second plural kinship pronoun *aranthara* and the third person plural

kinship pronoun *karananthara.* These examples clearly reveal how some cultural categories are encoded in the grammatical system of a language (see also Lakoff 1987).

3.3. Cultural metaphors and language

As mentioned earlier, conceptual metaphor refers to the cognitive conceptualisation of one domain in terms of another (for example, Lakoff and Johnson 1980). Extensive research in cognitive linguistics has shown how even our basic understanding of ourselves and our surroundings is mediated by conceptual metaphors. For example, in clock-and-calendar industrial cultures time is commonly understood in terms of a commodity, money, a limited resource, and so on. This is reflected in expressions such as *buying time*, *saving time*, and the like. More importantly our understanding of ourselves is achieved through conceptual metaphors. For example we can conceptualise our thoughts, feelings, personality traits, and so on in terms of our body parts.

Research in Cultural Linguistics is interested in exploring conceptual metaphors that are culturally constructed (for example, Palmer 1996; Sharifian 2011, 2017), which I refer to as *cultural metaphors.* Several studies have explored cultural schemas and models that give rise to conceptual metaphors, for example through ethnomedical or other cultural traditions (Sharifian *et al.* 2008; Yu 2009a, 2009b). For example, in Indonesian it is *hati* 'the liver' that is associated with love, rather than the heart (Siahaan 2008). Siahaan traces back such conceptualisations to the ritual of animal sacrifice, especially the interpretation of liver organ known as "liver divination", which was practised in ancient Indonesia. In some languages, such as Tok Pisin (Muhlhausler, Dutton and Romaine 2003), the belly is the seat of emotions. Yu (2009b) observes that many linguistic expressions in Chinese reflect the conceptualisation of THE HEART is THE RULER OF THE BODY. He maintains that the "target-domain concept here is an important one because the heart organ is regarded as the central faculty of cognition and the site of both affective and cognitive activities in ancient Chinese philosophy" (Yu 2007: 27). Studies of such cultural conceptualisations are currently gathering further momentum (for example, Idstrom and Piirainen 2012).

It should be noted here that the cognitive processing of conceptual metaphor is a rather complex issue to explore. While the use of the term *metaphor* here highlights the involvement of two distinct domains of experience (that is: source and target) it does not follow that every use of an expression that is associated with a conceptual metaphor involves the online

cognitive process of mapping from one domain to another. Some cases of conceptual metaphors are simply "fossilised" conceptualisations that represented active insight at some stage in the history of the cultural cognition of a group. Such metaphors do not imply current speakers of the language have any conscious awareness of the cultural roots of the expressions, or are engaged in any conceptual mapping when they use them. In such cases, the conceptual metaphors may serve rather as cultural schemas which guides thinking about and helps with understanding certain domains of experience. In some other cases, the expressions that are associated with such cultural conceptualisations may be considered simply as figures of speech.

As for the relationship between cultural conceptual metaphors and language, it is clear from the above discussion that many aspects of human languages are closely linked with cultural metaphors. In fact, Cultural Linguistics and cognitive linguistics heavily rely on linguistic data for the exploration of conceptual metaphor. As mentioned above, the language of emotion (for example, *you broke my heart)* largely reflects culturally mediated conceptualisations of emotions and feelings in terms of body parts.

In short, Cultural Linguistics explores human languages and language varieties to examine features that draw on cultural conceptualisations such as cultural schemas, cultural categories, and cultural conceptual metaphors, from the perspective of the theoretical framework of cultural cognition.

4. Applied Cultural Linguistics

While the ultimate aim of Cultural Linguistics is to examine the relationship between language, culture, and conceptualisations, thus far a Cultural Linguistics perspective has been used in several areas of applied linguistics. The following sections present brief summaries of how a Cultural Linguistics framework has been applied to world Englishes, intercultural communication, and political discourse analysis.

4.1. Cultural Linguistics and research into varieties of English

Cultural Linguistics has offered a ground breaking approach to the exploration of varieties of English, based on the premise that varieties of English may be distinct from each other when their respective cultural conceptualisations are taken into consideration (Sharifian 2005, 2006). Malcolm and Rochecouste (2000) identified a number of distinctive cultural schemas in the discourse produced by a number of speakers of Australian Aboriginal English. These schemas included: travel, hunting, observing, scary things,

gathering, problem solving, social relationships, and smash (an Aboriginal English word for a fight). The first four schemas were found to occur most frequently in the data.

Other researchers (Polzenhagen and Wolf 2007; Wolf 2008; Wolf and Polzenhagen 2009) have explored conceptualisations of the African cultural model of community in African varieties of English. Wolf (2008: 368) maintains that this "cultural model involves a cosmology and relates to such notions as the continuation of the community, the members of the community, witchcraft, the acquisition of wealth, and corruption, which find expression in African English". For example, by examining a number of expressions in Cameroon English, e.g., *they took bribes from their less fortunate brother*, Wolf observes that the central conceptual metaphors in that variety of English are KINSHIP IS COMMUNITY and COMMUNITY IS KINSHIP (Wolf 2008: 370).

Sharifian (2005, 2008a) examined cultural conceptualisations in the English spoken by a group of Aboriginal students who, because they sounded like speakers of Australian English, were not identified by their teachers as Aboriginal English speakers. Through a study of word association, however, he found that English words such as *family*, *home*, and *shame* evoked cultural conceptualisations in these students that were predominantly those associated with Aboriginal English rather than Australian English. For example, for Aboriginal students the word *family* appeared to be associated with categories in Aboriginal English that extend far beyond the "nuclear" family, which is the central notion in Anglo-Australian culture. Consider Table 1, showing data from Sharifian (2005).

The responses given by Aboriginal participants instantiate the Aboriginal cultural schema of Family as they refer to members of their extended family, such as aunts and uncles. The responses from the Anglo-Australian participants suggest that the word *family* is, in most cases, restricted to the nuclear family, while sometimes house pets are also included.

Responses such as *they're there for you, when you need 'm they look after you* by Aboriginal participants reflect the responsibilities of care that are very alive between the members of an extended Aboriginal family. Uncles and aunties often play a large role in an individual's upbringing. The closeness of an Aboriginal person to a range of people in his or her extended family members is also reflected in the patterns of responses where the primary responses refer to uncles and aunties or nana and pop instead of father and mother. Responses such as *my million sixty-one thousand family* and *I've got lots of people in my family* reflect the extended coverage of the concept of "family" in the Aboriginal conceptualisation. Moreover, for them the word

Table 1. A comparison of Aboriginal and Anglo-Australian meanings for *family*

Aboriginal	Anglo-Australian
Stimulus word: *family*	Stimulus word: *family*
– Love your pop, love your nan, love our mums, love our dads. – Brothers, sisters, aunnie, uncles, nan, pops, father, nephew and nieces. – They're there for you, when you need 'm they look after you, you call 'm aunie and uncle an cousins. – People, mums, dads, brother, group of families, like aunties and uncles nanas and pops. – I've got lots of people in my family, got a big family, got lots of family. – My family, you know how many family I got? One thousand millions, hundred ninety-nine million thousand thousand nine nine sixty-one ... million million, uncle, Joe, Stacy ... cousins, uncles, sisters, brothers, girlfriends and my million sixty-one thousand family. – I like my family, all of my family, my aunties an' uncles and cousins, and I like Dryandra. – Just having family that is Nyungar [an Aboriginal cultural group] and meeting each other.	– You got brothers and sisters in your family and your mum and dad, and you have fun with your family, have dinner with your family, you go out with your family. – Dad, mum, brother, dog. – Mum, and dad, brother and sister. – Fathers, sisters, parents, caring. – People, your mum and dad, and your sister and brother. – All my family, my brothers and sisters, my mum and my dad. – Kids, mums, dads, sisters, brothers. – Mother, sister, brother, life. – Mum, dad, my brother. – I think of all the people in my family. [F: Who are they? I: My mum, my dad, and my sister] – They have a house, they have a car, they have their kitchen, their room, their toilet, their backyard, their carport, they have a dog and a cat.

home appeared to be mainly associated with family relationships rather than "an attitude to a building" used as a dwelling by a nuclear family.

Cultural Linguistics has also been recently used in compiling a dictionary of Hong Kong English. In a very innovative project, Cummings and Wolf (2011) have identified and included underlying cultural conceptualisations for many of the words included in the dictionary. The following is an example of an entry in the dictionary:

Spirit money (also *paper money*, *hell money*, *hell bank notes*)

Fixed expressions, n.

Definition. Fake money burned in a ritual offering to the dead

Text example: "An offering of oranges may be peeled and placed on the grave, together with *paper money*. Finally, crackers are let off."

Underlying conceptualisations: A SUPERNATURAL BEING IS A HUMAN BEING, A PAPER MODEL IS A REAL OBJECT IN THE SUPERNATURAL WORLD [TARGET DOMAIN > SUPERNATURAL BEING, PAPER MODEL] [SOURCE DOMAIN > HUMAN BEING OBJECT IN THE SUPERNATURAL WORLD] (ibid.: 163–164)

This is a groundbreaking approach to the way dictionary entries are compiled for it allows readers to become familiar with the cultural conceptualisations underlying certain expressions in the given language or the language variety. But, of course, in many cases the underlying conceptualisations themselves have their roots in older cultural traditions, including religious and spiritual ones.

4.2. Cultural Linguistics and intercultural communication

In the past, intercultural communication has been investigated primarily from the perspective of linguistic anthropology. For instance, some thirty years ago Gumperz (for example, 1982, 1991) introduced the notion of *contextualisation cues* as an analytical tool for exploring intercultural communication/miscommunication. He defined these cues as "verbal and non-verbal metalinguistic signs that serve to retrieve the context-bound presuppositions in terms of which component messages are interpreted" (Gumperz 1996: 379). Central to this notion is the importance of the *indirect inferences* speakers make during intercultural communication as they rely on linguistic and non-linguistic cues.

From the perspective of Cultural Linguistics, making indirect inferences during intercultural communication is largely facilitated by the cultural conceptualisations shared by the interlocutors. Cultural conceptualisations provide a basis for constructing, interpreting, and negotiating intercultural meanings. These conceptualisations may be the ones that are associated with their L1, or they may be others that the individuals have had access to as a result of living in a particular cultural environment, or even new ones that they have developed from interacting with speakers from other cultures.

In recent years several studies have shown that in certain contexts, intercultural communication, and in particular miscommunication, reflect differences in the ways in which various groups of speakers conceptualise their experiences. In doing so they draw on their own cultural schemas, categories, and metaphors. Wolf and Polzenhagen (2009) observe that "cross-cultural variation at the conceptual level calls for a strongly meaning-oriented and interpretive approach to the study of intercultural communication" and that is what Cultural Linguistics has to offer.

As an example of studies of intercultural communication carried out from the perspective of Cultural Linguistics, Sharifian (2010) analysed examples of miscommunication between speakers of Aboriginal English and non-Aboriginal English that mainly arose from non-Aboriginal speakers'

unfamiliarity with Aboriginal cultural conceptualisations relating to the spiritual world. Many lexical items and linguistic expressions in Aboriginal English are associated with spiritual conceptualisations that characterise the Aboriginal world-view. These include words such as *sing* and *smoke*. Take the following example from a conversation between a speaker of Aboriginal English and a non-Aboriginal English speaker:

> A: My sister said, "when you go to that country, you [are] not allowed to let 'em take your photo, they can sing you".

According to the Aboriginal cultural schema of "singing", "to sing someone" is the ritual used to cast a charm on someone with potentially fatal consequences. For example, if a man falls in love with a girl he might try to obtain strands of her hair, her photo, or some such thing in order to "sing" her. This would make the girl turn to him or, in the case of her refusal to do so, the "singing" could result in her falling sick with a serious or even fatal illness (Luealla Eggington, p.c.). It is clear that unfamiliarity with the Aboriginal cultural conceptualisations intimately associated with the use of words such as *singing* could well lead to miscommunication.

Another Aboriginal cultural schema associated with an English word in Aboriginal English is "medicine" in the sense of 'spiritual power' (Arthur 1996: 46). The following is an example of the use of the *medicine* in this sense, from a conversation between the author of this chapter and an Aboriginal English speaker:

> That when … my mum was real crook and she … she said, "I woke up an' it was still in my mouth … the taste of all the medicine cause they come an' give me some medicine last night" an' she always tells us that you can't move … an' you wanna sing out an' say just … sorta try an' relax. That happened to me lotta times I was about twelve.

In this narration the speaker is remembering that once her mother was ill and that she mentioned the next morning that "they" went to her and gave her some "medicine" that she could still taste. She also describes her mother's reaction to the medicine as wanting to shout and then forcing oneself to relax. Without having the requisite schema, the audience of the above anecdote would be likely to think that *they* refers to medical professionals who visited the mother after hours and gave her syrup or a tablet. However, further discussion with the speaker revealed that her mother was referring to ancestor beings using their healing power to treat her illness. It is clear from these examples how unfamiliarity with Aboriginal cultural schemas informing Aboriginal English can lead to miscommunication.

Another example of cultural schemas that are functioning cognitively in the background in such instances of intercultural communication comes from Sharifian and Jamarani (2011). The study examined how the cultural schema, called *sharmandegi* 'being ashamed', can lead to miscommunication between Persian and non-Persian speakers. This cultural schema is commonly instantiated in Persian through expressions such as *sharmand-am* (short for *sharmandeh-am* 'ashamed-be.lSG') meaning 'I am ashamed', or *sharmandeh-am mikonin* 'ashamed-1SG do.2SG', meaning 'you make me ashamed'. Such expressions are usually used in association with several speech acts, such as expressions of gratitude, offering goods and services, requesting goods and services, apologizing, accepting offers and making refusals. The following is an example of such usage, from a conversation between a student and a lecturer where the student is expressing gratitude to the lecturer for writing a letter of recommendation for her:

Speaker A (the lecturer):
in ham nâme-yi ke mikhâstin
This too letter-ART that requested.2PL[4]
Here is the letter that you asked for.

Speaker B (the student): *sharmandeh-am, vâghean mamnoon*
Ashamed-BE.1SG really grateful
I am ashamed, I am really thankful.

Here the use of *sharmandegi* is intended as an expression of awareness that the other person has spent some time/energy in providing the speaker with goods and services they were under no obligation to supply. The speaker acknowledges this by uttering a "shame" statement, as if guilty because of this awareness. Although the cultural schema of *sharmandegi* is very widespread and commonly drawn upon among speakers of Persian, it can lead to miscommunication during intercultural communication between speakers of Persian and non-Persian speakers. Consider the following example from Sharifian and Jamarani (2011):

Tara's (Iranian) neighbour Lara (Australian) offered to pick up some groceries for her, when she was doing her own shopping. Tara happily accepted the offer and told Lara what she needed. When Lara brought the groceries back, Tara wanted to pay her straight away:

Lara: It is okay, you can pay me later.

Tara: No, you have made me enough ashamed already.

Lara: But why do you say so?! I'd offered to do the shopping myself, and I had to do my own shopping anyway.

[4] The use of the plural in this example marks politeness/social distance.

It is evident here that Lara is surprised to hear the expression, or accusation, of "shame" on the part of Tara, as she had willingly offered to do the shopping for her. However, from the perspective of the Persian cultural schema of *sharmandegi* Tara's response is entirely appropriate, simply reflecting Tara's gratefulness to Lara. Examples such as this reveal how the process of intercultural communication involves a "meeting place" for cultural conceptualisations, where successful intercultural communication requires a sensitivity to and an awareness of cultural differences and hence the need to recognise and negotiate meaning.

4.3. Cultural Linguistics and political discourse analysis

A number of recent studies in political discourse analysis have adopted the approaches of cognitive linguistics and Cultural Linguistics. In general, these studies are in agreement with the longstanding belief that political discourse relies heavily on conceptual metaphor and that political metaphors are often rooted in certain underlying ideologies and cultural models (Dirven, Frank, and Ilie 2001; Dirven, Frank and Pütz 2003). These conceptual devices are by no means incidental to political discourse but rather serve to establish or legitimise a given perspective (Sharifian and Jamarani 2013).

George W. Bush, for example, repeatedly used either novel or conventional metaphors in his speeches about the Iranian government's nuclear technology. In one of his press conferences, Bush used the metaphorical expression of *house cleaning* in relation to Iran's nuclear programme and stated that *these people need to keep their house clean.* In this metaphor, nuclear technology is conceptualised as dirt, which needs to be removed from the house, the house here being the country. It is difficult to disagree with the statement that *one's house needs to be kept clean* and the use of the *clean house* metaphor appears to present the US president in the legitimate position of exhorting others to perform a socially desirable act. In other words, Bush's statement positions Iran in a very negative light, as associated with *dirt* [dirty house], while positioning himself, or the US government, very positively, as speaking from the moral high ground and putting pressure on the Iranian government to *clean Iran's house.* However, Iran construed its nuclear programme not in the negative sense of *dirt* but as "technology" and "energy", both of which have positive connotations.

From the perspective of Cultural Linguistics, political discourse is not free from cultural influence and is in fact heavily entrenched in cultural conceptualisations (Sharifian 2007, 2009a). For example, when people attempt to translate from one language into another, such as for the purpose of international negotiation (see also Baker 2006; Cohen 1997; Hatim and Mason

1990), they are very likely to need to convey cultural conceptualisation found in one language by means of cultural conceptualisations found in another. In other words, the process of translation or cross-cultural rendering of cultural conceptualisations can be difficult since languages encode the culturally differentiated and hence historically entrenched ways in which speakers have conceptualised their world in the past and continue to do so in the present. As a result, finding sets of words that successfully capture equivalent cultural conceptualisations in another language can become complicated, depending on the degree to which the two cultures have been in contact and, as a result, have similar although perhaps not identical cultural conceptualisations (see Avruch and Wang 2005).

Sharifian (2007) analyses the cases of words such as *concession* and *compromise*, which are pivotal to international political discourse, and argues that the meanings of these words lend themselves to certain culturally constructed conceptualisations. For example, the positive connotations of *compromise,* that is, arriving at a settlement by making concessions, hearken back to the secular foundations of Western democracies and, in turn, link to beliefs promulgated by nineteenth-century classical liberalism, a view that elevated the status of the individual and promoted the notion of contractual relations between "free agents" in commerce, and so on. This conceptualisation is far from a universal one, and some languages do not even have a word for this concept. Also, a historical analysis of the dictionary entries for this concept reveals a tendency towards attributing positive meanings to it rather than negative ones. In general, the approach of Cultural Linguistics can help unpack aspects of political discourse that largely draw on cultural conceptualisations. Given the importance of political discourse, and the possible consequences when misunderstandings arise, the contribution of Cultural Linguistics to this area of inquiry is undoubtedly very valuable.

5. Future directions

Research on Cultural Linguistics and its applications is still in its infancy. Many features of human languages can be examined for their embeddedness in cultural conceptualisations, from morphosyntactic features to semantic and pragmatic meanings and discourse structure. As discussed and exemplified above, many features of human languages can be used to index cultural conceptualisations such as schemas, categories and metaphors. The results of such analyses of language and culture will be of benefit to scholars in several disciplines, including linguistics and anthropology. Cultural Linguistics will

also hopefully generate significant interest among applied linguists whose research also focuses on language and culture. As shown in this chapter, areas of applied linguistics such as world Englishes, intercultural communication, and political discourse analysis can benefit from the approach of Cultural Linguistics in that it provides them with a robust framework and sharply honed analytical tools. Cultural Linguistics has also been applied to the study of second dialect learning, in particular on the part of Aboriginal English speaking children in Australia. Also, application of Cultural Linguistics to the area of Teaching English as an International Language (TEIL) has shown significant promise. Drawing on Cultural Linguistics, Sharifian (2013) offers the notion of *metacultural competence* as a target for learners, in order to succeed in the use of English as a language of international communication. This competence enables interlocutors to communicate and negotiate their cultural conceptualisations during the process of intercultural communication.

As has been demonstrated in this article, Cultural Linguistics has drawn on research that has been carried out in several areas of applied linguistics while, at the same time, it has already proved its ability to provide new insights into the complex relationships holding between language and culture, especially in intercultural settings. In general, it is expected that any area of inquiry that involves the interaction between culture and language will significantly benefit from adopting the framework of Cultural Linguistics.

6. Concluding remarks

One of the most important and at the same time challenging questions facing anthropological linguists has been the relationship between language, culture, and thought. Theoretical stances regarding this theme have ranged from a view that language shapes human thought and world-view to one that considers the three to be separate systems. Cultural Linguistics, with its multidisciplinary origin, engages with this theme by exploring features of human languages that encode culturally constructed conceptualisations of human experience. One of the basic premises in this line of inquiry is that language is a repository of cultural conceptualisations that have coalesced at different stages in the history of the speech community and these can leave traces in current linguistic practice. Similarly, interactions at the macro and micro levels of the speech community continuously can act to reshape pre-existing cultural conceptualisations and bring new ones into being. Also, while placing emphasis on the culturally constructed nature of conceptualisations, Cultural Linguistics shares with cognitive linguistics the

view that meaning is conceptualisation. Overall, due to the multidisciplinary nature of the analytical tools and theoretical frameworks that Cultural Linguistics draws upon, it has significant potential to continue to shed substantial light on the nature of the relationship between language, culture, and conceptualisation.

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From the Editors*

(a note on Sharifian's *Cultural Linguisitcs*)

Farzad Sharifian's article published here presents to the Polish reader the key notions and tenets of what functions under the label of Cultural Linguistics (capitalised).

Farzad Sharifian is professor at Monash University, the biggest higher education institution in Australia, as well as the editor-in-chief of *International Journal of Language and Culture* (*IJoLC*),[1] launched in 2014. He has published important works in cultural and applied linguistics, the language of politics, and intercultural communication (Sharifian 2005, 2010, 2014, 2015). He has co-edited, together with Gary B. Palmer, the volume *Applied Cultural Linguistics* (2007), and authored the monograph *Cultural Conceptualisations and Language* (2011).

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[1] https://benjamins.com/catalog/ijolc

The list of authors publishing in *IJoLC* includes Anna Wierzbicka, Gary B. Palmer, Bert Peeters, or Carsten Levisen. In one of the special issues, guest-edited by Bert Peeters (*Language and Cultural Values. Adventures in Applied Ethnolinguistics*, 2-2, 2015), the authors encroach on the territory of applied ethnolinguistics. The latter term is rather unpopular in Western literature, being associated with minority languages or dialects, as well as, rather negatively, with ethnic violence, unrest, or downright ethnic cleansing. In *IJoLC*, in contrast, the authors use *ethnolinguistics* in a broader, neutral sense that embraces national languages, an approach parallel to that of Lublin ethnolinguistics.

Lublin ethnolinguistics, deriving from the Russian tradition (the works of Vladimir Toporov, Yuri Apresjan, Nikita Tolstoy, or Svetlana Tolstaya), seeks common ground for dialogue also with Western scholarship. This in fact has been going on for some time. The journal *Etnolingwistyka* has welcomed contributions, usually in Polish translation, from such authors as Anna Wierzbicka, George Lakoff, Ronald Langacker, Teun van Dijk, or James Underhill. Volume 27 of the journal contains articles by the Gary B. Palmer from the USA (Palmer 2015) and Bert Peeters from Australia (Peeters 2015), scholars whose work is referenced in Sharifian's article. The former proposes to incorporate into linguistic analysis the findings from extralinguistic inquiries, such as ethnography or paleontology. The latter presents an intriguing attempt to extend Anna Wierzbicka's NSM framework onto the realms of ethnolexicology, ethnorhetoric, ethnophraseology, ethnosyntax, ethnopragmatics, and ethnoaxiology. Sharifian's contribution to the present volume is a modification and extension of Gary B. Palmer's proposal laid out in his book *Toward a Theory of Cultural Linguistics* (1996), where the author draws a framework that combines the achievements of cognitive linguistics and linguistic anthropology.

Sharifian presents the key tenets and descriptive constructs of what he calls Cultural Linguistics. It contains above all the notion of *cultural conceptualisations*, which, in Sharifian's model, has replaced *imagery*, inherited by Palmer from Langacker.[2] Other notions include *cultural schemas*, *cultural categories*, and *cultural metaphors*, as well as *cultural models* and *cultural cognition*. The latter embraces the cultural macro- (i.e. collective, social) and micro- (individual) levels. How do these notions relate to the major constructs of Lublin-based ethnolinguistics, with its linguistic worldview conception, stereotypes or cultural concepts, cognitive definition, or profiling? We would like to engage in a discussion of these issues by investigating to what extent

[2] Langacker himself has for some time now preferred the term *construal*.

the two parallel, albeit differently named frameworks, designed to basically achieve the same goals, may be mutually inspiring or enriching. The discussion will hopefully be commenced in subsequent volumes of this journal.

translated by Adam Głaz

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I. Research articles

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Teresa Liszcz
(UMCS, Lublin, Poland)

Human work: A commodity or an ethical value?*

According to most economists, work and the ability to work are commodities, while remuneration for work is the price of this commodity, determined by the law of supply and demand. They point out, however, that the job market is strongly rationed.

The commodity view of paid work or of the ability to work is shared by relatively few specialists in labour law. Rather, the contract of employment is treated as a purchase-sale agreement of the labour force for the sum of the remuneration. With regard to the commodity view, they underscore the peculiar nature of the commodity, with an inalienable bond between work itself and the person who performs it. The bond must be protected, mainly through appropriately liberalised labour law.

Following most specialists in labour law, the author of the present study is against the commodity view of work as being in discord with the dignity of persons, for whom work can not only secure survival but facilitate their development as persons. People engage in work with all their personalities, not only with the mere ability to perform it. Because of the obligation to protect life, public authorities should grant everyone the right to earn their own living, and in the cases of shortage of work, they should grant material help to the worker and his or her family.

Key words: *praca*, work, labour, commodity, remuneration, job market, freedom of work/labour, right to work

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1. Introduction

Let me begin with an explanation of two key terms used in the title: work (the Polish *praca*)[1] and commodity. In *SJP Szym* [Dictionary of the Polish Language], *praca* is defined in general terms as a "conscious, purposeful human activity, performed with the purpose of producing artefacts or cultural goods; it is also the basis of and the prerequisite for the existence and development of the society" (*SJP Szym*, vol. 2: 904). In more specialist publications, it is defined in a variety of ways (Pszczołowski 1966; Strzeszewski 1978, 2003; Stachowski 1984; Majka 1982; Tischner 2007 [1981]a,b). The following encyclopaedic definitions are the closest to my understanding of the Polish *praca* in this study:

1) in economy: a process of complex physical and mental activity of a person or persons, the purpose of which is to transform natural resources into goods that satisfy human needs; one of the factors of production (next to land and capital [...]) (*Encyklopedia PWN*, vol. 3: 41);

2) [...] in the strict sense: the creation of material-economic or intellectual-spiritual values that are socially useful [...] (*Encyklopedia katolicka*, vol. XVI: 211).[2]

In comparison, commodity (Pol. *towar*) is defined in a more uniform manner as "a product intended for sale in commodity-monetary economy; it has a utility value, i.e. it can satisfy needs, and an exchangeable value, which is reflected in its price" (*Encyklopedia PWN*, vol. 3: 602; and an almost identical definition in *Encyklopedia katolicka*, vol. XIX: 930).

A substantial modification of the concept of work that I propose with regard to the above-mentioned definitions is to limit it to work performed for another entity in return for payment, i.e. to paid work. The relations between the contractor of paid work and an entity for whose benefit the work is performed are currently regulated mainly by labour law but also civil law and administrative law.

Until the appearance of labour law, which was formulated in Europe after the end of WWI (and became a full-fledged and recognised notion after WWII), those relations had been handled by civil law, financial transactions being regulated by two fundamental principles: a formal equality (i.e., equality before the law) of the parties involved and freedom of contract, i.e., the freedom to enter into, dissolve and establish the content of contracts. That freedom led to the formulation of the maxim "to the willing comes

[1] The Polish term is usually translated as *work* or *labour*, another relatively frequent option being *job*. In most contexts, *work* will be used throughout the paper, unless the context requires otherwise. [translator's note]

[2] All translations into English by A.G. [translator's note]

no injury".[3] At that time, the same principles also regulated employment transactions or, to be more specific, transactions concerning the human ability to work, under contracts for the hire of work and labour or contracts for the supply of services.

In the socio-economic system of the time, i.e. liberal market economy, the hire of work and labour was subject to the laws of supply and demand. As the supply of free hired workers, willing or forced to accept paid work, always exceeded the demand for their labour, the owner of the means of production (the capitalist) dictated the conditions of this superficially "free" hire, guided by his objective of profit maximisation. In the nineteenth century this led to the extreme exploitation of workers, causing biological degradation of the entire working class. This is known as "the social question" or "the worker question". It was to put an end to that exploitation by liquidating private ownership of the means of production *via* armed revolution that communist and workers' parties guided by Marxist ideology (cf. the Communist Manifesto of 1848) launched their agenda.

The Catholic Church also voiced its opinion on "the worker question", albeit with considerable delay. In his 1891 encyclical *Rerum novarum* (henceforth *RN*), Pope Leo XIII described the contemporaneous situation thus:

> Hence, by degrees it has come to pass that working men have been surrendered, isolated and helpless, to the hardheartedness of employers and the greed of unchecked competition. The mischief has been increased by rapacious usury [...]. To this must be added that the hiring of labor and the conduct of trade are concentrated in the hands of comparatively few; so that a small number of very rich men have been able to lay upon the teeming masses of the laboring poor a yoke little better than that of slavery itself. (*RN*, para 3)

In order to change that situation, the Pope proposed solutions in accordance with the essence of the mission of the Church. He defended private property as the main driving force of human enterprise, pointing to the ways of propagation of that concept. He called on workers to organise themselves into trade unions for the purpose of claiming their rights more effectively but at the same time he condemned strikes, "concerted interruption of work" and "crafty agitators". He pointed out the duties of the rich and employers

> not to look upon their work people as their bondsmen, but to respect in every man his dignity as a person ennobled by Christian character. They are reminded that, according to natural reason and Christian philosophy, working for gain is creditable, not shameful, to a man, since it enables him to earn an honorable livelihood; but to misuse men as though they were things in the pursuit of gain, or to value them solely for their physical powers – that is truly shameful and inhuman. (*RN*, para 20)

[3] From the Latin *Volenti non fit iniuria*.

The Pope then went on to exhort employers by saying that "[t]o defraud any one of wages that are his [i.e., the worker's, A.G.] due is a great crime which cries to the avenging anger of Heaven". The Pope pointed out that

> [o]f these duties, the following bind the proletarian and the worker: fully and faithfully to perform the work which has been freely and equitably agreed upon; never to injure the property, nor to outrage the person, of an employer; never to resort to violence in defending their own cause, nor to engage in riot or disorder; and to have nothing to do with men of evil principles [. . .]. (*RN*, para 20)

Finally, the Pope reminded the rulers that

> when there is question of defending the rights of individuals, the poor and badly off have a claim to especial consideration. The richer class have many ways of shielding themselves, and stand less in need of help from the State; whereas the mass of the poor have no resources of their own to fall back upon, and must chiefly depend upon the assistance of the State. And it is for this reason that wage-earners, since they mostly belong in the mass of the needy, should be specially cared for and protected by the government. (*RN*, para 37)

Acting in the well-conceived interest of the state, including the privileged classes, and being influenced by revolutionary movements, the leaders of the European countries of that time – including the most industrialised ones – took hired workers under legal protection. "The hire of work and labour" was excluded from the scope of civil law and made subject to regulation by means of separate provisions, initially drafted as factory legislation, and then as labour law. The primary function of those provisions was, and still is, to protect the workers as the weaker party in their relationship with the employer. Labour law fulfills this function by specifying the minimum standards of protection, such as the universal right of workers (as well as the persons hired without the legal status of an employee) to safe and healthy working conditions, minimum wage, maximum standards of working time and minimum standards of leisure. Labour law forbids, under pain of nullity, the inclusion in the employment contract of any provisions less favourable to the employee than the relevant provisions of labour law (cf. Art. 18 of the Polish Labour Code). In this respect, the principle "to the willing comes no injury" does not apply to labour relations.

Protection by labour law does not concern all paid work, but, as a rule, only that which is performed under an employment relationship, i.e. under the conditions of organisational subordination of the employee to the employer – as to the time, place, and manner of performance of the work, on the basis of a contract of employment or other acts mentioned in labour law, i.e. appointment, nomination, or election to a position. Similar protection concerns work performed as part of the so-called service relationship referred

to as “service”: in the police force, in other uniformed services, and as professional service in the Polish army. This type of protection (with the exception of the right to safe and healthy working conditions) is not enjoyed by persons who perform work or various types of service under contracts for mandate or other contracts for the supply of services, with the assumption that there is no subordination to the employer, which is regulated by civil law.

2. Is work a commodity?

2.1. In his encyclical on human work, *Laborem exercens* (henceforth *LE*), issued on the 90th anniversary of the appearance of *Rerum novarum*, Pope John Paul II writes:

> In the modern period, from the beginning of the industrial age, the Christian truth about work had to oppose the various trends of *materialistic and economistic* thought.
>
> For certain supporters of such ideas, work was understood and treated as a sort of “merchandise” that the worker–especially the industrial worker–sells to the employer, who at the same time is the possessor of the capital, that is to say, of all the working tools and means that make production possible. This way of looking at work was widespread especially in the first half of the nineteenth century. Since then, explicit expressions of this sort have almost disappeared, and have given way to more human ways of thinking about work and evaluating it. [...] Nevertheless, the *danger* of treating work as a special kind of “merchandise”, or as an impersonal “force” needed for production (the expression “workforce” is in fact in common use) *always exists,* especially when the whole way of looking at the question of economics is marked by the premises of materialistic economism. (*LE*, para 7)

We are currently witnessing a materialisation of this danger. In the language of economics (but not only economics), the commonly used terms include *labour force*, *human resources*, *job fair*, *labour/job market*; remuneration is understood as *the price of labour* and an element of *labour costs*. Most economists openly claim that human work is a commodity, while pay is the price of that commodity (Krawczyk and Krzyżanowska 1991: 1 ff.; Meller 1993: 6 ff.). This view is also shared by some specialists in labour law. It has found its most open expression so far, with respect to labour relations, in Andrzej Świątkowski’s 1992 article “Praca towarem?” [Is work a commodity?].[4] Among other things, the author declares:

> I take the view that human work is a commodity [...]. Labour law deals with work as a commodity in the same way as civil law deals with personal or property relationships.

[4] That author’s views, from nearly a quarter of a century ago, are reaffirmed in Świątkowski (2015: 79).

Further on, the author continues:

> As a commodity, human work or labour is to be found on the labour market. It is such an important and special commodity that a separate market has been created [...]. Although the parties in individual labour relationships are defined using the terms *employee* and *employer*, in fact they are buyers and sellers of a specific type of product, namely of human work [...]. Human work is sold on the basis of contract of employment. (Świątkowski 1992: 19)

The main argument in favour of these views is, according to the author, that in a market economy work is an object of transactions with the character of an obligation. Under the conditions of market economy, an employee is a seller and an employer is a purchaser of labour force. In this sense one may

> [...] argue that work is a commodity, it is subject to economic laws, has its price, affects the price of products and services, operates on a specially created market. The exchange of work for money takes place within the framework defined by law, on the basis of a contract (the contract of employment), based on the principles set out in the law of obligations, which governs commodity turnover. (Świątkowski 1992: 19)

Świątkowski also resorts to semantic arguments, including the use of the term *workforce* in social and economic policy, where work is conceptualised as a mass phenomenon. Another argument is that remuneration for work, social security contributions, and expenditure on social benefits are the so-called personnel costs – an important segment of the total cost of an enterprise, in particular of a business type. The contract of employment, under which human labour is sold, although governed by labour law, is nevertheless based on the principle characteristic of the *do ut des* type of obligation, in which "the worker transfers to the employer professional skills, committing themselves to make use of them in time designated in work regulations for professional work. In return, the employer will pay the employee remuneration".

Świątkowski continues by stressing that

> [...] work is a commodity of particular significance, and as such should be subject to special protection. Protection includes not only the conditions under which the work is performed; it also includes the value that work constitutes in itself. (Świątkowski 1992: 19)

In general, everyone who treats work as a commodity also points out that this is a special kind of commodity that requires special treatment (protection) because it cannot be dissociated from the person who performs it. The only infamous exception that I am aware of is what could be found in one of the Polish weeklies about a decade ago:

> Free market is the freedom to shape the relationship between employers and employees according to the principle that work is the same commodity as socks, tanks, or pickled

cucumbers. The regulation of working time or pay by the state has as much sense as would a ministerial regulation on the shape of socks or the length of pickled cucumbers. (Mazur 2000: 8)

The absurdity of this argumentation shows where the commodity view of work can take us.

2.2. One aspect of the commodity view of work is the notion of the labour market, something that is obvious at least for some economists (cf. Strzeszewski 1978, 2003; Majka 1982; Stachowski 1984; Szałkowski 1992; Tischner 2007 [1981]a,b). The notion is also used in social policy and labour law, as well as being a legal term.[5] Despite the fact that the term is in common use, its meaning is far from clear (cf. Sanetra 2011: 2ff.).

Undoubtedly, when speaking of the labour market, those who view work as a commodity have in mind the economic market, similar in its significance to the capital (financial) market or the goods-and-services market. What is meant is an economic mechanism that consists in free exchange of commodities, services, and capital for the price defined mainly through supply and demand.[6] On the labour market, a free exchange of work and remuneration should be taking place (through contracts of employment and other agreements of this kind), where the pay or remuneration for work is treated as its price.

Economists draw attention to the following specific features of the labour market:

1) Labour supply in this context is extremely inflexible (it is difficult to significantly reduce or increase the population of those who can and want to work).

2) Labour market is subject to segmentation (there is no uniform labour market, national or, even less so, international).

3) Competition on the labour market is often limited by organisations of partners representing labour demand (employers' associations) and labour supply (trade unions and organisations of persons seeking employment).

4) The effects of the global (and permanent) imbalance on the labour market are extensive, costly, and difficult to eliminate. They have the form of surplus labour force (i.e. of unemployment: as opposed to a surplus of goods, the unemployed are real people that need decent living conditions). Besides, for the sake of maintaining social stability, the state intervenes, mainly by increasing the demand for labour, *inter alia* with the help of institutions and instruments of the labour market. In view of the above, it is hard to

[5] It is used in particular in the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU), article 14 of Title IX EMPLOYMENT and the Polish Act of 20 April, 2014 on the promotion of employment and labour market institutions (cf. the Journal of Laws of 2013, item 674, as amended).

[6] According to *Encyklopedia katolicka* (vol. XVII: 682), market is "a system of economic coordination of social life, involving all exchange relations between economic entities that sell particular products or services (supply) and those that purchase them (demand); a place to conclude transactions of purchase and sale or exchange".

disagree with Sanetra when he doubts whether such a regulated “labour market” is in fact a market (Sanetra 2011: 9).

2.3. In the commodity view of work, remuneration is the price of work. Economists understand pay as “any benefits (monetary and non-monetary) which the employee receives by virtue of employment, and which for the employer constitute the full cost of work” (Meller 1993: 6). Consider this insight from a classic textbook:

> Labor is a special kind of commodity [...]. The employer buys this commodity at a price: the wage rate the laborer receives in exchange for his or her efforts. In a competitive market, the price, or wage rate, of labor is determined just as other prices are: by the interaction of supply and demand. (Kamerschen, McKenzie, Nardinelli 1989: 671)

The quotation probably refers to an abstract labour market, where there is free competition. However, as already mentioned, competition on the “labour market” is in fact “very imperfect” and the very proponents of the commodity view of work acknowledge that in modern market economies, particularly in the social market economy, free-market price of work does not exist (Meller 1993: 7). This is because the state influences the level of wages and salaries, mainly by means of the establishment of minimum pay, by directly deciding on salaries in the public sector, and by limiting the contractual freedom to determine the level of remuneration. Moreover, economists point out that the regulation of prices also occurs on the market of “regular goods” and services, in the form of state-imposed minimum prices for some goods (e.g. crops) or maximum prices for others (e.g. housing rents).

However, the view of work as a commodity and of pay as its price is not accepted by all economists. For example, Jacukowicz (1992: 16–18) shows how payment for work is established and why, in the author’s opinion, that view is misleading. Although the notion of price is not defined precisely, it most often denotes “an expression of the value of a commodity”.[7] The price depends on the cost of producing a commodity and on the demand, i.e. on how much the consumer is ready to pay. The cost of work as a commodity is the expenditure incurred for the education of future employees and their preparation for the profession. In his 1776 book, Adam Smith wrote that “the lowest species of a common labourer must everywhere earn at least double their own maintenance, in order that one with another they may be enabled to bring up two children” (Smith 1776, para 15). However, Jacukowicz points

[7] According to Kamerschen, McKenzie, and Nardinelli (1989: 470), “[p]rice is whatever a person must give up in exchange for a unit of goods or services purchased, obtained, or consumed”.

out that the examination of factors affecting pay shows no direct dependence of the level of pay on the cost of “creating the ability to work”.

Also, the supply of and demand for work affect pay only to a small degree. A greater demand for workers of a particular specialisation in the absence of sufficient “supply” may (in the private sector) result in an increase of their salaries but, according to Jacukowicz (1992: 16), these are “marginal effects rather than a common rule”. Jacukowicz also points out that the type and quantity of goods on the market are adapted to the demand, while an increase in “labour force” (i.e. population) does not depend on the demand for labour. On the contrary: one of the basic objectives of the socio-economic policy of the state is to ensure a sufficient number of jobs for citizens (Jacukowicz 1992: 17). Also, as opposed to commodity prices, there is nothing like the global price of labour.

The amount of remuneration is established differently from commodity prices. The decisive factors are: (i) the amount of national income *per capita* and the proportions of its division into consumption and accumulation; (ii) the share of remuneration in the costs of work (which, apart from remuneration, include expenses on social insurance, social services and the financing of various dedicated funds, the transportation of workers, etc.); (iii) the employment and pay policy of a given state, including the level of minimum pay set by the state and the bargaining power of trade unions.

According to Stanisława Borkowska,

> [...] the amount of pay is limited from above by the financial possibilities of a company and the state (the development strategy and the requirements of competitiveness), and from below by the level of the costs of living. These are the boundary conditions for determining the level and differentiation of pay relative to the differential levels of the difficulties and effects of work. This differentiation may be subject to slight correction under the influence of the labour market and the social partners. (Borkowska 1994: 2)

The level of the cost of living should be the determinant factor in establishing the minimum pay:

> Pay for work that is performed fairly, even if the latter is simple and does not require special qualifications, should be sufficient to provide modest support for the family, i.e. to allow for a decent life. (Meller 1994: 3)

As is apparent from this cursory review of opinions, it is not obvious even to economists that work is a commodity and pay is its price. According to Jacukowicz, it is “one of the most controversial issues in the theory of wages” (Jacukowicz 1994: 2).

3. Work is not a commodity

Unlike Andrzej Świątkowski, quoted above, I believe that human work or the human ability to work is not and should not be treated as a commodity. I daresay my stance is shared by many researchers in labour law, as well as lawyers applying the provisions of this law, even if it is not expressed openly.

During its 26th session in Philadelphia on 10 May 1944, the International Labour Organisation confirmed in the so-called Declaration of Philadelphia that one of its main objectives is to materialise the non-commodity view of labour. Also, a call for rejecting the commodity view was issued during the 1991 XIII World Congress of the International Society for Labour and Social Security Law in Athens by one of the Congress's general reporters.[8]

The human ability to work cannot be a commodity as it is inseparable from the working person and is an attribute of that person. In *Rerum Novarum*, Leo XIII wrote:

> Hence, a man's labor necessarily bears two notes or characters. First of all, it is personal, inasmuch as the force which acts is bound up with the personality and is the exclusive property of him who acts, and, further, was given to him for his advantage. Secondly, man's labor is *necessary*; for without the result of labor a man cannot live, and self-preservation is a law of nature, which it is wrong to disobey. (*RN*, para 44)

In his homily during the Holy Mass celebrated for the labour world in Gdańsk, Poland, on 12 June 1987, Pope John Paul II said:

> Work may not be treated – anywhere or ever – as a commodity, because man may not be a commodity to man; man must be the subject. Man engages in work through their whole humanity and their whole subjectivity [. . .]. It is therefore necessary to perceive all human rights in relation to man's work to do justice to all of them. (Jan Paweł II 1999)[9]

The very ability to work cannot be isolated from the human person and made an object of trade. It can only be sold and bought together with the whole human being, as it is done in slave trade. When engaging in work, a person does not make use of only their ability to work, leaving the rest of their personality behind. In the relationship with the employer, the worker has primarily one role: that of a person who performs a particular kind of work for the employer's benefit, realising a commitment that does not consist in producing an item or performing an action (alone or in cooperation) but

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[8] The general reporter of Section I of the Congress (cf. Uriarte 1991: 44). According to Świątkowski (1992: 18), the reporter's motives were not ideological but above all economic and political. There was also anxiety concerning a threat to social peace on the national and international scale.

[9] Cf. http://www.pope2016.com/en/faith/catholic-church/john-paul-ii/news,489116, the-most-famous-john-paul-ii-quotes.html; accessed 20 November, 2016. [translator's note]

in making their person available to the employer in order to perform the work specified in the contract, at a fixed time and place. At the same time, the worker does not cease to be a complete human being, somebody's son or daughter, spouse, parent, citizen, and often a Christian or a follower of another religion.

The inherent dignity of the worker as a human being (Art. 30 of the Constitution of the Republic of Poland) gives rise to an obligation of the employer and third parties to respect the worker's natural rights, even if their implementation collides with the obligation to perform work. As a free individual, the employee decides whether and with whom they will sign a contract of employment. As a rule, a person undertakes work in order to earn their livelihood and usually to provide for their family. But it often happens that this is done despite the absence of such needs: out of sheer altruism, to realise one's passion, to develop one's personality, or for other non-material reasons.

However, the obligations of the employer are not limited to paying remuneration. The employer has many other responsibilities towards the employee, often not contingent on the worker's actual performance or independent of the work's quality. These include ensuring that the worker's health and life are protected, that their dignity and other personal rights are respected, or that the employee's parenthood is not jeopardised but enjoyd benefits.

In the homily quoted above, John Paul II said:

> Human work must be paid for but the one who performs it cannot be remunerated only by payment. A person is not only a "contractor" but also a co-creator. Therefore, the worker has the right to decide about his or her workplace. The worker has the right to enjoy self-government asn an employee, which is realised, *inter alia*, through the institution of trade unions, independent and self-governing [...]. Human work, through hundreds and thousands, if not millions of workplaces, contributes to the common good of society. It is in their work that working people find the right [...] to decide about the matters of the whole society, which lives and develops thanks to their effort. (Jan Paweł II 1999)

On the other hand, the employee is obliged to perform the work carefully and diligently, regardless of whether the employer has fulfilled their obligations towards them; in particular, irrespective of whether the work is remunerated fairly (except when, as a result of breach of duty by the employer, the worker's life or health are jeopardised, in which case the worker has the right to refuse to perform the work).

Regardless of the conscientious and careful execution of a specific task, the employee has a general duty to take care of the welfare of the employer: Art. 100, para 2, point 4 of the Polish Labour Code stipulates that the employee is obliged to "respect the interest of the work establishment, protect its

property and keep confidential any information that could cause damage to the employer if disclosed".[10] It seems quite obvious to me that the object of such a commitment does not have the character of a commodity.

4. The worker's perspective

According to some authors, "the dispute over the commodity nature of work and the price view of pay is not essential in the context of practical rational human resources management" (Meller 1993: 8). This may indeed be true at the level of "human resources management". However, there is no doubt that the issue *is* essential when it comes to the situation of an individual working person and their relationships with cooperating persons. As rightly pointed out by the author of this view,

> The commodity approach means that it is essential to be competitive, to offer a commodity (i.e. one's work) of the highest quality, adapted to the expectations of the future employer. One must also be able to promote their skills and abilities. (Meller 1993: 8)

Such an approach radically changes the relationships in the workplace. A fellow employee is no longer a colleague to be kindly helped when coping with a professional problem, but a competitor that one finds beneficial to "trip up" when the occasion arises. This leads to the so-called "rat race", especially in corporations.

An important factor in this competition is full availability of the employee, which often renders family life or restful leisure practically impossible. In such situations, the work brings money but to some extent degrades or even destroys a person – there have been cases of suicide or death from overwork among young corporate employees who could not cope with the workload and stress in the workplace.

The consequences of the commodity view of work as far as pay is concerned are that remuneration is treated as the price of labour, the main determinant of which should be (although this still has to be realised) the cost of the "depreciation of the ability to work". It is worth noting at this point that the Constitution of the Republic of Poland, committing the legislator in Art. 65, para 4, to determine the minimum remuneration for work (or the method of determining that amount), does not provide any guidelines

[10] The English version is available at www.ilo.org/dyn/natlex/docs/ELECTRONIC/45181/91758/F1623906595/The-Labour-Code%20consolidated%201997.pdf; accessed 20 February 2017. [translator's note]

in this respect. In particular, it does not require that remuneration be fair and does not even refer to the social minimum.

Another important issue is labour safety and hygiene. In the personalistic approach, it pertains to the protection of life and health of the employee as person. Therefore, each employee should be protected equally, independent of the economic value of the work he or she performs, because the inherent dignity of every human being and the ethical value of their work is the same for all.

If, however, work and the ability to work are treated in isolation from the employee as a person, i.e. as commodities, then it is legitimate to say that, with regard to employment, protection does not pertain to the employee as a human being but to their ability to work.[11] And because this "commodity" may have a differential economic value, the degree of protection (when one's ability to work is viewed as a commodity) may vary. In particular, the employer may decide that it is not beneficial to invest more than what is required by law in the health and safety of persons performing menial jobs, i.e. those who can be easily replaced by the vulnerable unemployed.

The commodity concept of work implies the need for "the employee to adapt to work". In addition to having the relevant qualifications, this means subordination of the employee's personal and family life to the needs and expectations of the employer. In many cases, the employer expects from the employee almost unlimited availability.

These expectations are met by the provisions of Polish labour law, which allows employers to organise work in a way that is the most beneficial for them, without the need to take into account the interests of the employee and his family. The main problem is the maximally flexible, in my view, regulation of working time, which is to a large degree determined solely by the employer. The specific issues include:

1. the setting of working time standard with respect to the "average" level;
2. a 12-month settlement period for employees;
3. the freedom to apply special (irregular) working time systems;
4. the right to commission overtime work, by the discretion of the employer and under an effectively ruthless obligation to accept that work;
5. full freedom of the employer to set for the employee their duty time and business trips;
6. the right to make decisions concerning shift and night work;

[11] For a similar view cf. Jończyk (1995: 383–384), who claims that it is the ability to work "as a unique personal good and an economic value" that is protected by labour safety regulations.

7. the right to allow to a large extent work on Sundays and holidays, which – according to Art. 66, para 2 of the Constitution of the Republic of Poland – are free from work.

These regulations are clearly contrary to the general principle of "adapting work organisation to the worker", as formulated in Art. 13 of Directive 2003/88/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 4 November 2003 concerning certain aspects of the organisation of working time.[12] Another problem is that in practice this very principle seems to be falling into oblivion and giving way to the opposite directive: that of a person's adaptation to work.

5. The language issue

Finally, the language that is used to describe reality we live in is significant and has practical consequences. Consider abortion. In my student days, the word that was commonly used was the enigmatic *zabieg* 'surgery/procedure' or the more brutal *skrobanka*, lit. 'scraping'. Some students would undergo that procedure several times, as if it were a beauty treatment. Abortion became the subject of serious public debate when, instead of or along with the word *foetus*, the term *unborn child* gained broader currency. Abortion itself began to be called bluntly – but properly – *murder*. Another example is the issue of animal rights. What has contributed to the current improvement in this respect to some extent is the explicit statement in Art. 1 of the Act of 21 August 1997 on the protection of animals,[13] to the effect that an animal is not a thing but a living being that can suffer and that deserves respect and care from humans.

These are the reasons why I do not agree to the use of *commodity* and *workforce* in reference to human work or the human ability to work. By referring to workers as commodities, human resources, or workforce, we degrade their humanity and prepare ground for their instrumental treatment as objects. Even if the practice is useful for the purposes of economic calculation, lawyers need not and should not adopt those terms and this way of thinking in the language of labour law or its doctrine.

[12] The Polish and English versions of the Directive may be found in Jaśkowski and Maniewska (2006). This Directive has replaced Directive of the EU Council of 23 November 1993 under the same title.

[13] The Polish Journal of Laws, no. 111, item 724.

6. Freedom of work, the right to work, unemployment

6.1. In accordance with Christian ethics, a person who is capable of working has a moral obligation to do so under the Creator's command to subdue the earth, as well as

> [...] because of his own humanity, which requires work in order to be maintained and developed. Man must work out of regard for others, especially his own family, but also for the society he belongs to, the country of which he is a child, and the whole human family of which he is a member, since he is the heir to the work of generations and at the same time a sharer in building the future of those who will come after him in the succession of history. (*LE*, para 16)

In Poland, as in all developed countries, there is no legal obligation to work.[14] The use of forced labour is forbidden by the Constitution of the Republic of Poland (Art. 65, para 1, which introduces the principle of freedom of work) and by international agreements binding the Republic of Poland.[15]

These acts, however, allow for compulsory employment of persons sentenced to a deprivation of or restrictions on liberty (with the exception of the so-called political prisoners, which in democratic countries should not be an issue).[16] Permissible is also the so-called unilaterally appointed (*de facto*, forced) labour of soldiers for purely military purposes as well as persons directed by administrative decisions to deal with natural disasters.[17]

In the current reality, both in Poland and worldwide, the main social problem is not forced labour but the lack of a sufficient number of jobs,

[14] According to the provisions of Art. 19 of the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic of 1952, work was a right, a duty, and a matter of honour of every citizen. A general obligation to work, concerning men aged 18 to 45, was stipulated in the Act of 16 September 1982 on proceedings against persons evading work (the Polish Journal of Laws No. 35, item 229, repealed by Art. 45 of the Act of 29 December 1989 on employment, in the Polish Journal of Laws No. 75, item 446, as amended). The act did not lead to the employment of the so-called "social parasites" but exposed Poland to embarrassment on the forum of the International Labour Organisation.

[15] In particular, these include the ILO Conventions: No. 29 of 1930 concerning forced or compulsory labour (the Polish Journal of Laws of 1959, No. 20, item 122 and No. 105 of 1957 on the abolition of forced labour; the Polish Journal of Laws of 1958, No. 39, item. 240) as well as Art. 8, para 3 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights of 1966 (the Polish Journal of Laws of 1977, No. 38, item 169).

[16] In Poland, the employment of convicted offenders is specified by: the Criminal Code of 1997 (the Polish Journal of Laws No. 88, item 553, as amended), the Executive Penal Code of 1997 (the Polish Journal of Laws No. 90, item 557, as amended), and the Act of 1997 on the employment of persons deprived of freedom (the Polish Journal of Laws No. 123, item 777, as amended).

[17] Cf. the Act of 18 April 2002 on the state of natural disaster, the Polish Journal of Laws No. 62, item 558, as amended.

coupled with large numbers of people able and willing to work, without an opportunity to perform it.

According to John Paul II, unemployment of millions of people is social disaster (*LE*, section IV, para 18). Unemployment is also a serious breach of human dignity. The lack of work and the accompanying poverty degrade people being affected: they cannot participate in cultural or social life, they may lose respect in their own eyes, as well as in the eyes of the family, they also lose interest in what is happening in their local community and their country. Depression may ensue, sometimes leading to suicidal attempts (cf. Wichrowska-Janikowska 2004: 46 ff.).

6.2. Therefore the question of the right to work is currently of fundamental importance. In the social teaching of the Church that right is derived directly from every person's right to live and an obligation to sustain life. It is one of the fundamental human rights (*LE*, para 16).

The right to work is mentioned in almost all basic acts of international and European law concerning human rights. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948, Art. 23, para 1, reads: "Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment".[18]

The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, Art. 6, para 1, stipulates:

> The State Parties to the present Covenant recognize the right to work, which includes the right of everyone to the opportunity to gain his living by work which he freely chooses or accepts, and will take appropriate steps to safeguard this right.[19]

The European Social Charter[20] (henceforth: ESC), Part I, Section 1, provides that the Contracting Parties accept as the aim of their policies the creation of conditions under which "Everyone shall have the opportunity to earn his living in an occupation freely entered upon", while in Part II, containing provisions binding on the Parties, Art. 1 expressly establishes "the right to work". In order to ensure effective exercise of this right, the ESC Parties committed themselves:

> 1) to accept as one of their primary aims and responsibilities the achievement and maintenance of as high and stable a level of employment as possible, with a view to the attainment of full employment; 2) to protect effectively the right of the worker to earn his living in an occupation freely entered upon; 3) to establish or maintain free employment

[18] www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights/; accessed 20 February 2017.

[19] www.ohchr.org/Documents/ProfessionalInterest/cescr.pdf; accessed 20 February 2017.

[20] The treaty drawn up by the Council of Europe in 1961 and revised in 1996 (the Polish Journal of Laws of 1999, No. 8, item 67, as amended).

services for all workers; 4) to provide or promote appropriate vocational guidance, training and rehabilitation.

The Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union of 2007,[21] Art. 15, provides that "[e]veryone has the right to engage in work and to pursue a freely chosen or accepted occupation" (para 1) and that "[e]very citizen of the Union has the freedom to seek employment, to work, to exercise the right of establishment and to provide services in any Member State" (para 2). Moreover, according to Art. 29 of the Charter, "[e]veryone has the right of access to a free placement service", while by virtue of Art. 30, "[e]very worker has the right to protection against unjustified dismissal, in accordance with Union law and national laws and practices".

6.3. The Constitution of the Republic of Poland of 1997 does not grant the right to work, although it was expressed in Art. 68 of the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic of 1952: "Citizens of the Polish People's Republic have the right to work, that is, the right to employment paid in accordance with the quantity and quality of work done".[22] The creators of the current Constitution probably feared that the right to work established in it would be understood too literally as a subjective right, from which could be derived a claim for employment on the basis of an employment relationship. It was emphasised that, unlike the Polish People's Republic, a state with a market economy does not have at its disposal any material guarantees for the realisation of the right to work in the form of state-owned means of production and centralised economic management. In my opinion, such an approach was based on a misunderstanding, because the right to work, even when based on the constitutions of communist states, despite their practical realisation of full (albeit unreasonable) employment, had never been considered a subjective right (with the nature of a legal claim) in jurisprudence, administrative practice, or the practice of jurisdiction. The right to work meant the obligation of public authorities to conduct an economic and social policy ensuring full employment. The constitutional principle of the right to work was a legislative and interpretive guideline, particularly important in the interpretation of the regulations concerning termination of employment.

As opposed to the Polish People's Republic and other communist states, in democratic countries with market economies the right to work has not been

[21] http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=uriserv:OJ.C_.2007.303.01.0001.01.ENG&toc=OJ:C:2007:303:TOC; accessed 20 February 2017.

[22] The English version is available at http://libr.sejm.gov.pl/tek01/txt/kpol/e1952a-r7.html; accessed 20 February 2017. In this source, the quoted Article has the number 58. [translator's note]

understood as the right to employment only in an employment relationship, but as formulated in ESC, i.e. as the right to make a living thanks to one's own work, realised in various legal forms: outside the employment relationship, also in one's own workshop (or a shop), on a farm, in the form of a freelance profession or through providing services on the basis of civil law contracts. Alhough the Constitution of the Republic of Poland does not declare that work is a right, it imposes on the authorities certain public responsibilities that are to lead to its implementation. As stated in Art. 65, item 5,

> Public authorities shall pursue policies aiming at full, productive employment by implementing programmes to combat unemployment, including the organization of and support for occupational advice and training, as well as public works and economic intervention.

Above all, however, it should be emphasised that by ratifying ESC, Poland considers itself bound, among others, by the provisions of the Charter concerning the whole Art. 1 entitled "The right to work" (paragraphs 1–4). It should be noted that in Art. 10, para 1 of the Labour Code, the right to work is treated as one of the basic principles of labour law ("Everyone has the right to choose their work freely") that serves as an interpretative guideline when applying the standards of labour law. Therefore, there is no doubt that the public authorities of the Republic of Poland carry out the obligations arising from the right to work, determined primarily in Art. 4 ESC and Art. 65, para 5 of the Constitution. They can be most generally described as counteracting unemployment.

The social and economic policies of the state should therefore be focused on job protection and expansion by creating conditions beneficial to the development of enterprise and by supporting those investments that aid employment. What is also significant, however, is also a fair division of the existing supply of jobs. The right to work might be an important instrument of that division. The question must be asked whether the Polish labour law favours the realisation of this objective.

Let us look at regulations concerning working time. The goal to provide an opportunity of paid employment to the largest possible number of those who are able and willing to work, consistent with the principle of social justice, may be realised, among other things, by reducing the number of working hours. This has been done e.g. in France, where it has been lowered to 35 hours per week with a corresponding decrease in salary, thus enabling the employment of more workers.

Obviously, in Poland, the remuneration received by the vast majority of employees is too low to propose its decrease on a large scale as a result of reduction in working hours, although there are cases of individual employers

who in situations of crisis resort to this solution, whereby jobs are rescued by virtue of an agreement between social partners.

In high unemployment, it seems rational to limit the admissibility of overtime work. According to the current law, apart from unquestionable reasons for the admissibility of overtime employment – if it is necessary to conduct a rescue operation or repair a failure – such employment is allowed in the case of special needs of the employer. In practice, this provision implies free assessment of those causes solely by the employer, without a possibility to effectively challenge that assessment before a court or the National Labour Inspectorate. This allows employers to limit the relatively permanent employment to the minimum level necessary for the duration of a low demand for labour, while an increased demand is covered by overtime work. As a result, overtime, which should be exceptional and sporadic, has become in today's Poland a normal, scheduled practice in the private economic sector. A negative assessment of this state of affairs must not, in my view, be attenuated due to majority of employees willingly accepting overtime work – either to append their income[23] or for fear of provoking the employer's dissatisfaction.

Another way of ensuring that the amount of work available is shared justly is to reduce "multiple employment" (including "civil law" contracts), as well as to limit the possibility of combining paid employment with a pension. The usual argument posed in connection with such proposals is that from the workers's perspective they are contrary to the principle of the freedom of work (Art. 65, para 1 of the Constitution), while from the employers' perspective they are contrary to the principle of freedom of business-economic activity (Art. 20 and Art. 22 of the Constitution). My respose is that these freedoms are not absolute and are subject to restrictions, in accordance with Art. 31, para 3, and Art. 22 of the Constitution. In particular, they should give way to the principles of social justice, which have the status of the supreme constitutional principles, as expressed in Art. 2 of the Constitution.

In a situation of an acute deficit of jobs, including high unemployment among young people, an increase in the retirement age to 67 years seems to have been a dubious step.[24]

The right to work is complemented with the right to social security in situations of a shortage of jobs. The Constitution of the Republic of Poland

[23] This reason has been losing its importance due to the practice of compensating for overtime with time off work, especially when the amount of working time is settled on an annual basis.

[24] In Poland, the retirement age has been lowered back to 60 for women and 65 for men. This Act will come into force in October 2017.

adopted on 17 March 1921 committed the state to create and maintain social insurance against unemployment. The current Constitution, Art. 67, para 2, states: “A citizen who is involuntarily without work and has no other means of support, shall have the right to social security, the scope of which shall be specified by statute”. On the basis of the Act of 20 April 2004 on the promotion of employment and labour market institutions,[25] the financial benefit for an unemployed person is lower than the so-called social minimum per one working person, which can be received, as a rule, for no longer than 6 or 12 months (Art. 72, para 1). Due to the rigorous regulations of the entitlement to the unemployment benefit and the short benefit period, only several percent of the registered unemployed persons are actually entitled to the unemployment benefit (ca. 17.4% in 2013).[26] After the benefit period, an unemployed person may only count on an allowance from the social assistance system.

7. Conclusion

Work is a great human good, not only utilitarian but equitable. It is something that befits human dignity and contributes to the development of the human side of a person (cf. *LE*). Apart from its diverse utilitarian (economic) value, all work has an unequivocal moral value because its subject is the human being, a person endowed with inherent and inalienable dignity.

One of the most important responsibilities of the state as the so-called indirect employer is to carry out the economic and social policy that shall create conditions under which everyone willing and able to work (including the disabled according to their capabilities) can earn their living through the work of their hands or minds.

The proper instrument to be used in order to ensure a proportionate distribution of a limited number of jobs is labour law, in particular the provisions concerning working time and the admissibility of concurrent work for more than one employer.

The Constitution of the Republic of Poland (in Art. 24) commits the state to protect work and exercise supervision over working conditions. As part of that protection, the state should ensure that no entity in any situation should treat work as a commodity.

translated by Agnieszka Gicala

[25] The Polish Journal of Laws of 2008, no. 69, item 415, as amended.

[26] Documents of the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy, Department of Labour Market. Information on persons unemployed and seeking employment in February 2013; 2/2003, Warszawa, p. 8.

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I. Research articles

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Arkadiusz Bagłajewski
(UMCS, Lublin, Poland)

Work in contemporary Polish literature*

The article deals with the literary portrayals of work after the political transformation of 1989 in the prose of selected Polish authors: Andrzej Stasiuk, Dawid Bieńkowski, Piotr Siemion, Daniel Odija, and others. The novels and short stories discussed here deal with personal and social problems, in what can be considered objectivised experience of several individuals. An attempt is made to adapt the methodology of the poetics of experience to those, necessarily selected, portrayals of work. The relevant aspects include: shortage of work as the key element of social change, part-time work, physical work (often considered inferior and unfulfilling), work in the marketplace (as release of subdued energy), work of a small-business entrepreneur (with bankruptcy as an inalienable element of the experience), and work in the novel capitalist corporate context of the time. The literary portrayals of work in the times of transformation involve images of failure, exclusion, and exploitation – a successful career is a mirage, often presented as irony or parody. The Polish reality after 1989 is thus presented in terms of a deep social disintegration: when confronted with the new, capitalist context and the pressure on self-reliance, individuals often fail in what they experience as a hostile reality.

Key words: work in the times of transformation, contemporary Polish literature, poetics of experience

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1. Introduction

In his 2009 book *Polska do wymiany. Późna nowoczesność i nasze wielkie narracje* [Poland for Replacement. Late Modernity and Our Great Narratives], Przemysław Czapliński looks at how Poles narrate themselves in late modernity, when the great narratives of modernism have given way to particularistic narratives, dispersed and multiplied, representing "a multitude of social projects".[1] As the critic aptly observes, "the time of transformation is an epoch of a compressed history of ideas: the premodern perceptions of society as an ethnic community coexist with its modern image as a purposeful organisation and its postmodern vision as a community of consumers" (Czapliński 2009: 18[2]).

A uniform society organised around the homogeneous ideas of progress and modernisation is a thing of the past. We live in the times of social division into micro-groups, further divided into monadic entities, which, in very different ways and often in conflict with one another, formulate their strategies for survival.[3] Ulrich Beck (1992: 130–131) talks here about a "risk society": a society that lives in the present, is vulnerable to unexpected change, and takes a gambling risk of parleying with the unpredictable matter of life. The sociologist says:

> The liberated individuals become dependent on the labor market and because of that, dependent on education, consumption, welfare state regulations and support [. . .], [and] consumer supplies [. . .]. The place of traditional ties and social forms (social class, nuclear family) is taken by secondary agencies and institutions which stamp the biography of the individual and make that person dependent upon fashions, social policy, economic cycles and markets, contrary to the image of individual control which establishes itself in consciousness. (Beck 1992: 130–131)[4]

Let me then pose the following question: in what ways, in the times of transition from communism to democracy, from a planned, socialist economy to a market economy, from a deficiency of goods to an excess of goods and opportunities that can satisfy a myriad of expectations – in what ways, in the past quarter-century, have we been thinking about work, or, more precisely, in what ways have writers been thinking about it, for us and

[1] It should be pointed out that the Polish experience of political, social, and economic transformation bears many traits of modern formation, which coincide with postmodern experiences described in the seminal works of Zygmunt Bauman (esp. Bauman 2004, but also 1991, 1997, 2000, 2001, 2005, 2006a,b) and Anthony Giddens (1990, 1991, 1994). See also Żakowski (2006) or Marody (2014).

[2] All translations from non-English publications by K.W.-D.

[3] Again, see the classics of modern sociology, Zygmunt Bauman and Anthony Giddens.

[4] See also Rifkin (2001).

with us (see Dunin 2004: 213–259)? What have they written about work and what diagnoses have they proposed? How has the sensitive medium of literature recorded and interpreted people's experiences of work in this new socio-political and cultural setting?

In the context of the broader interpretations sketched out here, I set myself the task of considering how the latest literature has represented the problem of work,[5] which is, after all, one of the basic experiences in human life and a major issue in contemporary context.[6] Has it merely contented itself with a superficial description or has it ushered in new perceptions of work? Has it followed the experience of the people being affected, or has it rather sided with the ideologies of the fledgling Polish capitalism? And finally: what cognitive tasks has it set itself, what cognitive horizon has it adopted in relation to work? Has it proposed an in-depth diagnosis of both the fascination with and the dangers of new forms of work? The questions can be multiplied, but the main point here is what portrayals of work emerge from the writings of contemporary Polish writers, such as Andrzej Stasiuk, Piotr Siemion, or Dawid Bieńkowski, as well as younger authors, e.g. Daniel Odija and Mariusz Sieniewicz. In a summary fashion, relating to these authors, Przemysław Czapliński says:

> [Th]e anti-globalist tone of these novels is unquestionable, similarly to the bigotry directed against the Polish transformation and against the effects of the liberal coldness of the state towards society; yet none of them challenges the foundations of capitalism: private property, the right to take market risk, equality with regard to the rules of economy. They postulate not so much a world without capital as a world without its unwelcome consequences. (Czapliński 2009: 31)

2. Experiencing work – work as an experience

I will be looking here at how work as an experience is portrayed in literature, as part of a wider experience of the time of transition, which, on the macro-scale, changed the Polish People's Republic into a capitalist Poland, and on the micro-scale, affected the lives of millions of people,[7] often forcing them to assume new professional and social roles.[8] From this perspective, literature is part of a much larger body of cultural corpus, including the

[5] Cf. a review of the definitions of work in various disciplines (education, psychology, sociology, philosophy, economics, the social teaching of the Catholic Church) in Wilsz (2009, chapter 1).

[6] See Obirek (2006) and Marody (2000, 2002); cf. also Bartmiński (2014).

[7] See Czapiński and Panek (2001 and subsequent reports).

[8] See Browarny (2007).

press, radio, television, documentaries, and feature films. These are the socio-cultural records of the relevant two post–1989 decades, describing specific situations, either factual or fictitious, associated with transformations in the Polish way of life. The transformations often involve individuals having to relinquish their professional roles: a person who used to work on a state-owned farm or in a now bankrupt factory, has to face new challenges: they can remain unemployed or try, with various degrees of success, to pursue a career in business. More often than not, however, they become peddlers or emigrate in search of part-time jobs. These situations, literary accounts involving fictitious characters, resonate in a network of relationships with other characters, with their own motivations for action or responses to the challenges of life. In this way, specific individual experiences are networked, so that a person's mode of conduct is set in relation to that of others.

The experience of work portrayed in the literary prose discussed here is suspended between two poles, i.e. between the world of bankrupt state farms and the communist big industry on the one hand, and, on the other, the world of the neo-capitalist market-regulated vigour and entrepreneurship, along with its inalienable predilection for major and minor swindle. These experiences, are, therefore, viewed as symbolic. They are usually depicted from a distanced, grotesque, and ironic vantage point, rather than being seen as matrices to follow. The literature I am dealing with, then, is like a repository of clichés and stereotypes – although exceptions do exist. My comment is not to be taken as evaluative; rather, I am trying to see how specific experiences of specific characters transform in literature into generalised experiences subject to more synthetic reflection.[9] From this perspective, literature is a forum where specific experiences become textualised, that is, without losing their unique specificity, they acquire the dimension of a more general "testimony" to human experience (Nycz 2012: 33, 149–151). And it is not important (as it is in the case of, say, literary reportage) whether these

[9] I am referring here, albeit loosely, to an inspiring argument by Teresa Walas, who has creatively adapted an insight from Maurice Merleau-Ponty. Walas points out that in looking at literature (or culture) "as selection and projection of experience", one can treat it as capable of depicting the transformation of "naive experience" into "direct existential experience". This means that the experience that is being reflected upon is at the same time inscribed into the experience of the world on the plane of artistic objectification of diverse individual, subjective experiences, whose "sense" is being adjusted (Walas 2012: 276). One can, therefore, speak of textual (discursive) displays of reality (cf. Nycz 2012: 208–226). The reality of human experience is embedded, through literature and its specific practices, into a broader cognitive activity, with literature verbalising the kinds of experiences that cannot be so subtly portrayed in other cultural forms of expression. Save for these two theoretical approaches, I am not citing the vast literature on the subject, asking the reader to consult the extensive lists of references provided in both publications.

individual experiences were actually "lived": it is only important what shape they have acquired in the literary account as related to a given situation. I therefore treat the works of literature discussed here as a kind of articulation of the experience of work – an attempt to understand and describe what individuals experienced at a particular time in a particular place (the times of political and economic transformation in Polish towns and villages), in relation to other places of the globalising world.

Attitudes to work can be viewed from a variety of perspectives; examples from other literary sources can certainly be considered, even if the books I will be discussing here are representative in this regard. Here is one possible perspective: the collapse of state-owned farms and factories is shown through the experience of those who in the new reality have been shoved to the margins of life. The prose is populated by jobless alcohol-abusing characters, mooning about, struggling with the excess of time and the emptiness of their days. Some of them take odd jobs but usually, in order to escape from the new and alien reality, drink away whatever little money they have earned (cf. Stasiuk's Tales of Galicia [*Opowieści galicyjskie*]; Odija's *The Sawmill* [*Tartak*] or *The Glass Works* [*Szklana huta*]). Odd, irregular jobs are for many characters, both those in Poland and abroad, the only available option. The work is usually hard and can only pay for one's basic existential needs. It is often portrayed as requiring massive physical effort and posing a threat to the one's health (digging ditches, painting ships, picking fruit and vegetables, felling trees) (Stasiuk, *Tales of Galicia*; Odija, *The Sawmill*, *The Glass Works*). It can also be unfulfilling and degrading, such the work of a peddler or a flyer-distributor.

Work at a market stall, work connected with trade, involving continual motion, is usually portrayed, in accordance with the journalistic scenario known from non-literary accounts, as release of subdued energy. This vitalistic view, however, is associated in the prose with negative traits such as cunning, deception, or lack of moral reservations (Marek Nowakowski, *Homo Polonicus,* Edward Redliński, *Transformejszen*; Stasiuk, *Tales of Galicia*).

A step higher in the hierarchy is the work of a small-business, often a provincial entrepreneur, offering employment to others. The individual has earned his fortune somewhat illegally, as a member of the old, pre-transformation establishment, a *nouveau riche* with all the typical attributes of the latter, someone with the *idée fixe* of accumulating wealth, driven by the "get rich" slogan. His skills, a combination of ability, connections, and cunning, acquired in the grey market, are a poor match for modern management methods; hence, our businessman often goes bankrupt, knee-deep in debt and his personal life in ruin (Nowakowski, *Homo Polonicus*;

Redliński, *Transformejszen*; Odija, *The Sawmill*, Mariusz Sieniewicz, *The Fourth Heaven* [*Czwarte niebo*]).

Then there is work associated with the new capitalist reality (new jobs such as that of a salesman, manager, media and advertising professional): this world of new opportunities is internally diversified, spanning two poles. At one pole there are people in the upper echelons of a corporation, the creative, English-speaking people in advertising, with access to big money. At the other pole are people from the lower rungs of the corporate ladder, the "small fry" who try to remain afloat amid the difficult waters of job competition. They, in turn, enjoy a degree of control and power over their subordinates in still lower positions, cogs in the corporate machine who sweat and toil for long hours to make profit for the corporation, their benefits including a somewhat uncertain stability, adaptation to the new job market, and familiarity with the new work culture (Dawid Bieńkowski, *Nothing* [*Nic*]; Piotr Siemion, *Niskie Łąki*).

3. The workless

But of course, not everyone has a job. Daniel Odija's short story *Zgryz*,[10] in *The Glass Works* (Odija 2005),[11] is a monologue of a jobless character. It begins like this: "First *primo*, I don't have a job. That doesn't mean I do nothing, but I have to admit I don't do much" (p. 106). The life of the unemployed is essentially tantamount to meaningless vegetation ("We are cheerfully vegetating here", p. 107), animated only by moments of alcoholic overindulgence, in which the characters engage to spice up the monotonous flow of time ("Sometimes my brother comes to visit me. He doesn't have a job, either, but there's always something we can do about it. An odd job here and there, and we've got enough for a bottle", p. 107). Not much happens in the life of the unemployed man: babysitting, waiting for someone to buy him a beer. He drinks chicory coffee and eats bread with margarine and luncheon meat. He earns enough for a modest life – a little money for looking after "that brat Sylwek" (the child's parents pay for the babysitting less than they would have to pay for day care). One of the few distractions

[10] The title is purposefully ambiguous: it can mean 'occlusion' or 'concern, worry', both meanings playing a role in the story. [translator's note]

[11] An overview of Odija's writing can be found in Nęcka (2014: 243–257). The author observes: "There are two leitmotifs in *The Glass Works*. The first is physical work [...], which – being Sisyphean in nature – not only fails to provide satisfaction, but also deprives one of the opportunity to live a dignified life. The other is alcohol" (Nęcka 2014: 249; cf. also Orski 2010: 57–59).

that make him feel better is to go out and look at the misery of others: “As I said, looking at others suffer poverty gets you in a better mood. I’m going back home, quietly whistling to myself. It is not so bad if others don’t have it good, either” (p. 114). But these moments of heightened mood enhance rather than drive away the horror of anticipated disaster: “For now”, the hero does not yet smash furniture, does not beat his wife, does not “slit children’s throats” (p. 116). Yet, he experiences apathy, a sense of disintegration and degradation of his body – this leads to unpredictable consequences:

> This is because I am getting weaker. Quietly and steadily. I do not even feel like walking around the city any more. I just sit. I zap the channels on the TV. My clothes are falling apart. My shoes are cracking across the soles. My skin is peeling off. My hair is falling out. (Odija 2005, *The Glass Works*, p. 116)

4. Physical, casual (and sometimes degrading) work

If, in this literary world, someone does have a job, it is mechanical, predictable, part-time, low-paid, and totally unattractive. Self-fulfilment through work is an empty slogan with no *raison d’être*. In the title story from Odija’s collection *The Glass Works* (2005), a gang of people with complex biographies dig trenches for telephone cables:[12]

> I felt under my spade that the more barren the earth, the more comfortable it was to dig. The more sand there was, the easier. I was lucky not to come across a root. Then I’d have had to cut it. There was no axe, so I’d have had to cut it with my spade. Sometimes my muscles would break and almost rip out through the skin, so hard it was. (Odija 2005, *The Glass Works*, p. 91)

Hard, monotonous work discloses the fatalistic destiny of people relegated to the margins of life, whom the protagonist compares to vermin:

> Tomorrow, I’ll also get up early, before the sun rises. I’ll scrape away the pus from my festering eyes and splash them with cold water. I’ll get dressed and set off to conquer the earth. I’ll dig, I’ll bury, I’ll firm the soil with my feet. Others have done the same before me and will do so after me. Like this poor little insignificant worm, I’ll dig my path. No one sees it, and when someone notices it, they soon forget. (*The Glass Works*, p. 98)

In the story entitled *Brokat* [Glitter], Odija portrays a man who works a variety of jobs – lorries, removals, “a job on a Philippine tanker” (this motif, slightly modified, appears also in the novel *The Sawmill*, p. 37):

[12] The publisher’s note on the book cover says: “While reading this book, you feel the burden of physical work. Work that either grinds you to dust, or strengthens you so that no other force can crush you any more”.

> At night, we cleaned the engine room and this was bearable, despite the fact that after not more than an hour of plunging our hands in a bucket of oil, the fingers of the rubber gloves we were wearing fell off. There were also those that had ribbed cuffs, but when the cuffs soaked, they burnt the wrists, leaving biting blisters on them… This is why we scrubbed the place with bare hands. (Odija 2005, *The Glass Works*, p. 117)

In an ironic short story titled *Majorka* [Mallorca] from the same collection, a co-owner of a pub in Pomerania finds himself on the titular faraway Spanish island after his business has been demolished by musclemen mafia. His first job in Mallorca is with a Polish employer and, predictably, the hero gets cheated. The motif of "exploitation of a Pole by a Pole" recurs in numerous works: in Redliński's *Transformejszen* and in the part of Siemion's *Niskie Łąki* set in New York.

Here is a more extensive excerpt from Odija's collection:

> We did some interior finishing for a German. Classic stuff, a finish coat and painting. But it took us a week of harsh work. Twelve hours a day. Your muscles want to jump out of the skin, your head drops, there's dust in your eyes, your gullet, and your lungs… I shat with lime for a week. At the finish of the job, I see the German go around the house, inspect our work, and he is clearly satisfied: *Ja gut! Gute Arbeit.* And on payday, the Polack tells us that the German is pissed off, that he doesn't like it, and instead of one hundred Euro each, he pays us thirty. I look and I don't believe my eyes. The gang are happy as pigs in shit to take that measly thirty Euro. I explained to the scammer that it wasn't right to deduct seventy percent from someone's pay. And when he resisted, I did the trick with the ladder and he paid me the hundred. I lost the job, but gained a nickname and a word was spread. (Odija 2005, *The Glass Works*, p. 41)

When out of the country, work is basically a measure of the whole of the characters' existence. They work interminably and put their hard-earned money aside under the mattress (never in a bank account). They live in overcrowded apartments – or rather, they sleep there and drink alcohol at weekends (cf. the short story *Mięśnie* [Muscles] in *The Glass Works*, p. 176). And so it goes week after week, month after month, year after year. They scrimp and save, to return to their home country, to build a house, to open a small business.

In another short story, *Melisa* [The Lemon Balm], Odija describes the embarrassing experiences of a peddler, whose job is to offer to residents of apartment blocks the brave new world of cable television. This low-paid work, performed by a declassed member of the intelligentsia, a graduate in philosophy, rests upon a combination of the protagonist's persuasion skills and the consumer needs of his customers, stimulated by the new capitalist economy. The work is an exhausting experience that can lead to neurosis – hence the titular lemon balm, which the main character drinks for its tranquilising effect. Routinely, the protagonist drinks a cup in the

morning ("This herb has always had a smoothing effect on my awkward disposition", p. 58), kisses his wife and sleeping children goodbye, and goes to work. On the job, he is paralysed with fear, the whole situation having a Kafkaesque aspect to it:

> I paused on the fifth floor. I had to rest, calm down. The walls were unpleasantly yellow. They pulsed like a living organism. It felt like they were about to tumble down and trap me like a dead insect in a piece of amber. Apparently yellow and bright, yet they were dark and dim. I felt tar in my head. I felt sick. My stomach contracted and relaxed, as if it were a flower that opens at night. I tried to breathe deeply. Don't puke, don't puke, don't puke! Finally, the fit passed. (Odija 2005, *The Glass Works*, pp. 63–64)

This anxiety-triggered nervous response is the exact opposite of what the man was told it would be at a training session conducted by a "snot-nosed kid in a suit" (p. 64), who just quoted rashly-translated foreign handbooks. Our hero is aware that he is no vendor of dreams but a pesky huckster everyone wants to get rid of as quickly as possible. His work inspires in his potential customers the extreme emotions of resentment and aggression. But in this story, his anxiety also has hidden causes. The protagonist is a former doctoral student who has had to give up work on his dissertation: the wife, the kids, the prose of life. One day, he coincidentally meets a friend from university, now also a salesman, but decides to conceal the nature of his job from his acquaintance. The irony of the conversation between the two is that his university mate complains of his life as a peddler, while our protagonist fabricates a heap of lies about his academic career – not just at the local university but in the capital itself! His (non-existent) research and publishing activity play an important role in that they spark envy in the acquaintance, who begins to believe publishers "pay good money" for a research article.

Odija depicts here the experiences of contemporary intellectuals who have been "blasted out of the saddle", forced to abandon their scholarly interests and to find the only work that the market could offer. Our hero's neuroses, according to this literary diagnosis, grow from his belief that the work he does has a low value. The feeling is augmented by the accompanying sense of defeat and redundancy, grounded in shame and fear.

5. The small-business entrepreneur or from rags to riches *à la polonaise*

Here is a symptomatic excerpt from Stasiuk's *Tales of Galicia*, preceded by a description of a village kiosk transformed into a colourful temple of

consumerism. A temple indeed, as the kiosk is portrayed in a language with overt biblical connotations:

> The colour white, Similac Isomil,[13] is purity, joy, innocence and eternal glory, the colour of the robes of Christ on Mount Tabor, the fine linen from the Temple of Solomon. Blue in Blue Ocean Deodorant is the colour of the Virgin Mary, and the firmament, which, like white, stands for immaculacy. (Stasiuk 1996, *Tales of Galicia*, p. 14)

The passage continues in a similar style. This world of colours, a harbinger of another reality, a biblical message in the kiosk window, breaks the monotony and hopelessness of the post-communist life. It is one of the few signs that herald the arrival of a new world of capitalist consumption,[14] brought to the small village in the Beskid Mountains by a pioneer of native capitalism called Władek:

> When the priest in the church said it was hard but you had to bear it, because this was the price to pay for freedom and for Poland, and that the farmer always etc., Władek caught some side wind, which had never before blown across these valleys. He sold all he had, bought a Syrena,[15] leased the kiosk and began to bring all those glittering gems from Rymanów[16] or some place like that. (Stasiuk 1996, *Tales of Galicia*, p. 15)

This story is, in fact, archetypal for the birth of Polish provincial capitalism: there is the cunning individual, the purchase of an old car, and the launching of a new trading business combined with the awakening of new consumer needs. The life of the protagonist and his family changes: Władek now lives his life in the rhythm of counting the takings, delivering goods to shops in nearby villages, and the budding of his business: a wooden shed with the sign that says “Second-hand Clothes from Abroad”, a fruit stall with a few umbrella-shaded tables, and a video rental store.

Interestingly, Stasiuk compares his character to Ariel among Calibans, floating ethereally over a suddenly transformed reality. The wind of change indeed transforms Władek into a hero levitating over his village, whose inhabitants live more down-to-earth lives, giving themselves to “old, toilsome and hopeless pursuits” (*Tales of Galicia*, p. 16). Władek has within two years become an apostle of a new religion, a religion that will “abolish opposites, invalidate all disputes and make desires tangible” (*Tales of Galicia*, p. 16). Stasiuk’s provincial businessman is equipped with the typical qualities of those who in the first post-transformation years were to become the new salt of the earth: enhanced mobility and the circulation of money in ever

[13] A non-milk formula for infants. [translator’s note]

[14] See Czapliński (2001: 130–131) and Borkowska (2000).

[15] A Polish automobile model manufactured from 1957 to 1972, one of the symbols of Polish communism. [translator’s note]

[16] A town in the Beskids, in south-eastern Poland. [translator’s note]

new businesses tailored to the demands of the local market. The hero of the times of transformation constantly moves around, picking up goods from a wholesaler to display them on his folding camping beds, in his vendor booths, and eventually in his shops. In a few years, as the reader learns from other stories, he will have to face the capitalist competition with retail chains and the Western-style corporate culture. Before this happens, however, he will get to live his dream, unaware of how easy it is to go not only from rags to riches but also back to where he started.

This last case is that of Józef Myśliwski, the protagonist of Daniel Odija's novel *The Sawmill* (2003). Myśliwski is a hard-working man: he started his business by buying, for borrowed money, an old Żuk, a Polish van and light truck produced between 1958 and 1998, plus some cages for breeding foxes. He had also earned money that he invested in land: "He earned it with hard work. Not everyone wanted to work. Myśliwski didn't mind working" (*The Sawmill*, p. 7).

This description of work captures the emergence of the myth of a native self-made millionaire who progresses from rags to riches, a myth that is, however, stripped off whatever mythologising justifications there can be. Becoming a millionaire is indeed hard work – at least in the beginning:

> He would get up at dawn. Day in, day out. He had to feed the animals. He mixed minced fish with powdered vitamins for them. He went in his Żuk as far as the nearest town to buy the feed. Plus, he worked the field. [...] He worked like a dog. He paid his debts and had more and more money. This did not win him friends. [...] After all, a bloke with money must be a thief. (*The Sawmill*, p. 7)

The description of the beginnings of Myśliwski's business highlights the drudgery of his daily routine, a "protestant" virtue that does not fit in the surrounding world of passive existence on a former state-owned farm. Myśliwski's success arouses hatred in people from his surroundings – the villagers see him as a hateful bloodsucker, rather than their employer, even though he had taken a loan to buy the sawmill, imported second-hand machines from Germany, and given jobs to people.

The business starts to grow and Myśliwski needs a new employee, a sales representative for his firm. He employs Marcin Panek ("fluent English, a Ph.D. in economics"), who promises to guide Myśliwski's company to success on the national market. Flawlessly elegant, Panek ventures out in a company car to do business outside the local market. However, just like his boss, he is a mere rookie in the capitalist reality, a business amateur doomed to failure even though he knows well that the market is not governed by invisible laws but by the local political connections. These, he hopes, will bring Myśliwski's company big money. But no big money is made.

Odija uses this experience of the initial phase of Polish capitalism, the dream of building a big company and a spectacular collapse of the first business, in order to depict the bankruptcy of his capitalist heroes, who not only rise above those around them, but also – through their first success – acquire a sense of belonging to a different, better world. Mentally, however, they are still stuck in the old world: without an understanding of the mechanisms of the new reality, they merely want to catch the opportunity that has presented itself. The end of the local capitalist, the owner of the sawmill, is sad. Despite his dedication, his business skills are too amateurish to translate into success. Myśliwski is destined to suffer defeat: he seals his failure by setting fire to the sawmill. In an act of desperation, he comes to recognise that his life is an existential, not just a commercial disaster. In the final pages of the novel, Myśliwski is awaiting a trial in court for arson and improprieties in the management of his firm. The protagonist's fall is total: the failure in business finds its match in his equally woeful family life.

Polish writers of the time of transformation take pleasure in depicting the rise and fall of the Polish provincial entrepreneur, sparing no aspect of his existence, as if commercial and family disasters had to be indivisible. The experience of the local businessman is portrayed quite stereotypically according to the pattern: the higher you climb, the harder you fall. A businessman, even if industrious, is intellectually rather primitive, and often makes his "first million" not through hard work but through a combination of trickery, swindle, and connections. This play with stereotypes, however, has its price: the protagonists do not usually spark compassion; on the contrary, the reader is inclined to side with other characters, those who view the businessman's failures as punishment. This ethical evaluation in the Polish narratives of the early years of transition from communism to capitalism is very strong, albeit sometimes only implicit.

6. New capitalist professions: between creativity and exploitation

A novel perspective on the work experience in capitalist Poland can be found in the narratives that describe a new category of occupation emerging in the Polish market at the turn of the 20th century: the corporate job. One book whose plot revolves around corporate lifestyle is *Nothing* [*Nic*], a once-famous novel by Dawid Bieńkowski (2005; cf. Orski 2010: 48). *Nothing* tells parallel stories of different characters trying make the best of the new reality several years into the transformation. They live in alien worlds, "on

planets light years apart" (*Nothing*, p. 112). One of the characters, Krzysztof Lenart, meets another hero of the novel, Euzebiusz Drutt, at work. Lenart is a former history teacher, now a mid-level employee at a chain of dining facilities called *Positive*. Drutt, a former street vendor selling a massaging device, is a regional representative.

Creative work, in the prose of the period, is work in the media. Mana and Hehe, protagonists of another story in *Nothing*, work for magazines in the capital city. Hehe is a freelancer, leading a relatively modest lifestyle but enjoying his independence and cooperating with the magazine *Miastodont* – an arrangement that allows him to achieve a certain level of self-fulfilment but is not terribly lucrative. A financially better option would be *Your Sex Drive*, an erotic magazine, except that with his artistic soul shaped in the previous decade, the hero finds it embarrassing and degrading. While he could be talked into writing commissioned feature articles about the sexual life of Hildegard von Bingen, making an interview with an American porn starlet visiting Poland is too much to ask.

A different setting has been chosen by Piotr Siemion, who has placed the characters of his novel *Niskie Łąki* (1999) in the city of Wrocław (south-western Poland) in the early 1990s.[17] Former opposition activists and members of the Solidarity trade union, they return to Poland after a period of political exile in the United States. They have already experienced life in a different economic reality but were only able to do odd jobs in a constant struggle to stay afloat. In Wrocław, one of the characters sets up Radio Carlos, a commercial radio station broadcasting at former military FM frequencies. The station's editorial room is in a flurry of activity, enthusiasm, improvisation and "gambling excitement" with which the freshly minted broadcasters try to compensate for their professional deficiencies. Careers can be made out of nothing: such is the case of a teenage DJ who has left secondary school seeking self-fulfilment. The new reality provides plenty of opportunities and the characters have to risk their way to a new life themselves. The spectre of failure is always there but so is a chance for success, as they take advantage of the new opportunities and inspire others with their enthusiasm.

In Bieńkowski's *Nothing* (2005) the narrative is set, not in the dynamic beginnings of capitalism, but in its next phase: the introduction of corporate culture, epitomised here by the *Positive* restaurant chain. "The proper perspective is the success of the entire chain and not just of the individual

[17] The title *Niskie Łąki* (lit. "Low Meadows") alludes to the street called *Na Niskich Łąkach* or the *Park na Niskich Łąkach* the city's district Rakowiec. [translator's note]

people working in it" (*Nothing*, p. 126) – this is the essence of the company's policy, put in the mouth of one of its French, Paris-based manager.

The chain is consistently, though ironically, portrayed as a family: the strategy is imposed by the Paris headquarters in all the countries where *Positive* operates. Of course, the goal is to strongly tie the employees to the company, but sooner or later all the characters will suffer defeat in a hard lesson of the shallowness and illusory nature of the ties. It is a family in which invisible and inaccessible "fathers", in a distant Paris, work out development strategies for the rest. No one is safe in the chain, even if they meet the exacting standards established at the headquarters. Employees at higher levels of management control those in lower positions, meticulously verifying their work: at the lowest rung of the corporate ladder, franchise holders check whether the service in the restaurants is fast and whether the cashiers keep smiling (an inalienable characteristic of a *Positive* employee); the franchisees, in turn, are controlled by regional representatives, who on their computers follow graphs with minute details of the performance of their subordinates. The representatives reward the efficient franchisees and punish those that perform poorly. Their own work, in turn, is verified at the national headquarters by a transnational board. The company's unique software allows for everyone in the firm to be precisely controlled.

The division of labour in the network is such that regional representatives are responsible for supervising the quality of the service. They are a rung higher than franchise holders and gloat over what little power they have (*vide* Euzebek, one of Bieńkowski's characters). Everyone else in a lower position either in the corporate structure or on the social ladder is considered a lamer. An important attribute of a representative is a company car, which he uses to impress his family and chat up young girls. A regional representative has to prove at every turn that he is useful to his company: he will arrive at work first lest no-one, perhaps from as higher rung, turn out to be more efficient. His job is to monitor the performance graphs of the franchisees he has been entrusted with supervising and to pay inspection visits to restaurants. He raises the standards so as to show to his superior that he has achieved better results than his counterpart in another region. The work is performed under substantial pressure – and the easiest way to relieve stress is through casual sex. But even sex has to do with corporate hierarchy: the object of sexual desire is typically a subordinate worker, usually a receptionist or a cashier who, having recently arrived in the big city, is trying to find her place in life.

Consider the following monologue from Euzebiusz (Euzebek) Drutt, which reveals not only the nature of his work but also the type of relationships in corporate culture. Bieńkowski mercilessly exposes his hero's character,

showing how authoritarianism and frustration combine with anxiety and produce a peculiar characterological blend:

> Finally, something showed up on the screen...; it works slowly, like everything else here...
>
> So, Euzebek, what are the figures for yesterday? The most important moment... Let's start by looking at key products... ranking list one, a nationwide comparison of regions... Sale of beef... Oh, shit!... oh, fuck, fuckety fuck fuck! Impossible! We are in the third place! [...] It's all the fault of those bastards, the partners... they can't even kick the cashiers' asses to sell chicken and chips properly...
>
> [...] It must sell, they have to sell it hammer and tongs. Those bastards are simply not doing it. (Bieńkowski 2005, *Nothing*, pp. 149–150)

Krzysztof Lenart is an HR manager, one level up on the *Positive* corporate ladder. He thinks of himself as a contemporary Wokulski:[18] his work is a civilising mission targeted "against all romanticisms", "a thing that will remain in this country and in these people" (*Nothing*, p. 179). He has worked a lot over the past four years; he is a guest in his own house but earns big money: he can afford to place his daughter in a private playgroup and to spend family holidays in warm climates. He has taken out a loan for a house in Las Kabacki, a voguish residential area near a nature reserve in Warsaw, and must pay it back. His new life philosophy is: "To have more, you have to work more" (*Nothing*, p. 175).

Lenart is enthusiastic about the new opportunities at *Positive*. He is a perfect match for the new work culture, whose main goal is to maximise profits by computationally optimising the organisation of the restaurants:

> The system was wonderful... I was proud again that I worked for a company with endless possibilities. I was in contact with a higher civilisation. I already saw in my mind's eye how much insight, how much influence on the sales policy we would now have and how we would tailor it locally and across Poland. [...] Sensational... a new quality of work. (*Nothing*, p. 181)

An effective system must, however, spit out inefficient workers, and this is the other side of the frenzied race to outperform one another. It is only upon realising this that Krzysztof Lenart begins to look at the company from a different angle. However, his doubts are dispelled by Pierre, a manager seconded from the Paris headquarters, who pointedly observes that "involvement in the creation of the brand" cannot be removed from what is most important, which is "to sell as much as possible at the highest possible profit" (*Nothing*, p. 182). And the people? Well, they'll get a six-month severance package and should, in Pierre's opinion, be able to easily

[18] The main protagonist of Bolesław Prus's novel *Lalka* [The Doll], first published in book form in 1890. [translator's note]

find a job elsewhere. But all the characters will eventually suffer defeat: they have placed trust in the system, but the system will mercilessly spit them out or destroy them. Here is Bieńkowski's diagnosis, aptly recapitulated by Przemysław Czapliński: "In the final pages of the novel, *Positive* gets gobbled up by *Donald*. Poland has come under the control of corporations, which will henceforth be exchanging people, companies and property" (Czapliński 2009: 23).

Towards the finale, Bieńkowski introduces the motif of the polonaise, a traditional Polish dance that has functioned as a powerful element in the symbolic space of Polish culture since Romanticism. This corporate kind of polonaise, a drunken vision of strangely intermingled characters of the main plot of the novel, shows the world of the corporation as a world bereft of tradition, culture, and dignity:

> Time to start the polonaise! Everyone, please, join in the procession. Who is going to lead the promenade? I'm sure it will be you, Euzebiusz. Can you manage? Pair up with Pierre! [...] A second pair now. Mr. Murawiec with our friend, Director Konewka. [...] Look, Polonia, what is going on! – Look, Krzysztof... they are dancing. What a promenade! How pleased they are! Completely drunk, all of them. – And a change of partners! [...] So Pierre has now grabbed the chief accountant in his arms... Sylwia is dancing with our fattest partner. It is the end of you all, my dear, the end of each and every one of you. Well, enough of breaded chicken, balance sheets and tables. Remind them of yourself, Lady Polonia! (Bieńkowski 2005, *Nothing,* p. 360)

The polonaise from Bieńkowski's novel can be seen as a kind of metaphor for the experience of work in Poland after the political transformation: a confusion of professional relationship, social conventions, and norms of decorum.[19]

7. Conclusion

In the introductory discussion, I asked the question of how contemporary literature has dealt with human work and whether it has ushered in a new outlook on individual people and on communities faced with a new experience of work (or of its shortage) after the 1989 political breakthrough. Hopefully, the argumentation above has suggested quite a clear answer. The conclusions coincide with earlier hypotheses on the relationship between individuals and work in the fledgling and solidifying early Polish capitalism. Literary accounts of the period have dealt with different experiences of work, although

[19] Czapliński (2003: 202–205) describes the society of the first decade after the political transformation of 1989 as being conflicted and looking for new points of reference and hierarchies.

one should bear in mind that perhaps too often they have reached for ready interpretations and relied heavily on the clichés known otherwise from journalistic descriptions (images of the jobless reality of former state-owned farms, the ups and downs of Polish provincial business, the superficial magic of the colourful world of media and advertising). These clichéd images often played the role of satirical or grotesque–cum–ironic interpretations of that time. Much has already been written on the subject. On several occasions, however, literature has offered more subtle and in-depth diagnoses on, for example, the "fashionable" tendency to overwork, often to the point of becoming completely engrossed in work. This pattern of behaviour can be attributed to the new standards of working culture imported from the West, as well as with the desire to close the gap between the standards of living in the West and in Poland (cf. in this regard Bieńkowski's *Nothing*). Another such diagnosis concerns the cunning and bravado of the first years of the transformation, the features that contribute to our understanding of the Polish national character, quite apart from the stereotypical craftiness and inclination to commit greater or lesser fraud. Last but not least, the reader is offered accounts of certain types of professional activity that appealed to the collective imagination of that time, which were believed, for better or for worse, to be not only psychologically rewarding but also profitable.

The general diagnosis, although varied, is quite pessimistic. Polish society is depicted as permanently stratified, with no clear rules and stable points of support. The descriptions more often refer to those who did not succeed than those who came to inhabit the colourful islands of success. Literature, being a sensitive seismograph of collective consciousness, has recorded the new experiences of work in a subtle, often empathetic language, siding with the excluded, and the hard-working, and being critical of the business careers made outside the generally accepted ethical standards. This literary diagnosis complements, and at points significantly broadens, the observations offered in social sciences.

translated by Klaudia Wengorek-Dolecka

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I. Research articles

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Marius Smetona, Irena Smetonienė
(Vilnius University, Lithuania)

Darbas 'work' in selected Lithuanian discourses*

The study presents the Lithuanian linguo-cultural image of work (darbas) reconstructed from lexicographic and textual data. The lexicographic sources used are The Dictionary of the Lithuanian Language (*Lietuviu Kalbos Žodynas*, *LKŽ*) and The Dictionary of Contemporary Lithuanian (*Dabartinės Lietuvių Kalbos Žodynas*, *DLKŽ*). The relevant definitions in the two dictionaries differ substantially and reflect, respectively, former and contemporary views on work. The lexicographic treatment contains elements of the rural understanding of work as a hard, arduous human activity, performed out of necessity but at the same time as something that brings joy and functions as the foundation of one's life. The dictionaries also contains elements of Soviet ideology, especially an extolment of work and its superiority over people. To complement this view, data from a literary, ideological, legal, and journalistic discourse provide new means of looking at work. Descriptions of hard work as a fundamental human activity can be found in the writings of classic Lithuanian authors, such as Kristijonas Donelaitis, Dionizas Poška, and Juozas Tumas-Vaižgantas. At the same time, literary descriptions have a distinct poetic flavour and foster the sense of ennoblement, as well as elevating workers as heroes. Ideological discourse reveals the patriotic sense of work, legal discourse revolves around the significance of the law. The most diverse is the treatment of work in journalistic discourse: it is a value, an honour, and a duty; it brings satisfaction if it is interesting; it may also be treated as a relatively effortless hobby.

Key words: work, Lithuanian discourse, literary discourse, ideological discourse, legal discourse, journalism

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1. Introduction

The view of work as a value that defines who we are is shaped by educational institutions with their role of preparing young people for adult life. The family, the school, the Church, and the media all exert a huge impact on a person's attitude to their surroundings. Work is of interest to many scientific disciplines: its various aspects are investigated in anthropology, palaeontology, history, sociology, and psychology. From the sociological and philosophical perspective, work is often portrayed as something that gives meaning to human life: occupational training and the ability to perform the tasks one has been assigned boost a person's self-esteem. It is assumed that the social position of a person is determined by their profession and the work they perform. The choice of the profession and the nature of one's job have a direct connection with the income of the individual and a direct bearing on their economic status.

In the teaching of the Catholic Church, work is a fundamental dimension of man's existence on earth; cf. Pope Francis: "Work [...] in its many forms – is proper to the human person. It expresses the dignity of being created in the image of God" (General audience, Paul VI Audience Hall, Wednesday, 19 August 2015, published in Pope Francis 2015). Pope John Paul II devoted the entire encyclical *Laborem Exercens* (1981) to work. In it, he states that

> ... man's dominion over the earth is achieved in and by means of work. [...] Man dominates the earth by the very fact of domesticating animals, rearing them and obtaining from them the food and clothing he needs, and by the fact of being able to extract various natural resources from the earth and the seas. (Ioannes Paulus PP. II 1981, ch. 5)

The practice of dominating over or subduing the earth is even more vividly manifested through the land cultivation and the transformation of the earth's products for human use. Thus agricultural work is the primary field of economic activity:

> Man has to subdue the earth and dominate it, because as the "image of God" he is a person, that is to say, a subjective being capable of acting in a planned and rational way, capable of deciding about himself, and with a tendency to self-realization. As *a person, man is therefore the subject of work.* (Ioannes Paulus PP. II 1981, ch. 6)

The position of the Church is echoed in a commentary on the encyclical posted on the website bernardinai.lt: "Jei pasiseka pasirinkti darbą pagal savo gyvenimo svajonę, atsiveria galimybė daugiau ar mažiau save atrasti ir realizuoti" [If we are lucky enough to choose a job in accordance with our

life's dreams, it will open the possibilities, to a greater or lesser extent, of self-discovery and self-fulfilment] (accessed Dec 5, 2016).

Work is also a kind of duty. In some views, work and marriage are the two domains that frame, give meaning to, and actually constitute the whole life of an adult human. Freud finds love and work to be the most important spheres of human life, prerequisite for success.

2. Lithuanians and work

The qualities that Lithuanians attribute to work as a type of activity locate at the extreme ends of a variety of scales: good – bad, hard – light, prestigious – disreputable, well-paid – poorly-paid, etc. More often than not, however, work is treated as a duty necessary to provide for the family and to meet one's own needs.

The well-known Lithuanian poet Justinas Marcinkevičius, whose views are consistent with the teaching of the Catholic Church, poeticises work, treating it as a moral norm. In his 2011 book *Dienoraščiai ir datos* [Diaries and Dates], he writes:

> Let's try to treat life as a duty. As a duty of a person to another person, a duty of an individual to society and of society to individuals, a duty of the sun to the earth, of parents to their children, of a worker to work, as our duty to truth and fidelity, a duty of the scientist to science, as fidelity and duty of the poet to poetry, as a duty to goodness and beauty, to the country, to the present day and the day after that, as a duty to a tree and a bird. (from an interview at respublika.lt; accessed Dec 14, 2015)[1]

Nowadays, however, young people have a more pragmatic view of work:

> Today, hardly anyone is inclined to say that work, which takes up the lion's share of our lives, is their most meaningful aspect. The nature of economics and industry, with their notion of "workforce", is such that they alienate persons from their work. Humans are isolated from and alien to the results of their own work – they have no contact with those results, so that work itself is alien to humans. Work does no longer lead to self-fulfilment and satisfaction of personal needs – it is merely a duty, an obligation. In addition, because of the impersonal attitude towards work, hidden under the terms *workforce*, *specialist*, or *company reputation*, humans experience increasing difficulty in building and expressing their identity through work. (Baranovas 2011: 2; transl. K.W.-D.)

Nevertheless, being very hard-working people, Lithuanians *are* capable of enjoying the results of their work, regardless of whether they see it as a duty or a routine. This is a very deeply entrenched attitude, cf. some uses of the word *darbas* from several Lithuanian dialects:[2]

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[1] http://www.respublika.lt/lt/naujienos/kultura/portretai/jmarcinkevicius_rodo_kur_eiti_kai_paklysti/,print.1

[2] There are four major dialects of Lithuanian, as well as several subdialects.

(1) *O tai darbo žmogus, visą dieną kaip bitelė pluša.* [This is a busy man, working all day like a bee.] (Šaukėnai, Kelmė district municipality)
(2) *Šiandie darbo turim iki ausų.* [Today, we are up to our ears in work.] (Marijampolė)
(3) *Pasisodink tą šniūrą braškių, tada turėsi darbo lig akių ir uogų.* [Plant a patch of strawberries and get your fill of work and berries.] (Ramygala, Panevėžio region)
(4) *To darbo tai pilnos akys, negali apsigint.* [All this work makes you see double, you cannot defend yourself.] (Alvitas, Vilkaviškio region)
(5) *Be darbo ilgu.* [You feel wistful when there's no work.] (Slavikai, Šakių region)
(6) *Jis visada paskendęs darbuose.* [He is always immersed in work.] (Šunskai, Marijampolė County)
(7) *Jau žiemą kulti – tai paskutinis darbas.* [In the winter, there's threshing – this is the last job.] (Ramygala, Panevėžio region)
(8) *Kad visuomet darbuose, tai nė pasakos nerūpi.* [As he works all the time, he doesn't care about anything, even fairy tales.] (Geistarai, Vilkaviškio region)
(9) *Dabar iš darbų turim tik suart.* [Now the only work left to do is ploughing.] (Pociūnėliai, Radviliškio region)
(10) *Vasarą darbuose visi nušilę, nuplukę.* [In the summer, everyone at work is hot and sweating.] (Panevėžys)

As these examples show, for an ordinary Lithuanian person work is a routine, a simple physical activity they cannot and do not want to avoid: Lithuanians are not accustomed to idling the hours away, and there is so much work that there's no end to it (2, 3, 4, 6, 9). Work is hard, exhausting (1, 7, 10), a person who is overburdened with work does not care and may not even remember about other matters (8), but a person who is used to working, cannot live without work (5). Thus, hard work usually receives positive valuation: a diligent, hard-working person is compared to an ant or a bee, which, in folk culture, only have positive connotations (bees and humans are alike – they both *valgo* 'eat' and *miršta* 'die', while all the other living beings *ėda* 'gobble' and *dvesia* 'die (of animals)'. These aspects of work have been perpetuated in folklore or entrenched in derivatives of the lexeme *darbas* (e.g. *darbas žmogų puošia*, lit. 'work decorates man'; *darbštus kaip bitutė* 'busy as a bee'; *darbštus kaip skruzdė* 'busy as an ant'), which, however, are not in focus in the present paper.

References to work are also found in historical records:

(11) *Senus mažus* ***darban*** *varė.* [Old and young were all forced to work.] (*JLd* 1954: 210)
(12) *Nesirupink mano sunkiais* ***darbeliais***. [Do not worry about my hard work.] (*JLd* 1954: 31)
(13) *Nuo sunkių* ***darbelių*** *žiedelis rūdėja.* [A ring darkens from hard work.] (*StnD*:12)
(14) *Jei* ***darbą*** *savo rankelių valgysi, pašlovintas būsi.* [If you eat the fruit of the labour of your hands, you will be blessed.] (*Mž* 1992: 424)

Work features here as an obligation, a duty (11), despite the fact that hard work is referred to with diminutives (12, 13, 14). In all the examples above, the dominant notion is 'hard work'. In colloquial expressions, the word *darbas* is used in several meanings:

(15) *Bitės parlekia su* ***darbu***. [The bees are returning with the harvest (their day's work).] (Veliuona, Jurbakas district municipality)

(16) *Spinta didelė, bet* ***darbas*** *nė šuniui nevertas*. [The wardrobe is big, but the job is not worth a dog.] (Joniškis, Joniškis district municipality)

(17) *Kai šitą [laikrodį] nugyvensiu, tai kitą vėl pirksiu to pačio* ***darbo***. [As soon as this (watch) breaks down, buy a new one of the same make.] (Pilviškiai, Vikaviškis district municipality)

(18) *Kai pašoka, jaunoji suriš a savo* ***darbo*** *juosta*. [When they have danced, the young girl will tie (him) with a belt of her own making.] (Dieveniškės, Vilnius County)

(19) *Apsiūtas savo* ***darbo*** *siūlu*. [Trimmed with threads of (her) own making.] (Lazdijai, Lazdijai dictrict municipality)

(20) *Namų* ***darbo*** *rūbai geriau ir velėjas*. [Homemade clothes are easier to wash.] (Sudeikiai, Utena County)

In these examples, the word *darbas* refers to the results of work (15), the specific products of work (16), the quality of the work done (16, 17, 20), and the method through which an item has been made or produced (18, 19). It can therefore be said that in dialects and historical language records, the Lithuanian *darbas* has quite a diverse range of meanings: it is used to designate both the quality of work as well as trouble, drudgery, and toil.

It should be noted that *darbas* and *dirbti* (both meaning 'work') are not old words inherited from Proto-Indo-European and their original meaning probably was not associated with burden. According to Smoczyński (2007), *dirbti*, *dirbu*, *dirbau* are related to the Latvian *dirbt*, meaning 'to run fast' or, paradoxically, 'walk slowly (stroll, saunter)'. The meaning 'hard work', according to the Lithuanian etymologist Mažiulis, appeared later, probably for social and psychosocial reasons, and was borrowed from other languages: it exists in the Latvian *stràdât* (borrowed from Russian), in dialectal Lithuanian *prociavoti* (from Polish), in the Prussian **gevin(a)tvei* 'to work hard' (a loan-word) and **delatvei* 'to work, act', cf. Lithuanian *dirbti* 'to work, act' (prusistika.flf.vu.lt; accessed Dec 12, 2015).

The meaning 'to work hard' is in the Lithuanian language expressed with the largest number of synonyms: *plušeti* 'to fag, to toil', *triusti* 'to toil away', *prakaituoti* 'to sweat', *prakaitą lieti* 'to sweat' (Antanas 2002); the nominal 'hard work' also has the greatest number of antonyms: *atilsis* 'rest', *poilsis* 'recreation', *gulejimas* 'lying down', *nedarbas* 'unemployment', *švente* 'a feast, a holiday', *tingejimas* 'laziness, idleness' (Ermanytė 2003).

3. Work in literary discourse

In the history of Lithuanian literature, there have been three distinguished authors who have devoted particular attention to human work: Kristijonas Donelaitis, Dionizas Poška, and Juozas Tumas-Vaižgantas.

Let us begin the analysis with Donelaitis's poem *Metai* [The Seasons] – the most outstanding piece of 18th-c. Lithuanian didactic writing. Donelaitis was a parson and felt an obligation to oversee the morality of his parishioners, whom he tried to educate by relating to the type of work associated with each season of the year and stressing that, being assigned to humans through God's decree, work must be done without unnecessary interruptions and regardless of the weather:

(16) *Nugi dabar, į dievišką žiurėdami ranką*
Judinkimės pamaži nuolatai nusitvert savo ***darbus****.*
Ir nepabūkim, kad išgirsim darganas ūžiant.
Ar kad orai mus daugsyk visoki nugandins!
[So meanwhile, while we gaze at God's benignant hand,
Let's move on and prepare ourselves for heavy work,
And let's not be alarmed on hearing lashing rains,
Or when the gales and storms will try to harry us.]

Donelaitis devotes much attention to the process of working itself, trying to convey the mood that accompanies work. In the times described, work occupied most of a peasant's life, who would put his heart and soul into it. In the spring, there was sowing, with hopes for a good harvest. Summer was an especially difficult time, as it often involved work without respite. In the summer, serfs would sag under the burden of toil (one part of the poem is actually titled *Summer Toil*): the collecting and spreading of manure, haymaking, harvesting cereals, broad beans and peas, picking nuts and mushrooms. By describing the spreading of manure, Donelaitis shows that the Lithuanian peasant was committed to work and did his duty in a timely and conscientious manner, even when it was the hardest and filthiest of jobs. In the countryside, people used to spend all their time out of doors – it is only during the long winter evenings that work was done at home by the lamplight. Winter work was less onerous but it was monotonous. On the positive side, work made peasants stronger: they never complained of "gentlemen's" diseases.

The characters in Donelaitis's poem are divided into two groups: the positive *viežlybieji* (from Rus. *vezhlivyi*, lit. 'well-behaved') and the negative *nenaudeliai* (lit. 'ne'er-do-well'). The villains, Plaučiunas, Dočys, Slunkius and others, are antisocial, dangerous, and contentious; they incite others

to engage in dishonest behaviour, drunkenness, and gluttony. One of the village baddies, a smart aleck and a sluggard called Slunkius (the very word *slunkius* is synonymous with *sluggard*, *shirker*, see *LKŽ*), says:[3]

(17) *Ak! kad būt ilgiaus žiema pas mus pasilikus,*
Ir kad vis miegot mums būtuų sviete paskirta!
Ogi dabar, žėlėk Dieve! jau vasara randas
*Ir **darbuų** naš tas nusitvert vėl ragina rengtis.*
[Oh, that we were sent here just to eat, drink, and sleep!
But now, Lord, pity us, the summer time draws near
And summons us take up unwelcome loads of toil.
I wish the winter had remained a longer while.]

Slunkius's monologue stands in contrast to Pričkus's words encouraging his fellow villagers to get ready for work:

(18) *Bet juūs, viežlybi kaimynai, juūs, gaspadoriai*
Su grečnoms gaspadinėms, mums nereik nusigėdėt,
*Kad mes, būriškus jau vėl nusitverdami **darbus**,*
Mėšlus rausim ir laukus iųdirbdami vargsim.
[But you, good neighbours, men of home and family
You, stalwart breadwinners with sweet and gentle wives
We need not be ashamed of irksome farming work:
The pitching of manure, the digging in the soil.]

Donelaitis clearly shows which of the peasants should be followed as role models – he himself adores only those peasants who work. Work is life's basic road sign, an unavoidable duty. The author admires the *viežlybieji* (the good peasants) because they truly respect and love work. They hurry to work, even if they haven't managed to eat their breakfast or get dressed properly, just to be on time. They do all their work conscientiously and responsibly; they toil without sparing themselves.

The poem *Mužikas žemaičių ir Lietuvos* [The Samogitian and the Lithuanian Peasant], written in the early 19th c. by Dionizas Poška (Dionizy Paszkiewicz), reads like a condensed version of Donelaitis's *The Seasons*: it shows the work of a serf and his toil in different seasons of the year, accentuating the enormity and the incessant nature of this work:

(19a) *Pons taria: "Garbė dievui, darbymets praėjo".* [The Master says: "Glory to God, the busy season has passed".]
(19b) *Mužike! kitaip sakai: naujs darbs prasidėjo.* [And you, Peasant, you say otherwise: new work has just begun.]

[3] English translation by N. Rastenis, available at www.balticsealibrary.de (accessed Jan 20, 2017).

Similarly to that of Donelaitis, Poška's primary goal is to glorify the serf, the doer of all the farm work. A man of work (Poška's *mužikas* 'peasant') is extolled as the creator of all material, spiritual, and cultural values. At the same time, his poverty and slavish life subjected to lawless treatment are described.

But then comes the antithesis, announced already in the first line of the poem:

(20) *Dalele ž monių brangi, vienok paniekinta*
Iš kurio ***darbios*** *rankos žemės vaisiai krinta!*
[A dear folk, though too often scorned,
From whose hard-working hands come the fruits of the earth!]

It is supported by the entire poetic content of this work. The peasant (*mužikas*) understands that he is "the true master of life – the producer of all social goods, the creator of all values" (Girdzijauskas 2001: 621):

(21) *Mužike! rašiau* ***darbus*** *pagal mano galeės.*
„Netiesa: tai tikt yra darbų mano dalys,
Kurias tiktai nugraibei kaip verėne taukus:
O kas gi tuos išskynė pievas, dirvas, laukus?
Kas sausomis padarė tas pelkes bedugnes?
Kas akmenis suskaldė su gelžiu per ugnis?
[...]
Kas pastatė tas baltas trobas mūrinyčias,
Iš plytų ar iš akmens blizgančias bažnyčias?
Kas tuos žemčiūgus, auksus, sidabrus nupelno?
Vis tai kruvins prakaitas ir mužiko delna".
[Peasant, I am strong and audacious in my words.
"Nay, but you only mention a part of the work, and not all our toil,
Like a cook, who skims off the fat.
Now say, who sows the patches, who gathers crops during the harvest?
Who removes these marshes, muds and swamps?
Who splits stones without fire and steam?
[...]
Who builds the white town houses,
And eternally lasting churches from brick and stone?
And who supplies your country with gold and silver?
Why, this whole bloody toil is the work of the peasant's hands".][4]

[4] Translated into English from the Polish translation by Julia Wichert-Kajrusztisowa (in Stoberski 1973).

Despite the similarities between the two poems, Poška's and Donelaitis's attitudes to peasants' work differ considerably. In both authors, peasants are portrayed in a positive light, they respect and love work, they toil, sparing no efforts – but in Poška their work is portrayed as slavish and exhausting. Even though a *mužikas* produces marvellous goods, he does not feel the joy of it – instead, he complains and cries.

The views on work of the 20$^{\text{th}}$-c. writer, Reverend Juozas Tumas-Vaižgantas, come close to those expressed by the Catholic Church. In his writings, work is extolled. Tumas-Vaižgantas's descriptions of work are wrapped in memories of the past, stories and sayings. Most interesting in this regard is the novel *Pragiedruliai* [Rays of Hope]. Indeed, all the people work hard and work a lot; this is forced labour, but some do it out of habit, others out of duty. However, for Napalys Šešiavilkis (the protagonist in the book) work is a source of happiness; he willingly gets up earlier than others and does more work than others. Work is part of his life, his happiness, rather than a burden. This is a man who takes delight in everything, e.g. in the spring haymaking or in the choosing of the scythe, and his zeal for work attracts others:

(22) *Therefore, hired workers from the Šešiavilkis family never want to go anywhere without Napalys. Walking together, they looked at this handsome young man with a fair complexion, listened to his unending talk and did their work as if it were easy, without getting bored or discouraged...*

In the novel, the work performed by Napalys is ennobled, portrayed in a poetic manner – the author accentuates the young man's strength, the value of his work, its beauty and usefulness:

(23) *Being in the prime of his life and in good health, Napalys did his work in the farmyard with the same fervour with which he always undertook any new job. His ability to do everything simply perfectly aroused admiration... Whistling, singing or chatting merrily, Napalys ploughed the field, mowed the hay, threshed the crop, pitched the manure, and did it all just as well as the hired workers. And even better, because he worked with more patience and perseverance.*

Tumas-Vaižgantas offers a poetic description of a "concert of scythes" before haymaking and of the haymaking itself in *Gondingos krašte* [Gondinga's Country]: work is hard, but the images of work are bright, filled with the sunshine, the smell of grass, and the breeze. Work, according to Tumas-Vaižgantas, is a source of joy and health, an activity that elevates and ennobles people. It is not coincidental that the chapter of the novel entitled "Napalys darbus dirba" [Napalys does his work] is compulsory reading in

Lithuanian schools. Other Lithuanian writers do not devote so much attention to work in their writings, but in one way or another, the theme of work constantly recurs in Lithuanian literature. Writers describe the characteristic features of work:

(24) *Esame* ***darbo*** *mes broliai, klauso mūs erdvės ir toliai.* [We are brothers at work, spaces and distances are listening to us.] (Vincas Mykolaitis-Putinas)
(25) *Bene* ***darbas*** *rūpės jam dirbti.* [Is it just work that will matter to him.] (Žemaitė (Julija Beniuševičiūtė-Žymantienė))
(26) *Visus* ***darbus*** *ji nudirbo*, ***darbas*** *rankose jai tirpo.* [She has done all her work; she is a demon for work.] (Salomėja Nėris)
(27) *Kas dar prispaustų prie* ***darbo*****, supliukštų** *jos lašiniai.* [If someone forced her to work, she would lose some of her fat.] (Jonas Jablonskis)
(28) *Prasidėjo lauko* ***darbai****.* [Work in the fields has begun.] (Antanas Vienuolis)
(29) *Lengvo rankų* ***darbo*** *nemoka – nei siūti, nei megzti.* [She cannot (even) do simple manual work – she can neither sew nor knit] (Žemaitė)
(30) *Kad žmogus ir numiršta*, ***darbai*** *gyvena.* [Even if a man dies, his work lives on.] (Jonas Jablonskis)
(31) *ŽMOGUI visada mieliau dirbti* ***darbą*****, negu atlikti pareigą**. [It is always more pleasant for a man to do work than to do duty.] (Justinas Marcinkevičius)
(32) *Jei iš viso yra pašaukimas, tai kilniausias pašaukimas yra* ***darbas****.* [If there exists a thing called vocation, then work is the most honourable vocation.] (Justinas Marcinkevičius)
(33) *Į* ***darbą*****, broliai, vyrs į vyrą, šarvuoti mokslu atkakliu!** [Let's get to work, brothers, hand in hand, armed in the armour of science!] (Maironis (Jonas Mačiulis))
(34) *Kambario nuotaika, ramybė, knygos – geriausi* ***darbo*** *draugai.* [The mood in the room, tranquility, books – work's best companions.] (Petras Cvirka)

The examples show that work is presented in Lithuanian literature primarily as a kind of physical activity (26–29) and a result of this activity (30). The works of 20th-c. authors feature the concept of intellectual work (33, 34). Interesting work, performed with love, is never a burden: it is a natural activity that becomes people (24, 31–32). Work is a vocation (32) and people who work together form circles of brotherhood (24).

The basic aspects of work identified in excerpts from historical language records, dialects and literature, are arranged in *LKŽ* into the following definitions:
1. 'purposeful, socially useful human activity requiring mental or physical effort; an occupation, activity, effort';
2. 'what is being (has been) performed, made, or done';
3. 'the quality or a method of execution, production'.

The focus of the present article is work in the first of these senses.

4. Ideological discourse

Work in the first sense given in *LKŽ*, 'socially useful human activity', often appears in ideological discourse, which represents an understanding of this concept characteristic of peasant communities:

(35) *President Smetona: Kokia gi yra toji pareiga? Ji yra mokytis, auklėtis ir išėjus mokslą dirbti naudingas* ***darbas*** *tėvynei.* [What exactly is this duty? It is to learn, educate oneself, and after completing one's education, to perform valuable work for the homeland.] (in Edintas 1990)

(36) *A Signatory of the Act of Independence of Lithuania, Z. Vaišvila: Tai buvo* ***darbas*** *vardan Lietuvos Tautos akivaizdoje.* [This was work done in the name of Lithuania and in the face of the Nation.] (laisva-slaikraštis.lt; accessed Dec 18, 2017)

(37) *President Grybauskaite: Kiekvieno diplomato pareiga –* ***darbas*** *Tėvynei ir šalies ž monių interesų gynimas.* [It is the duty of every diplomat to work for the good of the homeland and in the interest of the people of our country.] (15min.lt; accessed Dec 14, 2015)

(38) *The film director Ibelhauptaitė: Mūsu* ***darbai*** *turi pasakyti, ar Mylime Tevyne.* [Our work should attest to the fact that we love our homeland.] (Meeting of World Lithuanian Youth 2015)

The notion of patriotism clearly emerges from these examples. Work becomes an abstract concept composed of numerous minor, specific actions. By performing those small tasks, a person contributes to the welfare of the state and the consolidation of statehood. This notion is often found in special-occasion and propaganda speeches, especially by political activists, as well as in leaflets distributed during election campaigns. This understanding of work is characteristic of a pro-national stance: work is mentioned in the context of the homeland as a source of prosperity.[5]

In the context of ideology, one cannot neglect reference to Soviet discourse, in which work for the good of the society was the pivotal element of the doctrine. This is evident in the examples cited in *LKŽ*:

(39) *Fizinis ir protinis* ***darbas*** *yra visų medžiaginių ir kultūrinių vertybių šaltinis.* [Physical and mental work is the source of all material and cultural values.]

(40) *TSR Sąjungoje* ***darbas*** *– kiekvieno darbingo piliečio pareiga ir garbės dalykas.* [In the Soviet Union, work is a duty and a matter of honour for every citizen fit for work.]

(41) *Didelis* ***darbas*** *dirbamas kolūkiams elektrifikuoti.* [Great work is being done: the electrification of collective farms.]

[5] The patriotic aspect of work is common to various cultures; recall for example John F. Kennedy's famous words from his 1961 Inaugural Address: "Ask not what your country can do for you, ask what you can do for your country".

These examples show that the Soviet authorities elevated work to the level of honour and duty; they promoted physical work as being equally important as intellectual work. Soviets portrayed work as a source of social welfare, certainly being aware of the ideological falsehood of the notion vis-à-vis reality.

5. Work in modern journalism

The views of contemporary Lithuanians on work are best summarised in the following entry from the Internet site bernardinai.lt:

(42) *Psichologijos požiūriu žmogaus santykis su* ***darbu*** *gali būti trejopas:* ***darbas*** *dėl pinigų,* ***darbas*** *dėl karjeros,* ***darbas*** *kaip pašaukimas.* [From the psychological point of view, there are three types of attitude people have towards work: they work for money, they work to make a career, and they work because work is their vocation.] (bernardinai.lt; accessed Dec 10, 2015)

Other comments posted on the Internet provide more detailed descriptions of various aspects of work:

(43) *Nors sergantys žmonės turėtų gulėti lovoje ir sveikti, apklausos rezultatai parodė, kad daugumai žmonių* ***darbas*** *yra svarbesnis nei sveikata.* [Although patients should stay in bed and recover, the results of the survey showed that for most people work was more important than health.] (delfi.lt; accessed Dec 14, 2015)

(44) *Tai, ką turi dabar, šis lietuvis susikūrė sunkiu* ***darbu****.* [What they have now, the Lithuanians have earned through hard work.] (delfi.lt; accessed Dec 14, 2015)

(45) *Lietuvis* ***darbe*** *jaučiasi puikiai, jei dirbti įdomu, darbovietė finansiškai stabili, o santykiai su viršininku yra geri.* [A Lithuanian feels great at work, when the work is interesting, the job is financially stable, and the relations with the manager are good.] (lzinios.lt; accessed Dec 15, 2015)

(46) *Man* ***darbas*** *yra kaip savotiškas hobis, kuriam reikalingi aktoriniai sugebė jimai ir nuolatinė improvizacija.* [Work, for me, is a kind of hobby which requires acting skills and constant improvisation.] (regionunaujienos.lt; accessed Dec 18, 2015)

(47) *Iš jų daugiau kaip pusė mano, kad teismai išmano savo* ***darbą****.* [The majority of them are of the opinion that the courts are doing their job well.] (tiesos.lt; accessed Dec 14, 2015)

(48) *Vienas* ***darbas*** *yra visiška mano aistra, mano kelias, mano gyvenimo prasmė (gelbėju gyvybes), tačiau už jį mažai moka. Kitas* ***darbas*** *man atrodo nuobodus, kankinantis, monotoniškas (nors daug kas atiduotų viską, kad turėtų toki[2DB?] puikų diplomą), aš jame tikrai nesu laiminga, bet . . . už jį gerai moka.* [One of my jobs is my great passion, my chosen path, the meaning of my life (I save people's lives), but it is low-paid. My other job seems boring, tedious, monotonous (though many would give anything to have such a beautiful diploma); I'm really not happy doing this job, but . . . it is well-paid.] (delfi.lt; accessed Dec 14, 2015)

As these examples show, contemporary Lithuanians understand work in many different ways: as a value, a matter of honour, a duty; a person feels good when doing interesting work (45); work is a hobby which does not require great effort (46); work is based on skill and competence (47); work is hard (44); it may be the meaning of one's life, although low-paid (48); work can be boring, tedious, monotonous, but highly paid (48). Some of the advertisements found on job websites offer writing services (the sale of "written work"). Generally, advertisements give prominence to the same features of work: well-paid, interesting, high-quality, suitable:

(49a) *Ieškau gerai apmokamo* ***darbo***. [I'm looking for a well-paid job.]
(49b) *Gal kas žinote gerą* ***darbą*****, kur moka gerus pinigus?** [Does anyone know of a job for good money?]
(50) *Siūlome įdomų darbą jaunam, komunikabiliam vaikinui.* [We are offering an interesting job for a young man with good communication skills.]
(51) *Rašau bakalauro ir kitus baigiamuosius* ***darbus*****, parduodu rašto** ***darbą*** *ir t.t.* [I write BA theses (lit. works) and other dissertations (works), I sell written work, etc.].

However, the semantics of work found in such texts requires a separate study.

6. Legal discourse

Legal discourse is unique in that it concerns the relationship between a person and the state, as well as the relationships between people subject to legal regulations:

(52) *Kyla klausimas: ar* ***darbas*** *gali būti tik žmogaus teisė, ar gali buti ir pareiga? Atsakymaų ių šių klausimaų galima rasti to paties LR Konstitucijos 48 str. 3 ir 5 dalyse bei kituose tarptautiniuose teisės aktuose.* [The question arises whether work can be solely a person's right, or whether it can be their duty? The answer to this question can be found in article 48, sections 3 and 5 of the Constitution of the Republic of Lithuania and other international legal acts.] (jurisprudencija.lt; accessed Dec 10, 2015)
(53) *Visuomenei naudingas* ***darbas*** *– visuomeninio* ***darbo*** *forma; viena iš pagrindinių nuteistųjų pataisymo ir perauklėjimo priemonių.* [Socially useful work – a form of social work; one of the basic methods of correctional education of a condemned person.] (*Pataisos darbų kodeksas* – Code of Correctional Work)

In legal discourse, there emerges a new semantic area connected with work as a human right (52), not only a duty. The human right to work as the basis of existence, prosperity, and self-esteem is guaranteed by the Lithuanian Labour Code, enacted in 2002. Work for the good of society,

which is given prominence in legal discourse, has little in common with the definition of work in *LKŽ* (cf. 53). Nor does the definition of *darbas* in *DLKŽ* (2006) embrace this semantic area:
1. 'physical or mental activity';
2. 'an occupation, service, or trade';
3. 'a product of work';
4. 'a method of production or quality of production or performance';
5. 'behaviour, an act, a deed'.

As follows from this set of definitions, the basic meaning of work as an activity remains unaltered; however, the dictionary also contains some new explications of *darbas*, such as 'product of work', 'behaviour', 'an act, a deed' (these meanings will be analysed in a separate study).

7. Conclusion

The analysis of the concept of DARBAS in different Lithuanian discourses presented in this article is far from complete. The full picture can only be reconstructed on the basis of more extensive material, including derivatives, idioms and maxims, as well as insights form interviews, surveys, and questionnaires. A study designed to include such linguistic data will answer the question of how work was understood by Lithuanians in the past and how it is understood today. Only when these questions are answered, can a cognitive definition of DARBAS be reliably proposed.

It should be noted that Lithuanians subscribe to the idea of work professed by the Catholic Church, i.e. work as an obligation and the basis of human existence: such a poeticising vision of work is most fully presented by the poets Donelaitis and Tumas-Vaižgantas. Probably, the Lithuanians' love for work has developed under the influence of the Church, the family, school, and literature – it is a product of upbringing and education.

This picture, however, is anything but static. The greatest impact on the way contemporary Lithuanians perceive work is exerted by the media and specialised discourses, such as legal discourse, which is why new semantic associations of work appear in the Lithuanian language, such as those with patriotism or as a human right.

translated by Klaudia Wengorek-Dolecka

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I. Research articles

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Izabela Gatkowska
(Jagiellonian University in Kraków, Poland)

Dom 'house/home' in empirical lexical networks*

The article explains the concept of the empirical lexical network. A comparison is drawn between the meanings of the Polish lexeme *dom* 'house/home' as represented in the Wortschatz corpus-derived network (Univeristy of Leipzig) and the experimental network of the Department of Computational Linguistics of Jagiellonian University in Kraków (DCL JU). In both networks, the most vital meanings are 'family home – place for the family' and 'dwelling place'. Both networks also contain the meaning 'building', whereas the meaning 'institution' is better represented in the corpus-based network. The experimental network additionally contains the meaning 'my shelter'. That network, being characterised by directional internal links, involves subnetworks that explain meanings, e.g. the subnetwork for the meaning 'family home – place for the family' points to the special role of the node *matka* 'mother', which organises the subnetwork that represents that meaning. A comparison of the meanings being identified and explained in specific subnetworks with dictionary definitions suggests that research on the network representation of meaning may be useful in lexicography.

Key words: linguistics, empirical network, lexical semantics, network representation of meaning, house/home

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1. Empirical networks

The idea of representing the lexicon of natural language as a lexical network was conceived in the 1970s among psychologists (Kiss et al. 1973) and, simultaneously, in research on artificial intelligence (Schank 1975; Minsky 1975). A network is a structure composed of lexical units and relations between them (Minsky 1975). It is generally assumed that the relations (links) between a lexical item and other lexical items within the network represent the dependencies between the meanings of units thus linked (Clark 1970).

An empirical lexical network can be constructed with the aid of an experiment with a sufficient number of subjects, who provide the first word that comes to mind upon hearing a stimulus word (Kent and Rosanoff 1910) or with the use of an algorithm counting and interpreting the co-occurrence of words in a sufficiently large collection of texts (Biemann et al. 2007). In this way, we obtain an empirically motivated collection of "defined unit–defining unit" pairs. We accept that the meanings of both lexical units are joined though a link measured as the number of co-occurrences of both elements in the set of all answers provided for the defined unit or in the set of all sentences containing it. We will try to show that the strength of the link can help recognise the meanings of the defined units, as well as indicating the hierarchy of meanings in the lexicon – these functions are fulfilled by the strongest links.

The set of links between lexical units (network nodes) constitutes a lexical network. An experimentally constructed network has certain formal properties, absent from the network extracted from corpora of texts: links in an experimental network are directional, always from the stimulus to the response. An analysis of the directionality shows that the network includes subnetworks that explain the meanings identified through link strengths.

The method of defining meanings in an empirical network will be exemplified with the Polish lexeme *dom* 'house/home'. Then the meanings identified in the network will be compared to those identified in a dictionary compiled according to the rules of the age-long lexicographic tradition.

1.1. Corpus-derived lexical network

We have based our considerations of the network approach to the word *dom* on the Polish corpus and the network-generating algorithms of the Wortschatz project pursued for over a decade now at Leipzig University.[1] Wortschatz includes five Polish-language corpora, three of which are composed of press releases from the years 2007, 2008 and 2011, and two of

[1] http://corpora.informatik.uni-leipzig.de/; access Jan 9, 2016.

Wikipedia entries from the years 2007 and 2010. The lexical network was generated from the corpus of news releases from 2011, containing 6,494,575 sentences and 96,476,260 inflectional forms. Network-generating algorithms function in two phases. First, in operating on sentences, they generate word pairs of the type “defining word–co-occurring word” (e.g. *dom* ‘home’ – *rodzinny* ‘family’ (attrib.), i.e. ‘family home’) and calculate the frequency of occurrence of the pair (i.e. the frequency of co-occurrence of its elements). The pair-generating algorithm is based on the assumption that the co-occurring word must link directly, in a sentence, with the defined word. The lexeme *dom* occurs 8,897 times in the corpus and the list of words co-occurring sufficiently often with *dom* contains 814 items, 407 to the left of it and as many to the right. There are words that occur on both sides, which means that their linkage with the defined word in non-directional. The word *dom* is thus linked with 59 words, which we will call defining words. The most frequent are: *rodzinny* ‘family’ (attrib.), *mieszkanie* ‘apartment, flat’, *swój* ‘one’s own’, *nowy* ‘new’, *drewniany* ‘wooden’. The algorithm generating the lexical network of the defined word takes into account, apart from the defining words, also those that appear on both sides of the defining words. As a result, the lexical network constructed around the word *dom* consists of a few hundred word-nodes and a several times greater number of links (dependencies). Because its diagrammatic representation would have been unreadable, we only provide here the network consisting of those words that co-occur with *dom* most frequently (Figure 1).

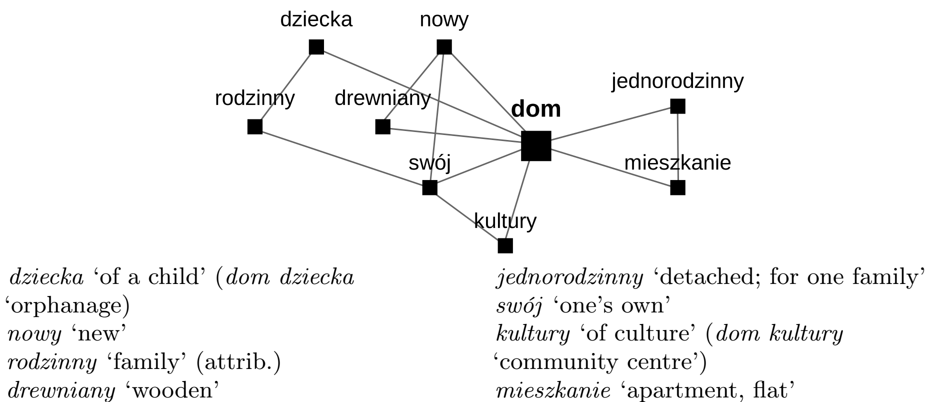

Figure 1. *Dom* in the corpus-derived network

For the purpose of a comparison of a corpus-based network with an experimental network that we propose below, we must recalculate the numerically expressed frequency of occurrence in the corpus into what we call *linkage strength*, expressed as a percentage. This is obtained by dividing

the frequency of co-occurrence of a given defining word by the number of all occurrences of the defined word in the corpus. For example, if the word *rodzinny* 'family' (attrib.) co-occurs with *dom* 1,680 times, and the total number of occurrences of *dom* in the corpus is 8,897, the linkage strength of *dom* – *rodzinny* equals 18.88% (1,680 ÷ 8,897 ≈ 0.1888, rounded down). We can thus say that the network above consists of the words most strongly linked with *dom*.

1.2. Experimental network at the Department of Computation Linguistics, Jagiellonian University in Kraków (DCL JU)

The experimental network of lexical links arises from the human associative mechanism: the subject provides the first word that comes to mind upon hearing (and understanding) the stimulus word. If we administer this kind of test to a sufficient number of subjects, we receive a list of words linked with a given stimulus word: technically speaking this will be a list of "stimulus–response" pairs. Each pair has an experimentally established strength of linkage between the stimulus and the response; the strength is expressed by the number of subjects that have provided that response. In accordance with the tradition of describing the results of the experiment (Kiss et al. 1973), linkage strength will be expressed as percentage, by dividing the number of the respondents that have provided a given reaction by the total number of respondents. For example, if the number of all responses (reactions) to stimulus A is 95, of which response B was provided 49 times, then the A → B linkage strength equals 52% (49 ÷ 95 rounded up).[3]

If, however, we extend the experiment into a cyclical procedure,[4] i.e. when the responses obtained in the first cycle are used as prompts in the second cycle, we will as a result obtain a different lexical network than that constructed on the basis of corpora. The differences become apparent when we compare Figure 1 with Figure 2, which diagrams the experimental network for the word *dom* (cf. the Appendix for a description of the relevant experiment).

The differences result from the fact that all links in the experimental network are directional and proceed from the stimulus to the response. Thus, the word that acts as a node in a network constructed from stimulus–response pairs may have *outgoing links* (e.g. *dom* → *rodzinny* 'family' (attrib.), where *dom* is the stimulus), as well as *incoming* ones (*drewniany* wooden' → *dom*, where *dom* is the response). In consequence, we can distinguish full

[3] A list of word pairs thus obtained was used in psychiatry as a diagnostic pattern (Kent and Rosanoff 1910).

[4] The mechanism was used for the first time by the authors of *The Edinburgh Associative Thesaurus* (EAT) (Kiss et al. 1973).

Figure 2. *Dom* in an experimental network. (Explanations of the Polish terms can be found in Table 1.)

nodes, i.e. the words that are connected to others through both outgoing and incoming links (e.g. *dom*) and reduced nodes, i.e. the words that only function in incoming links (e.g. *rodzina* (n.)/*rodzinny* (adj.) 'family'). It is also possible for two words (network nodes) to be connected through a bidirectional, *reciprocal link*, e.g. *dom* → *mieszkanie* 'apartment, flat' or *mieszkanie* → *dom*. These are not frequent cases, e.g. in the experimental network presented in Gatkowska (2014), out of the total of 50,849 links, only 1,181 are reciprocal. We show below that reciprocal links usually participate in subnetworks.

2. *Dom*: the meanings identified through the strongest links

We have shown the corpus/text-based network and the experimental network to have different structures. However, the fact that both networks are

built from word pairs to which linkage strength has been assigned facilitates their comparison. In Table 1, we juxtapose direct links of *dom* in the corpus-generated network, where the links are non-directional, with those in the experimental network, where outgoing and incoming links are distinguished. The items are listed in decreasing-strength order of links with *dom*. The list of words actually linked with *dom* in each network contains hundreds of items – only the strongest links have been selected for comparison.

Table 1. *Dom* in the corpus-generated vs. the experimental networks

Corpus		DCL JU experiment			
		incoming links		outgoing links	
rodzinny ‘family’ (attrib.)	18.88	*rodzinny* ‘family’ (attrib.)	16.86	*rodzinny* ‘family’ (attrib.)	17.67
mieszkanie ‘apartment, flat’	14.86	*mieszkanie* ‘apartment, flat’	15.25	*mieszkanie* ‘apartment, flat’	12.25
swój ‘one’s own’	10.44	*rodzina* ‘family’ (n.)	12.16	*mój* ‘my’	10.55
nowy ‘new’	9.28	*spokój* ‘peace and quiet’	2.98	*drewniany* ‘wooden’	7.49
drewniany ‘wooden’	8.74	*ciepło* ‘warmth’	2.64	*pusty* ‘empty’	6.11
jednorodzinny ‘detached’[i]	8.04	*ogród* ‘garden’	2.41	*wielki* ‘huge’	5.45
dziecka lit. ‘of a child’[ii]	7.78	*mój* ‘my’	2.18	*chata* ‘hut’	4.18
mój ‘my’	7.74	*dach* ‘roof’	1.95	*duży* ‘big’	3.45
kultury lit. ‘of culture’[iii]	6.92	*mama* ‘mom’	1.61	*pokój* ‘room’	2.58
kw. ‘sq.’[iv]	6.87	*bezpieczeństwo* ‘security’	1.49	*wysoki* ‘tall, high’	2.18
pow. ‘living area’	5.84	*duży* ‘big’	1.49	*ulica* ‘street’	2.00
domu ‘of the house/home’	5.68	*pokój* ‘room’	1.38	*piękny* ‘beautiful’	1.64
którym ‘which’	5.24	*pusty* ‘empty’	1.38	*obiad* ‘lunch; dinner’	1.49
kupił ‘(he) bought’	5.00	*dom* ‘house/home’	1.15	*mały* ‘small’	1.42
mieszkalny lit. ‘ for living’[v]	4.89	*zły* ‘bad’	1.15	*spokojny* ‘peaceful, quiet’	1.31
własny ‘one’s own’	4.62	*budynek* ‘building’	1.03	*zły* ‘bad’	1.27
wart ‘worth’	4.48	*chata* ‘hut’	0.92	*biały* ‘white’	1.24
rodzinę ‘family’ (n., Sing Acc)	4.45	*własny* ‘one’s own’	0.80	*ładny* ‘nice’	1.24
m. ‘metres’[vi]	4.35	*matka* ‘mother’	0.69	*mebel* ‘furniture’	1.24
uderzył ‘(it) struck’ (masc.)	4.00	*mieszkać* ‘live, dwell’	0.57	*dym* ‘smoke’	1.16
		rodzice ‘parents’	0.57	*okno* ‘window’	1.09
		azyl ‘refuge’	0.46	*wieś* ‘countryside; village’	0.87
		domek ‘cottage’	0.46	*wuja Toma* ‘uncle Tom’s’	0.87
		komin ‘chimney’	0.46	*matka* ‘mother’	0.73

[i] lit. ‘for one family’
[ii] in the collocation *dom dziecka* ‘orphange’
[iii] in the collocation *dom kultury* ‘community centre’
[iv] as in *m. kw.* ‘square metres’
[v] in the collocation *dom mieszkalny* ‘dwelling house’
[vi] as in *m. kw.* ‘square metres’

Corpus		DCL JU experiment			
		incoming links		outgoing links	
dzieci ‘children’	3.97	*ognisko* ‘hearth and home’	0.46	*podłoga* ‘floor’ (ground)	0.73
nasz ‘our’	3.96	*przytulny* ‘cosy’	0.46	*pełny* ‘full’	0.69
wybudować ‘build’	3.84	*schronienie* ‘shelter’	0.46	*praca* ‘work’	0.65
samochód ‘car’	3.79	*stół* ‘table’	0.46	*ziemia* ‘land’	0.51
spłonął ‘(it) burnt down’	3.78	*wieś* ‘countryside; village’	0.46	*za wsią* ‘outside the village’	0.47
uderzyła ‘(it) struck’ (fem.)	3.73	*ciepły* ‘warm’	0.34	*święta* ‘holidays’	0.40
wybudował ‘(he) built’	3.72	*daleko* ‘far away’	0.34	*dom* ‘house/home’	0.36
kupić ‘buy’	3.52	*dziecka* lit. ‘of a child’ii	0.34	*polski* ‘Polish’	0.36
towarowy lit. ‘with goods’[vii]	3.46	*miłość* ‘love’	0.34	*żelazny* ‘iron’ (attrib.)	0.36
tys. ‘thousand’	3.45	*otwarty* ‘open’	0.34	*kolorowy* ‘colourful’	0.33
gdzie ‘where’	3.42	*Tom* (name)	0.34	*dywan* ‘carpet’	0.29
TIR ‘TIR vehicle’	3.42	*wielki* ‘huge’	0.34	*jasny* ‘bright’	0.29
stoi ‘stands’	3.34	*cegła* ‘brick’	0.23	*łóżko* ‘bed’	0.29
działkę ‘plot’ (Sing Acc)	3.32	*chałupa* ‘dilapidated house’	0.23	*miasto* ‘city’	0.29
ogród ‘garden’	3.28	*chatka* ‘hut’	0.23		
mody lit. ‘of fashion’[viii]	3.23	*drewno* ‘wood’	0.23		
pod ‘under’	3.14	*drzwi* ‘door’	0.23		
wjechał ‘(he) drove into’	3.14	*jednorodzinny* ‘detached’i	0.23		
maklerski lit. ‘stockbroker’s’[ix]	2.99	*miejsce* ‘place’	0.23		
spalił ‘(it/he) burnt down’	2.96	*obiad* ‘lunch; dinner’	0.23		
ogrodem ‘garden’ (Sing Instr)	2.80	*osiedle* ‘housing estate’	0.23		
handlowy ‘to do with trade’[x]	2.60	*ostoja* ‘anchor, linchpin’	0.23		
gospodarstwo ‘homestead’	2.45	*podwórko* ‘backyard’	0.23		
i ‘and’	2.43	*powrót* ‘return’ (n.)	0.23		
powierzchni ‘of living area’	2.42	*radość* ‘joy’	0.23		
stał ‘stood’	2.37	*stan* ‘state, condition’	0.23		
zbudować ‘build’	2.29	*szczęście* ‘happiness’	0.23		
aukcyjny ‘auction’ (attrib.)[xi]	2.24	*ściany* ‘walls’	0.23		
		twierdza ‘castle’	0.23		

[vii] in the collocation *dom towarowy* ‘department store’
[viii] in the collocation *dom mody* ‘fashion house’
[ix] in the collocation *dom maklerski* ‘brokerage (firm)’
[x] in the collocation *dom handlowy* ‘department store’
[xi] in the collocation *dom aukcyjny* ‘auction house’

Corpus		DCL JU experiment	
		incoming links	outgoing links
zniszczył '(it/he) destroyed'	2.20		
stary 'old'	2.18		
ciężarówka 'lorry'	2.18		
ma 'has'	2.15		
duży 'big'	2.15		
kupili '(they) bought'	2.11		
zakonny 'monastic'[xii]	2.11		
drewniany 'wooden'	2.10		

[xii] in the collocation *dom zakonny* 'monastic house; monastery'

The table shows a striking convergence: the words *rodzinny* 'family' (attrib.) and *mieszkanie* 'apartment, flat' are the most strongly linked with *dom* in both networks.[7] Additionally, both words enter into reciprocal links. One can thus assume that the strongest links concern two meanings of *dom*. The first is 'the family home, the place for the family to live', which is also signalled by the following weaker links: *rodzina* 'family' and *dzieci* 'children' in the corpus-based network, as well as the outgoing *rodzina* 'family', *mama* 'mom', *matka* 'mother', *rodzice* 'parents' and the incoming *matka* 'mother' in the experimental network. The other salient meaning of *dom* is 'dwelling place', which apart from *mieszkanie* 'apartment, flat' is also signalled by the more weakly linked *kupił* '(he) bought', *własny* 'one's own', *kupić* 'buy', *ma* 'has' in the corpus-based network, plus by the outgoing *pokój* 'room', *własny* 'one's own', *miejsce* 'place', *pusty* 'empty' and *incoming* pusty 'empty', *pokój* 'room', *mebel* 'furniture', *podłoga* 'floor' (ground), *dywan* 'carpet', *łóżko* 'bed' in the experimental network. The only verb that appears as linked in the experimental network with the *dom* node is *mieszkać* 'live, dwell', which is consistent with ethnolinguistic observations (Bartmiński 2015). The other meanings of *dom* are not signalled through a single word that would be strongly linked with it. They can be, however, identified through a group of words more weakly linked, such as the pronoun *mój* 'my', present in both networks and reciprocally linked with *dom* in the experimental network. *Mój* can be associated with outgoing links in the experimental network, such as *spokój* 'peace and quiet', *ciepło* warmth', *bezpieczeństwo* 'security', *własny* 'one's own', *azyl* 'refuge', *ostoja* 'anchor, lynchpin'', *schronienie* 'shelter', *szczęście* 'happiness', *twierdza* 'castle' and *przyjąć* 'accept', in that the

[7] Similar results have been obtained in associative experiments, cf. Kurcz 1967 (1,000 respondents): *dom*: *rodzinny* 'family' (attr.) (48), *mieszkanie* 'apartment, flat' (45), *mój* 'my' (45); Gawarkiewicz 2008 (500 respondents): *dom*: *rodzina* 'family' (n.) (164), *rodzinny* 'family' (attr.) (11), *mieszkanie* 'apartment, flat' (22).

meaning of *dom* that the words signal can be described as 'my place, my shelter'.

The next meaning of *dom*, i.e. 'house, building', is represented in both networks. In the corpus-based network the meaning is represented above all by the verbs *kupił* '(he) bought', *uderzył/uderzyła* '(it) struck', *wybudować/zbudować* 'build', *spłonął* '(it) burnt down', *wybudował* '(he) built', *kupić* 'buy', *stoi* 'stands', *wjechał* '(he) drove into', *spalił* '(it/he) burnt down', *stał* 'stood', *zniszczył* '(it/he) destroyed', *ma* 'has', *kupili* '(they) bought', as well as *drewniany* 'wooden', *jednorodzinny* 'detached; for one family', *mieszkalny* (*dom mieszkalny* 'dwelling house'), *samochód* 'car', *TIR* 'TIR vehicle', *działkę* 'plot' (Sing Acc), *ogród* 'garden', *pod* 'under', *gospodarstwo* 'homestead', *ciężarówka* 'lorry'. In the experimental network the meaning 'house, building' is represented by outgoing links: *ogród* 'garden', *dach* 'roof', *budynek* 'building', *domek* 'cottage', *komin* 'chimney', *wieś* 'countryside, village', *cegła* 'brick', *chałupa* 'dilapidated house', *chatka* 'hut', *drewno* 'wood', *jednorodzinny* 'detached; for one family', *drzwi* 'door', *okno* 'window', *osiedle* 'housing estate', *podwórko* 'backyard', as well as the incoming ones: *drewniany* 'wooden', *wielki* 'huge', *dym* 'smoke', *chata* 'hut', *wysoki* 'tall, high', *ulica* 'street', *mały* 'small', *wise* 'countryside, village', *za wsią* 'outside the village', *miasto* 'city'. The last meaning that appears in lexical networks is 'institution', which in the corpus-based network is represented by fixed expressions *dom kultury* 'community centre' (lit. 'house/home of culture'), *dom towarowy* 'department store' (lit. 'house of goods'), *dom mody* 'fashion house', *dom maklerski* 'brokerage (firm)', *dom dziecka* 'orphanage' (lit. 'child's home'), *dom zakonny* 'monastic house', and in the experimental network only by the outgoing link *dom dziecka* 'orphanage'.

We have identified these meanings of the word *dom* intuitively. A justification for the intuition can be found in the empirical network, where the salient meanings surface as clearly recognisable subnetworks. Because elements of the subnetworks are not visible in the simplified diagram for *dom*, we will present a diagram for each subnetwork (for each of the meanings), relating it, where justified, to other network substructures.

3. Subnetworks for distinct meanings of *dom* in the experimental network

In the experimental network, specific meanings of *dom* are organised as subnetworks naturally centred around the *dom* node. The skeleton of a subnetwork are usually reciprocal links between nodes. We assume that subnetworks explain specific meanings of the defined word, while the strengths

of the links that constitute the subnetwork show the importance of the individual senses.

3.1. Meaning: ‘family home – place for the family’

The subnetwork that represents the sense ‘family home – place for the family’ is organised through two very strong reciprocal links, i.e. *dom* ↔ *rodzinny* ‘family’ (attrib.) (*dom* → *rodzinny* 16.86; *rodzinny* → *dom* 17.67) and several weaker ones, i.e. *dom* ↔ *matka* ‘mother’ (*matka* → *dom* 0.73; *dom* → *matka* 0.69) and *dom* ↔ *stół* ‘table’ (*dom* → *stół* 0.46; *stół* → *dom* 0.18), *dom* ↔ *obiad* ‘lunch; dinner’ (*dom* → *obiad* 0.23; *obiad* → *dom* 1.49). The *rodzinny* (‘family’, attrib.) node will not be discussed in detail now because it functions as a distinct subnetwork and only connects with the sense ‘family home – place for the family’ through its links with the nodes *matka* ‘mother’, *stół* ‘table’ and *rodzina* ‘family’ (n.), which define the sense in question.

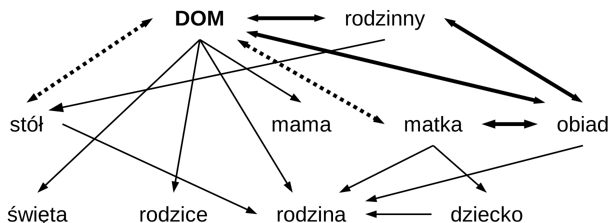

Figure 3. The subnetwork for the sense ‘family home – place for the family’

The most important node for the sense ‘family home – place for the family’ is that for *matka* ‘mother’, reciprocally linked with that for *dom*. The role played by the mother is indicated by the outgoing links *matka* → *rodzina* ‘family’, *matka* → *dziecko* ‘child’, as well as the reciprocal link *matka* ↔ *obiad* ‘lunch; dinner’ that connects ‘place for the family’ with the subnetwork *rodzinny* ‘family’ (attrib.). The role of the mother is additionally augmented by the relatively strong link *dom* → *mama* ‘mom’ (1.61).

Thus, in the experimental network the node for *matka* plays an immensely significant role: it is the mother who organises the household and the family life, as well as the common meal (*obiad*).[9] It may therefore be concluded that the networked sense ‘family home – place for the family’ converges with the ethnolinguistic perspective on the Polish *dom* (Bartmiński 2015).

[9] In the framework of traditional Polish lifestyle, *obiad*, the main meal of the day, is usually eaten in the afternoon, so it does not clearly correspond to either lunch or dinner. [translator’s note]

The other reciprocal link, complementing the subnetwork 'family home – place for the family', is *dom* ↔ *stół* 'table'. The table is something that organises family space through an outgoing link to the node *rodzina* 'family' (*stół* → *rodzina* 0.81) and a strong incoming link *rodzinny* 'family' (attrib.) → *stół* (2.38).

The last component of the subnetwork that defines 'family home – place for the family' is *rodzina* 'family' (n.), which enters into incoming links only: the very strong *dom* → *rodzina* (12.16) plus the somewhat weaker *matka* 'mother' → *rodzina* (3.72) and *stół* 'table' → *rodzina* (0.81). It was impossible for technical reasons to include in the diagram all the links that would show how the node for *matka* 'mother' constructs the family subnetwork through outgoing links with the nodes *mama* 'mom', *rodzice* 'parents', *ojciec* 'father', *tata* 'dad', and *rodzic* 'parent'.

3.2 Meaning: 'dwelling place'

The skeleton for the subnetwork representing the sense 'dwelling place' are the reciprocal links *dom* ↔ *mieszkanie* 'apartment, flat' (*dom* → *mieszkanie* 15.25; *mieszkanie* → *dom* 12.25), *dom* ↔ *pokój* 'room' (*dom* → *pokój* 1.38; *pokój* → *dom* 2.58); *mieszkanie* 'apartment, flat' ↔ *pokój* 'room' (*mieszkanie* → *pokój* 3.09; *pokój* → *mieszkanie* 8.14), as well as the outgoing links for the node *dom*: *dom* → *mieszkać* 'live, dwell' (0.57), *dom* → *miejsce* 'place' (0.23), *dom* → *własny* 'one's own' (0.8).

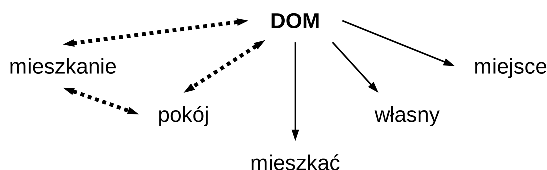

Figure 4. 'House – place for living'

The heart of the sense 'dwelling place' is the node *mieszkanie* 'apartment, flat' together with its links. 'Dwelling place' has properties of a physical object, i.e. it may be owned by the person who lives there, it may be spacious, comfortable, new, small, small but cosy,[10] large, in a block of flats. It may be classified as a luxurious apartment or it may be empty: *dom* ↔ *pusty* 'empty' (*dom* → *pusty* 1.38; *pusty* → *dom* 6.11). The crucial element of 'dwelling place' is the room, which is signaled by reciprocal links: *mieszkanie*

[10] Lit. 'small but one's own' (a fixed collocation in Polish: *ciasne, ale własne*). [translator's note]

‘apartment, flat’ ↔ *pokój* ‘room’, *dom* ↔ *pokój* ‘room’. The room also has the properties of a physical object listed above.

3.3. Meaning: ‘my shelter’

The sense ‘my shelter’ of *dom* is expressed through the reciprocal link *dom* ↔ *mój* ‘my’ (*dom* → *mój* 2.18; *mój* → *dom* 10.55) and the outgoing links from the node *dom* to the nodes *bezpieczeństwo* ‘security’ (1.49), *shelter* (0.46), *azyl* ‘refuge’ (0.46), *ostoja* ‘anchor, lynchpin’ (0.23), *twierdza* ‘castle’ (0.23).

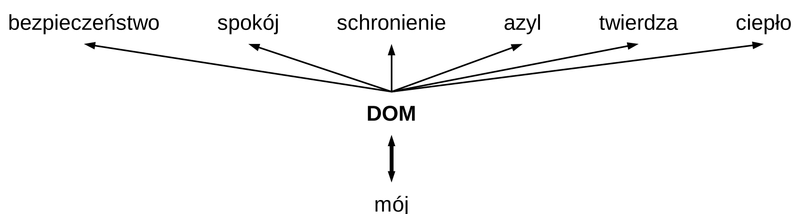

Figure 5. ‘My shelter’

The sense ‘my shelter’ connects through the reciprocal link *pokój* ‘room’ ↔ *mój* ‘my’ (*mój* → *pokój* 3.3; *pokój* → *mój* 2.26) with z the node that co-constitutes the skeleton of the meaning of the network that represents the sense ‘dwelling place’.

3.4. Meaning: ‘building’

This meaning is captured through a subnetwork with no reciprocal links that form its skeletal semantics. Reciprocal links play here the same role as the outgoing and incoming links, i.e. they build the subnetwork. The links of the node *dom* characterise a physical object, i.e. the house’s component parts: the chimney, the roof, the walls, windows, the hyperonymous notion of building, the co-hyponym *chata* ‘hut’, a big or huge size, and the house’s location: the countryside, garden, housing estate, or city.

The reciprocal link *duży* ‘big’[12] ↔ *dom* (*dom* → *duży* 1.49%; *duży* → *dom* 3.45%) points to a feature of a house that is also characteristic of buildings, cf. the incoming link *budynek* ‘building’ ← *duży* ‘big’ (1.13%). The links that have not been included in the diagram, e.g. those with *kościół* ‘church’, *wysoki* ‘tall, high’, *cegła* ‘brick’, *drewno* ‘wood’, or *drewniany* ‘wooden’ also corroborate these observations.

[12] The word *duży* ‘big’ in the experiment had many empty responses. The problem of empty responses is dealt with in Gatkowska (2015a).

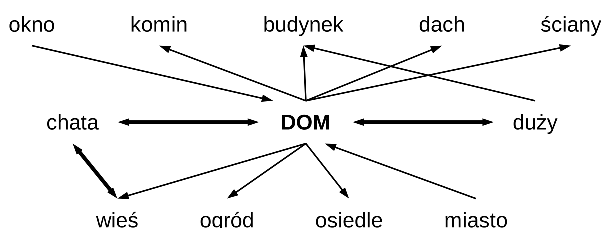

Figure 6. 'Building'

3.5. Meaning: 'institution'

The sense 'institution' is relatively well-represented in the Wortschatz corpus network. No subnetwork represents this meaning in the empirical network, possibly because the relatively fixed collocations *dom dziecka* 'orphanage', *dom kultury* 'community centre', *dom towarowy/handlowy* 'department store', *dom mody* 'fashion house', *dom aukcyjny* 'auction house', *dom maklerski* 'brokerage (firm)', and *dom zakonny* 'monastic house, monastery' function as terms defined legally and outside the linguistic system.

4. *Dom*: network meanings and dictionary meanings

Szymczak's Dictionary of the Polish Language (*SJP* 1978)[13] provides six meanings of *dom*, arranged (as one can presume) in the order of importance:
1. 'a building designed for living purposes, for companies, institutions, etc.';
2. 'apartment, permanent living place';
3. 'family, household';
4. 'the totality of family and domestic matters; homestead';
5. 'clan, family, dynasty';
6. 'a state, social, trading etc. institution, usually located in a separate apartment or building; the building itself'.

Our analysis of the subnetworks that represent the meanings of *dom* indicates that the experimental network constructs the meaning hierarchy differently, e.g. the sense 'building', which occupies the first position in the dictionary, comes as last but one. One can also clearly see differences in the set of meanings being identified. The common meanings are undoubtedly 1. 'building' and 2. 'apartment, flat'. Sense 3. 'family, household' is organised in the network via the *matka* 'mother' subnetwork and has a different structure

[13] A similar account is found in the Internet Dictionary of Polish, *SJP PWN* (http://sjp.pwn.pl/sjp/; accessed 15 March, 2016), which also distinguishes the sense 'place of one's origin'.

than that suggested by the dictionary definition. Sense 6. 'institution' is not represented as a distinct subnetwork at all. There are also significant differences in the meaning sets: the network lacks dictionary senses 4. 'the totality of family and domestic matters; homestead' or 5. 'clan, family, dynasty', whereas the dictionary does not record the sense 'my shelter', rather significant in the experimental network structure. We confine our observations here to merely pinpointing the differences, without trying to explain them away, since the latter task would have definitely taken us beyond the scope of the present study.

5. Synopsis

The article presents the semantics of the Polish *dom* 'house/home' in empirical networks. Each of the two networks discussed had been created differently but they both contain a similar hierarchy of the meanings of *dom*: 'place for the family', 'place for living', 'building', 'institution'. The experimentally constructed network contributes a new quality to the picture, as it contains subnetworks that explain each of the word's meanings. A comparison of the networked description of meanings with lexicographic definitions shows that the experimental network can reveal meanings absent from dictionaries. Empirical lexical networks can thus be helpful in lexicography.

An analysis of meanings based on the structural properties of the experimental network, however, does not provide a complete description of networked semantics because the stimulus-response dependence is semantic in nature (Clark 1970), e.g. the link *dom* → *dach* 'roof' can only be explained as one that obtains between the whole and one of its parts (metonymy). Needless to say, an analysis of all semantic relationships between network nodes calls for a distinct and a much more detailed treatment (cf. Gatkowska 2015b).

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Appendix
Loose word association test as a tool in lexical network construction

1. The association test: a brief history

The association test is a method of accessing lexical dependencies stored in the human mind. The procedure is simple: the subject is asked to supply the first word that comes to mind upon understanding the stimulus word provided by the experimenter. The method was first used for scientific by two American psychiatrists, Grace Kent and Aaron Rosanoff (1910), who envisaged and implemented the procedure for 100 words with 1,000 healthy subjects. The goal of the experiment was to construct a diagnostic model of association norms as a frame of reference for comparing association sets elicited from persons with mental disorders.

Kent and Rosanoff's procedure was replicated with a group of American students by Schellenberg (1930; referenced in Postman and Keppel 1970). The next time it was replicated was over twenty years later by Wallace Russell and James Jenkins (1954), also with American college students. The replicated studies yielded results that were surprisingly convergent with those of the original test, which was interpreted as meaning that lexical connections are stable and independent from the actual make-up of the test group. Therefore, in subsequent studies the decision was made to reduce the number of subjects and increase that of the stimulus words, e.g. to 500 subjects and 200 words in Palermo and Jenkins (1964), or to 100 subjects and 8,400 words in Kiss et al. (1973), the latter test being conducted in Great Britain. The Kiss et al.'s team also modified the procedure, being the first to run it in phases: the initial set of stimulus words contained just over 2,000 words, the responses to which were then used as stimuli in the second phase. On the basis of the results obtained, *The Edinburgh Associative Thesaurus* (EAT) was constructed, the first project of this kind in the history of the lexical associations experimental network research.

In the second half of the 20th c. a new chapter was opened in this field of research by translating the Kent–Rosanoff list into several languages. Associative studies were conducted for French (Rosenzweig 1957), German (Russell and Meseck 1959), Italian (Rosenzweig 1961), or Polish (Kurcz 1967, an experiment with 1,000 Warsaw-based students).

Two trends in lexical association test research can clearly be identified since EAT. The first one is studying psycholinguistic mechanisms in a relatively small groups of subjects and with relatively limited sets of stimuli. This trend is mainly present in psychology and as such will not be the focus of our attention. The second trend is studying the structure of the lexicon and lexical combinability with relatively many subjects and with the use of large sets of stimuli, e.g. De Deyne and Storms (2008). Not infrequently, studies of this kind do not strictly follow the rigour of the psychological experiment: they are conducted online and the subjects are asked to provide more than one word that they associate with the stimulus (e.g. Schulte im Valde, Borgwaldt and Jauch 2012). In the Polish context, the only large-scale study (500 subjects and 110 words) was carried out by Gawarkiewicz, Pietrzyk and Rodziewicz (2008) in Szczecin. The goal of that study was to construct an associative dictionary as an aid in Polish-Russian contrastive research; the procedure involved one associative cycle. As a result, the dictionary is similar to the association norms (lists) obtained by Kurcz: the two only differ with regard to the method of result presentation. Kurcz's norms include the stimulus and the set of responses obtained, each being accompanied by the number of subjects that provided the response. In the associative dictionary there are two kinds of lists. The first type, similarly to Kurcz's, provides the stimulus and the set of responses with the number of the subjects. The second type gives a response and the set of stimuli words that had invoked that response – importantly, the number of subjects that linked a given stimulus with the response is provided for the stimulus (rather than for the response). This kind of list does not appear in Kurcz, since the author does not consider them to be association norms. Looking at the associative dictionary from the network point of view one can say that lists of the first type are stimulus-based (and concern outgoing links), whereas lists of the second type are response-based (and concern incoming links). The lexical network nodes constructed around the stimulus are far richer structures than lists, even if one omits the information in the lexical node paths (a basic picture of the content of the paths can be seen in the diagram for the *dom* node). The differences between the associative list and the lexical network node are clearly shown through the specification of the direct links of the stimulus words. The associative list of the stimulus in the associative

dictionary only contains outgoing links, whereas the stimulus node in the network includes both outgoing and incoming links, which renders the node a semantically richer structure. Table App. 1 shows this with the aid of the strongest links for the adjective *biały* 'white'. For the sake of comparison, the linkage strength in DCL JU is omitted and only the number of responses is given.

Table App. 1. Strongest links for *biały* 'white' in the associative dictionary and the DCL JU studies

Associative dictionary		DCL JU lexical network			
		outgoing links		incoming links	
czarny 'black'	128	*śnieg* 'snow'	181	137	orzeł 'eagle'[i]
kolor 'colour'	78	*kolor* 'colour'	111	131	*czarny* 'black'
śnieg 'snow'	61	*czarny* 'black'	79	66	*fartuch* 'apron'
czystość 'cleanliness'	28	*kruk*, lit. 'raven'[ii]	43	47	*ser* 'cheese'[iii]
czysty 'clean'	26	*dom* 'house'[iv]	34	39	*cukier* 'sugar'
niewinność 'innocence'	18	*miś* 'teddy bear'[v]	28	30	*mleko* 'milk'
bałwan 'snowman'	7	*obrus* 'tablecloth'	26	21	*dym* 'smoke'
anioł 'angel'	6	*koń* 'horse'	17	20	*bielinek* 'pierid'
kruk, lit. 'raven'[ii]	6	*ser* 'cheese'[iii]	17	13	*jasny* 'bright'
mleko 'milk'	6	*kieł* 'fang'[vi]	15	9	*baran* 'ram'
orzeł 'eagle'[i]	6	*orzeł* 'eagle'[i]	15	5	*owca* 'sheep'
dobry 'good'	5	*dzień* 'day'[vii]	13	4	*doktor* 'doctor'
gołąb 'dove'	5	*papier* 'paper'	11	4	*lekarz* 'doctor'
flaga 'flag'[viii]	4	*kot* 'cat'	10	4	*motyl* 'butterfly'

i *Biały orzeł* or officially *Orzeł Biały* is the Polish national emblem
ii an idiomatic fixed collocation: *biały kruk* 'a rare book; rarity'
iii a fixed collocation: *biały ser* 'cottage cheese'
iv often *Biały Dom* 'the White House'
v *Biały miś* 'A white teddy bear' is a popular pop song
vi cf. Jack London's popular novel *White Fang*
vii a fixed collocation *w biały dzień* 'in broad daylight'
viii *Biała flaga* 'White flag' is a popular rock song

A comparison of the outgoing links obtained in both studies reveals the already mentioned replicability of the associative test results, the differences in the order of the links resulting from the way the test is administered (cf. below), as well as from the unequal number of subjects. The incoming links of the network node, in turn, combine with the outgoing ones into reciprocal links, e.g. *biały* 'white' → *czarny* 'black' and *biały* ← *czarny*, as well as enriching the stimulus's semantic profile, e.g. *biały* 'white' ← *fartuch* 'apron', *mleko* 'milk', *cukier* sugar', etc.

2. The DCL JU cyclical experiment

a. Selection of stimuli

Because the goal of the DCL JU study was to construct an experimental lexical network, it had been designed as a cyclical procedure. In the first cycle 63 nouns were used as stimulus words (the Polish version of a portion of the Kent–Rosanoff list, cf. Kurcz 1967) – these are the so called primary stimuli. In the second cycle the stimuli were the strongest associations with the primary stimuli (five associations with each primary stimulus): these are the 259 secondary stimuli. The reduced number of secondary stimuli (63 x 5 amounts to 315, vs. the actually used 259) results from the fact that if a word appeared in the top five most frequent responses to a few primary stimuli, that word appeared in the set of secondary stimuli only once. 322 stimulus words were used in the first and second cycle of the study in total. The cyclicity of the experiment is a novelty in research on the Polish lexicon and distinguishes our approach from that represented by Kurcz or Gawarkiewicz.

b. The subjects

The experiment, conducted in the years 2011-2014, involved 900 students of the Jagiellonian University and the University of Science and Technology in Kraków. It was carried out anonymously, with each subject only providing their age and sex. Among the subjects there were no students of philology or psychology because the knowledge and expertise that they would have obtained in the course of their studies might have influenced the test results.

c. The procedure

The experiment was conducted under controlled conditions. A specially designed computer system was used, another novelty in comparison with previous research, where paper questionnaires were used (Kurcz 1967; Gawarkiewicz 2008). Each participant worked with a computer, responding to stimulus words that were successively displayed on the screen. The task was to type in the first word that came to mind upon reading and actually understanding the stimulus word. The subject was only given five seconds to start typing in the response – after this time the system would automatically consider it to be nil and would move on to the next stimulus. The subjects could not go back to the words for which the response had not been provided, nor could they change the responses already given, which was possible when working with paper questionnaires.

In short, one can say that the computer-aided procedure helps one obtain spontaneous and unpremeditated responses, which also provides valuable

psychological data. For example, registering the response time facilitates a construction of subject profiles.

d. The experimental lexical network characterised

The experiment has produced a network of 50,849 links and 11,224 lexical nodes, including 322 full nodes. The remaining nodes are of the reduced type, i.e. they only involve incoming links. The network also contains 1,181 word (node) pairs of the reciprocal-link type.

The set of nodes in the DCL JU lexical network includes:
– 7,757 nouns (69.1% of the total);
– 2,459 adjectives (21.9%);
– 744 verbs (6.6%);
– 264 items belonging to other categories (2.4%).

The list reveals substantial similarity between the experimentally constructed network for Polish and a similar network for Dutch (De Deyne and Storms 2008), where the nodes are:
– nouns (72%);
– adjectives (18%);
– verbs (9%);
– other (1%).

The structure of a network lexical node partly depends on the number of subjects involved in the experiment. A stimulus in the DCL JU network (900 subjects) has on average 150 outgoing links, whereas in EAT (100 subjects) it only has 50 direct links. As a result, the former network has a richer structure, which allows one to find in a lexical node the paths that explain distant links, e.g. *baranina* 'mutton' – *sweter* 'pullover'. An EAT node has a less complex structure, which frequently does not allow one to explain distant links.

translated by Adam Głaz

I. Research articles

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Barbara Rodziewicz
(University of Szczecin, Poland)

Values, their hierarchy and understanding among Polish, Russian, and German students*

The article reports on an extensive research project on the systems of values professed by Poles, Russians, and Germans. On the basis of the Free Word Association Test, the author compares and proposes hierarchies of values that can account for the linguistic awareness of the members of these nationalities. The axiological cores of these systems are identified, together with the subjects' attitudes and axiological preferences. A claim is also made that the content of axiological units (value terms) extends far beyond the available lexicographic definitions of the relevant concepts. The research touches upon the ethics of European societies and the problem of axiological erosion, or even abstinence from values, recently identified by sociologists.

Key words: values, cultural linguistics, axiology

1. Through the following reflections I attempt to engage, from the perspective of a linguist and humanist, in the discussion of values, their existence, understanding, and role in the modern world.

Undoubtedly, values as such are pan-cultural and universal: they concern every individual regardless of the temporal, cultural, and social frame they live in; they constitute the very essence of human existence. According to Jerzy Bartmiński, values are "concepts, states and situations, attitudes and behaviours, which function as 'guiding ideas' motivating people's actions"

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(Bartmiński 2009: 39). A person discovers values throughout his or her conscious life and strives to achieve them. Values not only underlie the normative aspect of an individual's actions, but are above all responsible for their sense of subjectivity; they stimulate activity, mobilise creative energy, express human desires, thus setting the direction for people's development and allowing them to understand both themselves and others, their own and others' choices, as well as to experience and accommodate the social and metaphysical aspects of life. Values allow one to emphasise, define, and determine the "anthropological space of possibility" (Jankowska and Krasoń 2009: 21).

2. The goal of this article is to discuss and compare the ways in which values are conceptualised and organised into hierarchies in the linguistic awareness of young Poles, Russians, and Germans, which also extends onto the concepts encoded through those values. The concepts provide access to cultural codes, a cultural code being defined as

> a historically shaped system of signs, ideas, and beliefs supported by elements of the local culture and the cultures coexisting with it; a system that, through its power to give life to a community of meanings and references, is responsible for the sense of unity of a given national community. (Chlebda 2000: 169)[1]

The knowledge of this cultural code allows one to make a significant contribution to intercultural dialogue, to the overcoming of barriers, to communication and flow of information between its participants, thereby creating an opportunity for a more rewarding contact and mutual understanding.

The empirical material discussed here is a comprehensive record of linguistic data collected as a result of Free Word Association Test – a psychophysiological, temporal study of word associations known since Francis Galton's linguistic experiments (Galton 1879). The method consists in writing down the first word or expression in one's native language that comes to their mind after being exposed to a given stimulus word. Association experiments based on this method have been conducted successfully since the end of the 19th century until today, primarily by psychologists (Wundt, Kraepelin, Aschaffenburg, Jung, Kent-Rosanoff), but also linguists and psycholinguists (Osgood-Sebeok, Kurcz, Rosenzweig, Moore, Postman, Maršálová, van der Made-van Bekkum, Leontyev, Ufimtseva, Tarasov, Goroshko and others).[2] In early 20th century, the existence of verbal networks was proven, influenced by social and economic life, as well as the cultural space of the speakers of a particular language (Barlett 1932). Understanding and describing these relationships has opened up new vistas for studying linguistic awareness,

[1] Translations from non-English sources by R.A. [translator's note]

[2] For more details on the research methodology, see Rodziewicz (2014).

defined as "the entirety of the levels of consciousness, formed and externalised through linguistic means: words, phrases, sentences, texts, and association fields" (Tarasov 2000: 26). Concepts, which are anchored in mental structures, do not exist autonomously. On the contrary, each concept is associated in an extremely ordered, logical, and hierarchical manner with a number of other concepts. Concepts are, on the one hand, part of one's individual experience, the result of one's own cognitive activity, but on the other hand, they reflect the pre-existing knowledge transmitted in various ways through a particular culture and social system.

Verbal association tests, one of the basic research methods in the field of human information processing and in analyses of the relationship between (intangible) consciousness and (directly accessible) language, are a functional tool for penetrating intuitive knowledge, an instrument that enables inquiry into culturally entrenched categorisations and conceptualisations. By the same token, they help specify differences between cultures, language being "the symbolic guide to culture" (Sapir 1966 [1929]: 70). In the present study, the test allowed me to access the realm of axiology and to reconstruct the content of values, together with their rich connotations, in the linguistic awareness of Polish, Russian, and German speakers, shaped by their respective specific historical, social, and cultural experience. The experiment also helped identify and compare the hierarchies of values professed by young generations of Poles, Russians, and Germans.

3. The experiment reported on here had a mass study character: there were 1,500 participants – representatives of the Polish, Russian, and German-speaking communities, 500 students aged 18–25 in each of the three groups, with equal numbers of males and females. A questionnaire had been developed for this purpose, involving twenty value terms. The content had been randomised and the questionnaire was taken in writing. The respondents were given two tasks. In Task 1, they were asked to record their non-directional free reaction, the first word or expression coming to mind after reading the stimulus word. In Task 2, they were asked to indicate the values they considered the most important and followed in their daily lives – this allowed for a construction of axiological hierarchies. The first stage of the experiment also involved the development of a reverse value dictionary, in which the linguistic material is presented from the response to the stimulus word. On this basis the list of expressions that constitute the axiological core of the linguistic awareness of Poles, Germans, and Russians was compiled.

Fifteen concepts, i.e. value terms, had been selected for detailed analysis:
– in Polish: BÓG 'God', DEMOKRACJA 'democracy', GODNOŚĆ 'dignity',

MIŁOŚĆ 'love', PATRIOTYZM 'patriotism', PIĘKNO 'beauty', PRACA 'work', RODZINA 'family', SPRAWIEDLIWOŚĆ 'justice', SUKCES 'success', SZCZĘŚCIE 'happiness', TOLERANCJA 'tolerance', TRADYCJA 'tradition', WOLNOŚĆ 'freedom', ŻYCIE 'life';

- in Russian: BOG 'God', DEMOKRATYA 'democracy', DOSTOINSTVO 'dignity', ZHIZN' 'life', KRASOTA 'beauty', LUBOV' 'love', PATRYOTIZM 'patriotism', RABOTA 'work', SVOBODA 'freedom', SEM'A 'family', SPRAVEDLIVOST' 'justice', SCHAST'E 'happiness', TOLERANTNOST' 'tolerance', TRADITSYA 'tradition', USPEKH 'success';
- in German: ARBEIT 'work', DEMOKRATIE 'democracy', ERFOLG 'success', FAMILIE 'family', FREIHEIT 'freedom', GERECHTIGKEIT 'justice', GLÜCK 'happiness', GOTT 'God', LEBEN 'life', LIEBE 'love', PATRIOTISMUS 'patriotism', SCHÖNHEIT 'beauty', TOLERANZ 'tolerance', TRADITION 'tradition', WÜRDE 'dignity'.

Thus, the concepts in all three languages correspond to the following English concepts: BEAUTY, DEMOCRACY, DIGNITY, FAMILY, FREEDOM, GOD, HAPPINESS, JUSTICE, LIFE, LOVE, PATRIOTISM, SUCCESS, TOLERANCE, TRADITION, WORK (in alphabetical order). However, it must be borne in mind at all times throughout the subsequent discussion that the respondents operated with value concepts in their own respective languages and the results of the research must also be understood in those terms.

The proposed inventory of axiological units includes values that constitute the core of ethnic culture and most strongly link the individuals to their respective communities. These are social values: DEMOCRACY, PATRIOTISM, WORK, FAMILY, TOLERANCE, TRADITION, and FREEDOM; they "help members of a society make choices, direct and indicate goals and means of action, but also strengthen action itself within their cultural sphere" (Dyczewski 1995: 58).

The analysis also covers moral (ethical) values such as DIGNITY, LOVE, and JUSTICE, all of which are of particular importance for a critical assessment of the moral condition of European societies proposed by some contemporary sociologists, who point to a progressive "crisis of morality" (Jasińska-Kania 2002: 212), "erosion of moral consciousness" (Mariański 2001: 36), or a "moral anomaly" (Świda-Ziemba 2010: 68–73).

The aesthetic and sensual values, such as BEAUTY and HAPPINESS, in turn, point to the degree of sensitivity, specifically in the domain of interpersonal relations, as well as, in a broader context, to the awareness and appreciation of the differences arising from all otherness and heterogeneity, including cultural.

Because claims have recently been made that European value systems are now evolving towards secularism, hedonism, individualism, and self-fulfilment, the list of the analysed concepts also includes the values of prestige (SUCCESS) and transcendence (GOD).

The ultimate element in the axiological system of Poles, Russians, and Germans is the vital value – LIFE, the fundamental axiological concept without which the implementation of all other values is impossible. The linguistic data collected as part of the association test, comprising 2,495 Polish, 2,857 German, and 2,366 Russian free, non-directed verbal responses to the stimulus words (7,718 associations in total),[3] facilitated an inquiry into the roles played by these values. Similarities and differences were identified in the ways reality is perceived through language, reflecting not only the individual experiences of the respondents, which usually have the character of dynamic, processual structures, but above all the collective experiences of communities, dependent on the cultural environment and past experiences of the generation being studied, as well as on the social and political challenges of the present. Thus, the hierarchy of values identified in the analysis is likely to result from the subjective understanding of values and from the properties of the partly institutionalised system of values professed by the relevant communities.

4. Because a detailed and exhaustive analysis of the association profiles of individual values cannot be presented here,[4] this article will be confined to generalising conclusions that will outline some tendencies in the understanding and preferences for certain types of values on the part of Poles, Russians, and Germans.

The starting point for the summary of the results of the axiological analysis of linguistic awareness of Poles, Russians, and Germans are the value hierarchies reconstructed from the subjects' responses.

The catalogues of the values regarded by Polish, Russian, and German students as priorities is in fact similar. Although there are some differences in the percentages of the respondents in the surveyed groups that declare certain values to be crucial, they do not significantly affect the overall composition of these hierarchies. The first positions in the ranking lists are occupied by those units that, following Ronald Inglehart's (2006) conceptual toolbox, can be referred to as values combining pre-materialism with impersonal

[3] The complete linguistic material obtained as part of the experiment is presented in the form of tables with all responses to the stimulus words (see the Appendix in Rodziewicz 2014: 387–489).

[4] The full description of the data and a comprehensive list of results of this research are presented in Rodziewicz (2014).

post-materialism.[5] These include FAMILY, LOVE, HAPPINESS, and LIFE. In all the groups surveyed, the primary role was attributed to FAMILY. LOVE as a value experienced and actualised ranked second. HAPPINESS as an axiological unit is most valued by the Poles: in the respondents' declared value hierarchy it occupies the third position. The Russians rank it one place below. The Germans give it the lowest of the three, although still a relatively high seventh place. LIFE is ranked third and highest by the Russians, while the Poles and Germans give it the fifth place.

On the one hand, the axiological units endorsed by the respondents are traditional values. In their semantic structure, the young people usually mention components that point to the satisfaction of primary needs: survival, security, sense of rootedness and stability, understanding, psychological support, acceptance, closeness. On the other hand, there are values that allow the individual to satisfy his or her need of self-determination and self-fulfilment, mainly attainable through contact with other people. Interpersonal relations are clearly highlighted in the association profiles of all of the above-mentioned values considered by the respondents to be the most important. Thus, the pre-materialistic orientation does not exclude elements characteristic of post-materialistic systems. This tendency is also reflected in the high saturation of the semantic content of the key axiological units with emotional and emotionally-evaluative components (largely positive).

There are many similarities in terms of preferences and/or perception also of the remaining values, apart from those mentioned above. A high, fourth position in the axiological hierarchy of all three language groups is occupied by FREEDOM. The association profiles of FREEDOM are dominated by post-materialistic characteristics. This value is captured by the respondents in a highly individualised and subjective perspective, where physical freedom and freedom of choice are at the forefront. It is an individualistic, irresponsible freedom, understood as unlimited autonomy. According to contemporary young people, FREEDOM is a non-directional and unlimited category that relativises social regulations – it is clearly moving towards subjectivisation and is understood as emancipation. The individualistic aspect of FREEDOM

[5] According to Inglehart, there exist pre-materialistic (traditional) values, such as HEALTH, LIFE, or FAMILY, materialistic (modern) values, such as MONEY, SOCIAL SECURITY, or WORK, and post-materialistic (postmodern) values, such as LOVE, FRIENDSHIP, HAPPINESS, or SELF-FULFILLMENT. According to that author, in the postmodern reality, the post-materialistic values are gaining more importance than the materialistic ones, since the implementation of the latter, in particular of the modern values, in well-developed countries is undisputed. This is because in those increasingly prosperous countries, the attainment of materialistic values does not involve any particular effort, but is rather, with some simplification, assumed *a priori* (cf. Inglehart 2006: 334-348).

is realised, especially in the awareness of the German students, through the maximisation of personal freedoms, with a shade of selfishness that finds expression in creativity, self-reliance, and self-sufficiency. On the other hand, in the consciousness of the Polish and Russian respondents, ontological freedom has a strong position, usually conceived of as free will or the ability to make choices and decisions.

WORK, JUSTICE, and SUCCESS are similar with regard to their semantic content. However, their importance is differently evaluated by different groups of respondents. WORK is ranked highest by the young Germans (the eighth position), while the Poles and Russians place it just after the first ten in the ranking. A relatively low placement of WORK may indeed be a sign of an abandonment of the traditional ethos of work. In the description of this value, the pre-materialist and materialist components, i.e. financial security and protection, are balanced with elements of a clearly post-materialist character, such as personal development and self-expression, as well as interpersonal relations. The latter type are the determinants of a new, communicative work ethos that emphasises individualism, quality of life, satisfaction, passions, and teamwork. The subjects' responses and axiological preferences reveal the import of the "work – life – balance" principle (Kuhn 2005: 60), i.e. a balanced personal and professional life.

JUSTICE has consolidated in the linguistic awareness of the interviewed Europeans as an ethical value based on the principle of egalitarianism. JUSTICE is one more value with regard to which the respondents emphasise the importance of interpersonal contact and a pro-human attitude. However, the respondents from all groups question the existence of justice in real life: it functions as an ideal rather than empirical reality, it is treated in utopian terms, without a clear inclination to make an effort and render it real. The highest readiness in this respect was manifested by the Russians: justice takes the eight place in their declared hierarchy of values. The Germans and especially the Poles distance themselves from it, placing JUSTICE in distant positions, the eleventh and thirteenth respectively.

The largest degree of convergence could be observed in the meaning of the values of prestige. SUCCESS is one of the few "mirandas"[6] whose multilingual conceptualisations reveal similar thinking in the speakers of the three languages. The common part of the association profile of SUCCESS (established on the basis of the frequency of mentions) consists of such facets as work and profession, effort, wealth and prestige, self-expression and self-fulfilment, competition, and struggle. The young people in this

[6] The term was introduced by Walery Pisarek (2002: 26); cf. its Latin origin: *mirandus* 'worthy of admiration'.

research conceptualise SUCCESS by relating to post-materialistic components. However, despite positive and very positive speaker attitudes, SUCCESS is ultimately ranked relatively low, in the seventh position (Russians), tenth (Poles), and twelfth (Germans).

The central axis of distinction between the linguistic communities being examined runs through the understanding of social values, such as DEMOCRACY, TOLERANCE, and DIGNITY, which can be classified as post-materialistic values. Differences have also been observed in the profiling of the concept of PATRIOTISM. Without going into details, we shall focus on formulating the basic conclusions arising from the analysis of the respondents' verbal reactions.

DEMOCRACY is known, understood, and can be easily defined by the speakers of all three languages. The respondents enumerate a number of advantages of this political system, including, among others, the institutional order, i.e. the establishment of specific rules that contribute to the proper functioning of the state, freedom of speech, the influence of citizens on the functioning of the state, equality before the law, and justice. These are "ideologemes" common to all democratic societies. In the linguistic awareness of the young Russians, the primary constituent of democracy is freedom. The Poles identify democracy principally with parliamentary democracy. For the Germans the embodiment of democracy is their own country. From the conceptualisation of democracy it can also be inferred that the young Poles and Russians are less likely than their Western European counterparts to express the need for civic participation, and that their willingness to engage in diverse forms of participation in social and communal action is less important. Poles are ready to participate in the political life of the country, which is reflected in the emphasis on the importance of parliamentary elections, but their awareness of the possibility of thus shaping and transforming their social life is not obvious. Germans are characterised by a relatively extensive knowledge of their constitution and, consequently, are aware of their civil rights.

In the hierarchy of preferred values, DEMOCRACY ranks quite low. It is valued highest by the young Germans, who rank it in the fifteenth place. The utilitarian value of DEMOCRACY is similarly evaluated by Poles: in their hierarchy it occupies the sixteenth place. DEMOCRACY as a value that can be realised on a daily basis receives least recognition from the Russians respondents, who placed it in the last, twentieth position.

The profiling of TOLERANCE reveals certain differences, in particular between the Russian-speaking community and the other language groups. While the Poles and Germans are inclined towards positive TOLERANCE, their Eastern peers profile this value as forced acceptance and indifference,

a negative kind of tolerance. The choice of who or what is the object of TOLERANCE is influenced by current social, political, and media discourse. In the Polish survey, a prominent role is given to personal tolerance, while in the other surveys ethnic tolerance prevails.

In the ranking of values that the respondents follow in their lives, if one is to trust their declarations, TOLERANCE occupies a rather low or a very low position: ninth for the Germans, fourteenth for the Poles, and sixteenth for the Russians.

Also, the image of DIGNITY in the linguistic consciousness of the respondents is far from homogeneous. For the Poles and Germans DIGNITY is primarily a personal and an ethical value. The German respondents placed this value in a broader context of human rights guaranteed by jurisdiction; they also stressed the bioethical aspect of DIGNITY, which remains unmentioned in the responses from their peers in the other two groups. The declared placement of DIGNITY in the ranking of values followed in daily life is the highest in the case of the Poles: it comes in the ninth place. In the collective consciousness of the young Russians and Germans, DIGNITY is positioned lower: as twelfth and fourteenth, respectively.

The analysis of the verbal and association networks of the concept of PATRIOTISM has revealed that this value is centred around the notion of homeland. For the Germans it is the so-called little homeland (*Heimat*), their private homeland; for the Poles and Russians it tends to be the whole country. Consequently, the Poles and Russians further explicate PATRIOTISM as a bond that is rooted in rational, ethically oriented actions understood as service for their homeland. The students from Western Europe rarely refer to such notions as fidelity or sacrifice and completely ignore the aspect of duty to their homeland. The only element in the association profile that combines the three different linguistics views of PATRIOTISM is the notion of love as its defining element.

What does this research tell us about PATRIOTISM today? Is it an important value? As a guarantee of the sense of elementary safety – probably not any more. As a bond that cements a community sharing a geographical and cultural area – not very much, either. As a social value manifested in civic patriotism – also to a limited degree. Against the background of other values, PATRIOTISM was ranked low and very low: in the seventeenth position by the Russians, eighteenth by the Poles, and twentieth by the Germans.

Few discrepancies were found in terms of understanding and appreciation of TRADITION and BEAUTY: they are only manifested in the distribution percentages of semantic characteristics within the association profiles of these values.

The dominant cultural connotations of the concept of TRADITION are the festivity and rituals associated with it. At the same time, the respondents in the study paid special attention to holidays as a part of the "living tradition" (Gajda 2003: 77): the current tradition that the respondents identify with as members of a particular community and feel obliged to cultivate. However, in the system of values that the young Poles and Germans tend to follow, tradition occupies a very distant, seventeenth place. Russians rank it even lower, in the eighteenth position.

The underlying constituents of the concept of BEAUTY are also almost identical at the level of linguistic explication, although they rank differently in terms of the number of associations. At the core of the linguistic awareness of the Polish participants in the survey there is female beauty and physical attractiveness in general. The key associations evoked in the Russian respondents are natural beauty, nature, and the beauty of the human soul. The Germans, in turn, identify beauty primarily with a person's inner life. BEAUTY does not belong to the values followed by the young people on a daily basis. The Russian students appreciate it the most: in their hierarchy of values, BEAUTY occupies the thirteenth place. The Polish students rank it fifteenth, while the Germans rank it only as the sixteenth item on the list.

In the preceding reflections summarising the research on the understanding and ranking of values by the groups of Polish, Russian, and German respondents, essentially one axiological orientation is dominant: the post-materialistic (postmodern) orientation. It has to do with broadly understood freedom and the non-material aspects of life. It focuses on the well-being of an individual viewed as individual expression, self-fulfilment and improvement, personal happiness, and rational values. In this context, it does not seem surprising that the usefulness and necessity of striving for and implementing such pre-materialistic values as TRADITION, PATRIOTISM, and GOD, which were classified by the students as the last-choice values (i.e. those than can be pursued "later"), are evaluated very low. The values that were ranked last in the axiological hierarchy can be regarded, following Clyde Kluckhohn and others (1951), as passive or ritualistic. Although the respondents are inclined to regard them as rather important elements of their value systems, the values are now losing their former appeal and power of emotional stimulation for driving human behaviour. They are pursued rather occasionally.

5. I have also proposed to render the hierarchy of values as a reverse dictionary (Rodziewicz 2014: 493). It is assumed that the ranking of the values that are explicitly mentioned by the respondents as key values, and that are potentially socially accepted, corresponds to the ranking of the presupposed values, implied in or deduced from repeated verbal reactions

of the respondents. An exception here are transcendental values. The data collected for the reverse dictionary suggest that they occupy a higher position in the linguistic awareness of the respondents than in the explicitly declared hierarchy. The frequency of the repetition of the words for God (the Polish *Bóg*, the Russian *Bog*, and the German *Gott*) in association with other value terms places them in the tenth, ninth, and tenth position respectively. Thus, the respondents implicitly ranked lower the values that score higher in direct responses: the Poles and Russians – JUSTICE, SUCCESS, and DIGNITY; the Germans – SUCCESS and TOLERANCE.

Cultural determinants of gender did not play a significant role in understanding and establishing the order of values.

6. Most of the semantic features of the axiological units being considered that were suggested by the respondents are not documented in modern lexicographic sources. In the light of the data obtained from the association test, the dictionary definitions appear to be quite poor and mono-faceted. The interesting and semantically rich interpretations of the concepts that were proposed by the respondents go beyond their conventional understanding, which means that these fuller conceptualisations still need to be discovered. This shows, on the one hand, that the semantic content of the value terms is subject to dynamic extension, while on the other hand, it points to the instability and variability of the notion of value as such. At the same time, free non-directional verbal responses to stimuli words reflect the way reality is categorised by contemporary young people and their own axiological experience. They also constitute a valuable exemplification of macro-scale trends.

Undoubtedly, however, the results of this research do not corroborate the claim made by some sociologists as to axiological erosion in contemporary societies. It appears that it is more appropriate to see the situation in terms of axionormative relativism, whereby there is a growing tendency to employ individualised strategies for determining one's own identity and tailor one's axiological hierarchy and to the current needs. The picture is certainly a dynamic one, as "the axionormative systems are always products of cultural and historical circumstances: they are fixed only for some time" (Mariański and Smyczek 2008: 9).

To conclude on a positive note, the linguistic analysis reported here has revealed that the values professed by the respondents in this study are linked, to a large extent, with interpersonal relations.

translated by Rafał Augustyn

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I. Research articles

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Roman Gawarkiewicz
(University of Szczecin, Poland)

The archaeology of linguistic awareness of Poles and Russians. Comparative analysis of Polish and Russian associative dictionaries*

The article presents a comparative analysis of selected linguistic material from Polish and Russian associative dictionaries. A description is offered of the core of Polish and Russian linguistic awareness, i.e. an awareness with respect to those units that enter into the greatest numbers of connections with other units of a given associative network, presented in the form of a reversed associative dictionary (from reaction to stimulus). It is concluded that Polish and Russian concepts identified as very close on the semantic plane are often characterised by significant semantic differences, which are especially conspicuous in associative networks of names for emotions, values, and human actions. The young people from Poland and Russia that took part in the study differ significantly in their judgements as to what and to what extent they consider good or bad, vital or insignificant, active or passive. Young Poles have a stronger tendency to view and evaluate reality through the prism of hedonistic values. Their accounts more rarely contain characteristics related to community life (an important role is only played by one's kin). The linguistically shaped world of young Russians is different: the central position there is occupied by associative networks where the dominant characteristics relate to communities, collective work, and the need for material and financial security.

Key words: linguistic worldview, associative units, core linguistic awareness, Poland and Russia

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Personal identity and the process of identity shaping are fundamental issues in the current debate on the assimilation and integration of immigrants, both in Europe and worldwide. The contemporary quest for personal identity is primarily based on ethnic and national elements, and understood as "a state of collective awareness" (Mikułowski Pomorski 2004: 11), with the individual being reduced to the role of an "owner" and/or "user" of group ideologies. The starting point in the discussion on personal identity is the claim that all differences and conflicts of interest may be successfully neutralised by sharing a common attitude towards vital aims, ideas, or interests. In the debate on the future of Europe and further development of the European Union, negotiating European identity is considered one of the fundamental issues, a three-stage process that consists in "differentiation, crystallisation of self-representation, and recognition by others" (Therborn 1998: 351).[1]

Constructing identity in the process of human communication along with that schema is a challenge, both from a socio-cultural perspective and as an educational task, especially in the context of the melting pot of cultures and languages. As aptly observed by Franciszek Grucza,

> . . . specific attitudes of particular people and communities towards other people and communities, the state of reciprocal willingness or aversion to co-exist and to find a common language for communication, plus, finally, answering the question of who one is ready to co-exist and communicate with (and how determined one is to achieve this) always results from many factors, the most important of which are: (i) people's life experiences and self-reflection on those experiences, (ii) viewpoints taken over from others and derived from shared local traditions, (iii) the knowledge obtained in the process of formal education, and existential, or "material", calculations. (Grucza 1996: 13)

Therefore, it can be concluded that differences among nations primarily arise in people's minds as a result of social interaction in a national *milieu*. The speaking subject, *homo loquens*, lives in a culture shaped by his or her choices – but these are themselves influenced by the awareness of cultural artefacts. Relating to such dependencies, Ivan A. Ilyin says:

> Show me your faith and prayer, show how you express kindness and heroism and who you worship; show me the way you sing, dance, and recite poems; what it means to you to "know" and "understand"; show me how you love your family and who you consider to be the leader, the genius, or the prophet. Tell me all this and I will tell you which nation you are the son of, since everything depends not on your conscious choice but on the spiritual structure of your subconsciousness. (Ilyin 1993: 237)

Against this background, I put forward the claim that the analysis of the communication process, in particular intercultural communication, cannot be detached from mental, emotional, and psychological differences

[1] English translations of quotes by A.M.-H. [translator's note]

between nations.[2] Without assessing the differences that result from our one's own perception of the world, no-one is able to transgress their limitations. Otherwise we would be doomed to living in an illusionary world in the Redfieldian sense, in which one immediately becomes part of an isolated community of people with similar viewpoints (Redfield 1947).[3]

In such a situation, communication with others is no longer based on mutual understanding and acceptance of disparate axiological norms, nor does it relate to a broadly understood acceptance and tolerance of alternative lifestyles. Instead, it is based on superficial opinions, the so-called "etiquettes" that thwart successful communication and increase the distance between the communicating parties. According to Clark Moustakas,

> both etiquettes and categorisation give us a misleading impression of knowing the other person. The truth is that we catch their shadow rather than the essence. Being convinced of knowing both ourselves and others [...], we cease to see what is happening in front of us and inside us. And being unaware of that, we make no effort to engage in communication with reality. We continue to use etiquettes to perceive ourselves and others stereotypically; these etiquettes function as substitutes of our lives, our unique feelings, and our personal interactions. (Moustakas 1971: 7–8).

Therefore, I suggest that "improvement of interpersonal communication, as well as strengthening natural human tendencies to communicate with others" (Grucza 1996: 12) should be treated as the pivotal aim in further development of contemporary humanities and social sciences.

The method that might prove helpful in successful communication between nations, e.g. between Poles and Russians, is a free association test, widely used in psycholinguistics. The test allows for a reliable diagnosis of how the two nations differ in their perceptions, a factor that is crucial in communication breakdowns.

The application of the association test has been used as a diagnostic device in the study of processing information in the human brain since Francis Galton's first cognitive experiment. The test allows us to study images entertained in people's linguistic awareness,[4] defined by Evgeniy Tarasov as "the entirety of awareness levels, shaped and expressed by means of linguis-

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[2] Cf. Bartmiński's (2010), Chlebda's (2010), and Puzynina's (2010) arguments for the inclusion of intercultural studies in reconstructing the linguistic and cultural portrait of Europe (the project EUROJOS).

[3] Robert Redfield, an American cultural anthropologist, was the founder of the theory of folk society.

[4] Some linguists identify linguistic awareness with linguistic competence (see Porayski-Pomsta 1999: 70–71), or treat it as an element of ethnocultural awareness (Gyrochkina 2001: 122–123; Ufimtseva 2008).

tic devices: words, multi-word units, sentences, texts and associative fields" (Tarasov 2000: 26).

The study of associations with a view to revealing the wealth of meanings hidden in linguistic expressions is very much in line with contemporary anthropological linguistic research, pursued by, among others, Jadwiga Puzynina (1992, 1997), Jerzy Bartmiński (2007), Walery Pisarek (2002), Michael Fleischer (2003, 2004), or Anna Wierzbicka (1997). The ethno-psycho-linguistic character of the research derives from the assumption that the description of the world as it is perceived and conceived of is preserved in language. Therefore, ethno-psycho-linguistic studies purport to describe the way entities, value systems, viewpoints, and socially maintained attitudes are conceptualised and categorised.[5] Moreover, a new trend in the linguistic enterprise enabled linguists to launch a new direction of inquiry, with a comparative focus on the ethnocultural linguistic awareness of speech and cultural communities.[6] Of key importance here is the notion of linguistic worldview, i.e. of the world interpreted through the prism of language and linguistic semantics: besides categorial features, it includes the stereotypical ones. The linguistic worldview is defined as "a language-entrenched interpretation of reality, which can be expressed in the form of judgements about the world, people, things or events. It is an interpretation, not a reflection; it is a portrait without claims to fidelity, not a photograph of real objects" (Bartmiński 2009: 23). It is not only entrenched in language but also "accessible *via* language, its grammatical structure and lexicon, with the whole gamut of its meanings" (Bartmiński 2007: 24). The tools used in the description of the linguistic worldview prove successful in analysis of the linguistic data collected in questionnaires, with a significant role being played by two principles: the principle of frequency and the classification of associations (Ciechanowicz 1975: 520–533).[7]

[5] As observed by Edward Sapir, "the physical environment is reflected in language only in so far as it has been influenced by social factors. [. . .] Hence, any attempt to consider even the simplest element of culture as due solely to the influence of environment must be termed misleading" (Sapir 1985 [1912]: 90).

[6] This issue has been the subject of in-depth discussion at the Institute of Linguistics and Institute of Psychology, Russian Academy of Sciences (Ufimtseva 2000; Ufimtseva and Ushakova 2005).

[7] Gustav Aschaffenburg classified associations into four types: (i) *innere Assoziationen*, based on the link between a word (stimulus) and personal experience (an individual interpretation on the part of the respondent); (ii) *äußere Assoziationen*, mechanically preserved collocations, multi-word units, and antonyms; (iii) *klang Assoziationen*, associations based on phonetic similarity to the stimulus word; (iv) *Restgruppe*, other associations expressing the lack of reaction to the stimulus (Aschaffenburg 1899: 1–83).

The psycholinguistic analysis of associations of an individual speaker is an important contribution to the development of linguistic research on associations,[8] and this in the context of cultural-comparative analysis of human cognitive processes. The idea is based on theoretical and methodological grounds with respect to human cognition, i.e. the way people select, interpret, memorise, and use the information they receive form the environment. Non-linguistic phenomena are entrenched in the awareness of an individual conceptualiser through their causal, temporal, and spatial parameters being linked with the emotions evoked by these phenomena. Schemas have mental representations, or, in van Dijk and Kintsch's (1983) parlance, "mental models" that are always accessible and facilitate both reflection upon the surrounding world and processing of the information that relates to it. As observed by Georg Gissing, "it is the human mind which creates the world about us, and, even though we stand side by side in the same meadow, my eyes will never see what is beheld by yours" (Gissing 1903: 99).

My personal attitude as well as, I daresay, the attitude of many contemporary linguists dealing with associative reactions, stems from the interest in combining the logical process of thinking with language as an instrument in the transmission of thought. Research on verbal associations, defined by Ufimtseva as "the presentation of a verbal stimulus [that] entails the appearance of verbal reaction" (2008: 16), helps obtain extensive knowledge on associative norms and offers a possibility to diagnose both similarities and differences in the role of language in linguistic perception of the world, all in accordance with a specific cultural background of respondents.

The empirical studies are the basis for a multi-aspectual analysis of associative reactions within two realms:

1. the cultural sphere that is "obligatory for a specific cultural formation – it influences the meaning of a given linguistic sign (or a complex of signs). [...] A sign (a word, multi-word unit, or utterance) may have a different meaning in different cultural communities" (Fleischer 2003: 27);
2. the connotative (emotive) aspect – it transgresses the boundary of pure meaning of a given sign and refers to all emotional and cognitive processes that illustrate the evaluative attitude of an individual towards the sign (Kurcz 1976: 176).

[8] It is language community that conditions the existence of "associative community" and simultaneously derives from it. Robert Kwaśnica formulates the problem in the following way: "What we perceive and the way we perceive it is language-dependent: language becomes a decisive factor of our perception and decision regarding objectively existing elements. [...] Language determines the way we understand the object being perceived" (Kwaśnica 1991: 37).

This model of meaning is dynamic and subject to change. In simplified terms, we obtain "our" subjective meanings in the process of learning as well as during communicative interaction within a given speech community. Research on associations points to the existence of both shared associations with their hidden meanings and individual associations, distinct for each individual, identifiable in each linguo-cultural community.

Below we present the analysis of selected linguistic material from two associative dictionaries: *Polski słownik asocjacyjny z suplementem* (Polish Associative Dictionary with a Supplement, PSA 2008) and *Russkiy assotsyativnyy slovar'* (Russian Associative Dictionary, RAS 2002).[9] Both dictionaries contain the linguistic material collected in an experiment carried out with two groups of students of various specialisations, each group consisting of 500 respondents (250 men and 250 women). The respondents were given questionnaires with 100 stimulus words, prepared by the team of researchers directed by Natalya Ufimtseva, Russian Academy of Sciences. Each respondent was given the questionnaire in his or her native language with a different arrangement of the same stimulus words. The experiment yielded some 50,000 word-reactions in each language being investigated. Dictionary entries were then elaborated on with the aid of a specially designed computer program. The layout of the entries is identical in both dictionaries. The dictionaries consist of two parts each: in the first part all reaction words are placed next to the stimulus word, relative to the frequency of their occurrence and in decreasing order. The second part is arranged in the reverse manner, i.e. from reaction words to stimulus words, where the complete alphabetical list of linguistic reactions is presented, along with the relevant statistical data.

Lexical associations, including those available in associative dictionaries, had been subjected to comparative analysis before (Umitseva and Ushakova 2005; Gawarkiewicz 2008, 2011; Iwan 2008; Pietrzyk 2008; Rodziewicz 2008, 2014; Ramdan 2013), with the aim to establish associative fields for stimulus words, with regard to their content entrenched in the consciousness of the speakers. These analyses reveal both individual and collective, culture-dependent aspects of categorisation of associative words: they stress the cultural differences that transpire through language in the process of conceptualisation. Dictionary entries equipped with connotative meanings complement statistical and normative data offered in lexicographic dictionaries, thus rendering them fully-fledged resources.

[9] Both dictionaries were produced as a result of international research on associations conducted out under the auspices of the Institute of Psycholinguistics, Russian Academy of Sciences in Moscow. Other dictionaries in the series are the Spanish-Russian NAER (2001) and the Slavic SAS (2004).

The analysis of those units, in Polish and Russian, that enter into the greatest number of connections with other units of a given associative network (presented in the form of a reversed associative dictionary, Ufimtseva 2000: 213) also provides interesting information. According to Ufimtseva, the core of linguistic awareness is a central sphere of culture that relates to collective subconsciousness shaped in the initial stage of ethnogenesis and "ensures coherence in the behaviour of all members of a given ethnos in certain situations that are representative of a given culture" (Ufimtseva 2005: 206). Therefore, in the first stage of the present research, the core of linguistic awareness of Poles and Russians was identified. Here we offer an abridged version of the analysis, limited to the first thirty words. Table 1 presents the list of those thirty most frequently elicited reactions among Russians and Poles (the overall number of reactions is given in brackets, whereas the number of the stimuli that triggered the reactions is given without brackets). By analysing similarities and differences between particular words used by Russians and Poles, it was shown that the core of linguistics awareness of Russians and Poles contains fourteen equivalent reaction words (46.67%): *radość/радость* 'joy', *człowiek/человек* 'a human (being)', *miłość/любовь* 'love' *dom/дом* 'home', *życie/жизнь* 'life', *szczęście/счастье* 'happiness', *dobro/добро* 'good', *śmierć/смерть 'death'*, *dziecko/ребёнок* 'child', *przyjaciel/друг* 'friend', *siła/сила* 'strength', *ja/я* 'I; me', *czas/время* 'time', *zło/зло* 'evil'.

A significant position in the linguistic awareness of Polish and Russian speakers is occupied by humans (*człowiek/человек*), their home (*dom/дом*) and children (*dziecko/ребёнок*). However, the Polish associative words *rodzina* 'family', *ciepło* 'warmth', or *spokój* 'peace, calm' do not appear among the young Russians. Significant differences are also found in the sphere of human activity.

Two forms, *есть* 'eat'[10] and *жить* 'live', are qualified as the most significant reaction words in the linguistic awareness of the Russian respondents. Unsurprisingly, the former is mainly triggered by two stimulus words, i.e. *пить* 'drink' (54) and *хотеть* 'want' (51), and rarely by such stimuli as *хлеб* 'bread' (14), *сила* 'strength' (12), or *быстро* 'quickly' (8).

In the Russian associative network referring to people's typical activities, an important position is ascribed to the following semantic relationships: *жить – хорошо* 'live – well' (64) and *жить – хотеть* 'live – want' (29). Russian respondents conceptualise *жить* in the following way: *надеяться* 'hope for' (8), *думать* 'think' (7), *помогать* 'help' (5), *есть* 'eat' (2) and

[10] As will transpire from the discussion below, the Russian *есть* can mean 'eat' or 'there is', each playing its own distinct role in the experiment. [editor's note]

Table 1. The core of Polish and Russian linguistic awareness

	Poles		Russians	
	associative word	number of reactions and stimuli	associative word	number of reactions and stimuli
1	***radość*** 'joy'	(488) 51	***жизнь*** 'life'	(363) 54
2	***człowiek*** 'a human (being')'	(581) 47	***человек*** 'a human (being')'	(1244) 53
3	***miłość*** 'love'	(702) 44	***дом*** 'home'	(514) 48
4	***dom*** 'home'	(549) 42	***любовь*** 'love'	(253) 48
5	***życie*** 'life'	(387) 39	***радость*** 'joy'	(248) 48
6	***szczęście*** 'hapiness'	(475) 35	*хорошо* 'well'	(384) 46
7	*spokój* 'peace, calm'	(226) 35	***друг*** 'friend'	(365) 45
8	*nadzieja* 'hope'	(165) 35	***счастье*** 'hapiness'	(334) 40
9	*przyjemność* 'pleasure'	(90) 30	*нет* 'no'	(102) 40
10	***dobro*** 'good'	(320) 27	*есть* 'eat'	(334) 37
11	*rodzina* 'family'	(536) 26	*плохо* 'badly'	(329) 35
12	*ciepło* 'warmth'	(288) 26	*свет* 'world'	(175) 35
13	*kobieta* 'woman'	(286) 26	*деньги* 'money'	(341) 34
14	*seks* 'sex'	(147) 26	*большой* 'big'	(333) 34
15	*strach* 'fear'	(140) 26	***ребёнок*** 'child'	(240) 33
16	*wolność* 'freedom'	(60) 26	*мир* 'peace'	(151) 33
17	***śmierć*** 'death'	(316) 25	***я*** 'I, me'	(100) 33
18	*praca* 'work'	(121) 25	***добро*** 'good'	(250) 29
19	***dziecko*** 'child'	(346) 24	*жить* 'live'	(184) 29
20	***przyjaciel*** 'friend'	(197) 24	*красивый* 'beautiful'	(135) 29
21	***siła*** 'strength'	(106) 24	***смерть*** 'death'	(365) 27
22	***ja*** 'I, me'	(55) 24	***сила*** 'strength'	(99) 27
23	***czas*** 'time'	(204) 23	*всегда* 'always'	(82) 27
24	*złość* 'anger'	(189) 23	*сильный* 'strong'	(279) 26
25	*pomoc* 'help'	(115) 23	*много* 'many'	(186) 26
26	*szkoła* 'school'	(41) 22	*всё* 'everything'	(120) 26
27	***zło*** 'bad, evil (n.)'	(462) 21	***зло*** 'bad, evil (n.)'	(347) 23
28	*smutek* 'sadness'	(196) 21	*любить* 'love (v.)'	(160) 23
29	*zabawa* 'play'	(66) 21	***время*** 'time'	(144) 23
30	*uśmiech* 'smile'	(235) 20	*день* 'day'	(285) 22

пить 'drink' (2), and, most importantly, stress the collective character of the activity (*вместе* 'together', 22). By contrast, young Poles consider sexual activity and money-earning more important than Russian respondents, which is confirmed by a high position of associative words *seks* 'sex' and *praca* 'work' on the ranking list.

In the awareness of young Poles, sexual activity is a direct consequence of love (*miłość*, 31), symbolised by the red colour (*czerwony*, 10). Moreover, sexual activity is more frequently associated with the lexeme *kobieta* 'woman'

(33) than with *mężczyzna* 'man' (10), and with *noc* 'night' (10), rather than with *wieczór* 'evening' (5). Work (*praca*) is conceptualised differently: Poles work during the day (*dzień*, 16), often with the use of the hands (*ręce*, 62) but above all for money (*pieniądze*, 12). Moreover, earning money is more frequently the domain of men (*mężczyzna* 'man', 11; cf. also *mąż* 'husband', 4).

The analysis of the core indicators of Polish and Russian linguistic awareness reveals significant differences with respect to emotional categories. In the Polish variant, nine associative words describe emotions and feelings, whereas in case of the Russian variant only three words are mentioned.

Emotional associative equivalents of joy (*radość* – *радостъ*), love (*miłość* – *любовъ*), and happiness (*szczęście* – *счастъе*) are important, although their position on the two ranking lists varies. The stimulus words used in the associative questionnaire for Polish respondents triggered three positively-valued reactions: *spokój* 'peace, calm', *nadzieja* 'hope', and *przyjemność* 'pleasure', as well as three negatively-valued words: *strach* 'fear', *złość* 'anger', and *smutek* 'sadness'. Neither positive and negative reaction words have any corresponding units found in the linguistic core generated by young Russians.

The analysis also concerns the way Polish respondents approach peace and calm. According to the survey, calm is invoked by the image of rural dwelling, a village (*wieś*, 56) and home (*dom*, 44), whereas the family is recalled less frequently (*rodzina*, 7). Calm is also associated with specific times of the day, such as the evening (*wieczór*, 16) and the night (*noc*, 14).

Considering the concept of hope (*nadzieja*), Poles indicate the following associations: *światło* 'light' (39), *wiara w Boga* 'faith in God' (less frequently *Bóg* 'God', 6), *miłość* 'love' (4), or *nowy dzień* 'new day' (5). Hope is symbolised by the colour green (*zielony*, 36).

Some Polish respondents consider pleasure (*przyjemność*) to be a direct consequence of good (*dobro*, 18). The source of pleasure is connected with eating (*jeść*, 13), less frequently with a conversation (*rozmowa*, 13), meeting people (*spotkania*, 8), work (*praca*, 3), memories (*wspomnienia*, 4), or helping others (*pomaganie innym*, 2).

Hedonistic categories are manifested in two other connotations recalled by Polish respondents, i.e. *zabawa* 'play', and *uśmiech* 'smile'. It has to be noted here that neither appears in the Russian data. The former is the best characterisation of such concepts as *radość* 'joy' (11), *wesoły* 'cheerful' (11), *spotkanie* 'meeting' (5), *gość* 'guest' (5), and *noc* 'night' (3). The latter word reflects the sense of such stimulus words as *radość* 'joy' (80), *wesoły* 'cheerful' (58), *dziecko* 'child' (12), and *babcia* 'grandma' (4).

Negative emotional categories, *strach* 'fear', *złość* 'anger' and *smutek* 'sadness', have a strong position in the core of Polish linguistic awareness: Poles apparently have a strong tendency towards negative assessment of the world in comparison to Russians.

According to Polish respondents, the most frequent reaction to *strach* 'fear' and *złość* 'anger' is *krzyk* 'scream' (56 and 37, respectively). Anger also leads to *nienawiść* 'hate' (88). The source of these negative emotions is *wróg* 'enemy' (11 and 34, respectively) and *kłamstwo* 'lie' (3 and 4, respectively). Few Polish respondents fear bad things that may happen in their lives: *zło* 'evil' (14) and *śmierć* 'death' (13).

Smutek 'sadness' is at the opposite pole of *radość* 'joy' (68), rather than *szczęście* 'happiness' (5). The feeling of sadness is usually evoked by *śmierć* 'death' (46), but also by *wstyd* 'shame' (17), *zło* 'evil' (4), and *czarny* 'black' (3).

In the core of Polish awareness the associative word *ciepło* 'warmth' occupies an important position and is conventionally related with two stimulus words, namely *ogień* 'fire' (91) and *światło* 'light' (12). Additionally, *ciepło* is associated with other linguistic stimuli: *dom* 'home' (82), *rodzina* 'family' (32), *matka* 'mother' (22), and *babcia* 'grandma' (17). The concept of family is additionally strengthened with a female element by recalling the connotations of *kobieta* 'woman', a reaction word produced in response to the following stimuli: *mężczyzna* 'man' (132), *żona* 'wife' (58), *matka* 'mother' (29), *córka* 'daughter', (9) and *babcia* 'grandma' (6). Interestingly, family was more often recalled by the Polish than by the Russian respondents.

A significant difference in the core of Russian and Polish linguistic awareness is observed for emotional and evaluative connotations. As revealed in the questionnaire, Russians have a tendency to offer a plus/minus valuation, based on the binary scales of *хорошо/плохо* 'good/bad' and *нет/есть* 'there is/there isn't'.

With the use of these scales, a substantial number of the young Russians consider the associative word *хорошо* 'good' to be an accurate definition of such concepts as *жить* 'live' (71), *есть* 'eat' (12), *думать* 'think' (11), *помогать* 'help' (3), *говорить* 'talk' (2), *успеть* 'to be on time' (2), and *вместе* 'together' (13). A certain portion of the Russian respondents express their positive assessment of the world by using the following words (in diminishing order): *счастье* 'happiness' (74), *Бог* 'god' (42), *справедливость* 'justice' (8), *деньги* 'money' (5), *время* 'time' (3), *друг* 'friend' (3), *любовь* 'love' (3), and *работа* 'work' (3). Some Russian respondents within the same circle rank the concepts considered fundamental for a positive assessment of social relations in the following way: *добро* 'good' (23), *справедливость*

'justice' (10), *деньги* 'money' (9), and further: *семья* 'family' (5), *работа* 'work' (3), *любовь* 'love' (3).

The opposite pole of valuation focuses on two associative words, i.e. *плохо* 'bad' and *нет* 'there isn't'. The former is usually a reaction to such stimuli as *зло* 'evil' (40), *обман* 'deceit' (18), *война* 'war' (17), *смерть* 'death' (12), rather than to socially unacceptable modes of behaviour, evoked through *жадный* 'greedy, mean' (3), *враг* 'enemy' (3), *дурак* 'idiot' (4), *глупый* 'stupid' (2). The latter refers to those values and goods whose deficit makes life more difficult: *справедливость* 'justice' (14), *время* 'time' (8), *деньги* 'money' (8), *счастье* 'happiness' (8).

Other connotations, i.e. *много* 'plenty', *всегда* 'always', *всё* 'everything', *большой* 'big', *сильный* 'strong', and *красивый* 'beautiful', also occur within the emotional and evaluative category, and are ranked as important concepts in the core of Russian linguistic awareness. What is interesting, they have no equivalents in the Polish ranking.

According to the majority of Russian respondents, the associative word *много* 'plenty' best illustrates the following activities: *обещать* 'promise' (29), *думать* 'think' (26), *говорить* 'talk' (20), *есть* 'eat' (15), and *пить* 'drink' (9). The lexeme *много* is also considered the best defining expression for the concept *деньги* 'money' (45), while it is rarely recalled with reference to *счастье* 'happiness' (4).

With regard to such word-reactions as *всегда* 'always' and *всё* 'everything', it can be concluded that young Russians, as opposed to young Poles, appreciate collective work (e.g. *всегда/всё делать вместе* 'always act together/do everything together', 25 and 8 respectively). Few respondents include in their set of stable values such notions as God (*Бог*, 17), justice (*справедливость*, 6), life (*жить*, 3; *жизнь* 'live', 2), hope (*надежда*, 3), good (*добро*, 3), and helping others (*помогать*, 2), despite the fact that some people may experience bad life (*плохо*, 5). It was also observed that three adjectives, *большой* 'big', *сильный* 'strong', and *красивый* 'beautiful' have a tremendous impact on the Russian linguistic worldview. The first in this series, *большой* 'big', best characterises the following concepts: *палец* 'finger' (54), *рот* 'mouth' (45), *город* 'city' (44), and *дом* 'home' (38). The adjective *сильный* 'strong' is an attribute of faith (*вера*, 68), of a man (*мужчина*, 37), sometimes of voice (*голос*, 12), occasionally of a nation (*народ*, 5) and fire (*огонь*, 5). Beauty is often associated with youth (*молодой* 'young', 26), surprisingly with being male (*мужчина* 'man', 16; *мальчик* 'boy', 6), with a child (*ребёнок*, 4), voice (*голос*, 10), home (*дом*, 10), or city (*город*, 4).

The analysis of the core Polish and Russian linguistic awareness proposed here is two-fold. On the one hand, it shows how associative networks are

created. On the other hand, it points to similarities and differences in logical connections and dependencies that arise between various concepts linked by associations. As a result, it appears that Polish and Russian concepts identified as apparently close to each other on the meaning plane very frequently exhibit significant semantic differences. The differences are especially conspicuous in associative networks of names for emotions, values, and human actions. As has been observed, young people from Poland and Russia taking part in the study differ significantly in their judgements as to what and to what extent they consider good or bad, great or inconspicuous, active or passive.[11]

Obviously, the results of the associative study cannot be regarded as the basis that allows us to formulate ultimate judgements or opinions. Nevertheless, the study implies that young people from Poland have a stronger tendency to view and evaluate the world through the prism of hedonistic values. Their accounts more rarely contain characteristics related to the lives of communities – in this context an important position is occupied only by the members of one's family. The linguistically shaped world of young Russians is different: the central position there is taken by associative networks where the dominant characteristics relate to communities, collective work, and the need for material and financial security.

The differences in viewpoints may act as barriers to effective communication between young Poles and Russians. The description of differences proposed here may serve as an interesting source of inspiration for further improvement of intercultural communication skills. As observed by Efim Passov, the efficiency of successful intercultural communication depends on a variety of mediating factors which either facilitate or hinder the communication process, and which indicate the level of knowledge and communicative skills of interlocutors. This leads us to conclude that the participants in intercultural communication should have the following skills:
– extensive knowledge of a different culture; the ability to receive, analyse, compare and evaluate it;
– emotional attitude towards that culture;
– the ability to interpret cultural values;
– the ability to go beyond the cultural borders; the ability to perceive not only cultural differences but also the points of convergence that bridge cultures;

[11] Osgood et al. proposed three dimensions of emotions, and describe their value thus: "First, does it refer to something *good* or *bad* for me? Second, does it refer to something *strong* or *weak* with respect to me? And third, does it refer to something which is *active* or *passive*?" (Osgood, May, and Miron 1975: 189).

– the ability to adopt the viewpoint of a different culture: this allows us to assess events from that perspective and so understand covert motifs of behaviour;
– the ability to change self-assessment while engaging with other cultures and willingness to neglect imaginary perception and stereotypes referring to other cultures;
– the ability to perceive details of a given culture, indispensable to understand the essence of cultural phenomena;
– the ability to perceive stable and variable elements of a given culture; the skill to recognise tradition and innovation in various aspects of life;
– the ability to perceive the humorous aspects in a foreign culture;
– the ability to synthesise and generalise personal experience in intercultural communication (Passov 2003).

The knowledge, abilities, and attitudes listed above become significant elements in the dialogue of cultures, as well as in the dialogue of people representing different cultures. In contemporary political and social circumstances, the people are forced to engage in close and frequent intercultural interactions. The ability to do so, with all the intricacies involved, allows both individuals and social groups to improve intercultural relationships – respect for the identity of a different culture immediately brings advantage to one's own culture. All this brings us to the notion of intercultural communicative competence (cf. Wielecki 1995: 117), defined as "the ability to adopt cultural relativism while communicating with the cultural Others, as well as the ability to apply the knowledge of various cultures" (Zuber 1999: 28). Intercultural communicative competence, in turn, facilitates the so-called synergistic communication, an idea developed by Stephen R. Covey:

> When you communicate synergistically, you are simply opening your mind and heart and expressions to new possibilities, new alternatives, new options. You are not sure when you engage in synergistic communication how things will work out or what the end will look like, but you do have an inward sense of excitement and security and adventure, believing that it will be significantly better than it was before. (Covey 2015)

translated by Agnieszka Mierzwińska-Hajnos

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I. Research articles

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Aline Viviand-Esik
(University of Wrocław, Poland / Université Paris IV Sorbonne, France)

Europeans, Poles, Germans, French. Conceptualisation and evaluation of images*

The article deals with the conceptualisation and evaluation of the images behind the quasi-ethnonym *Europeans* (Polish *Europejczycy*), compared with those behind the ethnonyms *Poles* (*Polacy*), *Germans* (*Niemcy*), and *French* (*Francuzi*). The description is based on the results of an experimental study conducted in the years 2010–2011 among Poles aged 18–25. Open questions were asked: "How would you finish the sentences: *I like it that Europeans/Poles/Germans/the French are...* and *I don't like it that Europeans/Poles/Germans/the French are...*". On this basis a typology of positive and negative features evoked by this term was established. The typology led to the construction of a hierarchy of features indicated by the respondents and a comparison of the images of Europeans with those of three European nations: the Poles, the Germans, and the French. The following conclusions are drawn: (1) the evaluation of the images behind the term *Europeans* is more positive than behind the three national ethnonyms; (2) the elements of the cognitive definition of the term *Europeans* show greater similarity to those of the ethnonym *Poles* than those of the ethnonyms *Germans* and *French*; (3) the cognitive definition of *Europeans* contains a certain number of features that are clearly different from those attributed to the ethnonyms *Poles, Germans*, and *French*. These features are more changeable than others.

Key words: Europeans, Poles, national stereotypes, conceptualisation, evaluation, young people, cognitive definition

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1. Research assumptions: the whys and the hows

The discussion below concerns the conceptualisation and evaluation, on the part of young Poles, of the images behind the ethnonym *Europeans* (Polish *Europejczycy*) as compared to three other ethnonyms of European nations: *Poles* (*Polacy*), *Germans* (*Niemcy*), and *French* (*Francuzi*).[1] The study deals with data elicited from young people, following the opinions of Norman Ryder (1965) or Olivier Galland and Bernard Roudet (2001), who take young people to often be "a vector of social change".[2] Annie Percheron (1993) and Galland and Roudet (2005), in turn, claim that the attitudes of young people are "a magnifying mirror of the whole community".[3]

Issues related to the understanding of European ethnonyms seem to be particularly important about twenty-five years after the fall of communism and about a decade after Poland's accession to the European Union – these ground-breaking historical events must have influenced Poles' perception of the world. The perception and conceptualisation of the world by a member of a linguistic community is connected with their identity, socio-political experience (Bartmiński 2010) and, in particular, their system of values (Bartmiński 2006, 2007). The complex meaning of the word *Europeans* reconstructed from the survey cannot be found in dictionaries because it resides primarily in the minds of Polish speakers. Therefore, in order to obtain access to the different ways of understanding this term by young Poles, an open survey was conducted. This approach, inspired by the works of the ethnolinguist Jerzy Bartmiński (2006) and the sociologist Andrzej P. Wejland (1991), allowed me to classify the positive and negative features attributed by young Poles to the ethnonyms *Poles*, *Germans*, and *French*, and especially to the term *Europeans*. The resultant typology also made it possible to establish the hierarchy of features indicated by the respondents and to compare the conceptualisations of the ethnonyms being analysed.

The features indicated by the respondents have been grouped into ten aspectual categories: psychological, cultural, expressing attitude to otherness, social, psychosocial, geographic and economic, political, physical and aesthetic, historical, and religious. The set of descriptions resulting from

[1] The study is a part of the research carried out within a wider thematic framework of the author's Ph.D. dissertation (Viviand 2014). The analysis concerns the Polish ethnonyms (*Europejczycy*, *Polacy*, *Niemcy*, and *Francuzi*) but for the sake of simplicity their English counterparts will be used here.

[2] "La jeunesse est [. . .] souvent le vecteur du changement social." (Galland and Roudet 2001)

[3] "Un miroir grossissant des positions de la société tout entière." (Galland and Roudet 2005)

the survey is, in accordance with ethnolinguistic assumptions, part of the so-called cognitive definition, i.e. an interpretative scheme entertained by language speakers. The cognitive definition accounts for the way an entity is perceived and categorised by speakers of a given language. The categorisation process involved is not scientific or taxonomic: the key role is played here by connotation, which should be understood broadly as semantic content (intension), which – in contrast to denotation (extension) – embraces all attested features of the object being conceptualised.

The aim of the study is thus not only to determine the elements of cognitive definitions that are specific to the understanding of the name *Europeans*, but also to compare the set of characteristics that contribute to the understanding of the ethnonyms *Poles*, *Germans*, and *French*. The adoption of the plural nominative form of the ethnonym (*Europeans*), instead of the singular (*European*), allowed me to direct the respondents' attention to the characteristics of the whole community. Having joined the European Union on May 1, 2004, Poland is now undergoing socio-political and cultural formation. It is thus interesting to examine the characteristics attributed by young Poles to Europeans. Is it a mosaic of features borrowed from the cognitive models specific to the other three ethnonyms, or is the understanding of the term *Europeans* a combination of completely new features? Furthermore, comparisons with earlier research has allowed for determining how the conceptualisations and evaluations discovered here relate to those previously established for Poles in general.

As has already been pointed out, an open survey method was used for the purpose. This allowed the subjects to provide free and unlimited responses, unaffected by the so-called "sponsor effect",[4] as the questionnaire did not contain suggestions from the researcher. 137 respondents took part in the study: they were Poles aged 18–25, with varied and balanced social profiles, students and young employees with or without higher education background, coming from different regions of Western and Eastern Poland, from urban and rural areas. However, despite this diversity, it must be emphasised that the representativeness of the sample is limited.

The respondents were asked to complete two sets of sentences:

– *I like it that Europeans/Poles/Germans/the French are. . .* (the features listed in these sentences were then classified as positive and marked in grey in the charts)

and

[4] This is the influence the researcher exerts on the subjects' responses (e.g. by asking specific questions) and on the analysis of the data thus obtained.

– *I don't like it that Europeans/Poles/Germans/the French are...* (the characteristics listed were classified as negative and marked in black).[5]

This sentence type was used in a previous survey conducted by Jolanta Urban (1993), whose aim was to describe the linguistic stereotypes of Germans and Poles. The advantage of the method is that explicit evaluation of the features being listed can be obtained from the respondents themselves, rather than coming from the researcher.

2. Features attributed to Europeans

2.1. Psychological aspect

This group contains features expressed via words or expressions related to people's characters, abilities, approaches to work, order, feelings, interests, addictions, and generally life.

The psychological aspect of the understanding of the four ethnonyms was mentioned by the respondents first (out of the ten distinguished aspects). Psychological features constitute 31% of all the features attributed to the ethnonyms *Poles*, *Germans*, and *French*. In the case of the *Europeans*, however, psychological features constitute only 10% (43 cases). Compared to national ethnonyms, the cognitive definition of *Europeans* contains very few psychological features. According to young Poles, *Europeans* are characterised by certain positive intellectual abilities, such as intelligence (5 times) and creativity (3 times). On the other hand, the negatively evaluated liberalism is also mentioned (3 times). The chart below shows only those cases when a given feature was mentioned at least three times. Considering that it contains only 11 mentions, it can be stated that the psychological features of *Europeans* are poorly entrenched in the awareness of young Poles (Figure 1).

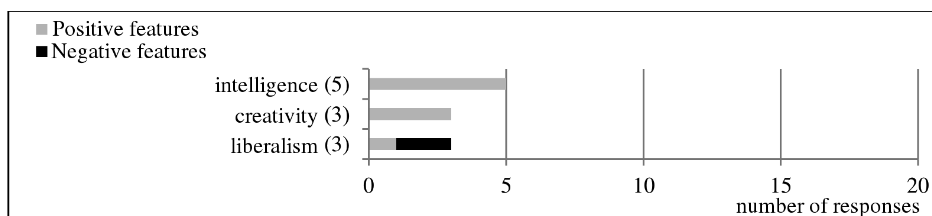

Figure 1. Features attributed to the ethnonym *Europeans* mentioned at least three times – the psychological aspect

[5] The modifier *true*, as in e.g. *true Europeans* (cf. Bartmiński 2009, ch. 5 and 14), was not used in the questions because an idealised description of the community was sought.

In the entire set of psychological features attributed to *Europeans*, ca. 65% are positive (28 positive features vs. 15 negative ones). Thus, features associated with the psychological aspect of the name *Europeans* are perceived more positively than those of *Poles*, *Germans*, and *French*, where 59% of features are positive (i.e. 417 vs. 286 negative ones) (Figure 2).

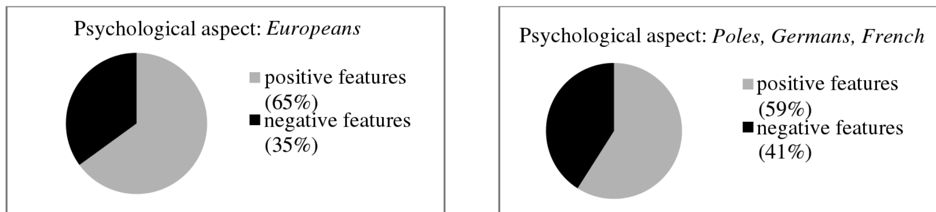

Figure 2. The ratio of positive to negative features of *Europeans* as compared to individual nations – the psychological aspect

2.2. Cultural aspect

The respondents' answers pertaining to the cultural aspect associated with the four ethnonyms concerned the artistic heritage (architecture, literature, music, etc.), as well as upbringing and education, including the command of foreign languages and good manners.

The cultural aspect was mentioned by the respondents in the second place. Out of all features linked with the ethnonyms *Poles*, *Germans*, and *French*, 12% were related to the cultural aspect. However, as many as 19%

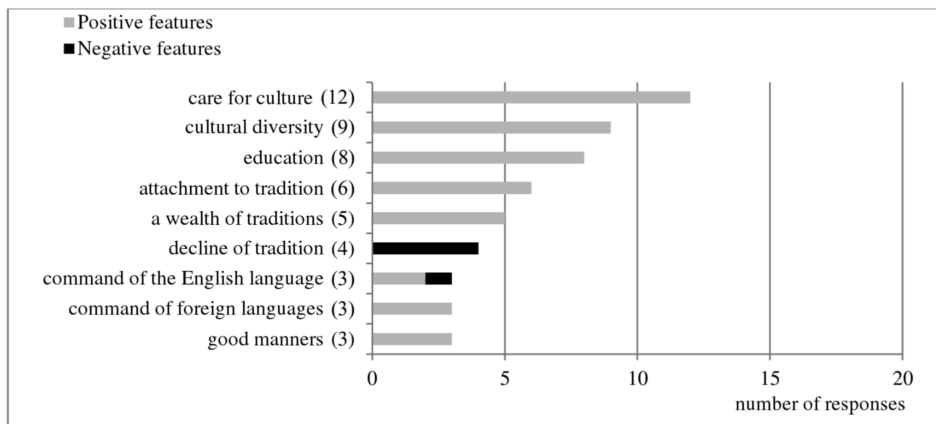

Figure 3. Features attributed to the ethnonym *Europeans* mentioned at least three times – the cultural aspect

of the features attributed to the ethnonym *Europeans* were cultural (78 mentions). The cultural aspect turns out to be particularly important for the understanding of the word *Europeans* by young Poles, who associate the people of Europe with a large number of positive characteristics. The respondents pointed to: care for culture (12), cultural diversity (9); high level of knowledge and sophistication of conduct: education (8), command of English (two positive and one negative judgement), command of foreign languages (3), good manners (3); plus: attachment to tradition (6) and a wealth of traditions (5). However, according to young people, the relationship between Europeans and tradition is slowly disappearing: this negatively evaluated process was mentioned four times (Figure 3).

In the entire set of cultural features attributed to *Europeans*, about 81% are positive (63 vs. 15 negative ones). The positive value of this aspect is therefore much more pronounced in the case of *Europeans* than in individual nationalities, *Poles*, *Germans*, or *French*, who were assigned positive features only in 67% of cases (201 times vs. 97 negative mentions) (Figure 4).

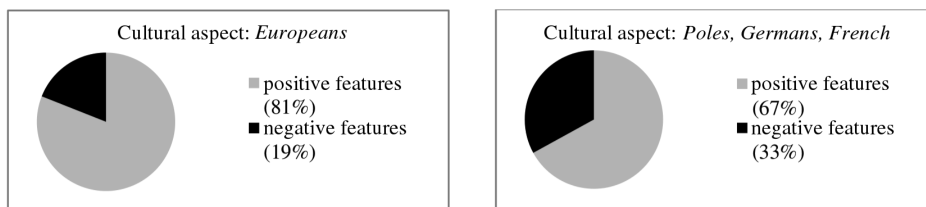

Figure 4. The ratio of positive to negative features of *Europeans* as compared to individual nations – the cultural aspect

2.3. Attitude to otherness

In the context of understanding of the four ethnonyms, attitude to otherness was invoked by the respondents in the third place. Out of all features attributed to the ethnonyms *Poles*, *Germans*, and *French*, 11% related to the attitude to otherness. In the case of *Europeans*, the proportion was even higher at 15% (64 cases). These features are considered as particularly positive: openness (17), tolerance (8), friendly attitude towards foreigners (4), and open-minded lifestyle, manifested as a predilection for travel (15) and cosmopolitism (6), which, however, was once evaluated negatively. One feature, that of being closed to other cultures (4), is judged as negative and attenuates the image of the "open European" (Figure 5).

In the entire set of features related to the attitude of *Europeans* to otherness, about 83% are positive (53 mentions are positive and 11 negative).

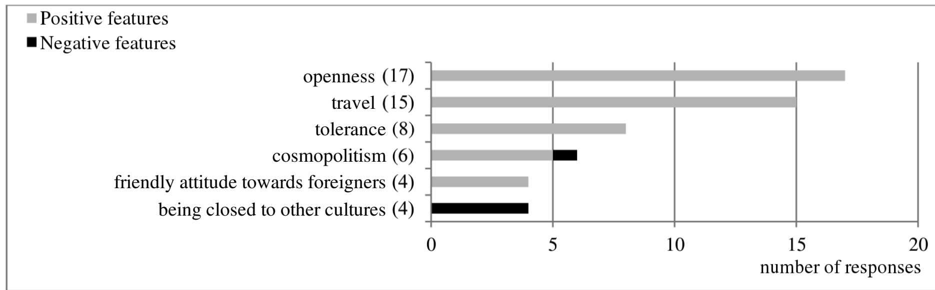

Figure 5. Features attributed to the ethnonym *Europeans* mentioned at least three times – attitude to otherness

This ratio is remarkably high compared to other national ethnonyms, where only 39% are positive (95 vs. 146 negative ones) (Figure 6).

Figure 6. The ratio of positive to negative features attributed to *Europeans* as compared to individual nations – attitude to otherness

2.4. Social aspect

The subjects' responses that activate the social aspect are words or expressions of openness, tolerance, positive relation to foreigners, immigrants and generally other nations or cultures, but also to everything that relates to travelling and curiosity of the world.

The social aspect in the characteristics of the four ethnonyms was mentioned by the respondents in the fourth place. Out of all features attributed to the ethnonyms *Poles*, *Germans*, and *French*, 12% related to social features. They are thus more numerous than in the case of the ethnonym *Europeans*, where only 9% (39 cases) of all features invoked belong to this type. These attributes, mostly positive, relate to a particularly friendly relationship with others, as well as to the general notion of togetherness: mutual help (8), friendly disposition (4), community spirit (4), and solidarity (4) (Figure 7).

In the entire set of social features attributed to Europeans, about 77% are positive (i.e. 30 vs. 9 negative ones). The features that relate to the social aspect of the term *Europeans* are again more positive than those assigned

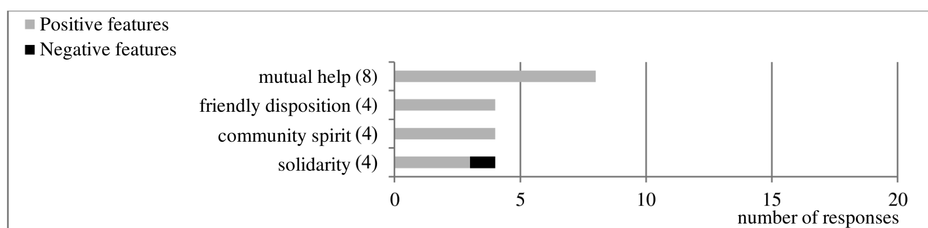

Figure 7. Features attributed to the ethnonym *Europeans* mentioned at least three times – the social aspect

to *Poles*, *Germans*, and *French*, where only 71% are positive (186 vs. 75 negative ones) (Figure 8).

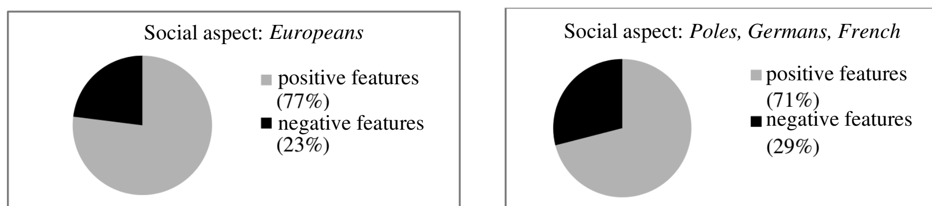

Figure 8. The ratio of positive to negative features of *Europeans* as compared to individual nations – the social aspect

2.5. Geographic and economic aspect

The responses in this group include words or expressions related to territory, to the resources and wealth of specific countries, the standard of living and the level of development, and the attitude of inhabitants to their country or territory.

The geographic and economic aspects of the understanding of the four ethnonyms was mentioned by the respondents in the fifth place. In the entire set of features attributed to the ethnonyms *Poles*, *Germans*, and *French*, 9% relate to geographic and economic features. However, in the set of features attributed to the ethnonym *Europeans* as many as 13% belong to this type (56 cases). These features are positive when they relate to desired aspects of economy: development (7) or modernity (6). On the other hand, they are negative when it comes to the economic division within Europe: into the rich and the poor (5), the East and the West (4), or when they express the limits of economic development: less economic influence exercised by Europeans in comparison with Americans (3), attachment to money (3), relocation of production to China (3) (Figure 9).

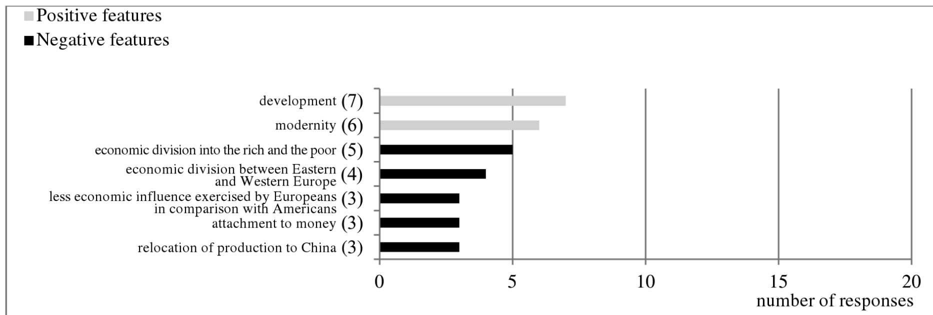

Figure 9. Features attributed to the ethnonym *Europeans* mentioned at least three times – the geographic and economic aspect

In the entire set of geographic and economic features, ca. 45% of those relating to *Europeans* are positive (25 positive vs. 31 negative mentions). These qualities are less positive than those attributes to *Poles*, *Germans*, and *French*, where 62% of all features relating to this aspect are positive (i.e. 128 vs. 80 negative ones).

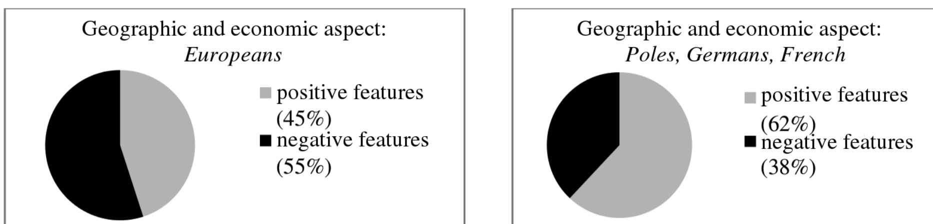

Figure 10. The ratio of positive to negative features of *Europeans* as compared to individual nations – the geographic and economic aspect

2.6. Psychosocial aspect

The responses pertaining to the psychosocial aspect include words or expressions relating to people's attitude to their own nationality, self-perception, pride and shame, their personal dignity and the dignity of the whole nation, or to their sense of superiority or inferiority.

The psychosocial aspect of understanding the four ethnonyms was invoked by the respondents in the sixth place. In the entire set of features attributed to the ethnonyms *Poles*, *Germans*, and *French*, 9% belong to the psychosocial aspect. These features relate in particular to fascination with the United States (13) and to unjustifiably high self-esteem, manifested as the sense of superiority (6) and conceit (5) – all being evaluated as negative features (Figure 11).

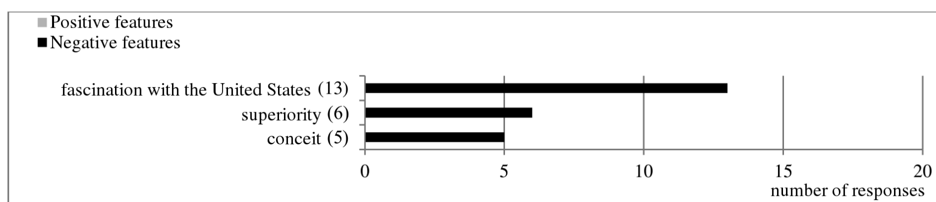

Figure 11. Features attributed to the ethnonym *Europeans* mentioned at least three times – the psychosocial aspect

Out of all psychosocial features attributed to *Europeans*, about 27% are positive (10 positive mentions vs. 29 negative ones). The features that belong to the psychosocial aspect of understanding the term *Europeans* are again more positive than those assigned to *Poles*, *Germans*, and *French*, where only 18% are positive (i.e. 38 vs. 168 negative ones) (Figure 12).

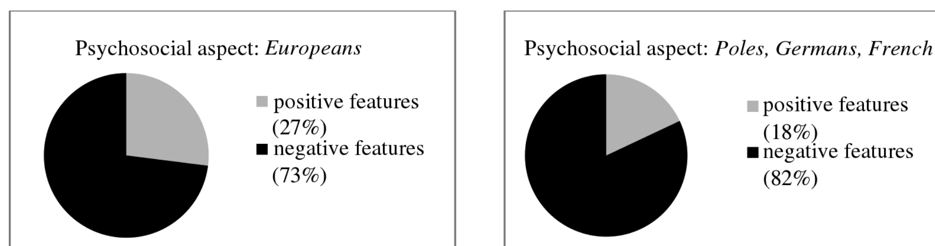

Figure 12. The ratio of positive to negative features of *Europeans* as compared to individual nations – the psychosocial aspect

2.7. Political aspect

The responses concerning the political aspect include words or expressions that are directly related to politics, the political system, the state, the administrative system, but also to citizenship and patriotism.

The political aspect of understanding the four ethnonyms was invoked by the respondents in the seventh place. In the whole set of features attributed to the ethnonyms *Poles*, *Germans*, and *French*, 6% belong to the political aspect. For young Poles, the image of *Europeans* is related more to politics than the image of individual European nations: as many as 19% of features assigned to *Europeans* are of political nature (81 cases). The positive political features of *Europeans* are linked specifically to the oneness of the European Union: unity (20), EU (14), integration (9), while the negative features concern mainly situations of conflict: political divisions (7), internal political conflicts (5), or excessive engagement with the USA (3) (Figure 13).

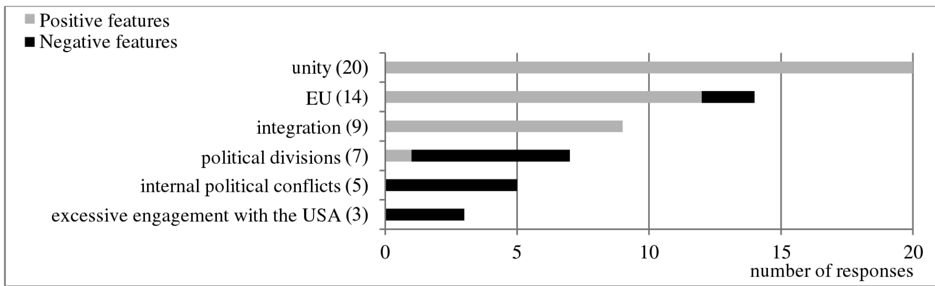

Figure 13. Features attributed to the ethnonym *Europeans* mentioned at least three times – the political aspect

Ca. 65% of all political features attributed to *Europeans* are positive (53 are positive and 28 are negative). The proportion is again higher than in the case of features assigned to *Poles*, *Germans*, and *French*, where only 39% are positive (i.e. 49 vs. 76 negative ones) (Figure 14).

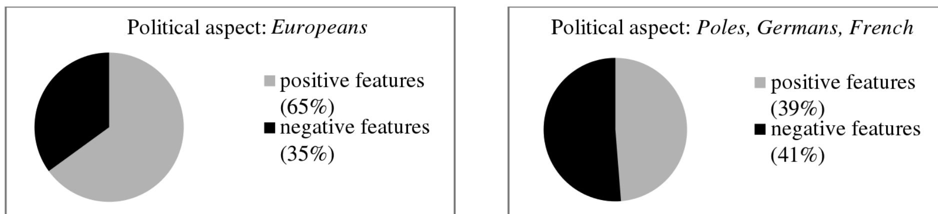

Figure 14. The ratio of positive to negative features of *Europeans* as compared to individual nations – the political aspect

2.8. Physical and aesthetic aspect

The responses pertaining to the physical and aesthetic aspect contain words or expressions related to appearance, beauty, ugliness, attire, the use of perfume, good and bad taste, and the auditory effect produced by speech.

This aspect was mentioned by the respondents in the eighth place. In the entire set of features attributed to the ethnonyms *Poles*, *Germans*, and *French*, 6% are cases of physical and aesthetic features. However, in the case of *Europeans* only 1% of all features belong to the physical and aesthetic aspect (4 cases). In these 4 cases, no feature was mentioned three times in the survey. There were 4 different features, the positive ones being original lifestyle (1), fashion follower (1), beautiful figures of European women (1); the negative feature is white skin (1). Thus, according to young Poles, *Europeans* do not have a characteristic appearance.

2.9. Historical aspect

Some responses in the survey pertain to the historical aspect, i.e. historical events and historical awareness of the peoples and communities designated by the ethnonyms.

The historical aspect of the understanding of the four ethnonyms was invoked by the respondents in the ninth place and includes only 3% of all features attributed to the ethnonyms *Poles*, *Germans*, and *French*. Similarly, of the whole set of attributes assigned to Europeans, 4% represent historical features (15 cases). The only positive feature that was mentioned in the survey at least three times was a rich history (7 cases) (Figure 15).

Figure 15. Features attributed to the ethnonym *Europeans* mentioned at least three times – the historical aspect

In the entire set of historical features assigned to *Europeans*, 80% are positive (i.e. 12 positive features vs. 3 negative ones). The features that belong to the historical aspect of the name *Europeans* are thus significantly more positive than those of *Poles*, *Germans*, or *French*, where only 30% are positive (22 positive vs. 52 negative ones) (Figure 16).

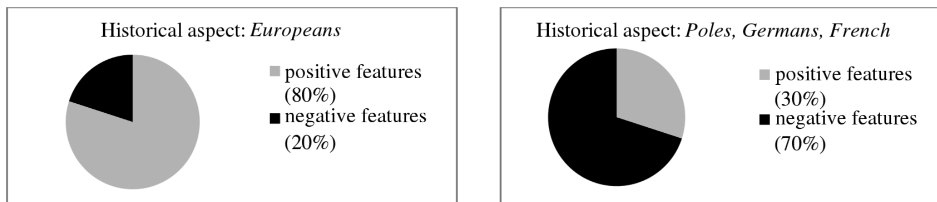

Figure 16. The ratio of positive to negative features of *Europeans* as compared to individual nations – the historical aspect

2.10. Religious aspect

The responses that represent the religious aspect include words or expressions that describe attitudes to religion, God, religious symbols, values, and traditions.

This aspect was mentioned by the respondents as the last one. Only 1% in the entire set of features attributed to *Poles*, *Germans*, and *French* pertain

to the religious aspect, the same applies to the ethnonym *Europeans* (4 cases). Only one negative feature was mentioned in the surveys: detachment from religion (4) (Figure 17).

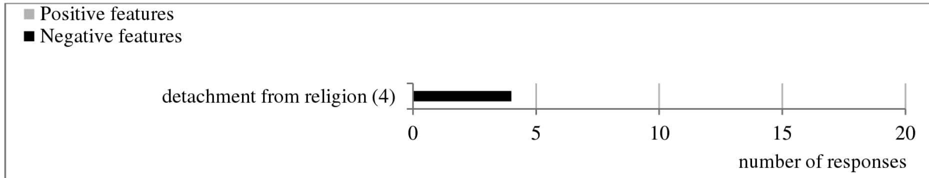

Figure 17. Features attributed to the ethnonym *Europeans* mentioned at least three times – the religious aspect

In the entire set of religious features assigned to *Europeans*, none is positive and four are negative (however, the number of responses is not representative). The religious features of the name *Europeans* are therefore less positive than those relating to *Poles*, *Germans*, and *French*, of which 44% are positive (12 features vs. 15 positive ones) (Figure 18).

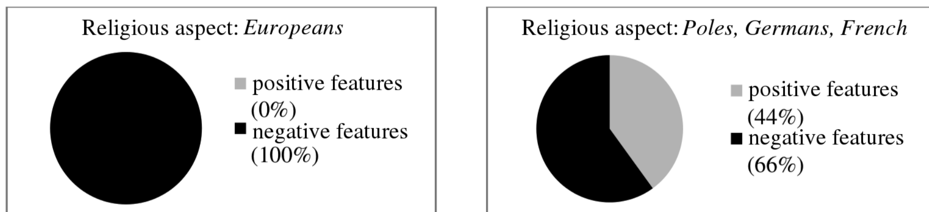

Figure 18. The ratio of positive to negative features of *Europeans* as compared to individual nations – the religious aspect

As far as the axiological dimension is concerned, evaluation of the images behind the name *Europeans* is more positive than for the ethnonyms *Poles*, *Germans*, and *French*, although Poles, Germans, and French are Europeans living in the heart of Europe. The use of the name *Europeans* allows young Poles to activate cognitive schemas that are more favourable than in the case of the names of individual European nations. In the case of the historical aspect, despite the fact that the histories of Poland, Germany, and France are crucial to the history of Europe, the historical aspect of the understanding of the words *Poles*, *Germans*, and *French* is more negative than the same aspect with respect to the meaning of *Europeans*. This group contains negative attributes that are not present in the description of Europeans (in particular, the descriptions of World War II). In other words, the term *Europeans* evokes a more positive image of the same people by evoking the richness of their history.

3. Old and new images of Europeans

As a result of the survey, various images of the *European* reported in other studies have been confirmed. The image of *the traditionalist European*, which contains elements such as attachment to tradition and wealth, was previously presented by Bartmiński (2006). The image of *the educated and cultured European*, with features such as education and savoir-vivre, also contains features that were identified in previous studies (Prochorowa 1998, Bartmiński 2006, Roguska 2011). The image of *the cosmopolitan European* – which in our survey relates to such features as linguistic proficiency, command of English, predilection for travel, and cosmopolitism – is also far from new: linguistic proficiency, predilection for travel, and curiosity on the part of Europeans were already presented in Prochorowa (1998) and Bartmiński (2006). The image of *the open-minded European*, who in this survey is characterised by openness to people, tolerance, kindness, readiness to help others, and solidarity, was also outlined in Bartmiński (2006) and Roguska (2011) – these authors point to the growing tendency on the part of Poles to attribute such features to Europeans. Our study also corroborated the existence of the image of *the privileged European*, with attributes such as development and modernity – cf. again Bartmiński (2006) or Roguska (2011), where Europeans were claimed to be viewed in terms of their wealth and high standards of living they enjoy. The image of *the European as a citizen of the European Union* (Batko 2005), was also confirmed in our survey: Europeans were often associated with the EU. In addition, Bartmiński (2006) mentions the image of *the European with a unique culture*, marked by a common history shared with other Europeans. A trace of this image can also be found in the present study, e.g. in references to the richness of European history. Furthermore, a trace of the image of *the Christian European*, identified by Roguska (2011), can also be found in this survey: young Poles stress the detachment of Europeans from religion.

As a result of the study, as many as seven new images have been identified:

1. *the wise European* (features: intelligence and creativity);
2. *the multicultural European* (feature: cultural diversity);
3. *the divided Europeans – the rich Europeans from the West and the poor from the East* (features: division between Eastern and Western Europe, disparity between the rich and the poor);
4. *the weak European on the international scene* (features: smaller power than that of Americans, relocation of production to China);
5. *the conceited European* (features: arrogance and sense of superiority over inhabitants of other continents);

6. *the European united with other Europeans* (features: unity and readiness to integrate, especially in difficult situations);
7. *the European in conflict with other Europeans* (features: large-scale political divisions, small-scale conflicts and disagreements).

Seven new images is a relatively high number compared to other ethnonyms. Nine new images were identified for *Poles*,[6] three for *French*,[7] and none for *Germans* (the Polish image of *Germans* seems to be very stable and relatively unsusceptible to change). A large number of new images proves that in the eyes of young Poles, the image of *Europeans* (as indeed that of *Poles*) is very dynamic.

4. Cognitive definition of *Europeans* vs. cognitive definitions of *Poles*, *Germans*, and *French*

The cognitive definition of the term *Europeans* shares more elements with that of the ethnonym *Poles* than with the definitions of *Germans* or *French*. This is an unexpected finding. Before conducting this study, I hypothesised that the cognitive definition of *Europeans* would be closer to the hetero-stereotypical ethnonyms *French* and *German* than to the auto-stereotypical ethnonym *Poles*. Germans and the French are citizens of those countries that in the Polish awareness have long been associated with Europe and regarded as the main propagators of the EU integration process (Warchala 2001). In addition, Poles joined the EU late and do not necessarily associate their own culture with the culture of Europeans (Prochorowa 1998).

However, the survey shows that the perception of *Europeans* by young Poles is closer to the understanding of the ethnonym *Poles* than to the ethnonyms *French* and *Germans*[8] (Viviand 2014). The features identified for both *Europeans* and *Poles* belong to the psychological, cultural, economic and geographic, and, in particular, the social and psychosocial aspects, and include: creativity and intelligence, attachment to tradition, education,

[6] These are: (i) *the grumpy Pole*; (ii) *the intelligent Pole*; (iii) *the vulnerable Pole*; (iv) *the unpredictable Pole*; (v) *the ill-mannered Pole*; (vi) *the Pole with complexes*; (vii) *the humble Pole*; (viii) *the politically troubled Pole*; and (ix) *the Pole indifferent to the problems of the community.*

[7] These are: (i) *the French person fascinated with their country*; (ii) *the French person living in an attractive country*; (iii) *the French person detached from religion.*

[8] The respondents marked only five features common to the French and Europeans: liberalism, savoir-vivre, cultural richness, friendly disposition, detachment from religion. The Germans and Europeans, in turn, only share two features: predilection for travel and (the high level of) development.

ability to unite, mutual help, solidarity, friendly disposition, development, fascination with Western countries, which manifests itself in, *inter alia*, the adoption of foreign models (the US model for *Europeans*) and in complexes (again, a US complex in the case of *Europeans*).

The high proportion of common features of *Poles* and *Europeans* can be explained by their auto-stereotypical nature. Young Poles identify themselves as Europeans to a considerable degree, although they also stress many differences.

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I. Research articles

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Aleksandra Starzyńska
(Olomouc, Palacký University, Czech Republic)

Sibir' (Siberia) in the Russian language system*

SIBIR' (СИБИРЬ, SIBERIA) belongs to the concepts and words with a special status in the Russian lexis, and so in the Russian worldview. The present study reconstructs the image of SIBIR' on the basis of the Russian language system (more precisely, on the basis of dictionaries) and with the use of the cognitive definition proposed by Jerzy Bartmiński. Discussed is the etymology of *Sibir'* (*Сибирь*), the lexeme's synonyms, opposites, semantic and word-formational derivatives. The analysis is complemented with a survey of fixed expressions and collocations. Thus we arrive at the cognitive definition that consists of thirty defining features organised into the following facets: category, part, opposition, location, non-physical features, size, appearance, localiser, living conditions, function, feelings and attitudes to Siberia, and the region's inhabitants. In various contexts of the usage of *Sibir'* (and its derivatives) the most conspicuous is the negative valuation of Siberia as a place of exile, harsh climate, and unwelcoming living conditions.

Key words: cognitive definition, Siberia, language system, Russian

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1. Introduction

The present article is part of extensive research devoted to the reconstruction and comparison of the Polish concept of SIBERIA and the Russian concept of SIBIR' (СИБИРЬ), based on linguistic data excerpted from respective language systems and from texts. The study aims to reconstruct the Russian concept of SIBIR' as it functions in the Russian language system.

A linguistic analysis of the concept is presented in Berezovich and Krivoshchapova (2011), as well as in Krivoshchapova and Makarova (2010), both these papers relying on dialectological dictionaries or dialectological documentation retrieved from questionnaires. Moreover, Berezovich and Krivoshchapova adopt the comparative approach. The reconstruction of the Russian concept of SIBIR' proposed here relates to the notion of the cognitive definition, which, according to Jerzy Bartmiński, "aims to portray the way in which an entity is viewed by the speakers of a language, to represent socio-culturally established and linguistically entrenched knowledge, its categorisation and valuation" (Bartmiński 2009: 67). The application of the principles of cognitive definition directs one to the relevant "mental object" with all its richness preserved in the linguistic worldview (Bartmiński 2009: 67). In order to reconstruct the basic properties of the concept of SIBIR', I rely on the data from a variety of dictionaries of Russian: general-purpose, etymological, phraseological, sociolectal, dictionaries of connotations, toponymic, as well as two comprehensive dialectal dictionaries. Although the data presented in the paper partly overlap with those used in the works of other Russian linguists, this study proposes an explication of the concept of SIBIR' arranged in sections, whose names stand for types of systemic data: etymology, definitions, synonyms, opposites, semantic and word-formation derivatives, fixed expressions, and collocations. In particular, attention is paid to the etymology of the word *Sibir'*. The linguistic analysis presented in the paper results in a simplified facet-arranged cognitive definition of the concept. Facets, i.e. "bundles of characteristics, communicated as stereotypical judgments and arranged in the definition in subcategories" (Bartmiński 2009: 214), are constructed *via* the analysis of linguistic material, which determines their choice and arrangement.

2. Etymology

The first use of the name *Sibir'* in reference to a geographical region was recorded in early Russian documents dating back to 1483. As to the origins and the primary meaning of the term, etymologists are divided: the

majority view is that the name of the region derives from the name of the town located at the mouth of the Tobol flowing into the Irtysh. The town is believed to have been the capital of the Tatar Khanate established around 1200 A.D. in Pryirtysh. The town was captured by the Cossack ataman Yermak around 1581, and annexed to the state of Muscovy (see Vasmer: 616;[1] PreES2: 283; AnES: 493). The origin of the name of the city still remains hypothetical. According to one hypothesis, it drives from the Uralic languages and probably has its origin in an ethnonym referring to a former Finno-Ugric ethnic group (*sipyr/сипыр*, *seber/себер*, *sybyr/сыбыр*, or *savyr/савир*). This ethnic group, according to the legends of Siberian Tatars, inhabited the land along the middle reaches of the Irtysh in the southern part of Western Siberia long before the establishment of the Golden Horde[2] (see AnES: 494; Stateynov 2008: 369–370).

The name *Sibir'* can also be a legacy of Altaic languages and derive from a Hunnic[3] ethnonim Σάβειροι (also Σάβειρες, see Vasmer 3: 616). Pavel Šafárik reports:

> In the history of Huns we often find references to the Sabirs, or Sebers [...]. Without doubt, the Sabirs (Σάβειροι) were a people of Uralic origin, related to the Huns. It is possible that their trans-Uralic homeland was called *Sibir*. This expression in turn was used by the Russians to refer to remote regions, which is how it gained its extension. (Šafárik 1844: 448)[4]

According to Max Vasmer, the Hunnic ethnonym may also derive from Iranian (Old-Persian) *asabāra-* < **aśu̯a-bāra-* 'riders' (see Vasmer 4: 855–856; AnES: 494; RO: 204) and refers to the region. Still, Vasmer notices that the meaning of *Sibir'* with reference to the whole of Siberia was coined later, having been limited, at the early stage of its use, only to the region's southwestern section, inhabited by nomadic tribes and under Iranian influence (see Vasmer 4: 855–856).

Another interpretation holds that the name *Sibir'* is related to words of Turkish origin, such as the Tobol-Tatar names *Sėbėr* or *Sėvėr*, used to

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[1] The dictionaries are referred to here in shortened form and listed below the reference section. [editor's note]

[2] A similar interpretation of the word *Sibir'* is proposed by Evgeniy Pospelov in his Dictionary of Toponyms: "[A]t first *Sibir'* was an ethnic name used to refer to a group of Finno-Ugric peoples (most probably the Khants and Mansi people) that inhabited the southern part of Western Siberia. A part of the people was driven further north by the Tatars, whereas those who remained were assimilated. It was the Tatars who inherited the name *Sibir'* from their predecessors" (PosTS: 383; all translations by A.M.-H.).

[3] The Hunnic language (also known as Hunnish) was one of the Altaic languages and is often grouped with Turkic and Mongolian.

[4] Šafárik's book was published in English in 1937 in Moscow by Izdatel'stvo M.P. Pogodinym; here we use the Polish 1844 translation, rendered into English by A.M.-H. [editor's note]

refer to former inhabitants of Northwestern Siberia, or the Tobol-Tatar *Sėbėrqa'la*, which stands for "the fortress of the Sebers", i.e. their territory (Vasmer 3: 616). The latter is strongly related to the Turkish *sapmak* 'to get lost', 'to err', as well as with the Tatar *senbir'/сенбирь* 'the first', 'the most important' (cf. RO: 204). These units, according to the historian Vasily Tatishchev, might have functioned as the basis for the name *Sibir'* – recall that it originally referred to the main town on the Irtysh (cf. Boyarshinova 1960: 133). Moreover, the hypothesis of the Turkish origin of the name gains support from the view that *Sibir'* stands for 'I move the place of living' and, as such, is believed to have been used in the sense of 'nomadic encampments' (Shchukin 1856: 265). According to yet another etymological hypothesis, *Sibir'* should be viewed as a compound consisting of two words: the Khanty *Sib/Сиб*[5] 'stream, river' or 'river's arm', and *ir/ир* (Turkish *jir/йир/ир*) 'land' (RO: 204; AnES: 493).

The majority of etymological interpretations of *Sibir'* stress the relationship between the name itself and the nature of the region in which it is used. Thus, *Sibir'* is derived from the Mongolian *sibir*, as well as from the Kalmyk *šiwr*. Neither of these names has an exact equivalent in Slavonic languages but both refer to 'thicket, wetlands' (Vasmer 3: 616), 'forest massif', 'moist soil where trees and shrubs thrive, primeval forest' (AnES :4894), 'swamp', 'wet plain where birches grow' (KTS: 380-381). According to other hypotheses, the name may derive either from the Mongolian *shiver/шивэр* 'a thicket swamp' (RO: 204; AnES: 494), or the Mongolian *seber/сэбэр* 'beautiful, magnificent' (RO: 204; Stateynov 2008: 370). The motivation for the latter to be used as a description of the territory is explained by Stateynov thus: "When the Mongols captured Siberia, they could not get enough of its vast expanses. That gave them the name – *seber*" (Stateynov 2008: 370).

Other etymological interpretations that we can find in onomastic studies are not based on factual data. Nevertheless, they should be mentioned here because all subjective connotations of a term play a role in reconstructing its linguistic view. Instances of such naive interpretations are: (i) examples that link the name *Sibir'* with the Russian noun *sever* 'north' (cf. KTS: 380; RO: 204; Boyarshinova 1960: 134–137), (ii) examples where *Sibir'* is associated with *siveryane*, the name of a Slavic tribe, or (iii) etymologies that juxtapose *Sibir'* with animal names, in particular with the Mongolian word *субр* 'dhole' (a canid that resembles both a dog and a fox), or the legendary dog *Siber* believed to have emerged from Lake Baikal (KTS: 380).

[5] Khanty is a Ugric language, from the Finno-Ugric language family.

These hypotheses allow one to reconstruct several features of the image of *Sibir'*,[6] stressing the topography of the region with its characteristic features, i.e. swamps and forests (particularly birch forests). Other characteristics that stem from the etymology of *Sibir'* refer to its northern setting, its beauty, as well as the nomadic tribes and animals that inhabit the region.

3. *Sibir'* in lexicographic definitions (19th–21st c.)

For about 150 years, Russian lexicography has been consistently omitting to define *Sibir'*.[7] A theoretical explanation of this status quo is such that proper names should be viewed as linguistic phenomena deprived of their own meaning, as opposed to common nouns. Thus, proper names can only signify further linguistic phenomena (cf. Galkina-Fedoruk 1956: 25, Chlebda 2008: 271).[8]

Therefore, in my study I refer to the entries in specialised dictionaries, where *Sibir'* is defined as 'the northern part of Russia from the Urals to the Pacific Ocean' (PreES: 282), 'a part of thre Asian territory of the Societ Union' (KTS: 379), 'the territory from the Urals to the mountain ranges of the Pacific divide' (SPGN: 419), or 'the name of a part of Russia's Asian territory' (Otin: 309).

These definitions (which are clearly encyclopedic in nature) contain the following aspects of meaning: 'territory', 'part of a larger whole (Russia or the former Soviet Union)', 'dependence on that larger whole (politically: on Russia; geographically: strong ties with Asia)'. The definitions also indicate the topography of *Sibir'*: 'located in Asia', 'located in the north', 'extending from the Urals in the west to the moutain ranges of the Pacific in the east'.

4. Synonyms

In Russian dialects spoken before the 1917 revolution, *Sibir'* had a pejorative synonym *Sibirda/Сибирда* ('scornful', see SRNG, vol. 37: 264 and

[6] It has to be noted here that the contribution of these (more or less credible) etymologies is marginal in the reconstruction of the linguistic view of Siberia.

[7] *Sibir'* as a proper name is not included in Dal, TSRY Ush, SSRLY, OzhSRY, SRY EvRaz, OzhShvTSRY, BTSRY Ku, EfNSRY, or TSRY Shv. What is more, neither the word *Sibir'* not its derivatives appear SDrevSY (a dictionary of old Russian), KSRY, TSRY Dm, or SNTSRY (dictionaries of contemporary Russian).

[8] This approach is no longer considered valid. Rather, proper names, in particular those that no longer have toponymic or anthroponymic meaning, are included in dictionaries as entries in their own right: "Many '-onyms' function in discourse not only as 'pointers'or 'identifiers' but also as 'descriptions', 'valuators', and 'characterisers' that boost the process of verbalisation" (Chlebda 2008: 271; cf. Galkina-Fedoruk 1956: 25).

SRGS: 296); cf. the following examples from dictionaries: "Let the bear live in Sibirda… I'm fed up with it" (SRGS: 296), "Sibirda, oh you Sibirda wide, damn you… In thee, Sibirda, people toil" (a song) (SRNG 37: 264). The definitions quoted above trigger pejorative associations and connote such negative features of the region as harsh life, unbearable living conditions, or people's suffering. The negative characteristics are also preserved in the secondary meaning of *Sibir'*: 'unbearably hard life; torment' (Otin: 310–311). The quotations above also point to Siberia's vast territory.

5. Opposites

Siberia is often juxtaposed with European Russia, an opposition that transpires through numerous oppositions recorded in dictionaries, e.g. *Rus'/Rossiya* 'Russia' vs. *Sibir'* or *russkiy* 'Russian' vs. *sibirskiy* 'Siberian'. In Siberia, the noun *Rus'* stands for 'European Russia (in contrast to Siberia)' (AnES: 467), and the adjective *ruskiy* or *russkiy* (cf. SRY XI–XVII: 259) implies the same. Moreover, there are numerous collocations with the word *ruskiy*: *ruskiy gorod* 'contrasted with a Siberian city', *russkiy tovar/russkaya rukhlyad* 'goods imported from Russia'. The derivative *sibirskiy* (and its phonetic variant *siberskiy*), with reference to commodities, means 'delivered from Siberia' (SRY XI–XVII: 121).

6. Semantic derivatives

The secondary meaning *Sibir'* shows that the term has an evaluative function: it not only denotes a region in physical space but also functions as a vehicle for notions and connotations that document a "national interpretation of the world" (Chlebda 1997: 85). The meaning provided in SUSRY, 'a symbol of hard labour' (SUSRY: 624), refers to the history of Siberia, in particular to its political aspect. Siberia is conceptualised here as 'the place where people serve penal labour (the so-called *katorga*)'. Negative meanings of the word *Sibir'* found in Russian dialects, e.g. 'bad', 'grief, trouble' (SRNG, vol. 37: 267), associate Siberia with 'evil' and 'disaster'. Another secondary meaning of the lexeme, 'swamp, carr', 'a scything plot in a boggy, marshy place' (SRNG 37: 266), relates to the exceptional beauty of Siberia's swampy landscape. The derivative meaning 'the wedding feast of wine and vodka that the groom organised in his backyard' (SRNG 37: 266; SRGS: 296) relates to the image of Siberian inhabitants as people famous for their hospitality. Secondary toponymic names, semantic derivatives of *Sibir'*,

reveal other features of Siberia. Thus, *Sibir'* is the name of the inaccessible area 'outside the Chulym district of Novosibirsk region', cf. "[T]hese hillocks we call *Sibir'*" (SRNG 37: 266). The word *Sibir'* also refers to a sandbar which heads deep into the sea: 'a far-reaching part of a sandbar at the mouth of the Khadzhy-Dere, between the Dniestr and the Dunay' (Otin: 312), so that Siberia is 'a remote region' which became 'the place of political exile and penal labour'. By extension, the name *Sibir'* could also be used with reference to other penal colonies, e.g. as "the name of a small village in the former Belsky district, where [...] the serfs that rebelled against their landlords were often sent" (Otin: 311-312).

7. Word formation derivatives

A polysemous derivative *sibirka*/*сибирка* denotes 'a semi-dugout hut inhabited by Siberian miners' (SRNG 37: 265), cf. "I was born and grew up in a *sibirka*. Do you think a healthy baby could grow there? It was always stuffy and dark. And so we suffered in the *sibirka*" (SRGS: 296; SRNG 37: 265). The word, along with its further polysemous extensions, e.g. 'a sledge without metal fittings' (SRNG 37: 265; SRGS: 296) or *sibiryachka*/*сибирячка* 'a big wooden plough with an iron ploughshare' (SRNG 37: 267), confirm harsh living conditions in Siberia and indicate its low level of technological development. Some word formation derivatives illustrate the negative valuation of Siberia portrayed as the place of exile and penal labour. The derivatives add detail to the forms of penalty and complete the description of the concept with new elements, such as prison and settlement: in literary language *sibirka* means 'custody, prison' (Dal 4: 184; TSRY Ush 4: 170; SSRLY: 757–758; SRY EvRaz: 88; BTSRY Ku: 1182; EfNSRY), and *usibirit'*/*усибиритъ* means 'send somebody into penal servitude' (Otin: 311). In Russian folk dialects *sibirka* stands for 'Siberian penal labour (*katorga*)' (SRNG 37: 264) or 'tattered clothes of *katorga* prisoners' (SRNG 37: 264; SRGS: 296), *sibirnyy*/*сибирный* is '*katorga* prisoner' (SRNG 37: 266), *sibiryak*/*сибиряк* is 'a prisoner sentenced to exile in Siberia to work in a penal colony or to settle down in the region' or 'a former *katorga* prisoner' (SRNG 37: 267). Further derivatives reveal the notion that in the past Siberia was mainly inhabited by prisoners and exiles. However, the definitions of *sibiryak* available in Russian dictionaries tend to tabooise history in that they omit to mention such meanings as '(*katorga*) prisoner', 'exile', or 'victim of forced migration'. Admittedly, these notions do appear in SRNG but the dictionary's definition fails to distinguish between criminal and political

exiles. The lexemes *sibirshchina/сибирщина* ‘*katorga*, hard labour and living conditions, ordeal’ (Dal 4: 184) and *sibirbnyy/сибирный* ‘unpleasant, heavy, difficult’ (TSRY Ush 4: 170) relate to the sense ‘a place where people live harsh, unbearable lives’. The meaning of *sibirnyy* ‘wretched, experiencing disaster’ (SRNG 37: 266) associates Sibieria with constant misfortune.

Other expressions add two new characteristcs to the image of Siberia: ‘Siberia is rich in minerals’: *sibirit/сибирит* ‘precious stone, rubellite tourmaline’ (Dal 4: 184), and ‘Siberia has an intensely cold climate’: *sibirka/сибирка* ‘a north wind’ (SRNG 37: 265), *sibirnyy/сибирный* (n.) ‘severely cold wind’ (Vasmer 3: 616; SRNG 37: 266). Thus, the derivatives not only stress the region’s harsh climate but also reflect the way Siberia is conceptualised by inhabitants of European Russia: it is ‘located in the north’, i.e. in the region from where one can expect cold winds. The mental image of the location of Siberia differs from its factual eastern location.

Many derivatives refer to the nature of Siberia in terms of its cold-climate species of flora and fauna: *sibirka* can mean (i) ‘frost-resistant variety of apple-tree and its fruits’ (EfNSRY; SSRLY: 757–758);[9] (ii) ‘frost-resistant variety of fine-grained wheat originally cultivated in Siberia’ (SRGS: 296; cf. SRNG 37: 265); (iii) ‘early-season variety of the strawberry’ (ibid.); (iv) ‘a variety of buckwheat’, (v) ‘an industrial variety of the potato’ (SRNG 37: 265); *sibirskiye/сибирские* can mean ‘a variety of cucumber’ (SRGS: 296); *sibiryachka/сибирячка* is ‘a variety of wheat’ (SRGS: 296; SRNG 37: 267); *sibiryok/сибирёк* can mean (i) ‘Caragana frutescens plant’ (Dal 4: 184); (ii) ‘a variety of Russian peashrub, Caragana frutex’; (iii) ‘a grape variety with small berries’ (SRNG 37: 264). As far as animals are concerned, these are mainly domestic animals resistant to the harsh Siberian climate: *sibirka* ‘a species of dwarf horse with thick, heavy fur’ (SRNG 37: 265; SRGS: 296); *sibiryak* ‘the Yakutian horse’ (SRNG 37: 267); *sibiryachka* ‘a species of sheep with long and thick fleece’ (SRNG 37: 267; SRGS: 297). Fur-covered animals are the basis of local trade: *sibirka* ‘a type of squirrel fur, Siberian squirrel’ (SRY XI-XVII: 121); *sibirkovyy/сибирковый* ‘fur of the Gliridae species’ (SRNG 37: 265). Both the definition of the lexeme *sibiryok* (see above) and the available illustrative example (“*Sibiryok* grows in the steppe, it is like *chervontsy* [cold-resistant apples], there are no tall ones”, SRNG 37: 264) refer to the landscape of the Siberian steppe.

The dialectal verb *sibiryachit’/сибирячить* ‘to perform hired work in Siberia’ points to the region being a place of gainful employment (SRNG

[9] The negative properties of Siberian apples are preserved in the Russian simile *malen’kaya kak sibirskoe yabloko* ‘small as a Siberian apple’ (of a small potato) (BSRNS: 773).

37: 267). The meaning is additionally preserved in the following definitions of *sibiryak*: 'the nickname of a man who worked in Siberia for a long time' (BSRProz: 495) and 'the person who goes to Siberia to work in industry or to hunt' (SRNG 37: 267).

The image of Siberia as a travel destination for people living in European Russia[10] is encoded in the meaning of *sibiryak* 'one who travels to Siberia on foot' (SRNG 37: 267) and posibly also in that of *sibirnyy* 'travelling from Siberia on foot' (SRNG 37: 265).

The analysis brings us to the image of Siberia's inhabitants (*sibiryaki*/*сибиряки*). Siberia is an ethnically diverse region, an ethnocultural blend, cf. "Earlier only *sibiryachyo* lived here, now all kinds [of people]" (SRNG 37: 267; SRGS: 297). The changes in Siberian society that have taken place throughout centuries, i.e. the consecutive waves of migration, have contributed to the division of the region's inhabitants into the indigenous and the immigrant population. In the relevant linguistic material one finds the "immigrant–vs.–local" opposition that corresponds to the "Russian–vs.–Siberian" opposition; cf.: "The locals were Siberia-dwellers" (SRGS: 296); "They came from Russia; all the Siberian people had left, now there are none" (SRGS: 296); "In Myshlyanka there are more Russian people, the Siberians are few" (SRNG 37: 264). However, there is also evidence for blurring these oppositions, as in: "I am a Siberian myself, I drink tea all the time"[11] (SRGS: 296), or in the literary context: "Children of the settlers, Siberians do not know the power of the landlords" (Aleksandr Herzen, SSRLY: 758).

The expressions from the standard variety of Russian that denote indigenous inhabitants of Siberia are the following: *sibiryak*/*сибиряк* 'a person who lives in and/or comes from Siberia' (see Dal 4: 184; OzhSRY: 706; OzhShT-SRY: 715, EfNSRY; TSRY Sh: 878; SSRLY: 758), *sibiryachok*/*сибирячок* (colloquial and diminutive), *sibirets*/*сибирец* (archaic) (SSRLY: 756; EfN-SRY), *sibiryachka*/*сибирячка* (fem.), *sibiryaki*/*сибиряки* (pl.) 'person(s) living in or coming from Siberia' (SRY EvRaz: 88; BTSRY Ku: 1182). Siberian

[10] This aspect of meaning is also preserved in the childern's game *sibirskiy poezd* (recorded in Sverdlovsk Region, cf. Berezovich 2007: 195–196, Berezovich and Krivoshchapova 2011: 116), in which the players get to the top of a bough stuck into the ground by putting sticks at its side branches. The top of the bough symbolises Siberia, conceptualised here as the final station.

[11] Orig. "Sama ya *sibirka*, *cheldonka*, dyk chai p'yu i p'yu". *Chaldony*/*чалдоны* or *cheldony*/*челдоны*: 'indigenous people, the natives of Siberia; the first Russian settlers, old residents of Siberia'; *chaldon*/*чалдон* or *cheldon*/*челдон*: 'a native Siberian, Russian'; *cheldon*/*челдон*: 'vagabond, fugitive, convict', 'descendant of Russian settlers in Siberia, married to a native Siberian' (AnES: 639).

dialects of Russian contain other expressions: *sibirichnik/сибиричник*, *sibiryak/сибряк*, *sibirity/сибириты* (pl.) (SRGS), *sibipyakha/сибиряха* (SRNG), *sibirka/сибирка*, *sibiri/сибири* (pl.), *cibiryaki/сибиряки* (pl.) *sibiryachyo/сибирячьё* (SRNG; SRGS). Expressions that relate to ethnic or religious identity belong to a distinct group and include e.g. *sibiryak/сибиряк* 'indigenous Russian inhabitant of Siberia who is not an Old Believer, either local or immigrant' (SRGS: 296), *sibiryaki/сибиряки* (pl.) 'Russian Orthodox Church believers indigenous to Siberia (as opposed to the Old Believers who arrived there through deportation)' (SRNG 37: 267). These expressions, as well as *sibirskiy/сибирский* 'an Orthodox Church believer, not an Old Believer' (n.) or 'belonging to the Orthodox Church' (adj.) (SRGS: 296), point to the religious divisions of Siberia's inhabitants into the Orthodox and Old-Believer denominations.

Many derivatives refer to the physical appearance of the Siberian people. In several dialects a person inhabiting Siberia is described as 'strong, healthy, and inured' (SRNG 37: 267), capable of surviving in the harsh conditions of the region. Another characteristic feature is the use of dialect: "[We/They] came here and took over the Siberian language" (SRNG 37: 267; SRGS: 296).

Derivatives often carry negative valuation. The dialectal word *sibiryak* is fully pejorative and functions as an insult in the sense of 'arrogant' (SRNG 37: 267). Similarly, the word *sibirnyy/сибирный*, when used in standard literary Russian, means 'bestial, terrible, cruel' (Dal 4: 184; SSRLY: 756; EfNSRY; cf. PreES: 283), and in dialects it means 'wicked, atrocious, despicable, hideous' or 'monster, tormentor' (SRNG 37: 266). Motivation for these meanings can be sought in the practice of sending exiled criminals for forced settlement in Siberia or for forced labour in the region's coal mines (cf. PreES: 283). Another possible motivation is the cruelty and prisoner abuse perpetrated by the *katorga* camp personnel. Moreover, the lexeme *sibirnyy* also denotes a person who is 'risky, roguish' (an insult, according to Dal 1909: 144; cf. also SRNG 37: 266). Other offensive expressions include *sibiryak*, *sibiryaka*, and *sibirhyy* 'bastard, rogue' (SRNG 37: 266–267). The relevant pejorative aspects of meaning include 'arrogance', 'wickedness', 'cruelty', or 'readiness to take risk or commit crime'.

8. Fixed expressions and collocations

Numerous collocations with the adjective *sibirskiy/сибирский* stress the unusual nature of Siberia. They could be botanical names of trees and other plants typical of the region: they produce worse crop than cultivated

plants, usually grow wild (often in the moors) and can have medicinal properties: *sibirskiy kedr*/*кедр* 'cedar' (Dal 4: 184; SSRLY: 758), *sibirskaya yablonya*/*яблоня* 'apple tree' (SSRLY: 758), *sibirskiy len*/*ленъ* 'flax' (Dal 4: 184), *boyarshnik*/*боярышник sibirskiy* 'hawthorn' (Dal 1: 123), *sibirskiy gorokhovnik*/*гороховникъ* 'acacia tree' (Dal 4: 184). There are also scientific names of animals that either live or originate in Siberia, as well as those that have adapted to its harsh climate: *sibirskiy olen'*/*олень* 'deer', *sibirskiy volk*/*волк* 'wolf' (Dal 4: 184), *sibirskiy khoryok*/*хорёк* 'ferret' (TSRY Ush 1: 1177), *sibirskiy kot*/*кот* (masc.) or *sibirskaya koshka*/*кошка* (fem.) 'cat' (SSRLY: 758; SRY EvRaz: 88; BTSRY Ku: 1182), *sibirskiy kozyol*/*козёл* 'goat' (SSRLY: 758). Consider also the names of fishes: *sibirskiy losos'*/*лосось* 'trout, Baikal pike' (Dal 4: 396), *sibirskiy osyotr*/*осётр* 'sturgeon' (Dal 2: 719), *sibirskiy sig*/*сиг* 'whitefish' (SSRLJ: 758), or birds: *sibirskiy aist*/*аист* 'black stork' (Dal 1: 7), *sibirskiy solovey*/*соловей* 'nightingale' (SSRLY: 758).

Reference to the harsh climate of Siberia, with its characteristic spells of extermely cold weather, is recognisable in the collocation *sibirskiye morozy*/*сибирские морозы* 'Siberian frosts' (SSRLY: 758; BTSRY Ku: 1182). On the one hand, *sibirskiy*/*сибирский* functions as a relational adjective, on the other hand, it is an adjective of quality that means 'very strong, oppressive'. Similar polysemy is observed in the collocation *sibirskoe leto*/*сибирское лето* 'Siberian summer': "The short but hot Siberian summer is drawing to its close" (SSRLY: 758). Thus, Siberian summer is shorter than in other parts of Russia but it is also hot and intense. Another dialectal expression that relates to the reality of life in Siberia is *sibirskoe mesto*/*сибирное место*, lit. 'Siberian place', i.e. 'a place with harsh living conditions' (SRNG 37: 266). In a similar vein, consider the collocation *Sibirnaya zhizn'*/*сибирная жизнь* 'hard, difficult life' (SSRLY: 756).

The collocation *Sibir' nemshyonnaya*/*Сибирь немшёная* 'unmossed Sibir'' (DalPos), i.e. 'the part of Siberia, uninhabited by Russians, where buildings are not insulated with moss' (SRNG 21: 90), points to the low level of technological development or even backwardness in the part of the region inhabited by Siberian aboriginals.[12]

Other collocations, e.g. *sibirskiye reki*/*сибирские реки* 'Siberian rivers' (TSRY Ush 4: 170) and *sibirskiy kamen'*/*сибирский камень* (lit. 'Siberian stone'), 'the Ural Mountains' (SRNG 37: 266, Dal 4: 184), refer to the

[12] The expression also appears (albeit spelt differently) in Ivan A. Khaidukov's essays "Not so distant places of Siberia" (in the magazine *Otchestvennyye zapiski*, no. 7, 1875): "And you you have the unmossed Sibir'!" (after Domanskiy 2003: 86). In his comments, the author provides motivation for the expression: "Cold, not covered or studded with moss. Sibir' is compared to a house uninsulated with moss, a cold one..." (ibid.).

exceptional beauty of Siberian landscape with its rivers and mountains. The Urals are a conventional boundary between Europe and Asia, as well as dividing Russia into the European and the Asian part. South and east of the mountain range there are Siberia and the Far East, whereas European Russia is located to the west of the range. The expression *sibirskiy kamen'* indicates a shift of the border westwards, so that the Urals are included in the territory of Siberia. The collocation *sibirskaya yazva/сибирская язва*, i.e. 'contagious disease of animals (cattle, horses, sheep), sometimes affecting people' (SSRLY: 758; cf. SRY EvRaz: 88; BTSRY Ku: 1182; Dal 4: 184), one that is 'intractable' (TSRY Ush 4: 170), is well documented in many dictionaries of Russian and portrays Siberia as the place of origin of various diseases. Consider also the word *sibirka/сибирка* (Dal 4: 184; TSRY Ush 4: 170; SRY EvRaz: 88; BTSRY Ku: 1182; EfNSRY), which refers to anthrax, another serious infectious disease.

Lexicographic sources also contain expressions that directly relate to living conditions in Siberia, such as the names of traditional Siberian dishes: *sibirskye pelmeny/сибирские пельмени* 'Siberian dumplings' (BTSRY Ku: 1182), *sibiryatskye shchi/сибиряцкие щи* 'thick soup with vegetables and serials' (SRNG 37: 267). The expression *po-sibirski gostepriimny/по-сибирски гостеприимны* 'hispitable the Siberian way' (BTSRY Ku: 1182), in turn, refers to the exceptional hospitality of Siberian people, their warmth and generosity. The collocation *paleosibirskye yazyki/палеосибирские языки* 'Paleo-Siberian languages' (cf. also *paleoazyatskye yazyki/палеоазиатские языки* 'Paleo-Asian languages') signals the region's linguistic diversity and covers the genetically unrelated languages of the indigenous peoples of Northern and Northeastern Siberia (TSRY Shv: 608). The dialectal collocation *sibirskiy prazdnik/сибирский праздник* 'the day of the conquest of Siberia by Yermak, 26 October' (SRNG 37: 266) recalls a historical fact of conquering Siberia and its further annexation to Russia – the implication being that Siberia has its own history.

SNF and TSRSlen include the saying "A small Tashkent is better than a big Sibir'", defined 'it is better to be content with little but of sufficient in quality than to be tempted by imaginary advantages of something bigger' (SNF: 104), or '(joc.) a preference for something so-so; less is better' (TSRSlen: 206). Tashkent is evoked here as a small, manageable, and controllable territory, as opposed to the vast Siberia, characterised by poor, ineffective management. Moreover, Tashkent was a major industrial and cultural centre under the Soviet rule: it gave shelter to ca. 100 industrial companies and hundreds of thousands of people of various nationalities, relocated and evacuated during the Great Patriotic War; among them were large numbers

of scientists and cultural activists from Moscow, Leningrad, Minsk, and Kiev (cf. Khanova 2011). The saying contrasts Siberia with Tashkent, evaluating the former negatively as a region that is poorly-developed or even backward, unmanageable, and difficult to exploit.

There is also the dialectal expression *Sibiri kusok/Сибири кусок* 'a daring person, ready to take extreme risks' (SRNG 37: 266), which implies that Siberia is a dangerous place, where survival requires courage and risk-taking. Negative characteristrics are implied in the dialectal expression *sibirskaya veryovka/сибирская верёвка* 'villian, scoundrel' (SRNG 37: 266). The expression *pakhnet Sibiryu/пахнет Сибирью* 'it smells of Siberia' means 'there's a danger of prison, hard labour, forced exiled settlement' (Otin: 311) – it relates to Siberia as a penal colony for criminals and dissidents. The collocation *sibirskoye zdorovye/сибирское здоровье* 'Siberian health' actually means 'very strong health' (BTSRY Ku: 1182). It is deeply rooted in the Russian language, as is the frequently used *sibirskoye dolgoletye/сибирское долголетие* 'Siberian longevity' (ZhR: 57), used as a wishing and toasting slogan. These expressions emphasise two typical characteristics of the Siberian people: (i) good health, resilience, stamina, and (ii) longevity.

The expression *sibirskiy valenok/сибирский валенок*, lit. 'Siberian boot', used in informal language and criminal jargon in reference to a person, capitalises on their alleged mental weakness, stupidity, and narrow-mindedness (cf. BSRP: 609; SLBTZh: 222) or else their naivety and ingenousness (BSRP: 609; SLBTZh: 222). In slang, the expression refers to a 'rough, crude, provincial, and uncultured person' (TSRSlen: 56). Two dictionaries, namely BSRNS and RČFS, provide a simile based on this expression: *tupoy kak sibirskiy valenok* 'dumb like a Siberian boot', which means (i) 'a silly, stupid, and ignorant person' or (ii) 'a soft, compliant, docile person' (BSRNS: 81; RČFS: 59). Moreover, human stupidity is also the basis for the simile *glup, kak sibirskiy tuets/burak* 'stupid as a Siberian *tuets/burak*'[13] (DalPos; BSRNS: 611). In short, these expressions attribute to inhabitants of Siberia the properties of being stupid, crude, naive, or uneducated.

In a different semantic domain, there is the dialectal expression *sibirskiy razgovor/ссибирский разговор* 'Siberian conversation', the inseparable attribute of which are cedar nuts: '(hum.) the shelling of cedar nuts that often accompanies or even replaces conversation in moments of leisure' (SRNG 37: 266). It refers to a widely spread habit, which characterises the inhabitants of Siberia as taciturn.

In numerous dialects we also find expressions that distinguish indigenous peoples of Siberia from other groups: *vechnyy* (*golovnoy*) *sibiryak/веч-*

[13] A vessel of cylindrical shape made of birch bark (cf. Dal 4: 144, 452).

ный (*головной*) *сибиряк* 'Siberian veteran' (SRGS: 296), *urodnye sibiryaki/уродные сибиряки* 'the real [born] Siberians' (SRNG 37: 267), *zhit' v sibiryakakh/жить в сибирякахъ* 'be a native Siberian' (BSRP: 609). These expressions not only emphasise the distinction between indigenous inhabitants of Siberia and migrants, but also stress the importance that the former attribute to regional identity.

Thus, the data retrieved from the Russian language system (more presisely, from a variety of dictionaries published between the 19th and the 21st centuries) allow us to reconstruct the cognitive definition of SIBIR', composed of thirty defining features.

Simplified cognitive definition of SIBIR':

[CATEGORY]	[1] territory
[PART OF SOMETHING]	[2] part of a bigger whole (Russia)
[OPPOSITION]	[3] Siberia is distinguished from and contrasted with European Russia
[LOCATION]	It is believed that Siberia [4] is located in Asia, in the north; it is bordered on its western side by the Ural Mountains, while the Pacific Ocean in the east [5] is a distant place, located far away from the centre of the country (Russia); [6] access to Siberia is difficult
[NON-PHYSICAL FEATURES]	[7] Siberia remains dependent on Russia (politcal dependence); it remains part of Asia (geographical aspect), [8] has its own history, [9] is a linguistically diversified region, [10] has a harsh climate (extremely cold winter, short but hot summer)
[SIZE]	[11] it is a vast region
[APPEARANCE]	[12] it has an exceptional landscape which consists of: [12a] steppe, [12b] swamps, [12c] rivers, and [12d] mountains
[LOCALISER]	Sibera is [13] the realm of nature, with typical species of: [13a] plants and [13b] animals, including [13c] fur animals (the furs of which are an object of trade); Siberia is [14] rich in minerals, [15] is the place where various diseases occur
[LIVING CONDITIONS]	Siberia [16] is characterised by difficult living conditions, [17] is badly managed, [18] is the place where the exploitation of natural resources is difficult, [19] is technologically underdeveloped and often considered backward, [20] is the place where people earn money, [21] has its own culinary tradition
[FUNCTION]	Siberia [22] used to be a penal colony: [22a] the place of penal labour (the *katorga*), [22b] prison, [22c] exile, [22d] forced settlement; it is [23] a travel destination for European Russians
[FEELINGS AND ATTITUDES TO SIBERIA]	Siberia is associated with: [24] something bad, [25] something hard to bear, [26] something dangerous, [27] misfortune, [28] suffering, [29] tough life

[THE REGION'S INHABITANTS]

[30] Siberia is inhabited by Siberian people (*sibiryaki*), [30a] divided into indigenous people and migrants; indigenous people [30b] emphasise their regional identity. Physical features: they [30c] are strong, [30d] healthy, [30e] inured, and [30f] live long lives. Social aspect: indigenous people of Siberia are [30g] hospitable and [30h] taciturn. Cultural aspect: indigenous people [30i] use dialect in communication, [30j] are uneducated and [30k] crude. Religious aspect: the people are [30l] divided into Russian Orthodox Church believers and Old Believers. Psychological profile of some Siberian people: [30m] naive, [30n] submissive, [30o] ingenuous, [30p] stupid, [30r] narrow-minded. [30s] Former inhabitants of Siberia were *katorga* prisoners, exiles, forced migrants, criminals. They are described as [30t] arrogant, [30u] wicked, [30w] atrocious, [30x] ready to take risk, even crime-prone.

translated by Agnieszka Mierzwińska-Hajnos

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I. Research articles

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Stanisława Niebrzegowska-Bartmińska
(UMCS, Lublin, Poland)

Symbolism of fertility in Polish folklore*

The article discusses the symbolism of fertility and the means of its expression in Polish folk culture. Fertility can be recognised, protected, and stimulated in communal and family customs, or hindered through word and gesture. The verbal code is treated here as a carrier of symbolic meanings and so is inalienable from other cultural codes: material, personal, temporal, locative, or involving action, music, and dance. The codes function interchangeably, replacing and complementing one another.

Key words: traditional culture, folklore, symbolic meanings, fertility, cultural code

1. Fertility and its expression in traditional culture

Fertility is one of the most frequently recurring motifs in oral Polish folklore. With folklore being defined as "a necessary component of spiritual folk culture, based on socially agreed-upon knowledge of the world and shared values, where the living word is preserved in rituals, behaviour, music, and dance" (Bartmiński 1990: 5),[1] the fertility of humans, animals, and plants is the focus of attention in both folk texts and general folk culture. It is usually encoded in symbolic language, derived from "natural signs of things", and understood as part of a specific cultural code (cf. Mayenova 1974; Tolstoy

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[1] All quotations from Polish sources translated by A.M.-H.

1995; Tolstaya 2008). Via symbolic language, "the idea of a content [is expressed,] which in turn serves as expression for another content, one which is as a rule more highly valued in that culture" (Lotman 2001: 103).

As discussed in my earlier studies (Niebrzegowska-Bartmińska 2013, 2015), in particular those referring to the works of Russian ethnolinguists (e.g. Tolstoy 1995 [1982]), symbolic meanings in traditional culture are expressed by:

1. ritual objects (the korovai wedding bread, the wedding veil, *rózga weselna* 'wedding twig', harvest wreath, Easter eggs) and objects of everyday use or otherwise commonplace (the harrow, the broom, the bread peel);

2. practices (putting a broom under the bride's seat, turning objects face down, washing oneself with a metal coin on Christmas Eve);

3. music, dance, and games (e.g. singing the religious song *Serdeczna Matko* 'Beloved Mother' at the bridal couple's blessing; a dance with a lame bride; various tricks, e.g. pinching, slapping, turning over the girls, chasing girls (the symbolic "butting") by a horned creature called *Turoń* during carolling, walking around the Orthodox church on Easter Sunday; the game called *Mr Zelman*);

4. figures (a beggar or a Jew that appears in *Herody*, a type of nativity play); men dressed up as women and women dressed up as men during *Zapusty* (the last days of the carnival), a figure of the goat "dying" and "coming back to life" during carolling;

5. time (e.g. Christmas Eve as the time of changes; St. John's Eve as the time of sexual initiation);

6. space (a circle drawn with blessed chalk that represents tamed space, including both the house and the farmyard). Above all those there is

7. the verbal code, which involves formulaic expressions and texts. Defined as a universal or superordinate code, the verbal code serves as the basis for a network in which words connect with "objects, people, as well as personal and group history" (Bartmiński 1986: 18). An account of the meaning of a verbal message requires that a broad context of an utterance be activated. At the same time, some signals that carry symbolic meanings are hidden in the verbal layer of the message, whereas others are not "rendered linguistic" and can only be identified through the relevant concepts and against their context of utterance.

The symbolism of fertility in Polish folklore rests on the mutual relationship between the verbal code and other cultural codes; cf. the following observation from Jerzy Bartmiński:

> An ideal folklore text should be viewed as a non-autonomous part of a greater situation: not everything is explicitly stated in the text itself. The structure of such folklore texts is usually shaped by oral tradition, inseparable from cultural practices. Therefore, the text of folklore should not be viewed solely as a conventional symbolic sign but as something

that maps people's behaviour, reflects their jugdements and worldview, and, besides pure communication, influences and shapes the stance of the speaking subject. (Bartmiński 1990: 195)

2. Fertility in its male and female aspects

Fertility in folk culture functions in the context masculinity and femininity and is always evaluated positively: it brings wealth and provides good living standards to the farmer's family. In contrast, infertility or sterility are always assessed negatively. The dichotomy finds confirmation in animal names, cf. *ogier* 'stallion', a male horse able to breed, vs. *wałach* 'gelding', a castrated horse; *tryk* 'ram', a male sheep able to breed, vs. *skop* 'wether', a castrated ram. *Jałówka* 'heifer' is the name used with reference to a young cow that has not yet given birth to a calf. Used metaphorically, these animal names code the same features when used to refer to people, human sexuality or its disfunction, to human fertility or infertility. Thus, *ogier* 'stallion' can denote a sexually active young man, whereas *byczek* 'bull calf' is a category extension from 'a strong young bull' to 'a young man exuding sexual energy'.[2]

Human sexuality and sexual activity, and as a consequence fertility, also appear in folk erotic songs and are expressed in symbolic language. Usually, symbolic imagery recalled in erotic folk poems is based on everyday experience and its strong bond with nature (cf. Krzyżanowski 1989) – in this respect, the imagery of folk songs bears a striking resemblance to Old Polish erotic poetry (cf. similar observations in Bartmiński 1974; Wężowicz-Ziółkowska 1991; Prorok 2014). Consider the following excerpts, where womanhood is conceptualised as land, field, or meadow, manhood is expressed by means of farming tools, while a sexual intercourse is portrayed as farming:

(1) 'Get up, Johnny, you have to go farming, you have had a good night's sleep.' 'Be quiet, Mary, stop calling me, I have already ploughed the field, I have already done that.'[3]

[2] Numerous examples that refer to the fertility-infertility opposition can be found in Masłowska (1988), e.g. *byk, bulåšk* 'bull': 1. 'young bull', 2. 'young lustful male'; *kaban* 'barrow', a neutered male pig > pej. 'fat man'; *wałkoń* 'gelding' > pej. 'a person who is sluggish and lazy' (p. 75); *čučopa* 'ewe lamb', a young woman who has not given birth to a child; *kurzaja* 'a cock or hen showing no typical signs of gender' > pej. 'neither a man nor a woman' (Masłowska 1988: 50). Negative valuation based on the image of old and useless things also accompanies the bachelor/spinster opposition, e.g. *grochowiny* 'pea straw', *klamot* 'stuff', *knaga* 'a hook used for hanging clothes' > 'skinny old cow' > 'spinster', etc. (p. 48).

[3] Polish original: "Wstawaj Jasieniu do roli, jużeś się wyspał do woli. Cicho Maryś, nie wołaj, juzrolkę zaorał, zaorał." (K 27 Maz 184.2) All abbreviations of the sources come

Positive valuation concerns two aspects here: (i) a fertile soil able to produce good crops, and (ii) good farming tools. The girl in the folk song praises the soil, whereas the boy boasts of his tools:

(2) 'Johnny, I have a field where good crops grow but it has to be farmed properly. With God's help we will be happy together.' 'Katie, I have got three cows, the first will go forward and we two will follow it. There will also be a little plough, we put everything together and we will be happy.'[4]

(3) 'Mattie, I have got a small meadow where silky grass grows. In the middle of the grass there is a spring, the grass around it is always green and it will never rot.' 'Katie, and I have got a large scythe; when I start cutting with it, the grass will burn out. Come on, let swathe after swathe fall to the ground, my scythe cuts well enough to remove the dew.'[5]

These excerpts uncover correspondences between a woman and the earth. A woman, similarly to the earth, brings forth new life, accepts semen inside her body, carries the foetus and produces offspring. Thus, we obtain the so-called "fertility complex" that consists of male, female, and earthly components. The complex is based on numerous analogies between a deep furrow and a woman, between soil and the womb, a plough and the phallus, ploughing and fertilisation. The symbolic woman-earth merger "saturates sexual practices with farming metaphors and vice versa: farming techniques with sex metaphors" (Niewiadomski 1999: 11). As observed by Mircea Eliade, "feminine fecundity has a cosmic model – that of Terra Mater, the universal Genetrix" (Eliade 1961: 144).[6]

In erotic poetry, the names of male and female sex organs are encoded in symbolic language:

> With respect to shape, appearance, natural gender, or function, symbolic language operates with opposites. Thus, pointed and sharp objects used for hitting, plunging, and moving are contrasted with round and flat ones (usually vessels), with holes and indentations; the predator is contrasted with the prey; male birds are contrasted with female birds; finally, actors are viewed in opposition to the actions they perform. All

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from the Dictionary of Folk Stereotypes and Symbols (*SSSL*, vol. 1(1): 35–83, vol. 1(2): 9–15, vol. 1(3): 9–22).

[4] "Mam ci ja Jasiu swéj roli staję, na niéj się zboże bujne udaje. Tylko uprawy potrzeba, da nam Pan Bóg wszystko z nieba, dobrze nam będzie. Mam ja też Kasiu bydlątek troje, pójdzie jedno wprzódy, a za nim dwoje. I płużek tez tam będzie, wszystko się do kupy zejdzie, dobrze nam będzie." (K 21 Rad: 39)

[5] "Mam ci ja, Maćku, łączeńkę drobną, traweczkę na niej, gdyby jedwabną, a pośrodku źródło bije, traweczka się pięknie wije, nigdy nie zgnije. Mam ci, Kasiu, kosisko spore, jak wezmę kosić, trawka wygore, hej pokos koło pokosa, dobrzeć kosi moja kosa, aż pierzcha rosa." (Chod Śp: 193)

[6] The notion of the female element conceptualised against the anthropocosmic water–soil–moon fertility complex is thoroughly discussed in Masłowska (2014).

these elements underlie the "symbolising-vs.-symbolised" kind of relation and the parallels of woman–earth, vagina–furrow, *cunnus*–the *bandurka* [Ukraine's national instrument], man–ploughman, etc. (Wężowicz-Ziółkowska 1991: 162)

As a determinant of life on earth, fertility should not be considered a separate category, nor should it limit itself to the world of people, animals, or plants. In a more thorough interpretation of the cosmos, both the male element, as a fertilising factor, and the female element that is capable of breeding, permeate and enliven the world (cf. Bartmiński 1988: 99). Thus, manhood is associated with the sky, fire, and the sun, whereas womanhood is associated with the earth.

In folk cosmogonic myths, the male sky fertilises the earth (SSSL 1(2): 17–56), the act being described as "the sacred union (hierogamy) between the Sky-God and the Earth-Mother" (Eliade 1961, after Cummings n.d.). The cosmogonic myth is quite widely disseminated: "human marriage is regarded as an imitation of the cosmic hierogamy" (Eliade 1961: 145). Echoes of the hierogamy can be found in a Polish folk riddle: "Father shoots but doesn't kill; mother eats, though it has no mouth",[7] which stands for the heaven–rain–earth complex. In peasant poems, heaven embraces the earth with love: at the crossroads, where Christ dies, heaven embraces the earth and presents the Mother of Bread with a herb-and-wheat wreath.[8] The earth, conceptualised here as a mother giving birth to a child, uncovers its lactating breasts:

(4) The freshly-ploughed soil uncovers its breasts full of milk and waits for a person to come to her with the blessed seed.[9]

(5) And then the peasant knelt down on the earth's black bosom,
filled with the sun and damp,
and started his silent begging... 'Earth, our beloved mother
give us tasty black bread.'[10]

In traditional culture, the fertilizing function is often expressed through reference to atmospheric conditions:
– the sun (SSSL 1(1): 119–144):

[7] "Ojciec strzela, nie zabija, matka zjada, gęby nie ma". (Folf Zag no. 581)

[8] "Na dróg rozstaju, gdzie Chrystus kona, / niebo przygarnia ziemię w ramiona / i dary składa Chleborodzicy / ogromnym wieńcem ziół i pszenicy." (Ad Złote: 238)

[9] "Świeżo zaorana rola / odkryła piersi / wezbrane pokarmem / i czeka by do niej przyjść / z błogosławionym ziarnem." (A. Magdziak, *Karmiąca ziemia*, in Niewiadomski 1999: 18)

[10] "A potem ukląkł [chłop] na czarnej jej piersi / pełnej słońca i wilgoci / i począł szeptać ciche błaganie... obdarz nas ziemio – matulu kochana / chlebem czarnym smacznym." (Poc Poez: 106)

(6) ‘My garland faded, it really did, and I also went pale, my garland faded in the sun, and I went pale because of my lover.’[11]

(7) ‘Girl, why are you standing under the sycamore tree? Is that the sun that keeps beating down on you, or do you fear rain?. . . .’ ‘No, the sun is not beating down on me, I fear no rain; I am standing under the tree waiting for my lover to come.’[12]

– lightning (SSSL 1(3): 411–433):

(8) When people dream about a lightning strike, it is believed that a woman will get pregnant, or something else will happen.[13]

– fire (SSSL 1(1): 264–285):

(9) I will make the bed for you but I can’t watch over you to prevent the fire coming into your lame leg. Do not be afraid, girl, do not be afraid of fire. I will hug and caress you till dawn.[14]

(10) Do not be afraid, Kate, do not be afraid of fire and swelling, I will rest my bad leg on a feather quilt.[15]

– wind (SSSL 1(3): 307–338):

(11) ‘Why are you crying, Kate?’ ‘The wind is blowing and my garland is withering, the outside world is no longer for me.’[16]

(12) She tends peacocks and collects feathers. . . , all collected feathers she puts into her apron,. . . and makes a garland of the feathers. . . And she made the garland of peacock feathers and fixed it on her head. . . But strong winds blew it off.[17]

The role of semen, which induces fertility in humans, soil, plants and animals, is always associated with moisture-related phenomena:
– water (SSSL 1(2): 153–235; see also Majer-Baranowska 1986):

[11] “Zblod mi wionek, zblod mi, jo sobie tyz zbladła, wionek ^{u}od słónecka, ja ^{u}od k^{u}ochanecka.” (Sad Podh: 143)

[12] “Czego ty dziewczyno pod jaworem stoisz? Czy cię słońce piecze, czy się deszczu boisz?. . . Słońce mie nie piecze, deszczu się nie boje, czekam na miłego, pod jaworem stoje.” (Bart PANLub 4: 324)

[13] “Jak [śni się, że piorun] uderzy, to tak zawsze tłumacyli, że ktoś w ciąży albo coś będzie.” (Nieb Pol: 198)

[14] “Posłać ci się nie odrzekam, lecz czuwać nie mogę, Żeby ci się ogień nie wdał w tę kulawą nogę. A nie bójże się, dziewczyno, nie bój się ognia, Będę ściskał i przytulał, choćby do samego dnia.” (Pieś Śl 1: 246)

[15] “Nie bójze się, Kasiu, ognia, ani puchliny, położę ja chorą nogę wedle pierzyny.” (K 2 San: 131)

[16] “Czegóż Kasińku płaczesz? Wietrzyk wieje, wiáneczek mdleje, świat mi się zawięzuje.” (MAAE 1903: 233)

[17] “Pawki pasie, piórka zbiera. . . , co zbierze, w zapaskę kładzie. . . , a z zapaski wieniec wije. I uwiła pawi wieniec. . . , przyszpiliła do swej główki. . . Skąd się wzięły bujne wiatry. . . , i zerwały pawi wieniec.” (Bart PKL 389)

(13) A rich miller and his wife adopted a poor girl who was very beautiful... The girl grew up to be a beauty, she went everywhere alone, both to the forest and to the field. One day she got extremely tired and drank some water, which made her pregnant. Soon, she gave birth to beautiful twin-boys.[18]
(14) When the cow went through heat that did not end up in fertilisation, it was led to a neighbouring village. It was mated with a bull, led through deep water, or intensely washed with water, which was to make it pregnant.[19]

– rain (SSSL 1(3): 129–166):

(15) The May rain is falling onto the boys' heads and the girls' bellies, the girls will deliver bastards.[20]
(16) Dear Good, give us heavy rainfall. Let it pour and let the flowers in my garland bloom.[21]

– dew (SSSL 1(3): 45–68):

(17) Dew covers the birch forest; love me, my dear, and remain faithful to me.[22]
(18) 'Where were you, my daughter, I can see dew all over your body.' 'I was in the linseed field, mother.' 'But there were other girls as well, and still, they aren't dew-soaked.' 'There was dew, mother, there was dew.'[23]

3. Fertility as a divine gift

In traditional culture, fertility is taken to be God's gift, because God made the universe and all things in it, whereas infertility is interpreted as God's punishment; cf. the popular proverb "Those who are blessed by God are rewarded with children".[24]

God also extends his providence over all forms of life: he commands the earth to bring forth plants, while the earth is fertilised with "the supernatural,

[18] "Bogaci młynarze wzięli na wychowanie biédną, ale ładną dziewczynkę... Dziewczynka wyrosła na pannę, chodziła sama wszędzie, do boru, na pola. Raz zmęczyła się bardzo i napiła wody. Od tego zaszła w ciążę i wkrótce powiła prześlicznych chłopaków bliźniąt." (ZWAK 1878: 144)

[19] "Gdy krowa kilka razy latowała się, a zawsze bez skutku, prowadzono ją za granicę, do sąsiedniej wsi do buhaja lub też przeprowadzano ją przez głęboką wodę, bądź mocno zlewano wodą, co miało powodować zacielenie krowy." (Wit Baj: 60)

[20] "Pada deszczyk majowy chłopakom na głowy, dziewczynom na brzuchy, będą mieć znajduchy." (from Kraśnik near Lublin)

[21] "Dajże Boze deszczu, żeby lał, żeby lał. Żeby mi się wianek na głowie rozwijał." (ZWAK 1886: 287)

[22] "Sieje rosa po białej brzezinie, kochajże mnie, kawalerze, ale nie zdradliwie.' (K 46 Ka-S: 47)

[23] "A kędyżeś mi coruś była, kiedyś mi się tak zrosiła? U lnuch była, matuchno... A dyć też tam insze były, toli się tak nie zrosiły. Rosa była, matusiu, rosa była." (Rog Śląsk: 250)

[24] "Komu Pan Bóg błogosławi, temu dzieci daje."

divine patronage, and so yields a good crop" (Niewiadomski 1999: 97). People address their pleas for a good harvest to God and engage in various practices, e.g. blessing the field or celebrating the holy mass for good crops during the vegetation period (Bart PANLub 1: 450). Similar practices can also be found in secular customs, as when girls walk around with a green branch and sing a wishing song:[25]

(19) We enter the palace, We wish you luck and health;
All the best from our beloved God...
A white tenement in front of the house,
Green wheat in the field.[26]

4. Fertility conjectured

Fertility and infertility can be conjectured from natural phenomena and can be invoked in prophecies, recommendations, or prohibitions. For instance, making a prediction about good crops is usually recalled in weather forecasts:

(20) When there is hoar frost on trees in the Advent, a fertile year might be expected.[27]
(21) Frosty weather in January gives good crops in the summer.[28]
(22) A Dry March, a wet April, and a cold May make a fertile year to grains and fruits.[29]

The forecasts can also contains inferences about infertility:

(23) The rain on 1 May brings crop failure.[30]
(24) When June brings coolness and water, the whole year is spoilt.[31]
(25) When it thunders in the south in November, one may expect infertility in everything.[32]

[25] The custom of going around with two spruce trees, combined with singing songs, was very popular in the region of Wielkopolska (Greater Poland).
[26] "Do tego pałacu wstępujemy, / Szczęścia, zdrowia winszujemy; / Od Boga miłego wszystkiego dobrego... / Przed tym domem biała kamienica, / A na polu zielona pszenica." (MAAE 1906 (8): 38–39)
[27] "Gdy w adwencie sadź na drzewie się pokazuje, to rok urodzajny nam zwiastuje." (NKPP)
[28] "W styczniu mroźna pogoda, to latem w polu uroda." (Bich Przep: 33)
[29] "Marzec suchy, kwiecień mokry, maj chłodny zbożom i owocom roczek płodny." (Bich Przep: 63)
[30] "Pierwszego maja deszcz, nieurodzaju wieszcz." (NKPP)
[31] "Gdy czerwiec chłodem i wodą szafuje, to zwykle cały rok popsuje." (NKPP)
[32] "Gdy w listopadzie od południowego kraju grzmi, znaczy niepłodność wszystkiego." (NKPP)

5. Controlling, protecting, and stimulating fertility

In Polish folk culture there is a strong conviction that people are able to control fertility, both their own and that of other organisms. Fertility is a recurring motif in annual rituals and customs, and is usually expressed through words, gestures, or the use of objects. A thorough documentation can be found in vol. 4 of the monograph *Lubelskie* (Bart PANLub); here we only provide selected examples.

One of the most popular customs in the Lublin region with a function of inducing fertility was that of covering a barren pear or apple tree with straw on Christmas Eve. The custom was accompanied by an act of brandishing an axe and saying: "Remember, if you bear no fruit this year, you will be cut out".[33] In villages near a small town of Poniatowa (the same region) the apple tree was beaten with apple dumplings:

> As soon as they finished their supper, for which they had eaten dumplings made of dried apples, pears, or plums, the farmer would take three such dumplings into his pocket, would head towards the orchard where apple trees grew and would beat the trees with those apple dumplings, repeating the following words: "Will you bear fruit? Will you bear fruit? Will you bear fruit? Will you bear fruit or not? If you don't bear fruit, I'll cut you down". Then, the farmer would go to pear trees and did the same thing. And then over to plum trees to do the same. This is how it was. (Bart PANLub)

In the village of Budziska, the farmer would sprinkle the tree with poppy seeds "to secure fertility in orchards in the new year" (Bart PANLub 1: 111). The custom of *chodzenie po szczodrakach* (going round for *szczodraki*, poppy-sprinkled crescent rolls) consisted in singing at neighbours' houses during Christmas time in return for the roll and was believed to bring good crops, an abundance of grain and vegetables, as well as stimulating fertility in the livestock. The farmer was greeted with the following words (from the village of Ulów, near Tomaszów Lubelski):

(26) We wish you happiness and health
On St Stephen's Day;
May God give you good crops,
And may your barn be full of grain.[34]

Such wishes were usually accompanied by non-verbal gestures, e.g. showering oat grains over the farmer's family and house. The gesture was believed to have a magical function of bringing good crops and fertility to the family.

[33] "Pamiętaj, jak nie bedziesz rodziła tego roku, to bedziesz wycięta." (Bart PANLub 1: 110).

[34] "Na szczęście, na zdrowie / ze świętym Szczepanem. / Niech wam Pan Bóg daje / w polu urodzaje, / a wasza stodółka / ze zbożem zostaje." (Bart PANLub no. 29A)

In the so-called "extended versions" of Christmas carols (*A gold plough* or *God moves everywhere*), fertility is expressed through images of God and saints who accompany the farmer in crop and animal husbandry, and multiply his goods. The farmer's work is sacralised by being strengthened with tools of supernatural power (e.g. a gold plough):

(27) Whose is this ploughed field? New season, new season.[35]
It is our farmer's. New season, ...
And in that field there is a small plough made of gold. New season, ...
And by the plough there are two pairs of horses. New season, ...
St. Stephen is ploughing, St. John the Evangelist is hurrying him. New season, ...
St. Anastasia would bring breakfast. New season, ...
She would bring breakfast and ask God. New season, ...
To let the spring wheat sprout. New season, ...
To let the ears of wheat reach the sky. New season, ...
To have lush fields of wheat with deep roots.[36]

In more extended versions of carols, prophesying fertility in the new year is also emphasised by referring to living animals, animal monsters, as well as their attributes (e.g. the figure of a Jew girded with a straw rope, or carollers dressed in sheepskin coats). Until WWII, many villages in the Lubelskie region celebrated the custom of strolling with a horse, a bull, an ox, a ram, a goat, or a sheep, either on St. Stephen's Day or the New Year's Day:

For the practice of carolling, people would choose a well-kept animal and adorn it with multi-coloured ribbons and flowers. Bachelors who participated in the practice expressed the following wishes upon entering the house: "We wish you good luck and health on St. Stephen's Day".[37] The farmer's wife would reply: "May God let us make it through this year all the way to the next one"[38] (the wishes come from the village of Andrzejówka). In the village of Małochwiej Dolny, bachelors, having exchanged Christmas wishes and received a special treat, would address a young bull with the following words: "Hey bull, they have given us a treat, but they could have given us more".[39] (Bart PANLub 1: 293)

[35] Lit. "A new summer".

[36] "A u kogoż nam tu rola wyorana? / Nowe lato, dobre lato. / U naszego pana rola wyorana. Nowe lato... / A tam na tej roli złoty płużek stoji. Nowe lato... / A tam przy tym płużku dwie par koni stoji. Nowe lato... / Święty Szczepan orze, święty Jan pogania. Nowe lato... / Święta Nastazyja śniadanie nosiła. Nowe lato... / Śniadanie nosiła i Boga prosiła. Nowe lato... / Żeby jej się jara pszeniczka zrodziła. Nowe lato... / Żeby były kłosy pod same niebiosy. Nowe lato... / By była kłosista, w spodzie korzenista." (Bart PANLub 1: 221, from the village of Aleksandrów, Józefów district)

[37] "Na szczęście, na zdrowie, ze świętym Szczepanem." (Bart PANLub 1: 293)

[38] "Daj Boże ten rok sprowadzić i byśmy do drugiego roku doczekali." (Bart PANLub 1: 293)

[39] "Hej byciu dali, żeby nam co więcej dali." (Bart PANLub 1: 293)

The custom of *chodzenie po kusakach*, lit. 'going around during the *kusaki*' (the last days of the carnival), was usually accompanied by wearing special clothes, e.g. a sheepskin coat which had to be donned inside out and girded with a straw rope (Bart PANLub 1: 387). A sheepskin coat, similarly to other fuzzy, hairy, fleecy or shaggy objects, was considered the symbol of fertility, prosperity, wealth and success (cf. Niewiadomski 1999: 227; Domańska-Kubiak 1979: 19). Moreover, fertility and abundance were also symbolised by straw hats and skirts, as well as straw ropes and pea waste used to wrap up the legs, arms, and torso (Godula 1994: 87).[40]

A popular form of stimulating the harvest of flax and hemp were the so-called "vegetation dances", performed exclusively by women during the *kusaki*. Let us consider two descriptions of the custom:

> Women tried to jump very high because they believed it will make both flax and hemp grow equally tall. The custom is recalled in one of the songs from the vicinity of Lublin: "The women are dancing all day long in order to make both flax and hemp grow", or "You old woman, you old man, dance today to make hemp grow". (Bart PANLub 1: 388)[41]

> 'When the clock strikes midnight, Lent starts and nobody can play any instrument. The exception is the dance performed to stimulate the growth of hemp, but it is danced without music. At present, nobody sows hemp any longer. When hemp was sown, there was a custom of bringing a hemp sheaf home and then putting it onto the farmer's head so that he almost suffocated. And of course, everybody started dancing in order to make hemp grow.' ['What kind of dances did you dance at that time?'] 'We usually danced the oberek, or the polka, typical dances for the elderly.' (Bart PANLub 1: 387)

Yet another custom believed to bring good harvest, celebrated near Tykocin in the Mazovia region, was to jump onto a tree trunk. When it was performed by males, the goal was to induce a good harvest of oats; women, in turn, did it to induce a good harvest of flax (K 28 Maz: 80).

[40] As observed by Domańska-Kubiak (1979: 18), in the vegetation- and fertility-oriented aspect of carolling, a particular role is ascribed to straw. For instance, during the Christmas Eve dinner, a handful of straw was put under the tablecloth or scattered all over the floor. There were customs of wrapping legs of the table with straw, or attaching it either to the wooden beam or behind images of saints. Straw was also used to decorate the caroller's outfit, or brought to the church during the midnight mass (known in Poland as the shepherds' mass). After Christmas, it was used to stimulate soil and animal fertility, especially by following such practices as wrapping fruit trees with straw, wedging straw into the ground, burning straw and scattering the ash onto vegetables, feeding straw ash to chickens, placing straw in the barn, wrapping an infertile woman with straw, whipping household members with straw (a custom similar to that of whipping family members with an Easter palm), etc.

[41] "To na konopie, to na len, tańcują baby cały dzień"; "Stara babo, stary chłopie, hulaj dzisiaj na konopie".

"Provoking" a good harvest during a new vegetation period could also be linked to various customs followed in the spring. For instance, the *gaik* (lit. 'copse') was a custom of carrying bouquets of evergreen twigs and branches after the rite of drowning *Marzanna* (an effigy of this Baltic and Slavic goddess). The *gaik* was the symbol of spring and rebirth: songs were performed by young girls who carried the *gaik* on their way back from drowning *Marzanna.* They used to stop by the door and sing the following song:

(28) We drop in with the *gaik* And we wish you luck and health.
Oh, *gaik*, how beautifully adorned you are!
You walk around the village because you are so dignified.
We come with the *gaik* to the farmer
To wish him a good harvest.
Oh, *gaik*, how beautifully adorned you are!
You walk around the village because you are so dignified.
(Bart PANLub no. 332A, Dęba, Kurów district 1964)[42]

Inducing good harvest is also frequently recalled in numerous Easter traditions and customs, one of these being *chodzenie z kogutkiem* (lit. 'walking with the rooster'), the custom of going around the village with the figure of a rooster, the symbol of manhood, fertility and reproductiveness (Kop Ssym: 150, Herd Lek: 64, Niewiadomski 1999: 98–99). The fertility function of Easter carolling is confirmed in one of the songs recorded in 1977 in Bychawka:

(29) Farmer, why are you sleeping? Why don't you look into the barn?
In each corner there is a calf,
In each corner there is a colt,
Allelujah, Allelujah.' (Bart PANLub no. 325A)[43]

The custom of visiting fields at Easter (or, more generally, in spring), includes both sacred and agrarian elements. As an example, consider the following Easter carol recorded in Osmolice in 2003:

(30) Farmer, go into the field And bless your farmland,
So that the soil gives you a good crop,
So that you gather three measures of *korzec* out of the threescore,
Allelujah, allelujah. (Bart PANLub no. 325B)[44]

[42] "My z gajikäm wstampujemy, / sceścia, zdrowia wom zycämy. / Gajiku zieluny, piänknieś ustrojuny, / piänknie sobie chodzis, bo ci sie tak godzi. / My z gajikäm do gospodorza, / zeby sie rodziły te wszelakie zboza. / Gajiku zieluny, piänknieś ustrojuny, / piänknie sobie chodzis, bo ci siä tak godzi."

[43] "Gospodarzu, cego śpicie, / udo obory nie zajrzycie? / W każdym kuntku po cieluntku, / w każdym kuntku po źrebiuntku, / alleluja, alleluja."

[44] "Gospodarzu, wyjdźże w pole / i poświęćże swoją role, / żeby dobrze plonowało, / po trzy korce z kopy dało, alleluja, alleluja."

A similar function is expressed in yet another custom, known as *obchodzenie pól* (lit. 'going around the fields'), celebrated on 23 April. As noted by Adamowski and Tymochowicz:

> On April 23, the farmer used to go through the field to check what he had sown in winter. He took rye bread (the so-called *piróg*) and a bottle of vodka. When he reached the end of his field, he waited for his wife to come and bring a tablecloth and a snack. It was also the place where the farmer and his wife met their neighbours to celebrate the day together with what they brought for eating. Next, the farmer would place the *piróg* in the rye field and if all of it was covered with the rye, this symbolised a good crop. Next, the *piróg* was rolled over the grain to be finally cut into pieces and eaten. (Adamowski and Tymochowicz 2001: 54)

A symbolic function was also ascribed to Easter eggs (*pisanki*), which were kept at home all year. *Pisanki* were also believed to protect the house from evil, thus becoming the symbol of fertility and abundance, and served as a remedy for various illnesses (Bart PANlub 1: 401).

There was also a very popular Easter game in eastern parts of the Lublin region and in the Kielce region called *Mr. Zelman*, commonly played by Poles and Ukrainians. The central figure in the game is a Mr. Zelman, "a mythical steward who opens the sky in spring and orders the sun to revive the forces of nature" (Bart PANLub 1: 436–437). Therefore, the game was also believed to stimulate fertility and vegetation growth.

Traces of symbolic aspects that refer to fertility and abundance are also found in practices performed on the eve of St. John's Day (23 June), in particular in the custom of jumping over the fire: the higher the jump, the better the crops of grain and flax. The better the fun, the higher the abundance of all crops (Bart PANLub 1: 457).

Customs associated with the vegetation period, plant growth, and fertility usually refer to the first tillage, sowing seeds, or growing plants. These include: (i) sprinkling holy water on the plough, the horse, and the ploughman; (ii) putting holy wreaths blessed on the Corpus Christi Day under the first ridge so that God may bless the field (K 48 Ta-Rz: 81); (iii) taking food into the field by the ploughman or the sower, eating the food in the field or burying it under the ridge. In the Mazovia region, the eggshells of Easter eggs were added to the seeds, whereas whole eggs were put into flaxseeds to make the flax exceptionally fertile (Dwor Maz: 126–127). In the Rzeszów region, raw eggs were taken to the field to induce the growth of flaxseeds and make them as big as the eggs (Kot San: 69).

Farmers in the Tarnów and Rzeszów regions used to wear gloves and a sheepskin coat while sowing oat (K 48 Ta-Rz: 51, cf. Niewiadomski 1999: 222). The symbolism behind the practice converges with the custom followed

during the *kusaki*. In the Pińczów region (the village of Samostrzałów), the woman who sowed flaxseeds had to wear a clean white shirt and a skirt in order for the flax to grow clean and beautiful. A similar custom is recorded in the Mazovia region, where farmers had to wear clean shirts while sowing:

> When farmers wear clean shirts, reduplication takes place. This means that vital energy is doubled: it comes not only from human strength but also from the energy comprised in the actual shirt. This energy is further passed on to the soil to make it more fertile. Shirts have to be clean, which indicates a metaphorical mapping between clean shirts and "clean grains". (Niewiadomski 1999: 227–228)

No less symbolic is the bodily contact between humans and the earth, as in the custom practised in the village of Korytnica, where "both men and women, while planting cabbage, pick the nettle stem and wedge it into the ground in the middle of the field; then they perch on the stem three times, saying: 'May the crops be as big as my bottoms'" (ZWAK 1885: 37). In another custom, "when two people plant cabbage, after the work one person knocks down the other. The person lying on the ground says: 'Grow, grow, little cabbage, be as big as a quarter of a bushel'" (ZWAK 1897: 22).

Another custom that portrays a bodily contact between a person and the earth is *oborywanie kozy* (lit. 'ploughing around the goat'), i.e. dragging a farmer on the ground around *koza*, a handful of grain that was left uncut. This was performed several times and was considered hilarious (cf. Bart PANLub 1: 481). Yet another custom, called *pielenie kozy* (lit. 'weeding out the goat'), is described thus: "We would cut out ears of grain and then tear straw out of the ground. In that place we would dig in the ground and this is how the grain was removed from the soil. Next, we would let the grain sow itself, which was to symbolise a good harvest the following year" (Bart PANLub 1: 481). In the light of these examples, the annual *dożynki* (the harvest festival) is not only a joyful moment to celebrate the end of harvest, but it may also be interpreted as a symbolic beginning of a new successful season (Bart PANLub 1: 481).

The customs of rolling around on the ground at the first spring thunder, perching on various objects, falling down into the furrows while planting cabbage seedling into the ground, or *oborywanie przepiórki* (lit. 'ploughing around the quail') / *oborywanie kozy* (lit. 'ploughing around the goat'), aimed to induce soil fertility via the human factor, i.e. by transferring human energy onto the soil, which brings benefit to people and the earth. Niewiadomski makes the following observation: "We experience multifarious results of the mutual relationship between people and the earth: women's reproductive forces are strengthened, the soil receives a measure of human vitality – thus, humans and nature unite" (Niewiadomski 1999: 19).

There was a common belief that fertility may be induced during family ceremonies. Such convictions were extremely popular e.g. in the Podhale region (southern Poland), where seeds of oat, barley, and flax were put into the shoes of the bride and groom before going to the wedding ceremony. In the village of Czarny Dunajec, after the bridal couple's blessing, the bride and groom were additionally sprinkled with holy water. Moreover, oat grains were scattered on the couple to bring happiness and prosperity "in such amounts as the amount of oat grains scattered, or the amount of morning dew" (Bieg Wes: 228). Oat seeds are conceptualised as rain and, through further semantic extension,

> ... as semen.[45] Whenever this symbolic rain falls on a woman, she immediately acquires additional reproductive power. Thus, a woman becomes a symbolic representation of the soil. In the rich repertoire of wedding traditions we find numerous analogies between human marriage and a symbolic cosmic and sacred marriage of heaven and earth. (Niewiadomski 1999: 28)

Fertility is also recalled in other rituals performed during the wedding ceremony, e.g. in wedding speeches:

(31) There is a road mended for you, sprinkled with green rue, covered with apples, with fir needles.[46]

Similar symbols are recalled during the act of handing over *rózga weselna* (the wedding twig) to the master of the wedding ceremony, and the groom's attempt to repurchase it. The bridesmaids would take the apples off the wedding twig and throw them at the newly-weds (Bar Pil: 134). Thus, the apples became the symbol of fertility and happiness of the bride and groom (Kow Lek: 171). In the regions of Nowy Sącz and Rzeszów, the apples were taken off from the wedding twig and thrown onto the bride's lap "to provide her with fertility, easier labour, and numerous offspring" (Ogrod Zwycz: 68).

In the Mazovia region, the newly-weds were walked to the barn with a "matrimonial bed" in it, made of unthreshed rye sheaves. As observed by Niewiadomski, the aim of this custom was to

[45] Barley seeds symbolise fertility not only with reference to people but also in other contexts. For instance, near Bartoszyce, it was believed that barley seeds may prove helpful at cow mating: "I don't remember that but I recall my mother telling me (and this she probably knew from her mother) that people used to roast barley seeds and then feed them to the cow that was to get pregnant. They were considered a kind of medicine. And the cow had to be fed with the roasted barley from an apron" (Bart Wąż: 267).

[46] "Jest (dla was) droga naprawiona, zieloną rutą posypana, jabłkami wybrukowana, jodłowymi szpilkami wyłożona." (Wisła 1893: 458)

accumulate vital forces in the human reproduction process. [This was thought to happen] thanks to correspondences between soil fertility and human fertility, whereby human procreation is bound up with the reproductive energy of the soil. Thus, the newly-weds become "infected with fertility", symbolised by grains, sheaves, and straw. (Niewiadomski 1999: 26, 27–28)

In many parts of Poland the newly married couple was welcomed "in a hairy way", i.e. by shaking hands covered with the tail of a sheepskin coat, which was to bring wealth and prosperity to the bride and groom. A sheepskin coat was a symbol of abundance and wealth, and the gesture was accompanied by saying:

(32) We welcome you "in a hairy way", let there be wealth! (Bieg Wes: 170)[47]

Similar customs were observed in the Pińczów region, where the newly-weds were supposed to shake hands with people through a handkerchief even two weeks after the wedding to avoid infertility in the future (Bieg Wes: 170).

4. Hindering fertility and inducing infertility

Poor harvest or infertility may be induced verbally in specific contexts. Particular magical powers were ascribed to the words uttered either during the transition between the old and the new year or at various rituals. In a 1980 recording from the villages of Skierbieszów and Zawada, both located near Zamość in South-Eastern Poland, carollers invoke evil against farmers unwilling to give money in return for a good word:

(33) And in this hut there are only penniless people. They ate all and gave us noting.
Don't let them have any rye or wheat,
The only thing they deserve is many brats.[48]

Infertility or crop failure could also be caused through various practices and gestures. Some of the examples include:

1. various attempts to hinder fertility: when a woman does not want to conceive soon after the wedding, she should carry a buttoned fastening underneath her girdle on the wedding day; afterwards, she should place the fastening under the pillow (Bieg Mat: 23–24, cf. Stomma 1986: 170);

[47] "Witamy kosmato, Niech będzie bogato!"

[48] "A w ty chałupce same gołodupce. / Wszystko pozjadali, a nam nic nie dali. / Żeby wam si ni rodziło ni żyto, ni pszynica, / tylko bachorów kupica." (Bart PANLub 1: 135)

2. a common belief that a pregnant woman badly affects vegetation period by inhibiting the growth of everything she touches (e.g. a pregnant woman is believed to cause crop failure upon walking across the field already sown; a pregnant woman is not allowed to leaven bread because the dough will not rise well; Kwaśniewicz 1981: 104);
3. a prohibition to hit the ground: the beaten ground will not produce crops; it is also prohibited to plough a field during Advent, or the ground will turn infertile; cf. "He who ploughs his field in Advent, makes it infertile for three years" (NKPP);[49] "The blessed field cannot be touched by any tool during Advent, or it will become infertile for seven years"[50] (K 48 Ta-Rz: 50).[51]

5. Cultural codes and their elements

The Polish folk data relating to the symbolism of fertility point to a certain verbal code, inseparable from other cultural codes. All these codes, as carriers of symbolic meanings, function interchangeably, replacing and complementing one another – this is summarised in Table 1.

Table 1. Cultural codes and their elements

Cultural code	Elements of the code	Function
material code	– the korovai and its decorations (apples) – the wedding twig adorned with apples – the "matrimonial bed" in the barn made of unthreshed rye sheaves	to induce reproductiveness and fertility in the newly-weds
verbal code	– wedding speech about the road covered with apples	
action code	– sprinkling holy water on the bride and groom and scattering oat grains on the bridal couple – throwing apples at the newly-weds – throwing apples onto the bride's lap – putting oat, barley, and flax seeds into the bride's shoes	
music, dance, and game code	– wedding games, e.g. dragging a raw egg through the groom's trouser leg, etc.	

[49] "Kto ziemię w adwent pruje, ta mu trzy lata choruje."

[50] "Ziemi świętej podczas adwentu już się nie ruszy (pługiem, bronami, łopatą), bo cierpieć będzie do lat siedmiu."

[51] This is consistent with a common Polish belief that "the field must have a rest in Advent and it cannot be woken up, touched, or disturbed in any way, or else it won't give crops" (Ogrod Zwycz: 9).

Cultural code	Elements of the code	Function
material code	– flax on the blessed candle	to induce flax harvest
action code	– jumping over the bonfire on St. John's Eve – women: jumping onto the tree trunk	
music, dance and game code	– dances and jumps during the *kusaki*	
material code	– putting raw eggs into seeds – adding eggshells of Easter eggs to the seeds – adding blessed herbs into the seeds on the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary (the Feast of Our Lady of Herbs)	to induce grain harvest
action code	– sprinkling the sower with holy water – sowing oat grains while wearing gloves and a sheepskin coat	
verbal code	– formulae used at Easter carolling, e.g. "Farmer, go out into the field…" – formulae used at *szczodraki* carolling, e.g. "We wish you happiness and health on St. Stephen's Day"	
personal and action code	– rolling around on the ground at the first spring thunder – knocking down people while planting cabbage – "ploughing around the quail" – *Mr. Zelman* game	to induce soil fertility; to strengthen "weak" soil with human vital forces
personal, action and temporal code	– rubbing the leaven into the fruit tree after Christmas Eve supper – scattering poppy onto fruit trees – hitting fruit trees with an axe after Christmas Eve supper – beating the apple tree with apple dumplings – covering the pear tree or apple tree with straw on Christmas Eve	to induce fertility in fruit trees
verbal code	– warnings expressed at fruit trees on Christmas Eve, e.g. "If you don't bear fruit, I'll cut you down"	

6. Concluding remarks

Three major conclusions can be drawn from the considerations above:

1. According to folk tradition, humans, and the universe constitute an integral whole: "the cosmos should be viewed as a 'living organism', with

people being its natural part" (Tomicki 1981: 31); "everyone remains in an intimate relationship with the external world" (Pawluczuk 1978: 85); "the people-world relationship concerns all aspects of life and is built upon a mutual agreement between humans and the cosmos" (Bartmiński 1988: 99); "[Human] life is homologised to cosmic life; [...] this cosmos becomes the paradigmatic image of human existence" (Eliade 1961: 167).

2. Human life in linked with the agrarian sphere, where both the vegetation period and the life cycle are placed within the same image schema.[52] Sexual intercourse and its consequences, widely discussed in the texts of Polish folklore, reflect basic farming practices, in particular those referring to ploughing and sowing. The pairings that constitute the so-called "fertility complex" include: male–ploughman/sower, phallus–plough, semen–grain, woman–earth (womb), child–crop.

3. There is a strong bond of solidarity between humans and nature, based on a mutual relationship: the power of nature is used by humans for procreation. In return, humans support nature with their vital forces at the solstice (Bartmiński 1986). Both humans and nature become indispensable components of the cosmic and human universum.

translated by Agnieszka Mierzwińska-Hajnos

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[52] I refer to but slightly modify Niewiadomski's (1999: 18) idea of the "fertility complex" schema.

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I. Research articles

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Katarzyna Prorok
(UMCS, Lublin, Poland)

Folk ways of augmenting the fecundity of plants. Green peas and cabbage*

With the examples of green peas and cabbage, two vegetables commonly grown and consumed in the Polish countryside in former times, the article discusses the folk ways of augmenting the fecundity of plants. The analysis is based on the plethora of 19th- and 20th-c. data (diverse texts of folklore, accounts of beliefs and practices) from the database of the Dictionary of Folk Stereotypes and Symbols. The actions designed to render cabbage heads big and hard, and pea pods full, were above all religious and/or magical in nature and were predominantly based on the creative power of language. The "vegetative force" derived from several spheres, among others the sphere of the sacred (God, Jesus, the Holy Mother, the saints cultivating the farmer's land and thus ensuring good harvest), the "cosmos" (e.g. stars and phases of the Moon, marking the favourable/unfavourable sowing time), the flora (other plants grown to turn away spells), humans and the human body (e.g. fertility dances that triggered and transmitted vital forces).

Key words: Polish folk culture, fecundity of plants, magical practices

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Nearly a hundred years ago Kazimierz Moszyński made the following observation concerning the cultivation of plants:

> Although the essence of growing crops is sowing or planting, cultivation usually involves additional treatment. In the process, the natural conditions of the environment are changed so that the plants can be protected, and their growth and fecundity is enhanced. They must be protected against wild animals and the plants that try to regain the land taken away from them by humans. And an enhancement of the growth and fertility of plants is, above all, a struggle against the impoverishment of soil. (Moszyński 1929: 1138)

In this context, the question arises how Polish country-dwellers of the past strived to enhance the growth and fecundity of their crops and how they protected them. I will address these issues with the examples of two vegetables, peas and cabbage – for centuries they belonged to the most important staple foods in the diet of Polish peasants, and a good harvest of these plants often protected allowed the farmers and their families to survive the winter.

Cabbage and peas were eaten (together and separately) both on an everyday basis and on special occasions, which is why they had become symbols of familiarity and native character. This is preserved in the following proverbs:

(1) When there is pea in the cottage and cabbage in the barrel, we won't suffer poverty, for cabbage is our hostess, and pea is our host. (NKKP)[1]

(2) Without peas and cabbage, a farmer sometimes has an empty stomach. (NKPP)[2]

Numerous references to these vegetables are also found in old ritual and magical practices, e.g. according to a 19th-c. record from the Podlasie region, the father, on returning home with his newly-baptised child, would put the child on the ground at the threshold and would say, beating lightly on the cushions that protected the child with a rod:

(3) And don't you go wandering around the village, and listen to your father and mother, and eat peas with cabbage – you'll be a good farmer. (Was Jag 112)[3]

In a New Year's speech, recorded by Aleksander Saloni in 1908, the author wishes the hosts a good harvest of peas and cabbage in the first

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[1] Polish orig.: "Kiedy jest tylko groch w chałupie, a kapusta w kłodzie, to bieda nie dobodzie, boć kapusta to nasza gospodyni, a groch to gospodarz."

[2] "Gospodarz bez grochu i kapusty miewa brzuch pusty."

[3] "A nie chodź po wsi, a słuchaj się ojca, matki, a jédz groch z kapustą – bedzies dobry gospodarz."

place, which shows how important the position of these foodstuffs was in the hierarchy of traditional dishes:[4]

(4) May the New Year bring happiness and health, may you enjoy a good harvest of cabbage and peas, rye as big as a trough, wheat as big as a glove, potatoes as big as stumps, broad beans as big as clogs, and barley as big as a horse. You have baked sweet rolls, so give some to us, too. (MAAE 1908: 116)[5]

A characteristic trait of this speech, whose aim was to bring a good harvest, is that it incorporates cabbage and peas into the context of the greeting formula side by side with the most important cereals, potatoes, and broad beans. This is connected with the fact that in carolling, we are dealing with the acting word, the word as the prime mover in enhancing vegetation, "encouraging" a good harvest for the coming year. Piotr Caraman observes that carols and greetings should be understood as "fulfilled wishes" (Caraman 1933: 186–187). Carolling was "originally an agrarian rite", which was "practised in the spring, before ploughing. It had the momentous task of guaranteeing a fully successful future harvest, and involved ceremonial ploughing and sowing accompanied by various greetings and other magic formulas" (Caraman 1933: 340–342; cf. Bartmiński 2002: 17–52).

To ensure a good harvest of plants, farmers used not only rituals involving action but also verbal practices. In discussing these customs, I will be using examples from the rich collection of nineteenth and early twentieth century data from the Dictionary of Folk Stereotypes and Symbols (SSSL), the volume devoted to plants. Unfortunately, this material is not "symmetrical" genre-wise: it is richer in the case of peas, which are mentioned in carols, wedding songs, legends and descriptions of practices. References to cabbage are mainly found in harvest-enhancing incantations and rituals. I have not found any songs or folk tales that would contain motifs of enhancing the fecundity of cabbage (except the above-mentioned greetings with a magical and vegetation-boosting function). The fact that references to peas appear in a more varied body of documents can be explained in two ways: firstly, peas were one of the oldest staple foods in the diet of Polish country-dwellers,[6] cf. the following riddle:

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[4] The collocation *kapusta i groch* 'cabbage and peas' appears in numerous variants of this speech. Sometimes *groch* also collocates with *pszenica* 'wheat', e.g. "Na szczęście, na zdrowie, na ten Nowy Rok, żeby się wam rodziła pszeniczka i groch, i żytko, i wszystko" (May the New Year bring happiness and health, may you enjoy a harvest of wheat and peas, and rye and all things nice; Kot Las: 159).

[5] "Na szczęście, na zdrowie, na ten Nowy Rok, niech sie wám tu rodzi kapusta i groch, zytko jak korytko, pszenica jak rękawica, ziémniáki jak pniáki, bób jak chodáki, a jęczmień jak koń. Piekliście tu szczodráki, bochnáki, dejcie tu i nám."

[6] According to Brückner (1970: 157), peas used to be an inseparable element of the

(5) What cereal is the oldest? Barley, because it has the longest moustache, and pea, because it is bald. (Sych SGKasz 5: 335)[7]

Secondly, it is itself a symbol of fecundity and has the power to increase the fertility of people, for example, Oskar Kolberg noted that the bride and groom after the blessing they received from their parents were showered with peas ("so that they should have as many offspring as there were pea grains") and wheat berries ("so that they should always have plenty of crops and bread") (K 28 Maz: 165). Cf. also the following remark:

> One of the most important features of legumes is their fecundity – from just one grain, there grows a vine with numerous pods containing many new seeds, which is a clear manifestation of the reproductive power of nature. (Kowalski 1998: 128)

This "reproductive power" is attributed to peas in a wedding song that features the archaic image of a hog digging in a patch of peas near a valley. The hog – a Solar animal – digs out golden grains from soil sown with peas, from which a goldsmith will make a golden cup for the bride and groom and their best men and maids of honour:[8]

(6) We sowed some peas at the valley,
and a hog came to dig in this pea patch.
It dug up a golden grain,
as big as a bucket.
What shall we do with this grain?
We shall take it to a goldsmith's shop.
What shall we have him cast from this grain?
Silver spoons – a golden cup.
Who shall drink from this cup?
The bride with the groomsmen
and the groom with the bridesmaids. (K 23 Kal: 169)[9]

In another version of this song, the gold peas are cast into a golden cup for the Lord Jesus and his angels:

dinner in the homes of old nobility, where to invite someone for peas meant as much as to "invite them to dinner".

[7] "Jakié zboże je nåstarszé? Jiczmin, bo må nadłĕgszi wąs i groch, bo je łĕsi."

[8] A similar motif is found in carols, in which the hog burrows under a fir tree and digs out a lump of gold. According to Bartmiński (2002: 246; cf. also SSSL 1(4): 185–186), this is a poetic symbol of the rebirth of the sun after the December 24 winter solstice.

[9] "Zasialiśmy grosku przy przyłozku, przy dolinie, / a w tym grosku wieprzak ryje. / Wyrył ci on złote ziarno, / a to ziarno zeby wiadro. / Gdziez to ziarno podziejemy, / do złotnika zawieziemy. / Cóz z tego ziarna lać każemy? / Śrybne łyze – złoty kielich. / Kto tym kielichem pijać będzie? / Młoda panna z drużebkamy [drużbiczkami], / a młody pan z druhenkamy."

(7) I sowed peas at the valley,
and a hog came to dig in the peas,
and it dug out a golden grain.
Pick it up, young lady.
And from this pea, (we shall make) a golden cup.
Who shall drink from this cup?
The Lord Jesus himself when he comes to pay his Christmas visit,
the Lord Jesus with his angels,
so let us come to the peas with our spoons. (K 23 Kal: 156)[10]

Pea has "reproductive power" here and the gold dug up from soil further enriches the notion of fertility with a connotation of wealth and sacredness (SSSL 1(4): 180). The joint drinking from the golden cup, on the other hand, is a symbol of human communion (in the original versions) or a mystical communion (secondary versions) with divine persons. The gist of both versions of this motif is elevation and participation in a sanctifying feast (SSSL 1(4): 265). The variant of the song sung at weddings ends in an invitation to join in the eating of peas ("Let us come to the peas with our spoons"). Peas were in fact one of the main dishes served in the past at a rural wedding – a pea dish was brought in solemnly to the room where the dinner was served, and the wedding guests danced with bowls filled with it and sang songs to the pea, telling its "story".[11] Oskar Kolberg gives the following description of a Mazovian custom:

(8) Dinner is served. When the time comes for the peas, a wreath is made of nuts wrapped in paper and a couple of spoons, bowls up, are stuck into a large densely-cooked peas dish placed on the table. The dish is covered with a white handkerchief, the nut wreath is placed on its top and the following song is sung:

When they ploughed for the peas,
They called upon the Lord Jesus.
When they sowed the peas,
They called upon the Lord Jesus.
When they harrowed the peas,
They called upon the Lord Jesus.

The song continues in this same vein, saying that the peas were picked, taken into the barn, threshed, winnowed, brought in, sorted, and stored – with each activity the Lord Jesus was called upon. And finally:

This pea with parsnip, good Mary with a pillow.

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[10] "Siałam grosek przy dolinie, / a w tym grosku wieprzak ryje, / i wyrył ci złote ziarno, podnieś-ze go, moja panno. / A z tego prosku [groszku? KP] złoty kielich, / kto tym kielichem pijać będzie, / da sam Pan Jezus po kolędzie, / sam Pan Jezus z aniołkami, / my do grosku z łyzeckami."

[11] Cf. the Bulgarian "kolach (*колач*) story" (Carman 1933: 174–175), and the Polish "bread story" (Bartmiński 2002: 266–270).

And this pea with a lily, good Mary with a feather quilt.

Best man, are you dumb? Take the nut wreath not the one from rue.[12]
The best man takes the wreath and along with the piece of cloth takes it off the cooked peas, and then those gathered at the wedding table take the spoons and eat the peas. (K 26 Maz: 184)

In the "pea story" presented here, an important role is played by the Lord Jesus, who is called upon for help. Another version of this song, also written down by Kolberg, features the Good Mother of God, morning dew and a valley:

(9) Oh, pea! Oh, pea! You've been sown by the pit, by the valley, by (the shrine of) the Good Mother of God. (K 26 Maz: 98)[13]

Janina Szymańska gives the following commentary to this song:

These designations are symbolic and refer to the life-giving power of water and fertile valleys and the protective function of the Virgin Mary. These three symbols – cosmic and religious – protect, in a magical way, the power of the "wedding peas". (Szymańska 2013: 555)

And here is yet another version, recorded in the Podlasie region, in which peas are cultivated with the assistance of God, the Blessed Virgin, all the saints and morning dew:

(10) Oh, pea, Oh pea,
They have sown thee
After the morning dew was off,
With the Lord, the Blessed Virgin Mary
And all the saints.[14]

In volume 28 (on Mazovia) of Kolberg's collected works, the song about peas is accompanied by an additional description of a magical practice used when eating peas at a wedding:

(11) The bridesmaids and the groomsmen, while partaking of the peas, sometimes slap each other on the faces with their spoons amidst much rejoicing, and they say they are doing this so that the married couple should always have enough peas to have their faces smeared with it. (K 28 Maz: 180–181)

[12] "Na ten grosecek orano, / Pana Jezusa wzywano. / Ten grosecek siejono, / Pana Jezusa wzywano. / Ten grosecek wlecono, / Pana Jezusa wzywano. [...] Ten grosecek z pietruska, dobra Marysia z poduska. / A ten grosecek z lilija, dobra Marysia z pierzyna. / Starsy druzebka, cys głupi? Wianek z orzechów, nie z ruty."

[13] "O rosie! O rosie! [o grosie, grochu? KP] Siano cię po rosie, / przy dole, przy dolinie, / przy Mateńce Bożej."

[14] "Oj, ᵘo rosie, ᵘo rosie, / siano grosek po rosie, / z Panåm Bogåm, z Najświątsą Panną, / ze wsystkåmy świątåmy."

The participation of divine persons and the "cosmos" in the cultivation of peas and the eating of peas at the wedding was believed to guarantee a good harvest and, at the same time, was a harbinger of a future in which the young couple would never run out of this foodstuff. A similar situation can be recognised in New Year's wishing carols in which guests from heaven work the farmer's field, with pea being one of the crops they sow. Bartmiński says:

> An ideal situation, desired by the addressee, is presented as something that has already become reality. An intentional wish is hidden under a statement, as in: "We wish you the kind of life we sing about, so may Lord Jesus himself help you work the land and bless you". (Bartmiński 2002: 37)

A similar technique is used to construct images in a song about the golden plough, in which Lord Jesus together with St. John and St. Peter plough a farmer's field, and the Blessed Virgin brings them breakfast:

(12) They sat down to breakfast, and started to talk,
Started to talk about what they should sow.
What shall we sow in this sacred soil?
Rye and wheat and oats and corn.
Millet and Tartary buckwheat and a measure of peas.
There will be reapers there, all of them yeomen,
There will be sheaves aplenty and stacks aplenty. (Kaz Nuty 1994: 33)[15]

The golden plough here symbolises supernatural power and the sacredness of farmer's work (Niewiadomski 1992: 59–70; Bartmiński 2002: 232). By the same token, the measure of peas sown on sacred land is also blessed. In another carol, God summons the farmer because a hundred heaps of peas have grown in the latter's field. "A hundred heaps" is a magical hyperbolic formula. Pea is mentioned here among basic cereals, such as rye, wheat, barley, millet, and buckwheat (and is itself sometimes categorised as a cereal):

(13) Good evening, good host! To you,
The Lord God is calling on you to come and be joyful.
A hundred heaps of rye have grown in your field,
May God give you happiness and health in this house.
[and so on in subsequent stanzas:]
A hundred heaps of wheat have grown in your field...
A hundred heaps of barley have grown in your field...
A hundred heaps of millet have grown in your field...

[15] "Śniadać posiadali, tak se rozmawiali, / tak se rozmawiali, co będziemy siali? / Co będziemy siali na tej świętej roli: / żyto i pszenice, owies, kukurydze. / Proso i tatarke, no ji grochu miarke. / Będo tam żniwiarze same gospodarze, / będzie snop przy snopie i kopa przy kopie."

A hundred heaps of buckwheat have grown in your field...
A hundred heaps of peas have grown in your field. (K 56 RuśC: 131)[16]

Pea also appears among the many crops that the Lord Jesus puts on a farmer's field. There are, however, so many of them that e.g. Jan Świętek limits himself to citing just the first two stanzas of the song:

(14) The Lord Jesus walks around his field,
And gives to him, hey, gives to him!
He [Jesus] stands him rye in three rows
In the field, hey, in the field!
Masters, Brethren, do not envy him
What I have given him.
Happiness and health – may the good farmer enjoy them in his home! (Święt Nadr: 72)[17]

In the second stanza, wheat takes the place of rye, and then the author only mentions the crops that appear later: barley, oats, millet, foxtail, Tartary buckwheat, corn, spelt, hemp, flax, potatoes, peas, beans, cabbage, rutabaga, beets, kohlrabi, turnip, onion, garlic, parsley, and lettuce. The song appears to be just an ordinary enumeration that can contain anything, with peas mentioned only in the thirteenth, less important stanza. Caraman, however, assigns a deeper meaning to this enumeration:

This Polish carol [...] points clearly to the belief in the necessity of enumerating all the kinds of crops there are, because leaving out any product could lead to a poor harvest. Indeed, the carol, which due to the extended enumeration seems long, is in fact very concise as it consists of only a few meaningful lines, which perform the function of a magical formula. The formula is repeated separately for each type of crop so as to attract magical powers to it, hence the two forms of repetition: stanzas and enumerations. In carols of this type, enumeration has the same purpose as in incantations, e.g. when chasing away a disease, one enumerates all body parts. Care is taken not to omit a single one because the disease that has been driven could take refuge in the part that has not been mentioned. (Caraman 1933: 465)

Also folk prose features motifs of divine intervention in the fecundity of plants. There is a legend, for example, which has it that peas were created from the tears of the Virgin Mary weeping over starving people:

[16] "Dobry wieczór, panie gospodarzu, do ciebie, / woła cię Pan Bóg na poradeczek do siebie. / Urodziło ci się sto kup żyta na polu, / daj że ci, Boże, szczęścia i zdrowia w tym domu. / Urodziło ci się sto kup pszenicy... / Urodziło ci się sto kup jęczmienia... / Urodziło ci się sto kup prosa na polu... / Urodziło ci się sto kup hreczki na polu..."

[17] "Chodzi Pánjezus po jego polu, / daje mu, héj daje mu! / Stawiá mu zyto trzema rzędoma na polu, héj na polu! / Panowie braciá, nie zázdroście mu, com mu dáł. / Scęście i zdrowie – gospodarzowi w jego dom!"

(15) God sent famine on people as a punishment for their sins, and nothing could have moved Him; then, the Mother of God began to weep, and Her tears fell to the earth and turned into peas that people gathered and ate. God took pity on people, who henceforth began to sow peas and called them the tears of the Virgin Mary. (PSL 1994 (3–4): 105–106)

In another legend, recorded by Kolberg in the Poznań region, pea grows miraculously inspired by a monk's prayer and by the starry sky:

(16) A monk stayed overnight in a farmer's household but he preferred to sleep in the stable with the farmhand. The friar went to the stable, slept there, and woke up; it could have been midnight or one o'clock. And the frost was horrible, the sky was full of stars, and it was snowing. So, goes out the friar from the stable, stands there in the farmyard, looks up, looks at the sky quite densely freckled with the stars and says: oh, dear God, if only someone sowed peas in this very hour, what peas they would be – they wouldn't be able to pick them all and their threshing floor would be too small to contain all the grains. The farmhand hears the words and sows a sackful of peas. And when the time came for the peas to bloom, they grew so densely that if someone had rolled an egg on them, it wouldn't have fallen to the ground. And when the farmhand cut the peas during the harvest, he filled the barn with the peas alone, so that he had no space for the other crop. The farmer was glad to see that and said that one always should believe in such things. (K 14 Poz: 161–162)

Just like peas, the stars are small and there are many of them, so the magic works here through similarity: the sky supports and nourishes the earth. A similar principle lies at the root of folk riddles in which pea is often a counterpart of stars, e.g.

(17) Roch [a name] walked along; he spilt some peas; the moon knew it but said nothing; the sun rose and picked them up. [i.e., stars] (ZWAK 1884: 322)[18]

(18) I laid the sheet, poured peas onto it and put a piece of bread there. [i.e., the sky, the stars, the moon] (ZWAK 1892: 208)[19]

In one of the riddles, cabbage appears alongside peas as an image of the full moon:

(19) A head of cabbage among peas. [i.e., the moon and the stars] (ZWAK 1882-1814)[20]

There are also numerous examples of ritual and magical practices performed to enhance a good harvest of peas and cabbage. On the one hand, these practices are growth-encouraging actions (verbal and physical, orders and prohibitions) whose goal is to make peas grow lush and with pods filled with many grains, and cabbage to form large, round, firm heads because

[18] "Sed Roch, ozsypáł groch, misiąc wiedziáł nie powiedziáł, słońce wstało, poźbirało."

[19] "Posłałem prześcieradło, nasypałem grochu, położyłem chleba kawałeczek."

[20] "Pomiędzy grochem główka kapusty."

(20) A human head can be empty but a cabbage head cannot. (Sych SGKasz 2: 134)[21]

On the other hand, they are protective actions intended to keep these vegetables safe from bad weather, vermin, or the influence of supernatural forces.

Incantations to promote a good harvest of cabbage and peas were recited already at Christmas Eve vigil supper, during which these vegetables were served as basic dishes. Jan Kantor describes the following custom:

(21) Before the first meal is served, which is peas or peas with cabbage, the host takes from a bowl (or plate) a spoonful of peas, puts them on the window sill and calls out to the wolf, knocking on the window pane: "Wolf, wolf, come to the peas: If you don't come to the peas now, don't come until the New Year". (Kantor)

Often, instead of peas, shredded and cooked cabbage was used, which was thrown into each corner of the room, while wolves were called on not to do damage on the farm.[22] In many villages, when people ate cabbage with peas, they would grab one another by the head saying:

(22) Form nice pods, pea; form nice heads, cabbage; may the peas grow clean (of vermin) and may caterpillars not eat the cabbage". (MAAE 1914: 218).[23]

A similar custom is described by Seweryn Udziela:

(23) When they eat cabbage, the host hits his neighbour at the table lightly on the head and says: "Form nice heads, little cabbage, do", and the other household members do the same. When they eat round peas, they pull one another by the hair, saying: "Form nice pods, little pea, do". The host then takes a spoonful of peas and, throwing it outside the window, says: "Here, wolf, have a spoonful of peas, and don't come to us until after New Year's Day". (in ZWAK 1890: 39)

Wilhelm Gaj-Piotrowski notes that in the area of Rozwadów, "during Christmas Eve supper, people would unexpectedly beat one another on the forehead with spoons, believing that this encouraged cabbages to make

[21] "Pusto może bëc w lëdzkiė głowie, ale niė w kapustowė."

[22] Caraman notes that Belarusians had the custom of inviting frost during Christmas Eve supper, Romanians invited hail, "and in some villages, both Slavs and Romanians invited wild animals, the wolf and the bear, so that they wouldn't kidnap cattle, which was especially the case in herding areas. The meaning of these spells, which have an animist-anthropomorphic basis, is clear. They were intended as a favour to hail, frost, or other anthropomorphised natural phenomena which could do damage to crops, fruit trees [. . .] or [as a favour to] various dangerous animals. By inviting them to the Christmas Eve feast, people wanted to appease them and render them harmless throughout the following year" (Caraman 1933: 417).

[23] "Strączaj się groszku, składaj się kapusto, by groch rodził się czysty, a gąsienice, żeby nie jadły kapusty" (from Ostrów).

heads as big and round as the human head" (Gaj Rozw: 32). As in the case of the legend cited earlier, what is at work here is the magic of similarity – the similarity of twining pea vines to hair and cabbage to the human head. Words, which themselves have agency, are here reinforced by action (or the other way round), and all this happens at a unique, sacred time of the year.

Another well-known Christmas Eve custom was the throwing of peas against a cottage wall or the ceiling. It was believed that the more pea grains stuck to the wall or ceiling, the larger the harvest of peas would have been in the coming year (ŁSE 1961: 187) or that the peas would have grown taller:

(24) In our village, it was only at Christmas time, when we were having Christmas Eve Supper, that we threw peas at the wall and at the ceiling so that the peas should grow large. (Nieb Przes: 241)

Similarly, Stanisław Dworakowski reports:

> In the village of Malec, near Ciechanowiec, household members took handfuls of roast peas from a clay bowl and ate, and the grandfather, who was the eldest member of the family, threw fistfuls of peas around the whole room, so that peas should grow well. (Dworakowski 1964: 37)

He then explains this custom as follows:

> The tossing of peas, *kutia* [a traditional dish made from wheatberries, poppy seeds and honey; translator's note] or kissel jelly [a fruit dish thickened with potato starch; translator's note] up in the air was a magical vegetation-promoting ritual. The ideology of this ritual goes back to the times when today's Christmas Eve supper was the All Souls' Day feast. Through realistic gestures and wishes made at the feast, the living drew the attention of their dead ancestors to the most important problems of their existence, as if asking them in this way to make those wishes come true. In these circumstances, the wishes and gestures made became, owing to the intervention of the dead, a kind of magical spells. (Dworakowski 1964: 37)

As for cabbage, it was customary, for example in Podlasie, for a farmer's wife to throw it on the floor on Christmas Eve, "so that it should not send up a flower stalk but form tight heads" (Szym Podl 1: 355). In the village of Charzewice, household members who were eating cooked cabbage on Christmas Eve were warned not to shake it off their spoons or not to brush aside the protruding shreds from their spoons: "Don't touch it, let it dangle". A failure to do so could arouse the cabbage's "counter-reaction" in the new year, leading to a poor harvest (Gaj Rozw: 31–32). An interesting custom prevailed in Gorlice, where the first course of Christmas Eve supper was sauerkraut served straight from the barrel. When it was being eaten, the family and guests at the table had to twist their faces in disgust to deter caterpillars and other vermin from feeding on cabbage plants (Kul Rop: 261).

A good harvest of cabbage was also in focus during Shrove Tuesday celebrations:

(25) On Shrove Tuesday evening, women gathered in one house, where, on the pretence of doing some needlework, they held a party with vodka and dancing. They danced for a good harvest, for flax, for cabbage, for hemp. And the woman who tired herself out more, sweated more, and jumped higher, would have a better harvest. When it came to dancing for cabbage, the women had to be careful to dance around in an even circle, because should any of them have stepped inside the circle, the cabbage would have been wormy. And should any of the women have danced on the side, the cabbage would have been coarse and would have bolted. (Nieb Przes: 232, report from Mińsk Mazowiecki, Grabianów)

A similar description is given by Jan Pośpiech, who writes about dances[24] accompanying the celebration of the so-called King on Horseback, which took place on Shrove Tuesday in the village of Solarnia in Silesia:

The musicians began to play, the horse was prancing and frolicking and the dancers in fancy dresses danced with the members of the household to ensure good fortune and fertility of the homestead. [. . .] There was a custom of ordering, for an extra charge, of special ceremonial dances for cabbage, for potatoes, for mushrooms, for blueberries, etc., with the host uttering the magic formula: "May I prosper this year". The dances and prances that were then performed had a specific purpose: they were supposed to magically cause the plants to grow large and tall. (Pośp Śląsk: 139–140)

Another type of harvest-promoting practice involved appropriate preparation of the fields for sowing. Consider the following custom regarding the growing of peas, celebrated in Masuria:

Ash burnt during the period between Christmas and Twelfth Night, added to a small amount of corn seeds, is sprinkled in spring and autumn onto soil in the shape of a cross, with the following words being uttered: "In the name of God, the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit". Then the harvest will be good. Such a cross is only made on a field intended for the sowing of peas. (Wisła 1892: 773, the village of Dąbrówno)

Henryk Biegeleisen describes an even more archaic practice:

[24] Henry Biegeleisen looks for the origins of harvest-encouraging dances in pre-Christian rites: "Women in Red Ruthenia dance in the village inn, leaping high into the air so that their flax would grow tall. A similar dance, performed in the carnival by married women in the Czech Republic and Germany for flax to grow beautiful, is a remnant of pre-Christian rituals, during which dance – as is still the case in half-savage tribes – was one of the important component acts of a cult celebrated to beg gods to bless the family, the homestead, and the fields. People danced and pranced in the belief that this would encourage a good harvest, and the higher they leapt, the taller their flax, cabbage and corn would grow. Dancing brought in prosperity and happiness, and was pleasing to gods. Dances are today held by ancient organisations of women and youths who celebrate this cult, just as the Ancient peoples of Greece and Rome used to and as some barbaric peoples are still observed to do" (Bieg Koleb: 195).

[I]n Masuria (Prussia), a custom dating from remote antiquity had survived up to the 19th century: it involved a naked woman or one carrying her shirt in her hands, walking around a field intended for the sowing of peas, to protect the peas from vermin. (Bieg Lecz: 294)

Appropriate preparation of the seeds for sowing was also important: in some regions, farmers used pea grains that they had taken in their pockets to church on St. Stephen's Day (December 26) and thrown at the priest, to commemorate the stoning of the martyr saint – these grains, when sown, were supposed to give a good yield of peas (ZWAK 1890: 42). To protect peas against vermin, the grains intended for sowing was enriched with ash from burnt Easter palms (Stel Pom 1933: 135) or with crushed leftovers of food blessed on Holy Saturday (Karw Dobrz: 198). Farmers also abstained from eating peas on the day of sowing (MAAE 1900: 108) and did not break wind while sowing so as to keep vermin away from the peas (Wisła 1892: 773). Peasants also respected the unwritten law whereby a farmer should not give or sell pea grains to another person before they had sown their own field – if he did, his blessing was given away (Wisła 1892: 773). In the case of cabbage, the various practices were mostly aimed at protecting the plants from vermin (especially caterpillars): cabbage seeds were soaked in wormwood juice (Hens Wiedz: 153), passed through a gut-casing taken off Easter sausage blessed in church (Udz Biec: 146) or through a hole made in the head of a herring blessed on Holy Saturday (MAAE 1904: 44).

As for the sowing and planting, it was important for cabbages to be planted at the right time – the most appropriate dates were holidays or days dedicated to particular saints; cf. the following proverbs:

(26) He who sows peas on Good Tuesday, will gather a sackful for each pot of grains. (NKPP)[25]
(27) Plant cabbage seedlings on Good Friday, and the vermin will not touch them. (NKPP)
(28) Consider this, brethren farmers, Saint Joseph [March 19] tells you to sow peas. (NKPP)[26]
(29) Benedict [March 21] goes to the field with peas, Wojciech (Adalbert) [April 23] with oats, Mark [April 25] with flax, and Philip [May 1] with Tartary buckwheat. (NKPP)[27]
(30) Sow peas on St. Mark's Day [April 25], and you'll harvest a full measure. (Nieb Przes: 26)[28]

[25] "Kto groch sieje w Wielki Wtorek, za garniec zbierze worek."
[26] "Uważcie se, gospodarze: święty Józef groch siać każe."
[27] "Benedykt w pole z grochem, Wojciech z owsem jedzie, Marek ze lnem, a Filip tatarkę wywiedzie."
[28] "Siej groch świntego Marka, to bedzie go połna miarka."

(31) On St. Matthias' Day [February 24], sow a lot of cabbage. (Stel Pom 1933: 97)[29]

(32) Don't sow cabbage on St. Sophia's Day [May 15], cause it will rot away. (ZWAK 1882: 235)[30]

Proverbs also speak of changes occurring in nature that mark the time of sowing:

(33) When the oak breaks into leaves, then you start to sow peas. (NKPP)[31]

(34) When cranes fly for the first time, then it is right to sow peas. (NKKP)[32]

The time of sowing also depended on the weather; for example, pea was sown when the wind blew from the west and south, i.e. from the "soft side", so that the peas should be easy to cook, or when there were little bright clouds on a clear sky (ŁSE 1963: 122). Cabbage was best sown during a fine, gentle, misty rain, a kind of drizzle – actually its name, *kapuśniak/kapuśniaczek*, lit. 'cabbage soup', derives exactly from this tradition (Szym SDom 3: 368). Farmers also believed that the harvest of peas and cabbage was contingent upon the appearance of the stars and the moon at the time of sowing.[33] It was recommended that peas be sown at night, when the sky was lit by numerous stars, because then the plants would grow lush and abundant (Kul Wiel 3: 512) or at the full moon, so that the pods would be full of plump seeds (K 48 Ta-Rz: 51). Sown at the new moon, pea plants were supposed to grow younger every new moon, never to ripen at all (K 15 Poz: 129). Cabbage, in contrast, was best planted at the new moon, because it would then be firm and would not rot in the barrel; sown when the crescent was waning, it would rot in the field, and when put into barrels, it would go soft and rot (OrL 1935: 158). People in the countryside also observed various bans regarding the time of sowing, e.g. pea was not sown on days whose name contained the letter "r", because this would encourage worms (Polish: *robaki*) to feed inside the pods (K 3 Kuj: 94). Cabbage was not planted on the day of a funeral, especially if the deceased had been old, sick, or consumptive, because then the cabbage would dry out completely (Dworakowski 1964: 192), etc. Finally, large importance was attached to the very moment of sowing or planting. Here, the most interesting are the

[29] "Św. Maciej, dużo kapusty nasiej."

[30] "Nie sadź kapusty na św. Zofiję, bo ci kapusta zgnije."

[31] "Gdy pęka dębina, groch się siać zaczyna."

[32] "Jak pierwszy raz lecą żurawie, wtedy się groch godzi siać prawie."

[33] According to Ewa Masłowska, this is related to the belief that the moon governs the underworld and everything that is yet unborn, which means it also affects the development of plants (Masłowska 2014: 46–48).

numerous incantations associated with cabbage, which combine words with magical actions (cf. Niebrzegowska-Bartmińska 2007: 187–194):[34]

(35) When sowing cabbage, the village women take a stinging nettle (*Urtica urens L.*) and a rock in their hands, then stick the nettle in the ground at the front of the patch and weigh it down with the rock, saying: "Just as this nettle takes root everywhere, let the cabbage do so too; just as this rock is hard, let the heads of cabbage be such". (ZWAK 1882: 235)

(36) When cabbage is planted, a passer-by says: "Let the soul rock back and forth, the seedlings are coming up". The person planting the cabbage answers: "This has happened to me already, may I see a hundred heads of cabbage". The passer-by then takes a handful of sand or dirt from the path and throws it on the patches to keep the caterpillars away. (ZWAK 1885: 36)

(37) In Korytnica, there is a custom connected with the planting of cabbage that involves a man or a woman sticking a nettle in the middle of the patch and saying: "Let the loot I get here be as big as my rear". (Hens Roś: 39)[35]

(38) In Beisce, if two people plant cabbage..., they wrestle one another when the job is done; the person who has been knocked to the ground, remains seated or kneeling and utters the following words: "Grow little cabbage, grow as big as a quarter". (ZWAK 1897: 22)

(39) They thrust a horse's skull mounted on a pole in the cabbage patch to protect the vegetables from a curse cast by a malevolent glare, and they accompany this action with the following incantation: "Lest bad, hostile people should curse our cabbage, we need to attend to it, put a dead horse here close-by".[36] A dead horse's head, and generally skulls and remains of dead people or animals, have the magic power of bringing fertility and happiness. (Bieg Lecz: 351)

Other typically magical practices employed when planting cabbage included: carrying the seedlings intended for planting on a white plate, so that the cabbage should grow white (Wisła 1901: 180); clutching one's head while planting so that the heads of cabbage would grow large (Wit Baj: 155); tumbling to the ground on a cabbage patch so that the cabbage would grow so large that its heads would topple over (Wisła 1901: 180); making nests in the patches and putting eggs into them, so that the cabbage would grow into huge heads (Nieb Przes: 242); burying eggs in furrows so that cabbage stalks would be as white as egg shells (Fed Żar: 278). On leaving the field in the evening, peasants often thrust the stake that they had previously used to make holes in the ground for planting the seedlings, in the furrow with the tiny cabbage plants, so that the cabbage would grow as tall as that stake (ŁSE 1963: 122).

[34] In the dictionary *Slavyanskye drevnosti*, incantations are defined as "short folklore texts, serving as magical means of obtaining a desired thing in therapeutic, protecting, fertility-related, and other rituals" (Tolstaya 1999: 239, quoted from: Niebrzegowska-Bartmińska 2007: 187).

[35] "Niech będą takie łupy, jak moje dupy."

[36] "Źli ludzie zaciekli, by nam kapustę nie urzekli, trza, byśmy ją opatrzyli, zdechłego konia tu blisko wstawili."

Historical sources record several dozen other practices related to further cultivation of peas and cabbage, their harvesting and storage – too numerous to mention in this article. In general terms, these were rituals intended to protect the plants from adverse weather and pests. For example, to protect peas from lightning, farmers drove wicker poles stripped of bark into a pea patch, so that lightning should not burn the flowers (Udz Biec: 146). Cabbages had to be protected against caterpillars (variously called *gąsienica*, *gąska*, *liszaj*, or *lis*). To keep those pests away from their plants, peasants commonly left various sacramentals in cabbage patches: Easter palms, shells from Easter eggs, twigs from Corpus Christi altar decorations, or herbs blessed on Assumption Day (Our Lady of the Herbs Day, August 15). On St. John's Eve and St. John's Day, girls gathered around cabbage patches, carrying burning torches and singing:

(40) Go away foxes, or I'll burn your ears; go away moths to the Świątniki field. (ŁSE 1962: 139)[37]

Farmers used to bury a crayfish in a patch of cabbage (MAAE 1904: 37); they sprinkled furrows with rue juice (ZWAK 1895: 63); the plants were brushed with a broom that had previously been used to sweep a room after a death (Bieg Śmier: 107); cabbage plants were sprinkled with pulverised remains of the first pierid butterfly of the season (Kul Rop: 87). If the caterpillars were already feeding on cabbage, it was advisable to bite one of them in half and put it on a cabbage plant to deter the other pests (Wisła 1899: 51); cabbage leaves were also sprinkled with a decoction of chicken manure, or chicken manure was burnt on windy days in places where the largest numbers of caterpillars (or aphids) were found, so that smoke would spread over the whole field (Święt Nadr: 3), etc.

* * *

The analysis of extensive documentation shows that the fecundity of peas and cabbage was affected by various spheres of human existence, among others:

1. The sphere of the sacred: God, Jesus, Virgin Mary, the saints, perceived not only as divine guardians from heaven, whom one asks for a blessing, intercession or patronage, but also as persons who, due to the creative power of language, "step down" from heaven to cultivate the land with the farmers and so help them obtain an abundant harvest. The sacred realm of human existence also encompassed holidays and days dedicated to particular saints, associated with specific practices and sacramentals, such as

[37] "Uciekojcie lisy, opole wom usy, uciekojcie mole na świątnickie pole."

Easter palms, blessed Easter eggs, crumbled leftovers from the Easter food basket added to the sowing seeds or plugged into the soil.

2. The cosmos, e.g. the stars or the phases of the moon, which defined what time was favourable/unfavourable for sowing.

3. Other plants or animals, e.g. nettle planted together with cabbage or a horse's skull thrust on a pole into patches of cabbage to reverse a hex.

4. The human being and the human body as a source of "vegetative power": in the case of cabbage, references were made to the head (shape, hardness, and size) and buttocks (size) and in the case of peas – to hair (length, the curledness). This sphere also included dances for a good harvest performed to release vital power and impart it to the plants.

When looking at these issues from the perspective of cultural codes, as discussed by Niebrzegowska-Bartmińska (2016), one notices that one function – here the fecundity-related function of cabbage and peas – can be expressed through several codes. The two main codes used in the material studied are the verbal code (manifested mainly in New Year speeches, carols, and songs to peas) and the action code (the numerous ritual-plus-magical vegetation-enhancing practices), which are sometimes combined together (e.g. in incantations recited during the planting of cabbage). Other codes found in the body of texts being analysed include the music and dance code (e.g. dances to the cabbage), the material code (e.g. putting sacramentals on vegetable patches), the temporal code (e.g. associated with the time of sowing), the locative code (e.g. performing practices in the field where the plants have been sown or planted), and indirectly also the personal code (e.g. the tossing of peas on Christmas Eve was a privilege of the host, while the tossing of cabbage and most of the work related to cabbage were the tasks of the hostess).

But to what extent were the methods of enhancing the fecundity of plants discussed here actually effective? In the passage quoted in the beginning, Moszyński observes that "an enhancement of the growth and fertility of plants is, above all, a struggle against the impoverishment of soil" (Moszyński 1929: 1138). However, the data discussed in this study do not confirm this observation. The texts contain very few references to or recommendations concerning the actual use of fertilisers to enrich soil, e.g. "Peas should be sown on very old manure" (ŁSE 1961: 28) or "Cabbage calls for dung" (Szym SDom 3: 368). It is clearly seen that the folk ways of enhancing the fecundity of plants were primarily religious and/or magical in nature and were largely based on verbal actions. As such, they are difficult to judge in terms of effectiveness.

translated by Klaudia Wengorek-Dolecka

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I. Research articles

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Zuzanna Krótki
(University of Silesia, Katowice, Poland)

From the history of Polish lexical items *kabała* 'Kabbalah/cabala, future-telling', *stawiać kabałę* 'to tell future', and others*

The article discusses semantic shifts in the Polish lexical item *kabała* 'Kabbalah/cabala' and related units: *kabalistyka* 'Kabbalism', *kabalista* 'Kabbalist, fortune-teller', *wpaść w kabałę* 'get oneself into a bad fix', *stawiać kabałę* 'to tell future'. With time, these items became dissociated from their primary meanings and changed the semantic domain from religious (or even mystical) to colloquial. The study shows the origin and the paths of semantic development of these word-forms, as well as transformations in the linguistic awareness (worldview) of the speakers of Polish.

Key words: evolution of meaning, semantic shift, history of Polish, phraseology, *kabała*

The Polish word *kabała*, recorded since mid-15th c. (*SBań*), comes from the Hebrew *quabbālā* 'that which has been accepted', 'love received', or 'tradition' (Kopaliński 2006: 495–496). Originally, the word denoted a doctrine[1] that was a combination of mystical and esoteric motifs.[2] The goal

* The article appeared in Polish as "Z historii polskich jednostek leksykalnych: *kabała*, *stawiać kabałę* i podobne" in *Etnolingwistyka* 28, pp. 245–255. The present English translation has been financed by the Ministry of Science and Higher Education, project titled "English edition of the journal *Etnolingwistyka. Problemy języka i kultury* in electronic form" (no. 3bH 15 0204 83).

[1] Although in contemporary Polish the word is capitalised when it is used in this meaning, I will not be capitalising it – consistently – in the present work. In the light of its polysemic nature, the introduction of two orthographic forms would be a misguided decision.

[2] However, Jewish mysticism and Kabbalah are not the same, despite what is suggested in some sources (e.g. Mopsik 2001: 10).

of this philosophy, immensely popular in mediaeval Europe, was to elevate humans onto a higher, more perfect stages in their development. Kabbalah encouraged one to live according to the rules of the so-called "Tree of Life" (*Sephirot*), which showed the way for the human soul to ascend and for God to descend down twenty-two tree limbs linked with ten spheres (Scholem 1987: 18; Lancaster 2006: 37; Zalewski 2000: 3).

A significant component of this mediaeval philosophical doctrine was the so-called *gematria*, i.e. a system of alphanumeric calculations based on the Hebrew alphabet, a quest for words and sentences of a similar value. Words and sentences were exchanged for numbers, which were then compared for exoteric, homiletic, or mystical purposes – this was especially useful in explaining the names, attributes, and descriptions of God (Aveni 2002; Yedidya 2004). A very complex and for some a suspicious (or even a fraudulent) practice, *gematria* was used in Poland as late as in the 16th c.:

> Some of our philosophers courageously defended Kabbalistic wisdom, and Jewish philosophers were even more zealous in doing so [...], for this Kabbalistic wisdom contains all Divine, human, and natural philosophy and all things scientific, but not through the arguments of other sciences and right causes but through numbers, figures, and signs. (*SPXVI*)

Many people regarded the philosophers initiated into the Kabbalistic mysticism with admiration and envy. Many did not probably realise that Kabbalah was more than just crunching numbers, but nevertheless they rushed to join the circles. Most of them were Judaists; however, records in Latin have also survived, which suggests that Christians were welcome as well.

The convents practised asceticism by disciplining the body, so that the soul would turn away from earthly matters. It was believed that thanks to fasting and trance-induced loud recitations of hymns and prayers, the Kabbalist can climb the ladder of seven heavenly palaces to the Merkabah (the chariot Throne of God) (Aveni 2002):

> The second Kabbalah teaching is called the Merkabah, which concerns high things [...]. This, in turn, is divided into two: arithmancy and theomancy [...]. Theomancy deals with none other than the very Divine Mysteries – he who knows it, is obeyed by the devils, angels, and the elements. (*SPXVI*)

As follows from this quotation, the lexeme *kabała* initially received positive valuation, meaning 'mysterious science, available only to a narrow group of followers'. Speakers of Polish at the time believed that practising the science affects the dealings of angels, devils, and demons, for it comes from the Creator. It was also believed that along with the Ten Commandments Moses received some additional knowledge that he was told not to reveal.

He only passed it on to the chosen few (the wise ones), who have been protecting it ever since like the most precious treasure:

> Having abandoned the Holy Scriptures that [Moses] had left for others to follow, they rushed to practice another ungodly science, called *kabała*, that is the science of living speech, transmitted from one person to another by word of mouth, which they say God gave to Moses on the Sinai as admittance to his mysteries, through characters or written signs, which then Moses did not reveal to everyone but only to some. (*SPXVI*)

One notices here that already in the 16th c. Kabbalah was (mostly, although not always) viewed with some suspicion. A certain degree of distrust probably derived from the age-old aversion to the Semitic community. Ever since Jews settled on the Polish soil, they had been the perennial scapegoat and a target of aggression not only from the Polish side. Being religiously distinctive in a Catholic country, the Jews were approached with reservation, not least because in Catholic teaching they were portrayed as "God-slayers". In the early periods of the cohabitation of Poles and Jews, tensions would also arise due to the cultural otherness of each side and the poverty of the Jewish community (Niewiara 2000: 40).

These historical facts left their mark on the meanings of *kabała* and *kabalistyka* 'Kabbalism'. In some contexts they came close to idolatry (cf. the quote above), sorcery (e.g. *This is the sorcery that they call Kabbalah*, *SPXVI*), or even charlatanism (*Kabbalah is nothing more than a grave error, a perverse and hurtful knowledge, which subverts the words, names, and signs of the Scriptures in a wrong manner*, *SPXVI*). The word *kabalista* 'Kabbalist' sometimes meant 'cheat' or 'heretic' (always of Jewish descent):

> And these errors would not have been sown in the world in numbers greater than by the Kabbalist Jews, foreigners, for with them it is so that the greatest liar is the master of all. (*SPXVI*)

> ... if only they let me say from the secret Kabbalistic signs that a woman's name is closer to the tetragrammaton, the unspeakable name of God's omnipotence, than a man's name, which does not agree with the Divine name in letters, shape, or number. (*SPXVI*)

The stereotype of the cheat-Jew was especially lively in the 17th c. (Niewiara 2000: 15); consider e.g.: *thieves like Jews would always argue and bargain* (*SJPXVII*) or *And how can I alleviate my misfortune if these are dealings with Jews? He promised something to me but will probably give nothing, if he is such and such* (*SJPXVII*). The second quote is especially significant, as it portrays the Jew as a schemer, a rascal who purposefully puts people in awkward situations. As a result of an association of the term *kabała* with the stereotypical image of its practitioners (i.e., Jews), the newly coined phraseological unit *wprawić w kabałę* acquired the meaning 'put

someone in an intrigue, trouble', e.g. *I have said that already, the perveris Delatorum Consilis has also, to put in in the Moscow style, placed me in this innocent kabała* (*SJPXVII*).[3] Bańkowski suggests that this notion may have arisen under the influence of Russian, where it meant 'a slave-like dependence on someone, especially of insolvent debtors on their creditors' (it had probably been borrowed into Russian from French). The meaning may have possibly developed from an earlier sense (also present in Russian), namely 'something vague and incomprehensible' (*SBań*). However, according to Sławski (*SSław*), the units *kabała*$^{(1)}$ 'slave-like dependence on someone' and *kabała*$^{(2)}$ 'something vague' were homonyms because they derived from different sources: the former from the French *cabale* 'intrigue, machination', the latter as a borrowing from Hebrew. Due to their phonetic similarity, the words were also semantically reinterpreted, that is, they began to be associated with each other (Pastuchowa 2008: 126–132). All things considered, irrespective of how the meaning 'slave-like dependence on someone' emerged, the influence of the Russian lexeme on the meaning 'get involved in an intrigue or trouble' is indisputable.[4] The association, fairly common in the Middle Polish period (early 16th–18th c.), was aided by the progressively more widespread command of the Russian language, along with the 17th-c. stereotype of the Semitic usurer financially controlling many members of the nobility.

Although in the 18th c. the collocation *wprawić w kabałę* was no longer recorded, its semantics by no means disappeared: related meanings continued to be expressed through other units, such as *wykręcić się z kabały* 'give up one's involvement in a scheme' (e.g. *Idźże teraz, wykręć się z tej kabały, jak możesz* 'Go and back out of the scheme now if you can', *Linde*); *robić przeciw komuś kabałę* 'scheme against someone' (e.g. *Jestem pewny, że jakąś przeciw tobie robią kabałę* 'I'm sure they're scheming against you', *Linde*); *zrzec się kabały* 'stop scheming' (e.g. *Wy członki niedołężne, ty gminie niestały, przejdź w stan obywatelstwa i zrzecz się kabały* 'Hey, you impotent members, you changeable rabble, be citizens and stop scheming', *Linde*). These units were neither phraseological (or collocational) variants of *wprawić w kabałę* (Lewicki 2003: 204–213), nor its synonyms (Buttler 1982: 27–36). Their usage was

[3] It is important here to note that the new meaning can only be ascribed to the phraseological or collocational unit as a whole, for the word *kabała* alone probably had other connotations at the time, as exemplified in *Linde* (*SJPXVII* only records *kabała* as part of this collocation).

[4] It is sobering at this point to recall the caveat expressed several decades ago by Maria Honowska: "All semantic analyses by definition vacillate; they are all indeterminate and carry with them a mark of arbitrariness, an ever-disturbing factor of subjectivity" (Honowska 1960: 248).

restricted to the political context. However, the word *kabała* meant the same as in the 17th-c. *wprawić w kabałę*, i.e. 'intrigue, scheme, trouble, problem'. One could thus expect that 18th-c. lexical items such as *kabała*, *kabalistyka* 'Kabbalism', *kabalista* 'Kabbalist', *kabalistyczny* 'Kabbalistic', were only evaluated negatively. It turns out, however, that the recorded uses of these items include relatively few in which *kabała* meant 'scheme', 'deceit', 'heresy', or 'idolatry'. Admittedly, Samuel Linde defined *kabała* as 'secret games with numbers and signs' (*Linde*), but in a later fragment he regards it as

> ... a tradition, tale, secret theology of Hebrew provenance, elevating the mind to considerations of heavenly matters and to a communion with spirits by apprehending God's nature, the hierarchies and offices of the angels, the numbers of the skies, the proportions between the elements, the efficacy of herbs and rocks, as well as animal instincts and people's innermost thoughts. (*Linde*)

This excerpt indicates that Kabbalah in the 18th c. was well-known and enormously attractive both among Judaists and some Christians because, among other reasons, it helped one raise one's soul towards an understanding of God (Aveni 2002), in an ecstatic and emotional manner, under the assumption that it belongs to the chosen few, capable of the self-discipline necessary to obtain wisdom. It was believed (cf. above) that the Universe is composed of seven parts, the heavens are arranged into seven spheres, and angels are grouped into seven hosts.

It must be noted, however, that towards the end of the Middle Polish period the lexeme *kabała*, beside 'Kabbalistic philosophy in the sacred Kabbalist book of Zohar', also meant 'alchemy'. Alchemy was set on finding the philosopher's stone containing alkahest, with its power to protect people from illnesses and endow them with long lives. Dealing with herbs and stones was thus the domain of alchemy, rather than Kabbalah. The fact that Linde nevertheless includes this sense in the semantics of *kabała* suggests that the latter was in the 18th c. undergoing the process of extension.

Also the lexeme *kabalista* 'Kabbalist' can semantically be placed in that period between the semantic realms of *kabała* and *alchemy*; cf. *I got into a conversation with a certain wróżek, or a Kabbalist* (*Linde*). The term *wróżek* was used in reference to an alchemist, a practitioner of white magic, fending off evil forces (*Linde*; Moszyński 1934: 345). It is therefore beyond doubt that in the 18th c. the meaning 'alchemy' was very much a part of the semantics of *kabała* and its derivatives.

The question now arises, however, when and how the word obtained a new (and now prototypical) meaning of 'cartomancy, palmistry, numerology'. Interestingly, the first reflexes of this semantic shade were already recorded in the 18th c., cf.:

> Kabbalah is a science full of mysteries among Jews. Its beginnings go back to the conversation between God and Moses on the Sinai. It then developed into fortune-telling, i.e. arriving through sorcery at necessary conclusions from indifferent causes, that is from combinations of calculations to judgments and solutions. (*Linde*)

The association of Kabbalah with sorcery should not be surprising. Apart from gematria (which described the future of individuals and the whole nation) it dealt with astrology, except that in Jewish mysticism, in contrast to regular astrology, one's fate was not determined by the stars but by spiritual worlds that exerted their influence on both humans and heavenly bodies. Each planet was thought to control two zodiac signs, whereas configurations of stars and planets were believed to impinge on the fate of specific individuals (Yedidya 2004).

One can thus assume that by the time the Middle Polish period reached its half-stage, *kabała* was associated with two kinds of divination, namely astrology and numerology. It is, however, surprising that this meaning of the word was not recorded in the 19th c.: *SWil* describes its semantics as 'Jewish tradition; a secret skill of communing with the spirits', 'scheme, intrigue, conspiracy', listing such collocations as *stawiać kabałę*, *układać kabałę*, *ciągnąć kabałę*, lit. 'put on/lay out (play)/pull *kabała*'. They can doubtless be treated as phraseological variants (Adamiec 2007: 162) that meant 'ask the cards about future events' (*SWil*). This meaning could have arisen from two sources: either as a generalisation of the sense 'astrology, numerology' or – which seems more likely – from the increased popularity of the tarot cards (earlier, in the 15th–16th c., dice poker was usually played to tell future).

Although the beginnings of the tarot date back to the 15th c., the real revival of this kind of fortunetelling took place in the second half of the 19th c. It was at that time that the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn was established in Great Britain (Christopher 2006: 40), known for its use of esoteric knowledge, a synthesis of Kabbalah, tarot cards, and astrology. The group added Kabbalistic symbols to the tarot deck (Idel 2002: 272; Greczyszyn 2009: 10–16). Thus in the whole of the 19th-c. Europe Kabbalah began to be associated with the tarot, and so the card-playing associations of *kabała* emerged in Polish as well (cf. the aforementioned collocations *stawiać/układać/ciągnąć kabałę*).

The meaning of *kabała* 'Jewish tradition; a secret skill of communing with the spirits' shows that in the 19th c. Kabbalistic tradition was not so well known as before: it was treated as a form of spiritualism, which is a far-fetched simplification. Interestingly, however, *SWil* does not record the words *okultyzm* 'occultism' or *nekromancja* 'necromancy', which may

suggest that *kabała* was at the time the only synonym of *spirytualizm* 'spiritualism' that had been derived from a different root (cf. the same-root derivatives *spirytualizowanie* 'the action of engaging in spiritualism', *spirytualista* 'adherent of spiritualism', *spirytualizacja* 'spiritualisation', or *spirytualność* 'spiritual aspect'). The other of the 19th-c. meanings of *kabała*, namely 'scheme, intrigue, conspiracy' (cf. *należeć do kabały* 'belong to *kabała*', *SWil*), was in the 18th c. only present in conventionalised collocations of the type *robić przeciw komuś kabałę* 'plot *kabała* against someone' or *zrzec się kabały* 'withdraw from *kabała*'. These collocations, however, must have been extremely widespread, given the fact that in the next century the meaning became entrenched in the semantics of the word *kabała* itself. As a result, in some contexts the word meant 'guerilla activities' and 'counterforce to the rules of official politics', whereas its verbal derivative *kabałować* was explained as 'to plot, scheme, intrigue'. Other derivatives, such as *kabalista* (masc.)/*kabalistka* (fem.) 'Kabbalist', *kabalicki* (*kabalistowski* or *kabalistyczny*) 'Kabbalistic', were semantically closer to the word's primary meaning 'Kabbalistic science and practice' (*SWil*).

However, *SW* records as many as six meanings of *kabała*:

1. 'Jewish tradition of mysterious, Divine wisdom; first oral, then written and developed in two mystically-theosophical apocrypha';
2. 'cartomancy' (*układać/ciągnąć kabałę* 'lay out/pull *kabała*', i.e. 'tell future from cards');
3. 'numerology';
4. 'book with rules of divination';
5. 'scheme, intrigue, conspiracy';
6. 'difficult situation, predicament' (*wpaść w kabałę* 'get into a fix').

Nearly all these semantic shades (except number 4) had been recorded much earlier, albeit without being registered in all sources. For example, although neither *Linde*, nor *SWil* record it, 17th-c. Polish probably contained the collocation *wprawić w kabałę* 'get into an intrigue or predicament' because in early 20th c. another collocation was recorded: *wpaść w kabałę*. It must have emerged as a blend of two earlier fixed expressions, *wprawić w kabałę* 'put someone in an intrigue, trouble' (*SXVII*) and *wpaść w tarapaty* 'get into trouble' (*SWil*), "semantically close and identical in tone", with the resulting modifying contamination-type innovation (Bąba 1982: 19). As the next step, the content 'difficult situation, predicament' entered the semantic structure of *kabała*.

The sense 'numerology, divination from signs' seems to have gone through a similar development. In my opinion, the meaning is inherited from the 18th c., cf. the quote above, repeated here for convenience: [*Kabała*] *then developed*

into fortune-telling, i.e. arriving through sorcery at necessary conclusions from indifferent causes, that is from combinations of calculations to judgments and solution (*Linde*). Another possible path of semantic development is that the meaning emerged as a generalisation of the sense 'cartomancy'.

In early 20th c. the meaning 'future-telling from tarot cards' became more widespread. The items *kabalista*, *kabalistka*, *kabalerka*, apart from the (outdated) sense 'proficient in Kabbalah', above all meant 'a person who engages in Kabbalah', whereas the diminutives *kabałkować* 'to do Kabbalah' and *kabałkowanie* 'doing Kabbalah' (from the diminutive noun *kabałka*; *Linde*, *SW*) meant 'cartomancy during play'. The diminutive suffix *-ka* expressed small size but also enriched the overall meaning of the unit with ironic connotations, undermining the value of its root (*SPrsł*). Hence *kabałka* was probably used ironically in reference to superstitions, although the data are too scarce to draw convincing conclusions. The items *kabałkować* and *kabałkowanie*, derived from *kabałka* (and not from *kabała*) were thus only associated with 'future-telling', whereas the adjectives *kabałowy* and *kabalicki* were used in reference to tarot cards.

It should not therefore be surprising that the primary sense of *kabała* listed in *SJPDor* is 'cartomancy'. At the same time, however, the examples used to illustrate this sense also evoke the sense 'palmistry', as a result of another generalisation process from mid-20th c., e.g.

> Why is it, my lady, that you demand to be a fortune-teller?
> Why are you so curious?
> You do look into my palm once and again,
> what will the *kabała* foretell? (*SJPDor*)

The second meaning in *SJPDor* is 'a book with rules of divination', then 'predicament, trouble, worry', and the last one, 'Jewish religious-mystical science'. It can be observed that already at this stage in the history of Polish, *kabała* was rarely associated with its primary sense: the lexemes *kabalista*, *kabalistka*, *kabalerka* were terms for tarot-proficient sorcerers, while the adjectives *kabalistyczny*, *kabaliczny* meant 'to do with magic, mysterious, obscure' (*SJPDor*). Only the item *kabalistyka* was used in reference to Kabbalah-related rituals, although the editors of *SJPDor* show substantial reservation in this respect. The word is defined as 'Kabbalah-inspired pseudo-philosophical speculation, sorcery; Kabbalah together with its rituals' (*SJPDor*) – a definition so framed evokes a range of negative connotations, linking *kabała* and its derivatives with charlatanism, humbug, or crookedness.[5]

[5] A similar definition is provided in the same dictionary for the word *magia* 'magic'; cf. Engelking (2000: 7).

It appears that this take on *kabała* is still valid, despite the fact that the editors of contemporary dictionaries, such as *ISJP* and *USJP*, avoid making evaluative judgments about the lexeme. The entry's definition, however, is structured similarly to that in *SJPDor*, the only sense that is missing is 'book with rules of divination'.[6] The preserved collocations with the lexeme *kabała* include only *kłaść kabałę* 'lay down *kabała*', *stawiać kabałę* 'put on *kabała'* (both meaning 'to tell future'), *wpaść w kabałę* 'get into a fix', *wplątać się w kabałę* 'get oneself onto a fix', and *wpakować kogoś w kabałę* 'get someone into a fix'.

* * *

The primary sense of the lexeme *kabała* has now been forgotten. An average speaker of present-day Polish only associates the word with future-telling, although dictionaries continue to register such meanings as 'a set of doctrines developed in Mediaeval Judaism, concerned with metaphysical divagations on the nature of God or the creation of the world and living creatures, as well as with a hierarchy of beings intermediate between God and creation, or with the migration of souls to God, these ideas being accepted in Kabbalah' or 'predicament, trouble' (*USJP*).

The causes of this process of semantic narrowing include a series of sociocultural transformations. It is natural that along with a disappearance of certain aspects of life (e.g. the practising of Kabballah as asceticism), the lexis associated with them also disappears (Kleszczowa 2000: 269). The precise time and the way in which the disappearance takes place is, however, problematic. In the case of *kabała*, one can notice a gradual semantic change, which shows that language is conservative in its nature and preserves traces of earlier thinking in the form of "dormant knowledge" (Pastuchowa 2008; Jawór 2011: 88–100).

translated by Adam Głaz

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[6] Although that sense is listed in *PWJP*, it is marked as outdated. The dictionary also lists the now forgotten expression *kabała kucharek* 'chef's secrets', lit. 'the Kabbalah of the cooks (fem.)'.

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I. Research articles

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Giedrė Buivytė
(Vilnius University)

The dualism of the 'sacred' and the 'profane' in the poetic narrative of *The Lay of Skirnir* and Lithuanian wedding songs*

Comparative Indo-European poetics studies the poetic diction common to Indo-European tradition. Moreover, the Indo-European daughter traditions share a common division of mythology. With reference to comparative mythology and the roles of gods, the general division of the universe reveals the following layers: "magical sovereignty (and heavenly administration of the universe), warrior power (and administration of the lower atmosphere), and peaceful fecundity (and administration of the earth, the underworld and the sea)" (Dumezil 1988: 121). The essential aspect of archaic worldview has the following shape: "Life is lived on a twofold plane; it takes its course as human existence and, at the same time, shares in a transhuman life, that of the cosmos or the gods" (Eliade 1959: 167). This paper aims at revealing the transformations of the theme of the celestial wedding from the sacred to the profane with reference to the poetic narrative of *The Lay of Skirnir* and Lithuanian folk songs. The argument involves: (1) an analysis of the reflection of the myth theme and its motifs in the poetic narrative; (2) deciphering mythic formulas as embedded in the context of the poetic narrative. In the folk songs, the bride and the bridegroom imitate the actions of their celestial prototypes. The motif of shaking the earth, as rendered by the formulas *Jörð bifask* 'the ground shakes' and *žemužė dreba* 'the earth shakes', is manifest in both traditions, inasmuch as it is linked to the metaphorical "shaking of the bride" in the prototypical mytheme, employed to convey the unwillingness of the bride to marry.

Key words: mythical formula, prototypical image, transformation of role, implicit mythical reference, poetic mode of thought

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Remnants of the common Indo-European mythological tradition are manifest in various literary sources, viz. medieval poetry and folklore. The study of such sources points to their specific mythological content: formulas, narratives and stylistic devices reflecting the world view of archaic peoples. This is the subject of comparative Indo-European poetics (cf. Watkins 1995: 6) that investigates poetic devices common to the literary heritage of different Indo-European nations. According to Watkins, "comparative Indo-European poetics may be defined as a linguistic approach to the form, nature, and function of poetic language and archaic literature among a variety of ancient Indo-European peoples" (ibid.). With the comparative method, certain similarities in the religious beliefs of the Baltic and the Germanic peoples can be traced. This paper aims at revealing the transformations of the theme of the celestial wedding from the sacred to the profane in the poetic narrative of *The Lay of Skirnir* and Lithuanian folk songs. My argument proceeds in the following way: firstly, I will trace the reflection of the myth theme and its motifs in the poetic narrative; secondly, I will proceed with deciphering mythic formulas as embedded in the context of the poetic narrative.

1. Mythic elements in a poetic text

The mythological structures underlying the songs of the *Poetic Edda* and Lithuanian folk songs may be analysed on both the syntagmatic and paradigmatic axes – in accordance with the framework proposed by Claude Lévi-Strauss in *The Structural Study of Myth* (1955). The paradigmatic axis presupposes distinct classes of elements that further interact on the syntagmatic axis. Lévi-Strauss describes such paradigmatic elements as mythemes, or "gross constituent units" (Lévi-Strauss 1955: 211) which "are not the isolated relations but bundles of such relations, and it is only as bundles that these relations can be put to use and combined so as to produce a meaning" (ibid.). Mythemes, being core units of every myth, may be seen as a kind of matrix in creating certain poetic devices, viz. *mythical formulas*. Moreover, the prototypical qualities of mythemes are employed to coin metaphors and metonymies. Poetic devices that bear mythical connotations may be equated to mythical formulas, inasmuch as they refer to mythic motifs and, correspondingly, to a poetic narrative in a broader perspective.

In his prominent work *How to Kill a Dragon: a Study of Indo-European Poetics*, Watkins introduces mythical formulas as "the vehicles, the carriers of themes; they are collectively the verbal expression of the traditional culture of the Indo-Europeans themselves" (Watkins 1995: 152). In his work

The New Science, the pioneer of mythological research Giambattista Vico pointed out the metaphorical aspect of myth, claiming that the ancient mode of thought, being essentially poetic, imprinted mythic content on stylistic devices, primarily metaphors ("thus every metaphor so formed is a fable in brief") (Vico 1948: 115–116). This concept was further developed by the German scholar F.W.J. Schelling, who posited that myth is the basis of poetry as it allows connecting ideas and their representations that are usually united in one primordial image (cf. Schelling, in Meletinsky 2000: 8–9). The concept of mythical formula adopted in this paper therefore refers to a poetic expression that reveals a particular type of myth, and refers to a certain poetic narrative that corresponds to the mythical organisation of thought in a particular society. The formulas in a poetic text are deciphered by unravelling a metaphorical code – reading the poetic expressions as encoded messages that refer to a common system of perception; the mythical significance of the poetic expressions in the text is hidden under the literal meaning. With reference to the opposition between the sacred and the profane, poetic expressions frequently disclose symbolic representations of the divine realm exhibited by the objects of the natural world, or to put it in Eliade's words, "all nature is capable of revealing itself as cosmic sacrality" (Eliade 1959: 12). The objects of the physical world may thus become symbols for the divine entities they refer to.

Further on, considering the syntagmatic disposition of mythological elements in a poetic text, the insights of the Russian Formalist Vladimir Propp introduced in his study of folktales (*Morphology of the Folktale*) may be employed as the basic scheme regarding the narrative, not only of the folktales but of other genres of folklore, as well as of oral poetry. According to Propp, "the names of the dramatic personae change (as well as the attributes of each), but neither their actions nor functions change" (Propp 1968: 8). In addition, not only the names but also the characters themselves may undergo change – "just as the characteristics and functions of deities are transferred from one to another, and, finally, are even carried over to Christian saints, the functions of certain tale personages are likewise transferred to other personages" (ibid.). Transfer of functions refers to the transformation of mythic characters, (e.g. from gods to heroes in the Germanic tradition, from mythic characters to lay people in Lithuanian folk songs), whereas the narrative with its essential stages of development remains unchanged across a variety of poetic texts. Propp further maintains that the functions of acting personae may be compared to the motifs described by Russian scholar Alexander Veselovsky as "the simplest narrative unit[s], corresponding imagistically to the diverse needs of a primitive mind and to the needs of

ordinary perception" (cited in *Thematics: New Approaches* 1995: 22). This approach leads to the premise that functions, or motifs, may be viewed as the main components of narrative, whereas acting characters may be subject to transformation.

The roles of gods may also be regarded as a metaphorical reflection of the social organisation prevailing in a particular community; in Dumezil's words, "we can still recognise, in various formulas, in divine groupings, in the general division of the mythology, that great triple division of cosmic and social functions: magical sovereignty (and heavenly administration of the universe), warrior power (and administration of the lower atmosphere), peaceful fecundity (and administration of the earth, the underworld and the sea)" (Dumezil 1988: 121). The tripartite division, however, might happen to be easily exhaustible, whereas the functions of different gods seem to intermingle at times; yet, the roles of gods still stand as the organizing principles of mythic narrative. For example, in the Germanic tradition, warrior power is ascribed to Thor; nonetheless, Thor may also be associated with fertility and peaceful fecundity – accordingly, different social roles are ascribed to the same god. With reference to Propp's idea of the interchangeability of functions, the narrative predetermines the transformations of gods: their basic functions are ascribed to epic heroes or acting personae of folk songs in order to repeat mythic pattern and unite the sacred and profane spheres. Thus, the poetic texts under consideration should not be read as a source of direct mythic references; the challenge lies in unveiling the transformations of the mythical acting personae and deciphering the mythical formulas embedded in the narrative.

The characters introduced in the poetic narrative have to be compared to their Indo-European archetypes (the "archaic remnants", or "primordial images" in the Jungian sense (Jung 1968: 57)); hence, with reference to the formula *the sky and the earth* (cf. the Creation myth) in the Old Icelandic poem *The Lay of Skirnir*, the deities Freyr and Gerth can be connected with their archetypes in cosmogonic myth, viz. Freyr is the Sky personified, whereas Gerth is the Earth personified. Inasmuch as "the myth proclaims the appearance of a new cosmic situation or of a primordial event" (Eliade 1959: 95), a mythological poem introduces the poetic rendition of mythic narrative, i.e. events and characters described in the mythological poem gain symbolic meaning. Furthermore, in the profane world, the bride and the bridegroom imitate the actions of their supernatural prototypes, Freyr and Gerth, in order to repeat the primary *hierogamy* of sky and earth through the ritual. In folk songs, the bride and the bridegroom are introduced as profane acting personae whose actions retain their symbolic meaning by implicit references

to the myth. Thus, in ancient societies where mundane life gains value only when contact with the divine sphere is attained, "religious man periodically becomes the contemporary of the gods in the measure in which he reactualises the primordial time in which the divine works were accomplished" (ibid.: 87).

Although the Indo-European formula *the sky and the earth* does not retain its components in *the literal mode*, it nevertheless sustains its significance in terms of the allegorical mode. Thus, mythical formula, being the "carrier" of a theme, refers to a certain narrative unit, which includes mythologically significant recurring motifs. These recurring motifs, to return to Propp's theory, are rendered in certain actions or roles of gods, which may undergo transformations, but still form a defined sequence within a narrative. In this way, one of the main Indo-European formulas, the semantic structure of which is presented by Watkins as "Hero Slays the Serpent" (Watkins 1995: 299) implies a narrative where the God of Thunder confronts and defeats an adversary – the serpent. The formula may be subject to various transformations – inclusion of an additional element (usually a weapon or a companion), paradigmatic (an epithet, synonym instead of a name) and syntagmatic replacements (changes in tense, voice) (Watkins 1995: 301–302). For example, in the Lithuanian tradition, the image of the mythic world tree undergoes a paradigmatic change, viz. it is transformed into various types of tree – oak, apple tree, maple tree, whereas in the Germanic tradition the ash tree Yggdrasil represents a transformation of the world tree.

Overcoming the adversary, the embodiment of chaos and imbalance, leads to harmonisation of the cosmos, and in this respect may be viewed as the basic creation myth, or, as Watkins puts it, "The dragon-killing myth represents a symbolic victory of order over the forces of chaos, as we have seen; of growth over stagnation in the cycle of the year, of rebirth over death" (ibid. 446). Hence, there is a transition from the Thunder God as a warrior towards the Thunder God as a patron of harmony and fertility. The God of Thunder is often seen as having evolved from the figure of Father Sky, retaining some of his functions, viz. the control of weather, thunder, and storm; thus, the vital role of the Thunder God is that of "the controller of the weather and hence of the fertility of the crops" (West 2007: 250). Gintaras Beresnevicius interprets the division of the roles of the Lithuanian Sky God *Dievas* and the Thunder God *Perkunas* as follows: "Lithuanian mythology describes Perkunas as the master of thunder and lightning, living on a high mountain and in charge of worldly matters. To do that he was empowered by Dievas, who does not afterwards pry into worldly matters[1]. Thus Dievas

[1] Cf. the insights of A. J. Greimas on 'Diviriks' – the name of one of chief gods in Lithuanian pantheon as recorded in historical sources and considered to be a euphemism

hands his might and actual power to Perkunas, and the latter becomes the senior god" (Beresnevicius 2000: 33–34). The God of Thunder as a fertility deity is implicitly involved in worldly matters through the ritual of marriage.

The ritual of marriage is also closely connected to the seasonal and vegetation myths, references to which are manifest in *The Lay of Skirnir*. The marital rite between the representatives of the two worlds of Germanic mythology – Vanir (the realm of fertility gods) and Jotunheim (the realm of the giants) – may be interpreted as a reflection of the seasonal myth, which was "inspired by man's fear of starvation, and a "sacred wedding" between the powers who protected his fields and made his corn grow was the means by which he hoped to ensure a good harvest" (Talbot 1982: 44). It should be noted that the acting personae of the poetic narrative leading to the sacral wedding – "Freyr as the fertility god, his delegate Skírnir (the bright one) as the fructifying sun, and Gerðr (connected with *garðr* "cultivated yard") as the earth to be made fruitful" (Murdoch, Read 2004: 180) of the Germanic context differ from those of the Baltic. While both *The Lay of Skirnir* and folk songs may be ascribed to the oral tradition, their genre-dependence evokes the main distinction: *The Lay of Skirnir*, being a mythological poem, has a closer connection to the fertility rites and practices employed by ancient Germanic societies, whereas Lithuanian folk songs (which were documented much later, centuries after the period when the pagan religion of Lithuania had disintegrated) bear a lyrical character and retain only implicit references to the affinity of marriage with the rituals dedicated to the fertility of the soil.

2. The wooing of a bride in poetic and folk narrative

Interestingly enough, in the poetic narrative of the *Poetic Edda* and in folk songs, the wooing of a bride is accompanied by threat, fear, resistance and lament as the traditional elements in the course of the proposal. According to Ursula Dronke, the Eddic poem *Skírnismál* (*The Lay of Skirnir*) repeats "the ancient pattern of the *hieros gamos*, the sacred marriage of Sky and Earth [. . .] which recurs in so many mythologies" (Dronke 1962: 253); it also alludes to the implicit role of the Thunder God in the sacred ritual of marriage. In *The Lay of Skirnir*, the Thunder God Thor undergoes allegorical transformation into the servant Skirnir, who is going to woo the beautiful maiden Gerth for his master, the god Freyr. This claim is supported by the thunder-like sound that accompanies Skrnir's arrival to the home of Gymir, cf.:

for Perkunas, meaning 'Gods' organiser of things, overseer' (Greimas 1990: 390–393).

14. *Hvat er þat hlym hlymja, | er ek heyri nú til ossum rönnum í?* Jörð bifask, | *en allir fyrir skjalfa garðar Gymis.*	'14. What noise is that which now so loud I hear within our house? *The ground shakes*, and the home of Gymir Around me trembles too.' (translation by Henry Adams Bellows)

An allusion to the Thunder God may be seen in connection with the prototypical qualities of the mytheme, namely, the loud noise and supernatural strength (reflected in the phrase *Jörð bifask* 'the ground shakes', which refers to the personified Earth).

In Lithuanian folk songs, the bride-to-be is depicted as being frightened to come to a foreign country with the bridegroom, or to be deprived of her chastity (the symbolic *rūtų vainikėlis* 'wreath of rue'), cf.:

14. *Vai, cik pabijojau, leliumai,*
Jauno bernužėlio, leliumai,
15. *Kad jis neatjotų, leliumai,*
Ant bėro žirgelio, leliumai,
16. *Kad jis nenujimtų, leliumai*,
Rūtų vainikėlio*, leliumai.* (*Lietuvių liaudies dainynas* 1983: 178–179)[2]

A similar motif is reflected in Latvian mythological song, where the sons of God are depicted as taking away the wreath (*vainadziņš*) from the daughter of the Sun:

Kalab gaisi šovakari
Dūmonaiņi, mākonaiņi?
Dievu dēli Saules meitàm
Noņēmuši vainadziņu.[3]

If the extract from the Latvian folk song is to be viewed as a mythical motif, its counterpart in the profane sphere may be found in the following Russian folk song, (*venok* is the paradigmatic equivalent of the wreath), cf.:

Дуня плачет в светличке, приложив голову к сестричке;
девушки спрашивают; ответ: она свила венок.
Ваничка его разорвал, самое к себе взял.[4] (Veselovsky 1989: 110).

[2] 'I was afraid, leliumai, of the young man, leliumai, that he would come riding, leliumai, on his bay horse, leliumai, that he would take away, leliumai, the wreath of rue, leliumai' (Hereinafter translations are provided by the author of the paper unless indicated otherwise).

[3] 'Why is the air misty and cloudy this evening? The sons of God took away the wreath from the daughter of the Sun'.

[4] 'Dunya cries in a bright room, her head resting on sister's shoulder; girls ask her, and she answers: she made a wreath. Vanichka broke it, took it for himself'.

The sons of God and the daughter of the Sun in the Latvian song may be seen as mythical prototypes, whereas *Vanichka* and *Dunya* in the Russian song constitute their profane counterparts in the narrative of courtship.

Reluctance of the bride may be further observed in the Slavic tradition, viz. the following stanza from a Ukrainian folk song:

Ой сідай, сідай, коханя мое,
Бо ти не поможе плаканя твое,
Твій велький жаль не поможе,
Бо коники стоят г' возі
Позапрігани. (*Ukrainski narodni pisni* 1972: 56).[5]

In this example, the forthcoming marriage is presented to the distressed bride-to-be as an imminent event implied by the might of her groom, whose horses and carriage are waiting.

The course of proposal includes the significant element of offering gifts to the bride, inasmuch as the bride has traditionally to receive gifts in order to establish "fundamental institutionalized gift-exchange relations and consecrated customs" (Watkins 1995: 446). In *The Lay of Skirnir*, golden apples, offered by Skirnir to Gerth as a gift provide a reference to fertility, cf.:

19. *Epli | ellifu hér hef ek algullin,*
þau mun ek þér, Gerth [...]

'19. Eleven apples, all of gold,
Here will I give thee, Gerth [...]'
(translation by Henry Adams Bellows).

According to the myth, golden apples are protected by the goddess Idunn as a source of immortality and youth (section 26 of the *Prose Edda*, book *Gylfaginning*). In Lithuanian wedding songs, apples are also offered as a gift:

7. *Ar priims davanelas-*
Raudanus karalalius,
8. *Raudonus karalalius*,
Saldziuosius abuolalius[6]
(*Lithuanian Folk Songs* 1994: 149).

[5] 'Oh sit, sit, my dear, your lament is of no aid, your grudge so great will not help you because horses wait in harness'.

[5] *Eleven apples*: are usually the attribute of *Idunn*, the goddess associated with apples and eternal youth. Eleven is not normally a significant number in Norse and the use of the number eleven in the translation may not be correct. The confusion might have occurred between *ellifo*, 'eleven', as the manuscripts reads, and *ellilyf*, 'old-age drug', which would confirm the connection with *Idunn* (cf. Larrington 2014: 291).

[6] 'Will [she] take the gifts- the red beads, the red beads, the sweet apples'.

Although in the Lithuanian folk song poetic devices with reference to apples do not point to precious possession or magic power as they do in the heroic Germanic tradition, they should be considered as a metaphoric presentation of the harmonious and peaceful life being proposed by the young man; thus, such images reveal a deeper layer of meaning. The circular shape of the red beads corresponds to the circular shape of the apples and represents the notion of continuity, in this context – the continuity of life. Moreover, red beads as an element of adornment refer to the bride as a paragon of beauty (the parallel between bride and morning star, discussed in the following chapter, includes beads of the bride as the metaphor for 'beads' of dew associated with dawn (Razauskas 2011: 20)).

Yet another gift, offered by Skirnir to Gerth, is the golden ring of Odin:

21. *Baug ek þér þá gef, | þann er brenndr var* *með ungum Óðins syni;* *átta eru jafnhöfðir, | er af drjúpa* *ina níundu hverja nótt.*	'21. Then do I bring thee | the ring that was burned Of old with Othin's son; From it do eight | of like weight fall On every ninth night.' (translation by Henry Adams Bellows)

The ring referred to in stanza 21 is considered to be Draupnir – a magical ring of Odin, which has the ability to multiply itself. This ring is of great importance in relation to the cycle of death and rebirth, as it is placed on Baldr's funeral pyre by Odin and retrieved from Hel by Hermod, as attested in Sturluson's *Prose Edda*[7]; therefore, as John Lindow states, "the passage of Draupnir through funeral fire and the world of the dead must truly have enhanced its value" (Lindow 2002: 98). In this way, the self-reproducing golden ring embodies not only prosperity and fertility, but also the possibility of rebirth, or return from the world of the dead, which may be traced back to the cycle of seasonal rituals in connection to the fertility of soil.

Meanwhile, in the course of the proposal the precious gifts do not always seem to suffice, cf.:

Gerður kvað: 20. *Epli ellifu | ek þigg aldregi* *at mannskis munum,* *né vit Freyr, | meðan okkart fjör lifir,* *byggjum bæði saman.*	'Gerth spake: 20. I will not take | at any man's wish These eleven apples ever Nor shall Freyr and I | one dwelling find ; So long as we two live.' (translation by Henry Adams Bellows)

[7] 'Odin laid on the pile the gold ring called Draupnir, which afterwards acquired the property of producing every ninth night eight rings of equal weight.' (Translation by I.A. Blackwell).

The motif of the recalcitrance of the bride is followed by the motif of threatening the bride, viz. the maiden Gerth, cf.:

Skírnir kvað:	'Skirnir spake:
23. *Sér þú þenna mæki, mær, | mjóvan, málfáan,*	23. Seest thou, maiden, | this keen, bright sword
er ek hef í hendi hér?	That I hold here in my hand?
Höfuð höggva | ek mun þér hálsi af,	Thy head from thy neck | shall I straightway hew,
nema þú mér sætt segir.	If thou wilt not do my will.'
	(translation by Henry Adams Bellows)

The motif of threatening the maiden in the case of her repeated refusal is found in Lithuanian folk songs as well, cf.:

Pasiklausyki, mano mergele,
Kaip čia žemužė dreba,-
Taip tu drebėsi, mano mergele,
Kai mano valioj būsi![8]
(Juška 1954: 28).

Here again, the manifestation of the power of the bridegroom refers to the prototypical quality of the Thunder God, i.e. his extraordinary strength. The fertility motif here is closely related to the motif of shaking the earth, from which it can be assumed that it is one of the main aspects connecting the bridegroom with the God of Thunder by his main function – the assurance of fertility. The motif of shaking the earth is embedded in the formula, cf.: *Jörð bifask* 'the ground shakes', *žemužė dreba* 'the earth shakes'.

In connection with seasonal myths, one should note the important curse uttered by Skirnir, where he threatens Gerth that she will "be like to the thistle". According to Joseph Harris, "the thistle is anthropomorphic; and its brittle dryness in autumn is the antithesis of the fluid suppleness of a nubile girl in the spring of life" (Harris 2002: 85). Gerth herself is threatened with becoming the symbol of sterility: "all the elements of the curse proper are negative transformations of the hoped-for world of the maiden Gerdr and systematically threaten the inversion of all the hopes and expectations of fruitful womanhood" (ibid.). H. R. Ellis Davidson draws a comparison between Gerth and Persephone from the Greek vegetation myth: "since it is made clear that if (Gerth) remains below in the dark kingdom of the underworld there will be nothing to hope for but sterility and famine. She does not become the bride of the underworld, however; her bridal is to be in

[8] 'Listen, my maiden, how the earth shakes – you will shake alike, my maiden, when you will be at my will'.

the upper world when she consents to meet Freyr at Barri." (Davidson 1999: 86). The union of Gerth and Freyr thus symbolises the victory of fertility (fruitfulness of spring) over the reign of death (winter).

To illustrate the relationship between ritual and folk tradition, it should be noted that the depiction of the traditional proposal sometimes includes sequences of questions and answers in the form of a riddle. In various Indo-European traditions the narrative describing a wedding is closely related to ancient rituals as revealed by the elements of magic and spells. For example, Lithuanian folk song introduces solving a riddle as a condition to be implemented for the marriage to take place:

Mergele mano,
Jaunoji mano,
Užminsiu tau mįslelę,
Užminsiu tau mįslelę.

O jei atminsi mano mįslelę,
Mano mįslelę,
Tai būsi mano miela,
Tai būsi mano miela.
(Laurinkienė 1990: 156).[9]

This extract may be compared to Russian *kolyadka*, Christmas song, where the young man asks a girl to answer the riddle "what burns without frying?" in order to become his wife, to which she answers "stone, fern, fire" (Veselovksy 1989: 110). Meanwhile in Germanic society, runic inscriptions were employed for different sorts of magic actions: from achieving military victory to ensuring fertility and affecting the weather (Kieckhefer 2000: 48). In relation to *The Lay of Skirnir*, the magic incantations employed by Skirinr to persuade Gerth should also be seen as part of the magic ritual, cf.:

36. *Þurs ríst ek þér | ok þríá stafi,*
ergi ok œði ok óþola;
svá ek þat af ríst, | sem ek þat á reist,
ef gerask þarfar þess.

'36. I write thee a charm | and three runes therewith,
Longing and madness and lust;
But what I have writ | I may yet unwrite
If I find a need therefor.'
(translation by Henry Adams Bellows)

Magic, in contrast to offerings and threats, is of imposing nature – "the incantation or ritual, if correctly uttered or performed, automatically produces the desired result" (West 2007: 326). In both Germanic and Lithuanian tradition, the solution of the riddle as well as the utterance of an incantation are seen as a process with a finite effect – consent of the bride.

The subsequent ending of the proposal course in both traditions is embodied in welcoming the bridegroom/matchmaker by offering him a beverage:

[9] 'My girl, my young girl, I shall propose a riddle for you, I shall propose a riddle for you. If you solve my riddle, my riddle, you shall be my beloved, my beloved'.

‘Find welcome rather, / and with it take/ The frost-cup filled with mead’ (*Heill ver þú nú heldr, sveinn,/ ok tak við hrímkálki/ fullum forns mjaðar*), and:

Sėskit, sveteliai,
Už baltųjų skomelių,
Gerkit, sveteliai,
Saldų gardų vynelį. [10]
(*Lietuvių liaudies dainynas* 1983: 210)

In the Germanic, as well as in the Lithuanian tradition, the mead-cup offered by the maiden to her lord symbolises betrothal; it also figures prominently in welcoming an important guest, as seen in the Old English poem *Beowulf*:

þæt hío Béowulfe, béaghroden cwén
móde geþungen medoful ætbær [...]
(lines 624–625).

‘when the ring-graced queen, the royal-hearted,
to Beowulf bore the beaker of mead.’
(translation by B.F. Gummere).

The epithets describing the beverage may be considered to have formulaic status (recurrent expressions *mead* and *sweet wine*) and point to the mythical drink of gods granting them eternal life, with reference to the semantic opposition *sacred* versus *profane*. On balance, both Old Icelandic and Lithuanian sources demonstrate a similar course of proposal established by social norms and resulting in completion of the marriage ritual.

3. The celestial prototypes of the bride and the bridegroom in folk narrative

If human life is seen as embracing the opposition between the sacred and the profane, “[...] the cosmogonic myth is re-eminently the paradigmatic myth; it serves as model for human behaviour. This is why human marriage is regarded as an imitation of the cosmic hierogamy” (Eliade 1959: 145). Ancient thought modifies the paradigm of cosmic hierogamy to include profane people as the imitators of divine acts in order to sanctify the world (ibid.: 99). Such imitations are expressed by poetic means both in the poems of the Poetic Edda and Lithuanian folk songs, as well as in the folk songs of other culturally akin traditions.

In Lithuanian folk songs, direct mythical references are rare occurrences; poetic implications for mythic characters are conveyed by means of simile

[10] ‘Sit down, dear guests, at the white table, drink, dear guests, sweet wine’.

and parallelism instead. A common parallel found in Lithuanian songs is that between the morning star (*Aušrinė*) and the bride: in the ritual song of the Feast of St. John, *Užteka saulužė* ('The Sun Rises'), a parallel is drawn between "the brightest star which was the first to arise" and the eldest daughter who "was the first to wake up":

> 5. *Šviesiausios žvaigždužės, daulėliu lėliu,*
> *Kur anksti užtekėjo, daulėliu* [...]
> 11. *Vyriausios dukružės, daulėliu lėliu,*
> *Kur anksti atsikėlė, daulėliu* [...]
> (Juška 1955: 538–539).

In Lithuanian mythology, *Aušrinė* is the personification of the morning star (from the Lithuanian *Aušra* 'Dawn'); she is usually defined as an exceptionally beautiful sky goddess, the lover of the moon.[11] According to Razauskas, Aušrinė is the mythical prototype of a bride (Razauskas 2011: 21). Apart from Aušrinė, there are other important mythological figures related to the sky, viz. the daughters of the Sun – *Saulės dukrytės*. As West suggests, in Indian Veddas, the daughter of the Sun "has a special role as the divine model for the mortal bride" (West 2007: 227). Lithuanian folk songs demonstrate a similar motif, e.g. in the song *Po kleveliu šaltinatis* ('A Spring under the Maple Tree', Rėza 1958: 173), the passage depicting the daughters of the Sun (*Saulės dukrytės*) serves as a mythological introduction to the narrative that further explores the theme of courtship. The narrative proceeds with a girl washing her face and losing her ring – then *Dievo suneliai* ('the sons of God'), arrive and recover the ring from the water. The Indo-European tradition demonstrates the daughters of the Sun in close relationship with the sons of God, they are usually their suitors (West 2007: 229); this connection may be traced back to the motif of the celestial wedding. The motif of the lost and recovered ring is of great significance in relation to the ring Draupnir in *The Lay of Skirnir* – they both signify rebirth, and in relation to the circular shape of the ring – the cyclical nature of rebirth.

The wedding songs imitate the celestial wedding and express the essential aspect of the archaic world view: "life is lived on a twofold plane; it takes its course as human existence and, at the same time, shares in a transhuman life, that of the cosmos or the gods" (Eliade 1959: 167). Such parallels may be found in the previously introduced song: respectively, the daughters of the Sun are represented by the young girl, the bride-to-be, and the sons of God are represented by the young man, the bridegroom-to-be, thus uniting

[11] The Moon is the husband of the Sun; it is noteworthy that in Baltic mythology, the Moon is of masculine gender.

the divine world of the primeval myth with the profane world of lay people. In addition, Lithuanian folk songs usually demonstrate a marked quality of *epitheta ornantia* – phrases adding little to the content but rendering "a permanent or ideal characteristic of the thing" (West 2007: 83). However, if the epithets are interpreted in the context of parallelism characteristic of a number of Lithuanian folk songs, they may be viewed as indirect symbolic comparison of the sacred with the profane, viz. the daughters of the Sun come to wash themselves; the young girl comes to wash her 'white mouth' (*baltą burną*). Here the epithet 'white mouth' refers not only to such qualities as brightness and chastity, but also allows for the protagonist, the young girl, to be compared to one of the previously mentioned daughters of the Sun. The brightness and chastity of the bride-to-be are also referred to in *The Lay of Skirnir* where Freyr describes Gerth as follows:

6. *armar lýstu,*	'6. Her arms glittered,
en af þaðan	and from their gleam
allt loft ok lögr	Shone all the sea and sky.'
	(translation by Henry Adams Bellows).

In the context of the Lithuanian tradition, Gerth could also be interpreted as a transformed image of Aušrinė, the Morning Star (in the contextual meaning of the bride), and Gerth's arms shining over the sea and the sky may be considered a valid description of the star. Examples from other traditions also describe the young girl as a paragon of chastity and purity, e.g. in a Czech song the girl is described as 'golden':

Komu ty se dostaneš,
Má zlatá holčičko? [...][12]
(Veselovsky 1989: 110)

In the following stanza from a Polish folk song, the image of the young girl is also related to the celestial domain (comparison to the sky), as well as to the life-giving aspect of nature and chastity expressed through the colours green and white respectively:

Przykryło się niebo obłokami,
Przykryła się Marysia rąbkami,
Okrył się jawór zielonym listeńkiem,
Młoda Marysia bielonym czepeńkiem.[13]
(Ibid.)

[12] 'Whose shall you be, my golden girl?'.

[13] 'The sky has covered itself with clouds, Marysia has covered herself with a scarf; the sycamore has covered itself with green leaves, young Marysia has covered herself with a white cap'.

Further on, the other participant of the profane pair imitating the celestial hierogamy is the bridegroom. In the Lithuanian tradition, the male protagonist and bridegroom, the ‘young man’ (*jauns bernytis*), may be viewed as a transformed image of one of the ‘sons of God’ (*Dievo sūneliai*) – his possessions, such as ‘the horse with golden horseshoes’ (*žirgatis aukso patkavatėmis*) reveal his nobility and ability to ensure prosperity. Thus, the folk song indicates transition from the mythic union of the divine beings, or the celestial plane, to the union of the lay people, or the profane plane, who imitate the divine pattern of life in order to be connected to the sacred world. It could be added that the image of a young man, the bridegroom in Germanic and Lithuanian traditions, demonstrates cultural differences based on the organisation of society. While Skirnir requests a magic sword – ‘the sword as well / that fights of itself‘ (*ok þat sverð, er sjalft vegisk*), in the Lithuanian tradition the main attribute of the male protagonist becomes his tools used in field work, i.e. a scythe, a rake:

Mon dalgėla sidabrina
Dobilalius gražiai skina[14]
(*Lietuvių liaudies dainynas* 1997: 105)

Another important attribute of the young man in the Lithuanian tradition is his horse – an essential possession required to conquer the distance between him and his beloved:

– Žirgužėli, juodbėrėli mano,
Vai, ar eisi su manim drauge,
Ar padėsi kelelį keliauti?’[15]
(*Lietuvių liaudies dainynas* 1989: 94)

Not only is the horse a companion in the young man’s quest, but it may also be seen as an anthropomorphic creature having supernatural powers: the horse is depicted as being capable of providing information about its owner, the young man, to his future father-in-law:

Žirgelis atsakė,
Bėrasai atsakė:
– Skaistus žento būdelis’[16]
(ibid.: 108)

[14] ‘My scythe is made of silver, it cuts down clovers handsomely.’
[15] ‘My horse, my dark horse, will you come with me, will you help me in my journey?’.
[16] ‘The horse answered, the bay horse answered: chaste is the spirit of the son-in-law’.

The horse of Skirnir may be seen as retaining magical qualities as well:

8. *Mar gefðu mér þá*
þann er mik um myrkvan beri
vísan vafrloga [. . .]

'8. Then give me the horse | that goes through the dark
And magic flickering flames [. . .]'
(translation by Henry Adams Bellows)

This image of a horse corresponds with the Indo-European tradition, where "the horses are represented as intelligent, indeed wise, as well as brave and loyal, and often gifted with mantic knowledge" (West 2007: 467). The horse of the young man – *žirgelis* – thus retains certain magical qualities of its supernatural prototype – the archetypal horse. The paradigm related to the image of the horse, centred on this prototype (be it the winged Greek Pegasus or eight-legged Germanic Sleipnir – the steed of Odin known to have the capability of travelling through the air and to the underworld (Davidson 1965: 142)) includes the horse of the profane man as one of its possible transformations. Ursula Dronke posits that the wall of fire Skirnir has to cross may be seen as a traditional barrier marking the entrance to the underworld (in relation to Greek mythology, the hounds of Gymir then are viewed as a transformation of Cerberus). Therefore, the mythical motifs in *The Lay of Skirnir* suggest both "a wooing and a release of new life from the world of the dead, whose enclosure is traditionally of flame" (Dronke 1997: 267). The element of fire bears sacral character and emphasises the passage from life to death and vice versa in mythical consciousness.

In Latvian folklore, mythical prototypes of the bridegroom are the sons of God who reveal the supernatural qualities of strength (which makes the daughter of the Sun shiver) and prosperity (indicated by the golden rafters of the house)

Dieva dēli klèti cirta,
Zelta spāres spāredami;
Saules meita cauri gāja
Kà lapiņas drebedama.[17]

Building a house is a deed closely related to the ritual – "the man of traditional societies could only live in a space opening upward" (Eliade 1959: 43), and the golden rafters of the house indicate its orientation towards the sky (the upper part of the house is made from the most valuable material). In this respect the image of a mountain in *The Lay of Skirnir* may be also taken into consideration as a sacral place:

[17] 'The sons of God were building the barn with golden rafters, the daughter of the Sun was trembling like a leaf'.

11. *Segðu þat, hirðir, | er þú á haugi sitr* *ok varðar alla vega:* *Hvé ek at andspilli | komumk ins unga mans* *fyr greyjum Gymis?*	11. Tell me, herdsman, | sitting on the hill, And watching all the ways, How may I win | a word with the maid Past the hounds of Gymir here? (translation by Henry Adams Bellows)

The motif reveals that the house of Gymir (father of maiden Gerth) is situated on the hill, and implicitly refers to the mythical aspect of the introduced space that serves as a mediator between the domains of sky and earth.

The sacral meaning of the upward orientation is closely related to the symbolic *axis mundi*, a vital notion in the organisation of mythical space: "the discovery or projection of a fixed point – the center – is equivalent to the creation of the world" (ibid. 22). Such *axis mundi* in mythic cognition is the world tree, a central image in the tripartite division of the world: a maple or linden tree (Lithuanian and Slavic tradition) or the ash tree Yggdrasil (Germanic tradition). A sacred spring under the roots of the world tree is also a recurring motif, which may be reduced to the formula *spring under the tree* (Urth's well under the roots of Yggdrasil and Lithuanian *A Spring under the Maple Tree*). The image of the world tree located near the water is recurrent in the folk songs of other traditions, e.g. Czech, cf.:

U našeho jazera,
Stóji lipka zelena,
A na téj lipě, na téj zelenéj,
Zpivaju tři ptačkove [...][18]
(Veselovsky 1989: 110)

Polish folk song includes the same arrangement of mythic spatial markers, cf.:

Na polu lipa, pod lipą woda,
Tam stojała dziwczyneczka, psiekna uroda.[19]
(Sliuzinskas 2006: 114)

Thus, the image of a tree in folk songs is an instance of a profane object turned into a marker of a mythical place: it structures the chaotic profane space and indicates its centre in order to attain transcendence to the sacral sphere, which is vital for the ritual of marriage to take place.

[18] 'Near our lake a green linden tree grows, and in that tree, in that green tree, three birds are singing'.

[19] 'There is a linden tree in the field, and water lies below the linden tree, a girl was standing there, a beautiful girl'.

Conclusions

With reference to the Old Icelandic poem *The Lay of Skirnir* and Lithuanian wedding songs, the following archetypal images/common motifs are embedded in the narrative structure, viz. the exchange of gifts (*golden apples* versus *sweet apples*; *magic ring* versus *red beads*), the image of the horse as a companion of the bridegroom/matchmaker, the unwillingness of the bride towards marriage/the bride's lament, offerings and threats of the bridegroom/matchmaker, welcoming the bridegroom/matchmaker by giving him a beverage. The beverage – *the mead* and *the sweet wine* is culture-specific. In *The Lay of Skirnir*, threatening the bride alludes to incantation and magic (the magic of runes). The difference between the Germanic and the Baltic traditions is manifest in the closer connection of the *The Lay of Skirnir* to seasonal myths: Gerth might be viewed as a deity of the underworld (Jotunheim) representing the barren earth whose sterility is overcome by union with the fertility god.

It is the motif of shaking the earth, as rendered by the formulas *Jörð bifask* 'the ground shakes' and *žemužė dreba* 'the earth shakes', that is manifest in both traditions, for the metaphorical "shaking the earth" in the sense of providing fertility for the soil may be linked to the metaphorical "shaking the bride" (in the prototypical quality of the mytheme employed to convey the unwillingness of the bride towards marriage). Moreover, in Lithuanian wedding songs the celestial beings *Aušrinė*, *the daughters of the Sun*, appertain to the mythical prototypes of the mortal bride; the mythical *sons of God* – to the mythical prototypes of the mortal bridegroom. In *The Lay of Skirnir*, the deities *Freyr* and *Gerth* can be traced to the archetypal pair of Heaven and Earth.

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I. Research articles

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Dariusz Czaja
(Jagiellonian University in Kraków, Poland)

Cain's sin: New interpretive contexts*

The author reinterprets the biblical story of Cain and Abel. The account in *The Book of Genesis* is viewed as ambiguous and in need of a new anthropological interpretive approach. The sense of the story extends beyond known interpretations: Jacek Filek's philosophical interpretation, Alan Aycock's anthropological interpretation, and Jose Saramago's atheist viewpoint. The new interpretation proposed here is labelled *mysterious*. Why did Cain kill? Could he have avoided killing? Why did God accept Abel's offering and reject Cain's? Why does God place a protective mark on Cain? And who is the figure of Cain in the first place?

The basis for the new approach to Cain's sin is Michał Klinger's book *Cain's Mystery*. Klinger concludes that the biblical account of the fratricide contains the message of the vagueness of God's decrees and the universality of evil, which, besides good, is an inalienable element of humanity. Cain is interpreted as being similar to the sinners in Gospels, who encounter Jesus and receive forgiveness and salvation.

Key words: anthropological interpretation, biblical account, Cain and Abel, good and evil

1. The problem: Cain and Abel

The biblical account of Cain's crime (Genesis 4:1–16) plays in Western culture a role of a paradigmatic narrative. "Cain killing Abel", writes

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Baudrillard somewhat ironically, “is already a crime against humanity (there were only two of them!)” (2013 [2005]: 111). In fact, of course, it is not about a crime against humanity, but rather about the paradigmatic crime and about Cain as the model figure of a sinner. That is why the story of the two brothers is still important to us.

What does it say? It functions as part of the spiritual “genotype” of Western culture, familiar also to those who do not identify with Judaism or Christianity. However, I have the impression that it is often taken as an indecent mental shortcut (“a brother killed a brother”), and its understanding is not much different from a lukewarm reception of a folklore legend about two brothers at variance or of a moralising story about the executioner and the victim. However, contrary to common belief, this is not a simple story with a moral. Rather, it is a complex and ambiguous text with obscure semantics, whose exegesis usually omits all “inconvenient” fragments that could make it less unambiguous.

If one reads this passage outside its linguistic and exegetical context, its meaning appears obvious, both in its storyline and in its moral plane. There is a murderer and a victim, there is murder and innocently shed blood. The biblical characters play the roles assigned to them by the Divine Author with some pre-established fatalism. Whatever happened was bound to happen. Abel played the role of an innocent victim, Cain that of a cunning murderer. Hence, it may seem that this well-known tale does no longer present any interpretive problems, that its explanation is laid down here almost directly, with the meanings attributed to characters and events being morally and theologically unequivocal. In short, it would seem that Cain’s crime and punishment, and in particular his sin, do not leave room for questions. All of this is perfectly lucid and explicable through the logic of the Bible. The good found in the figure of the innocent Abel is elevated, the evil whose archetypal emblem is the sinful Cain is condemned, and the murderer himself, stigmatised with social odium, is rightly relegated into oblivion.

However, it seems to me that a cognitively credible reading of Cain’s story stands in strong conflict with the above explanatory approach. I thus argue that if one adheres to the letter of the biblical account, the black-and-white scenario usually activated with respect to it clearly fails. Not only is it insufficient to explain the story away, but it also misinterprets its elemental meanings. At a closer and more careful look, it turns out that nothing in it is simple and unequivocal, that it is not, as some would see it, an ancient version of contemporary stories of brotherly conflicts. It is rather Ricardo J. Quinones who is right – in the introduction to his brilliant analysis of literary refractions of the story of Cain’s crime, he puzzlingly writes:

> From the very beginning the story of Cain and Abel was a mystery. This is already visible at the level of the story itself. From the terse original to the most complicated and elaborate story of *Finnegans Wake* there had been restraint if not confusion as to why that happened and even as to what happened. (Quinones 1991: 17)

First of all, I suggest that the story hides in its midst more questions than can be answered by common sense or routine biblical exegesis, which usually follows unambiguous and predictable moralising paths (Läpple 1975–1977). Secondly, the story contains meanings that go far beyond the Hebrew social and cultural environment, which is a limitation that some religious and anthropological interpretations are based on. And thirdly, I claim that in addition to the interpretation of the first murder most prevalent in Western Christian theology (in particular, in the Roman Catholic version), or besides explanations from cultural studies scholars trying to unequivocally rationalise the story, there is another interpretation that I propose to term *mysterious*. It is an interpretation in which the "edges" of the biblical narrative remain unsmoothed with respect to the intention inherent in the text, which finally goes beyond narrowly understood rationality based on the principle of non-contradiction. In short, I claim that there is an inherent mystery in this story, which can hardly be submitted to a historical, a philological, or a conceptual exegesis, a mystery that perhaps can only be reasonably expressed within the logic of the paradox.

The perspective I will try to outline here is essentially anthropological, although understandably in many aspects it connects with the theological approach. In interpreting the story, I would not like to completely hide behind the veil of this or that school of thought. The biblical account is moving on the personal level, with the issues it raises not being limited to the past that can be interpreted only within the framework of specialised knowledge. Therefore, obviously, I use the analytical and exegetical tools available, but try to maintain the personal perspective of directly relating to the biblical world of history, concepts, and symbols. Therefore, for me the text possesses an inalienable existential value. And finally, I want to emphasise my focus on reconstructing meaning from the biblical text, without considering the pragmatic conclusions that could be derived from it for normative ethics, codes of law, or present-day morality. In the present study, these issues are treated as secondary.

2. Interpretations of the Biblical account

The biblical account is extremely compact, laconic, and tenuous in it storyline; it only gives the most important, "bare" facts: the who, what,

when, and where. It is totally a-psychological, the characters are presented through their actions. The gaps and omissions, which every story necessarily contains, provoke the reader to complement them with something that could (or should) have happened: such is a characteristic feature of the midrash.[1] The careful reading of the Book of Genesis lends credence to the initial presumption that nothing in that story is really coherent. Indeed, nothing there is black and white. Yes, we have the perpetrator and the victim; yes, Cain killed. It is also true that Abel died from his hand. Where is any place for doubt in the face of these hard facts? Yet, there are also other questions, no less important and stimulating to the reader's imagination. Why did Cain kill at all? Could he have avoided killing? Why did the Lord accept Abel's offering and reject Cain's? And moreover: if Cain is the archetypal murderer, if he is a model sinner, if God despises him, if he should only be damned and forgotten – as it is usually the case in moralising readings – why does God put a protective mark on him? What is it really about? Why is the murderer protected? Who *is* Cain, in the first place? Is the biblical text really as simple as we would like to believe? Let us not hurry with the answers.

We shall first open up a space for conjectures and preliminary suggestions by reviewing three different attempts to answer these questions. This is to draw a broad spectrum of possible solutions, as far as the language, the style of expression, and specific interpretive proposals are concerned.

2.1. A philosophical interpretation: Jacek Filek

First, let us review a philosophical reading of the story from a philosopher and a lecturer in ethics, Jacek Filek (2001, "Cain's sad face"). In his essay, Filek seeks the primordial structure of evil, which he says most often hides behind its emanations. He argues that whenever evil manifests itself most ostentatiously, its nature can hardly be understood. We are thus led astray, cursing sinister deeds themselves, without noticing that they have a deeper foundation. This primordial basis, according to the author, is the bad way of life from which an evil deed grows and in relation to which it can be comprehended. Such is the true condition for the possibility of committing evil deeds. Evil is deceptive, in the sense that its most spectacular manifestations can veil its fundamental nature, i.e. the very state of being evil, not particular events. Filek's reading of the biblical story is as follows:

[1] The American writer and essayist Anita Diamant writes: "The compressed stories and images in the Bible are rather like photographs. They don't tell us everything we want or need to know. Midrash is the story about what happened before and after the photographic flash" (in Finding 2004: 17).

Let us consider [...] the most obvious example. Here is the act: Cain kills Abel. It would seem that it constitutes a "clinical" case of evil, the evil of Cain's deed. Everyone sees that Cain is evil. If one could stop Cain, there would have not been any evil. But Cain is not evil because he killed; it is the reverse: he killed because he was evil. If we had managed to prevent Cain from doing this, we would not have destroyed evil in him. Cain would still have remained evil. And that means that no police, no institutional prevention is able to free us from Cain's evil.

Even before he killed, Cain's face was already sad. "Why are you upset? Why are you depressed?", asks God. "If you do what is appropriate, you'll be accepted, won't you? But if you don't do what is appropriate, sin is crouching near your doorway, turning toward you" (Gen 4:6–7[2]). Sin as a new occurrence, but a newly committed sinful act is not the beginning of evil. Sin is only "lying" and "lurking", and obtains access to a person when they do not live well, when the "inclination of the thoughts of the human heart [is] only evil all the time" (Gen 6:5). So Cain kills his brother. "And why did he murder him? – asks St. John – Because what he was doing was evil [...]. The person who does not love remains spiritually dead. Everyone who hates his brother is a murderer" (1 John 3:12–15). (Filek 2001: 192–193)[3]

This is an instructive example of the radically and unequivocally moralising interpretation of Cain's story. Cain is here an archetypal villain, and the whole story seems to be devoid of any questions. We immediately notice the presence of a significant distortion in this commentary. Cain killed, says the philosopher, because he was an evil man inside, at his very heart, and the clear proof of that was his sad face with which he flaunted. But how does the exegete know that? Certainly, not from the text itself! Indeed, the *Gdańsk Bible*[4] says enigmatically "his face has fallen" (which probably denotes a sad facial expression), and in the *Millennium Bible*[5] we read without ambiguity: "your face is grim" – but the insightful commentator did not ask himself what was the reason for that. After all, the whole passage from Genesis 4:1–16 is a sequence of *events*, a sequence with a clearly increasing causality. Both brothers had previously made their offerings to God and the text says nothing about their intentions. There is no mention of one of them making his offering in good faith and the other in bad. The text also says nothing about the quality of the gifts offered; it does not suggest in any way that Cain's offering was less valuable. And that was exactly what happened: for some unknown reasons, Yahweh did not approve of Cain's offering. This and only this was why Cain's face was sad!

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[2] All biblical quotations come from International Standard Version, available at www.biblegateway.com. [translator's note]

[3] All translations from non-English publications by R.A. [translator's note]

[4] Pol. *Biblia Gdańska*, a protestant Polish translation of the Bible from 1632. [translator's note]

[5] Pol. *Biblia Tysiąclecia*, the main Polish Catholic translation of the Bible; 1st ed. 1965, 5th ed. 2000. Its text was used as the basis for Polish Jerusalem Bible (2006).

But the real question is why the Lord did not approve of Cain's offering. This is what continues to intrigue serious exegetes, but there is no mention of it in the philosophical interpretation cited above. Nor is there any trace in the biblical text of the presumption that, as the interpreter persistently holds, Cain "killed because he was angry". Frankly speaking, from the source text we do not learn much about the two brothers, their nature, personalities, and preferences. The excerpt cited is an example not so much of a peculiar text exegesis or even of a carefree reading, but rather of frivolous use of text to illustrate a previously conceived of hypothesis.[6] Cain turns out to be a monochrome, poster-like figure, devoid of any depth or trace of ambiguity. In this situation, it is less surprising that the puzzling elements of this story (such as Cain's mark) have been completely omitted in this hasty, one-dimensional interpretation.

2.2. An anthropological interpretation: D. Alan Aycock

The anthropological reading follows a completely different trajectory. In the collection of texts devoted to the structural analyses of various elements of the biblical myth, we can also find a short study by D. Alan Aycock (1983).[7] It is primarily a detailed interpretation of the meaning of Cain's mark, but – as if incidentally – it is also a courageous attempt to anthropologically interpret the entire story of Cain and Abel. In his explanation, the author exploits a wealth of ethnological and religious knowledge, searching there for analogies to unveil the meaning of Cain's mark. In spite of religious references, the author's entire interpretation is carried out consistently from a clearly unconfessed position. Cain is treated there as simply a cultural hero (one of many), and the biblical text is regarded as any other "cultural text" that may be subject to a structuralist treatment. Naturally, there is nothing wrong with that, but this kind of interpretive decision is not as epistemologically innocent as it might seem to its author.

Perhaps the most intriguing idea in that study is that Cain and Jesus, the two cultural "heroes", are "exact reciprocal structural analogues" (Aycock 1998: 156). The author is aware of the peculiarity of his position in the context of Christian theology (and probably in terms of common sense), but argues boldly that his study will allow the reader to "be persuaded very quickly" (Aycock 1998: 156). The key points of comparison are Cain's mark

[6] That said, the idea of invisible but real structures of evil is undoubtedly inspirational and deserves attention.

[7] The English original is referenced here but the quotations below are back translations into English from the Polish version of Aycock (1998). [translator's note]

and Christ's stigmata. Both types of wounds are treated here metaphorically as information about the specific status of the two figures. First, Cain's and Christ's stigmata reveal the contradiction between physical mortality and spiritual immortality. Second, the stigmata separate a marked person from the rest of the society and thus exclude them from the accepted moral principles. Third, they mediate between the divine and human reality. Fourth, a stigma also mediates between creativity and destruction, and the hero marked with it resembles a trickster, a well-known figure from North American mythology.

Citing arguments of various degrees of credibility in support of his structural analogy, Aycock also refers – which is particularly interesting for us – to Cain's offering that God refused. The author argues that Cain's story is customarily interpreted in ethical terms as a moral reprimand for killing, while it also contains another important lesson of grave cultural significance:

> Cain's murder of Abel is a direct compensation for the inferiority of the bloodless sacrifice [. . .]. We sense in this subtle irony that God rejected the pious offering of Cain the farmer, giving priority to the produce of Abel the shepherd only to receive an alternative sacrifice of the shepherd himself. (Aycock 1998: 162)

I will not go into the details of Aycock's study with its many debatable points. Like in the previous case, I am more interested in the method itself, the tool of interpretation rather than its final results – which are, incidentally, exceptionally misleading. As a commentary, let us just consider Edmund Leach's note from the introduction to this peculiar "biblical" book – for some reason, this great British anthropologist had the misfortune of lending his name to the whole enterprise.[8] Leach openly says what is intuitively felt from the beginning: "The stories of Jesus and Cain may be analogues, but, at least at the first level of transformation, they are inverse" (Leach 1983: 4). In brief, the logic of the story of Cain and Christ unambiguously suggests that Jesus is rather the equivalent of Abel than Cain! Abel's figure was usually used in patristic and liturgical texts as an antetype of innocent sacrifice prefiguring the future sacrifice of Christ. Either way, omitting the obvious nonsense, this "exegesis" is similar to the previous one in that it completely ignores the complexity and ambiguity of Cain's story. This is a purely formal type of analysis; an analysis in which individual elements and characters are merely carriers of meanings, helping the analyst to determine the infamous "structure" (based on binary oppositions), and that is the final destination of

[8] This is a surprising statement from the present author in the light of the quotation from Leach a few lines below, as well as from the latter's other comments, in which he epxressed his reservations concerning Aycock's study; cf. "I am less happy about Dr Aycock's second essay" (Leach 1983: 4) and the explanation the follows. [transl. note]

the whole undertaking. From the beginning, it is noteworthy that the whole theological context, crucial for understanding this story, is here completely disregarded. The "solution" to the problem of Cain's unaccepted offering is fairly straightforward, albeit rather risky: it turns out that the God of Genesis apparently favours carnivorousness, and the whole story with both offerings, amusing for Aycock (we naturally admire Yahweh's "subtle irony") is in fact an illustration of the superiority of bloody sacrifices (of animals) over offerings of agricultural products. In still other words, it would be a brutal illustration of the superiority of shepherds and breeders over farmers, an illustration that structuralists could find legible. Of course, as we will see later, the story of Cain takes place in a particular cultural environment and necessarily contains a strong local "residue", therefore there is no reason to completely ignore ethnographic data in its reading. But naturally, the story should not be reduced to its historical and cultural context.

All in all, maybe we did not learn much about Cain from Aycock's risky interpretation, but we learnt much (far too much) about the possibilities and effectiveness of the structural method. But that is unimpressive because the biblical text is resistant to structuralist engineering. It seems that its mysteries have not been even partially unravelled. The anthropological reading approach – and I write it *à contre-coeur* – proved to be surprisingly flat and epistemologically barren.

2.3. An atheistic interpretation: Jose Saramago

The third interpretation is a passage from *Cain*, an extraordinary book by Jose Saramago, a Portuguese Nobel Prize winner, an author ostentatiously demonstrating his atheism, also known for his anti-clerical attacks. It is hence worth saying right away that in this book, just as in Saramago's other novels, we do not deal with *ad hoc* journalism wrapped in secondary literary form, but with a well-thought-out and intelligently written prose, whose outstanding literary quality is non-debatable. In the literary apocrypha dedicated to the figure of Cain, Saramago asks first about the identity of the title character. He asks who essentially was the one that had to play the murderer? The author tries to explore that character's motives; he tries to figure out how it could have happened that the man raised his hand against his own brother. Saramago develops a detailed history of Cain's life and reflects on the latter's tragic fate after his exile from Eden. In a way similar to Jewish midrashim, the novelist fills in the empty and ambiguous places in the biblical narrative, creating an apocryphal story of Cain. Of course, his novel is not an interpretation in the literal sense of the word, but its literary concept

itself and the way the intrigue is presented already contains a kind of exegesis of the biblical passage, even if not worded in academic language. After the murder, a peculiar dialogue between Cain and the Creator takes place:

> Where is your brother, he asked, and cain responded with another question. Am I my brother's keeper, You killed him, Yes, I did, but you are the one who is really to blame, I would have given my life for him if you had not destroyed mine, It was a question of putting you to the test, But one put to the test the very thing you yourself created, Because I am the sovereign lord of all things, And of all creatures you will say, but not of me and my freedom, What, the freedom to kill, Just as you had the freedom to stop me killing abel, which was perfectly within your capabilities, all you had to do, just for a moment, was to abandon that pride in your infallibility that you share with all the other gods, and again, just for a moment, to be truly merciful and accept my offering with humility, because you shouldn't have refused it, you gods, and all the others, have a duty to those you have created, This is seditious talk, Yes, possibly, but I can guarantee you that if I were god, I would repeat every day Blessed are those who choose sedition because theirs is the kingdom of the earth, That's sacrilege, Maybe, but no more sacrilegious than you allowing abel to die, You were the one who killed him, True, but you were the one who pronounced sentence, whereas I merely carried out the execution, That blood over there wasn't spilled by me, you could have chosen between good and evil, but you chose evil and must pay for it... (Saramago 2011 [2009]: 25–26)

One cannot miss the irony, and maybe even sarcasm, with which Saramago treats the inspired text. One would like to say that we have already heard this song somewhere: this is of course a variation on the well-known Enlightenment note. Saramago's spirit is entirely Voltairean. He looks at the whole story with a cool rationalist eye, tracking the gaps and inconsistencies in the whole narrative. From Enlightenment there derives the critique of the anthropomorphic perception of God (who in the text, according to the well-rooted mental imagery, bears king's attributes) and the monarchic metaphor deeply rooted in the Christian rhetoric. But there is something in this text that makes Saramago's interpretation of Cain's story more serious than the rationalist criticism of religious imagery. First of all, the irony of his narrative, even the frivolity with which the biblical story is treated, cannot overshadow the author's awareness of what he is saying. He knows the details of and the commentaries to the biblical passage well (this is testified by the scene of Abel being killed with a donkey's jaw – known from one of the midrashim). Secondly, for an anti-clericalist and atheist he exhibits a surprisingly lively, emotional, not to say a fervent attitude to it. The whole fragment is a rather poorly concealed attempt to defend Cain: this is done through the elaborate sequence about the alleged personality of Abel. Saramago tries to add to the original text a psychological motivation behind Cain's "righteous" wrath. Thirdly, it is clear that the author is especially intrigued by what deprives some of us of the peace of mind: an attempt to

unravel the reasons why God did not accept Cain's offering. And as we shall see this is not a trivial matter.

So much is probably enough to notice in this "atheistic" interpretation of Cain's myth something more than a delayed joke, a very distant Enlightenment derivative. Saramago brings up the secret of evident divine injustice, the object of which is Cain's offering. And it must be said that the explanation of this fragment is a weak point of many exegeses: Saramago is absolutely right when he writes earlier that it is an issue that "remains unexplained until today" (Saramago 2011 [2009]: 23).

In order to see this, let us recall the views of Lev Shestov, vastly diverging from the thinking of the Portuguese Nobel Prize winner:

> The so-called ultimate questions troubled mankind in the world's dawn as badly as they trouble us now. Adam and Eve wanted "to know," and they plucked the fruit at their risk. Cain, whose sacrifice did not please God, raised his hand against his brother: and it seemed to him he committed murder in the name of justice, in vindication of his own injured rights. Nobody has ever been able to understand why God preferred Abel's sacrifice to that of Cain. (Shestov 1920 [1905]: 68)

Saramago's doubts, although explicitly expressed "from the outside" of the biblical text, from the openly atheistic position, could be seen as a continuation of the mental schema whose "canonical" shape comes form Shestov's roguish book.

True, Saramago's literary remake of the biblical myth sounds suspiciously human, arch-human. This is clearly a unilateral paraphrase, in a way the reverse of the philosophical interpretation discussed above. There Cain was clearly accused of the sin of wrongdoing, here we have a clear accusation against the Creator of provoking the deed and an equally clear defence from Cain. As it comes from Saramago, this should not be surprising: the author sides with the man against incomprehensible and rationally unjustifiable divine decisions. In his text, the theological layer has clearly been removed, the dispute takes place on the psychological level, and all the characters in this story disturbingly resemble human beings. Therefore, Saramago, who so intensely anthropologised the scene of the "original murder", is also clearly theotropic in his thinking, as well as being largely paradoxical. He highlights, probably by accident, a very important feature of Cain's story: its irrational or mysterious dimension. He exposes an element that cannot be fully explained, rationalised, or translated into human standards: the central role of the Creator in this entire story, the non-susceptibility of his decision to any human interpretation, to any – be it ethical, anthropological, or psychological – explanation. All explanation bounces off the autonomous Divine choice like off a wall, it seems that not even irony can have any effect on it.

3. Cain revisited: Michał Klinger's theological interpretation

We shall keep the quoted interpretations in the back of our minds. They should create a multi-layered, expressive background for a little known but intriguing theological interpretation of Cain's story that comes from an Orthodox theologian Michał Klinger in his book *Tajemnica Kaina* [Cain's Mystery] (1981). I refer to this work for a few reasons, the most important of which is that I do not know of any other study that would try to address this biblical account in greater detail and in a more comprehensive and multifaceted manner. Nor am I familiar with any text that would treat the "Cain case" with greater spiritual zeal. In Klinger's study, the whole set of issues related to Cain is not just a pretext for an erudite exegesis, although the biblical, philological, and anthropological erudition of the author is truly impressive. But his profound and intricate analyses always aim for a higher goal, that of deepening our theological and anthropological sensitivity.

For our purposes, however, it is enough to reconstruct Klinger's essential interpretive line of Cain's sin. This is also why, in the presentation of his work, I focus on only a few axial and most relevant points in our endeavour to find a new context for understanding the essence of Cain's offence. Yet, lovers of clear and unquestionable truths should be forewarned: within this understanding there lurks a certain non-understanding. There is light but also darkness in the hypothesis proposed here.

The author's point of departure is his anxiety that although Adam the first man has long been present, in Christian tradition, in the orbit of salvation, his son Cain in common Christian awareness continues to be an unmistakable symbol of evil, forgotten in soteriology. But the mysterious mark placed by Yahweh on the perpetrator should make us reflect for a moment: is the matter really as unequivocal as we commonly believe? Klinger's book does not contain a cheap apology for Cain, nor is it a defence of a murderer; it rather asks the difficult question whether there is a place for Cain in the plan of salvation. Or, to personalise the problem: are we all, readers of the biblical passage, already so comfortable with our righteousness and justice that we do not want to look at Cain at all? Does his terrible sin "by nature" remove him beyond the field of our perception and moral awareness? It is noteworthy that Klinger, clearly following the Orthodox tradition, does not judge Cain the sinner, does not turn him into an object of moral qualification. He rather follows the intuition of the *Great Canon of Repentance* of St. Andrew of Crete (7th–8th century), the wonderful text that puts every sinner on a par with Cain. The penitent reciting the canon

confesses: "I have willfully incurred the guilt of Cain's murder, since by invigorating my flesh I am the murderer of my soul's awareness, and have warred against it by my evil deeds" (Song 1, as sung on Clean Tuesday).[9] Incidentally, for Jerzy Nowosielski, a painter and Orthodox theologian, the public reading of the *Canon* was an ideal of the Christian confession (Podgórzec 1985: 154). In Orthodox consciousness, confession before the icon of Christ is not an act of will or a gesture of self-accusation, but is always understood as an act of a transformation of consciousness. In the perspective set by the *Canon*, Cain is the archetype sinner, but as it turns out, he is also in the centre of the plan of salvation. Such is, in Klinger's book, the most general point of departure for further reflection.

How does the author construct the image of Cain? If one sticks to the letter of the biblical text, it seems that both brothers, even before making their offerings, are opposites. This is revealed already at the level of their names. The Hebrew *Qajin* 'javelin, lance, spear' conveys the sense of power, strength, and firmness, whereas *Haebel* 'breath, breeze' seems to personify weakness, elusiveness, and sensitivity. In other words, the names of the brothers express two contradictory aspects of reality. Irrespective of what happens in the story, the brothers are already in conflict by decree of language. In this context, Jung remarks that the antagonism between the brothers at the human level is a historical realisation of the conflict that occurs in the Divine pleroma and is an essential component of the divine drama. There are also suggestions from biblical scholars that Cain and Abel are twins and are therefore even closer than they would have been otherwise. In any case, they are opposites, which at the symbolic level is the essence of twinhood. Certainly, in one way or another, the story revolves around the mystery of good and evil.

What is the essence of the conflict between the two brothers? Their occupations are different. Cain, as we remember, is a "servant of the soil", a farmer, Abel is a shepherd. A large number of exegetes, including anthropologists, locate the very essence of the dispute in this circumstance, constructing around this notion a number of cultural hypotheses (e.g. on the superiority of nomads over sedentary peoples etc.). There are many attempts to explain the fraternal disagreement, such as René Girard's idea that a bloody sacrifice channels the conflict, which cannot be done with an offering of farm produce (Girard 1977 [1972]). Indeed, Yahweh did not accept the agricultural offering but certainly not because it was an offering of farm produce! It should be emphasised that in the biblical text there is no credible

[9] Available at www.orthodox.net/greatlent/great-canon-of-andrew-of-crete-explanation.html; accessed 22 May, 2017.

evidence that Yahweh prefers bloody sacrifices, which some exegetes try to suggest with stubborn persistence. But notice that for example in the *Book of Leviticus* there are detailed descriptions of the offerings of both "food" and animal (Klinger 1981: 45). It is quite certain that Yahweh can be offered anything: from the first grain of corn to the firstborn child. And that was the initial situation of both brothers. Upon careful reading of the biblical text, one unmistakably feels that Cain is rejected by Yahweh and that the kind of his offering is completely irrelevant: "But he did not look favourably upon Cain and his offering" (Gen 4:5). In a similar manner, but with opposite axiology, the text describes Abel and his offering. The essence of the conflict of the brothers does have a cultural aspect but certainly it does not boil down to culture – it seems to be rooted deeper. What are then the reasons for rejecting one offering and accepting the other? Here, of course, begins the hard part. Commenting on the various interpretations in which the role of occupations (shepherd vs. farmer) was strongly emphasised and which allegedly had a decisive influence on Yahweh's choice of the offering, Klinger follows the text literally and makes his point clear:

> The text [Genesis] is perfectly resistant to assign Yahweh any motives for his choice. We will see [...] that the assignment of particular professions to the brothers was probably an editorial exercise and a very "feeble" one, so that we cannot go too far in exploring the role of the cultural factor. Nothing can be found out about God and his plans – this has to remain undisclosed. The question "why?" is thus ill-posed. We have to learn from facts and not to investigate motives, which – even if it makes sense to be speaking of those – are hidden in the Divine pleroma. According to C. G. Jung, who follows Clement of Alexandria in that "God rules the world with his right and left hand", Cain is the reflection of Satan, who in the Book of Job is named the son of God. This would be in line with the famous anti-dualistic statement by prophet Isaiah: "So that from the sun's rising to the west people may know that there is none besides me. I am the Lord, and there is no other. I form light and create darkness, I make goodness and create disaster. I am the Lord, who does all these things" (Isa 45:6–7).
>
> This also reflects the existence of two elements: good and evil, bright and dark, but the fundamental difference with regard to Zoroaster's teachings lies in the union of these two elements in one God. Evil is also part of God's inconceivable plans. God is a *coincidentio oppositorum*, a notion strongly emphasised by philosophers of nature. The narrative of Cain seems to develop in this spirit and with a certain fatalism: God rejects Cain and his offering without an apparent reason. (Klinger 1981: 46–47)

Perhaps the most important lesson that can be derived from an unprejudiced and honest reading of Chapter 4 of Genesis is the following: we must accept that we do not really know much or even that we know nothing about God, and that his motives are completely incomprehensible from the human perspective – for us they are and must remain hidden. In other words, we must accept that the paths of God's thinking do not coincide with ours, even if it is difficult for us to acknowledge it.

The "apophatism" of this reading stands in radical opposition to the suspicious verbosity of other exegetes who have so much to say about the Divine mind that they might be suspected of being equipped with a special instrument for its detection. But this is doubtful: their enunciations rather testify to their epistemological vanity and omission to remain silent in the face of interpretive deadlock. To do that does not have to be an act of intellectual surrender, it is rather a fair acknowledgment that the human mind has its impassable limits. We shall thus note that the biblical account read in this way is not black and white, it is not a binary story for amateur theologians. It contains some disturbing semantic surplus, and the contradictions inherent therein are perhaps a clear sign of the mystery concealed from the human reason.

Klinger is thus right in his claim that Cain's story is

> ... brilliant in its brevity and simplicity, truly inspired, extremely condensed despite many distortions and editorial inconsistencies, bringing the problem as if to a head, so that all literary developments, supplements, and interpretive "explanations" inevitably tilt it to one side or "turn it over". (Klinger 1981: 47)

The validity of this conclusion rests, *inter alia*, on the previously invoked interpretations and commentaries on Cain's case. This is also partly why they have been mentioned.

4. Cain's mark

We have previously noted that a very important element of the story of Cain is the strange, peculiar mark that God placed on him after killing Abel and before his exile to the land of Nod ("Then the Lord placed a sign on Cain so that no one finding him would kill him", Gen 4:15). It is an important "emblem" of his dual identity, therefore it is important to clarify the meaning of the Hebrew sign *'ôt*. Based on the text alone, it is impossible to determine what the sign was and what it looked like. But first and foremost, one cannot find in the text the answer to another fundamental question: why does Yahweh, with that sign, so zealously defend the murderer? Analysing the available answers to these questions, Klinger states that many of them are dubious, and none of them is totally convincing.

There is considerable indecision on this matter in the Jewish Aggadah. Sometimes the mark is interpreted as a protective sign (i.e. the sign of a repentant sinner), at other times it is considered a sign of shame (and so of a murderer). Together, the two notions express an important complexity of Cain's spiritual situation. However, Klinger suggests that constraining oneself to these two possibilities is limiting. The intention of the inspired

Author is clear: he wants to clearly show that God himself cares for and protects Cain. There are many indications that the meaning of the sign in the text is blurred and that it seems to carry a more general theological idea – unfortunately, we do not know what it is.

The hypothesis of the mark being a "burden of crime" also misses the point, as it is not clear why the Lord should protect Cain by imposing remorse on him. The concept of the ritual mark (S. H. Hooke) associated with the agricultural myth is not quite convincing either, nor is the rather commonly accepted idea of the mark representing tribal vengeance (E. Meyer, R. de Vaux). On this interpretation, the mark was meant to be a sign of belonging to the Kenites, which means that the tribe practiced bloodshed for vengeance. The story of Genesis 4 apparently explains the origin of this tradition. But it is hard to find strong empirical confirmation for it. Klinger even suggests that if the story is a description of the rejection of Cain by Yahweh (which, in fact, it is), then in the very gesture of protection there should be at least a hint as to the mystery of this rejection. In other words: the story cannot have a simple historical or ethnographic explanation (a description of the Kenite custom), but it must reveal a fragment of the divine drama. It must carry in itself an outline of a more serious theological idea.

This is what happens in Jung's interpretation, which triggers Klinger's lively response. The Swiss psychologist suggests that since Cain is a reflection of Satan (i.e. the son of God!), who also acts according to secret God's plans unbeknown to us, he is subject to protection on this account alone. This hypothesis has important theological features: it is perhaps the only one that addresses the difficult connection between this episode and the wider spiritual perspective. The problem is that there is no confirmation for it in the ethnographic material. Besides, it is clearly influenced by Jung's notion of duality.

On yet another interpretation, Cain's mark is a testimony of belonging to the worship of Yahweh. After all, the sign clearly comes from God and protects Cain on God's behalf. This can be linked to the worship of Yahweh in nomadic cultures and perfectly complements the theology of the passage in its take on the tragic duality of Cain's fate: Cain belongs to Yahweh, even though he is exiled from his presence. Klinger's proposal leans towards this latter interpretation, albeit after considerable refraction. In the course of a complicated and meandering exegesis (which also links Cain's mark to the tefillin), through discovering of parallelism between Genesis 4 and Isaiah 66, Cain's mark is included in the set of salutary, Messianic signs. Let us recall: in the final passage of the Book of Isaiah (66:19), at the end of time, God puts a sign on the persecuted righteous people, who in Messianic times will

be sent with God's light to the ends of the world. This image is interpreted as the prophetic version of Cain and the archetype at a later stage of its development. In short, there can be no doubt that Cain's mark has many meanings and does not have to be a sign of shame. In its mystical semantics it also disconcertingly evokes the end of time, in which Cain himself is involved.

5. Conclusion: Cain in the New Testament

What I have discussed so far is a testimony to the originality of Klinger's book. But there is more. One of the most interesting and subversive fragments of Klinger's work is an attempt to find Cain's traces in the world of the New Testament. Among the various partial hypotheses and courageous conjectures included in the book, the attempt to find Cain in the world "alien" to him, or to link Cain's drama to certain situations described in the Gospels, is to me a most creative and cognitively inspiring endeavour. It is certainly risky, too. The basic intuition is very unusual here: Klinger tries to show that Cain, whom we meet at the beginning of the Bible and immediately lose sight of (further mentions are scarce), appears again intensely in the New Testament. But not necessarily explicitly and under his name.

In fact, Cain's name is not mentioned in the Gospels at all – it is several times in the letters, but it is not a significant presence. Where does one find him then? In the Gospel narratives, there is one constant in Christ's life: his co-existence with sinners and his sympathy for them. The well-known episode with the harlot (John 8:3–11) is sufficiently telling in this respect: Christ reverses conventional thinking based on elementary, moral sensibility. He does not condemn the woman caught in adultery, not does he demand her punishment. On the contrary, he orders everyone in the crowd to think of his or her own sins, thereby preventing an objective judgment – and finally, all resign from proceeding with it. Justice experiences a strange paralysis. Olivier Clement, one of the great Orthodox theologians, calls this text "unbearable". Why? Because the moral and religious consciousness of people cannot understand that Christ refuses to judge that woman, who says nothing and does not show any remorse. Christ embarrasses the accusers reminding them of the universality of evil.

That is, as Klinger suggests, the basis of Christ's ethical revolution. It is not a revolution against someone but an announcement of general salvation. We can certainly recall here the lesson from *The Brothers Karamazov*: according to Dostoyevsky, love of the sinner is a reflection of God's love of people. Klinger writes:

> This is probably because God always sees us in our sin. The dark, painful side of life enhances and urges love – and in this, an essential mystery of love is revealed. Evil becomes the fuel of love that wants to burn it in itself. In the same way God is urged in love through our sin, in need of our salvation. Christ is the hero of this image, since he burnt for our sins, out of love for sinners. (Klinger 1981: 131)

Therefore, the circle that surrounds Christ is complete – one of its elements is the Devil ("I chose you, the Twelve, didn't I? Yet one of you is a devil"; John 6:70). Thus, we have here a full spectrum of humanity, the spectrum encompassing good and evil.

Also pertinent for this interpretation is the symbolic presence of twins among the twelve (Zebedee's sons, Thomas Didymus, meaning "twin"), which, as we have mentioned, involves the mystery of good and evil. All this means that Christ approaches the dark side of humankind.

But that is not all. We should also reflect on who accompanies Christ on the day of his execution. The most eager students are no longer able to follow him. And who accompanies him on the night of suffering and darkness? The prophecy clearly says: "He was counted among the criminals" (Luke 22:37; cf. Isa 53:12), and the Orthodox Church sings in the Orthros of the Holy Thursday: "As the council of Christ's disciples dispersed, the villain took the true fruit of the vine and was sentenced to the cross with the Lord". In the moving final paragraph of his book, Klinger writes:

> It is the wicked and only them who share Christ's fate with him. Christ took the fate of one of them, the murderer Barabbas: they exchanged their fates. In the last moment, Christ went to Cain – and we must appreciate the fact that only he was able to keep up with Cain. And if the earthly Church recognised the Roman centurion as the first follower of Christ, then the heavenly Church received first the criminal and murderer ("I tell you with certainty, today you will be with me in Paradise"). The Church cannot forget it! She must live in constant awareness that she may be the heart of the world, but the margins of Cain's wilderness may even be more important. Its joy and pneumatophoric reality began on these margins, among the few criminals, condemned without hope. For when the city quietened down and the people lit the Paschal candles, Christ was dying outside the walls, and next to him was Cain. On the cross, the brothers Abel and Cain met again. (Klinger 1981: 134)

To find Cain in the salutary vision of the Gospel is, in a sense, "truism", such as is the fact that Christ came to save sinners, but does the fact – asks Klinger – that this unfortunate villain finally enjoys relief fill us with joy? The author adds immediately that in the face of this hope and joy we should suspend our discursive mind, which will always tend to capture this inconceivable, paradoxical supposition in simple formulas. Also, says Klinger, it would be quite absurd to look at this paschal joy for premises of some "new ethics". That is not the point. It is not about the justification of

evil deeds or some dubious moral relativism. The theological intuition that restores Cain's place in the history of salvation aims rather to confirm what the faithful of the Orthodox Church profess when praying with the words of the Divine Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom: "I believe and confess, Lord, that You are truly the Christ, the Son of the living God, who came into the world to save sinners, of whom I am the first".

If Cain's life and Cain's sin are to be seen in such a light, then it can be said that in the Christian awareness (though perhaps mainly in Eastern Christianity) Cain has hardly been marginalised, he has hardly disappeared from view. On the contrary, he is present at its very core. Maybe that is why Nicolas Berdyaev found himself capable of writing these extraordinary words:

> [M]oral consciousness began with God's question: "Cain, where is your brother Abel?" It will end with another question on the part of God: "Abel, where is your brother Cain?" (Berdyaev 1937 [1931]: 277)

translated by Rafał Augustyn

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II. Reports

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Jerzy Bartmiński
Iwona Bielińska-Gardziel

Fifteen years of the EUROJOS project*

Origin. Project EUROJOS was launched in 2001 at the end of the three-week International School of Humanities of Central and Eastern Europe, organised by Ancient Tradition Study Centre, University of Warsaw, and "Artes Liberales" Foundation in Warsaw, on the initiative of Jerzy Axer. The school programme, designed by Jerzy Bartmiński, was laid on two empirical foundations: empirical (a linguistic analysis of conceptualisations of space, including house/home) and theoretical (the concept of the linguistic worldview).[1] The goal of the seminar was defined as the study of Slavic languages in the period of European transformations. At its core, this programme began as a continuation of research conducted in Lublin since 1985, when work began on the semantics of value terms (cf. Bartmiński 1989). After this first stage, two volumes were published in 1993: *Pojęcie ojczyzny we współczesnych językach europejskich* [The Concept of HOMELAND in Contemporary European Languages, Bartmiński 1993) and *Nazwy wartości. Studia leksykalno-semantyczne* [Value Terms. Lexico-semantic Studies, Bartmiński and Mazurkiewicz-Brzozowska 1993). In 2000, the study of the semantics of value terms, part of the Lublin-based linguistic worldview research, was included in the comparative investigation of Slavic languages initiated by Stanisław Gajda (2000; cf. also Bartmiński 2000 and Chlebda 2000 therein).

Organising the framework for research. Comparative work gained new impetus when in 2003 two ethnolinguistic commissions were created: a national one, under the auspices of the Linguistic Committee of the Polish Academy of Sciences, and an international one, established at the 14th International Slavic Studies Congress in Ohrid, Macedonia. The research scope of the two commissions included (in addition to other topics) the linguistic and cultural worldview of Slavs from a comparative perspective.[2] Thus, the EUROJOS project began to function in a network of potential collaborators. Its main theoretical assumptions were linked to ethnolinguistic practiced in two centres, one of which was Lublin

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[1] More on this issue, see Lappo and Majer-Baranowska (2013).

[2] See Berezovič and Niebrzegowska-Bartmińska (2009) and Nowosad-Bakalarczyk and Szadura (2009).

(cf. e.g. Bartmiński 2005a,b, 2006b, 2007, 2009, 2011, 2016), while the other was Opole (cf. e.g. Chlebda 2008, 2010a). In Lublin, collective volumes were published: *Język w kręgu wartości* [Language in the Sphere of Values] (Bartmiński 2004) and *Język, wartości, polityka. Zmiany rozumienia nazw wartości w okresie transformacji ustrojowej w Polsce. Raport z badań empirycznych* [Language, Values, Politics. Changes in the Understanding of Value Names in the Period of Political Transformation in Poland. An Empirical Study Report] (Bartmiński 2006a), plus a series of articles in the journal *Etnolingwistyka*, starting with vol. 16 in 2004, when the annual became the organ of the two ethnolinguistic commissions.

In April 2008, a conference was organised in Lublin by the Lublin team of ethnolinguists (affiliated with the Department of Polish Philology, UMCS) in collaboration with Rosemarie Lühr's team in Jena, Germany. The German team worked on the project "Norms and values in communication between Eastern and Western Europe" (cf. Bartmiński and Lühr 2008 for the proceedings and Szadura and Żuk 2008 for a conference report). In the same year, the renewed proposal for the EUROJOS research endeavour was presented by Jerzy Bartmiński and Wojciech Chlebda at the 14th Slavic Studies Congress in Ohrid, Macedonia (cf. Bartmiński and Chlebda 2008). The proposal was welcomed with great interest.

In January 2009, the EUROJOS project was affiliated with the Institute of Slavic Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences (IS PAN), whose Scientific Council appointed a board of fourteen members, with Maciej Abramowicz (UMCS) as chair, Wojciech Chlebda (University of Opole) as deputy chair, and Iwona Bielińska-Gardziel (IS PAN) as secretary. Out of 75 concepts proposed for analysis, the board chose five: HOUSE/HOME, EUROPE, FREEDOM, WORK, and HONOUR. The project brought together scholars from various circles and backgrounds (mainly linguists, but also sociologists and cultural studies experts). More than one hundred researchers from many scientific institutions, including nineteen overseas[3] and twelve Polish ones,[4] declared their willingness to collaborate.

[3] Institute of Slavic Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences (Moscow, Russia); Ural Federal University (Yekaterinburg, Russia); Belarusian State University (Minsk, Belarus); Charles University (Prague, Czech Republic); Constantine the Philosopher University (Nitra, Slovakia); Ivano-Frankivsk National University (Lviv, Ukraine); Humboldt University (Berlin, Germany); Serbian Language Institute SAN (Novy Sad, Serbia); Russian Federal University of Humanities (Moscow, Russia); Vilnius University (Lithuania); T. Shevchenko National University (Kiev, Ukraine); State University of Athens (Athens, Greece); Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts (Zagreb, Croatia); Democritus University of Thrace (Komotini, Greece); Institute of the Bulgarian Language BAN (Sofia, Bulgaria); Department of Psychology, University of Portsmouth (United Kingdom); Ghent University (Belgium); Slavic Department, University of Wisconsin (Milwaukee, USA); Stockholm University (Sweden).

[4] University of Opole; University of Wrocław; Faculty of Artes Liberales (Warsaw); Maria Curie-Skłodowska University (UMCS, Lublin); Jagiellonian University in Cracow; Adam Mickiewicz University (Poznań); University of Silesia (Katowice); Catholic University of Lublin; University of Warsaw; Academy of Humanities (Pułtusk); East European State Higher School (Przemyśl); Institute of Slavic Studies, Polish Academy of Sciences (Warsaw).

Conferences and seminars. Within the EUROJOS framework, with the support of both ethnolinguistic commissions, conferences and seminars continued to be organised, from which reports were published regularly, beginning with the 21st volume of *Etnolingwistyka* (see Bielińska-Gardziel 2009).

The first meeting, held on 17–18 April 2009, was organised by Wojciech Chlebda in Kamień Śląski. It was devoted to the problem of defining the concepts selected for analysis, as well as determining the place and role of dictionary definitions in reconstructing linguistic worldviews. The proceedings appeared as Chlebda (2010a).

Another meeting, in June 2009, was organised by Michael Fleischer in Wrocław. It focused on the use of experimental methods (questionnaires) in linguistic research. The proceedings were not published.[5] The result of this stage of the project was a methodological manual for the authors about to engage in analyses of the selected axiological concepts (see Abramowicz, Bartmiński, and Chlebda 2009).

At the third meeting, a workshop that took place in December 2009 in Warsaw, Marek Łaziński presented the possibilities offered by the corpora of Polish and Slavic languages for studying linguistic worldviews. He specifically referred, as examples, to the National Corpus of Polish and parallel corpora of Slavic languages, Interkorp (Czech National Corpus) and ParaSol (a project of the universities in Regensburg and Bern).

The fourth, methodological session was organised in April 2010 in Portsmouth by Jörg Zinken. It dealt with the study of human interaction and texts in reconstructing linguistic worldviews.[6]

On 23–25 September 2010, an international conference was held in Lublin, titled *Values in the Linguistic and Cultural Worldviews of Slavs and their Neighbours*. This EUROJOS V conference was organised by the Department of Polish Philology, UMCS, and the Institute of Slavic Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences.[7]

Simultaneously and since its very inception, the project's details were being discussed, among others, at the meetings of the Ethnolinguistic Commission within the Linguistic Committee of the Polish Academy of Sciences.[8]

Two international conferences co-organised by the Department of Polish Philology, UMCS, and the Institute of Slavic Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences, held respectively on 23–25 September 2010 in Lublin (EUROJOS V) and on 22–25 November 2012 in Warsaw and Lublin (EUROJOS VI), were devoted to the linguistic worldview from a contrastive perspective.[9] The former event focused on the methods of semantic analysis of value terms in various languages (Slavic and others),[10] whereas the Warsaw-Lublin conference dealt with the specific concepts of HOUSE/HOME, EUROPE, WORK, HONOUR, and FREEDOM in the axiological sphere

[5] From among the papers delivered, only one appeared in print (Długosz 2010).

[6] For a report, see Niderla (2010).

[7] See a detailed report by Bielińska-Gardziel (2011).

[8] See Szadura (2005), Lapo and Szadura (2007), Szadura and Żuk (2008).

[9] For a report, see Bartmiński, Bielińska-Gardziel, and Niebrzegowska- Bartmińska (2013).

[10] The proceedings appeared as Abramowicz, Bartmiński, and Bielińska-Gardziel (2012).

of Slavs and their neighbours.[11] In the years 2008–2012 there was an ongoing salient discussion in *Etnolingwistyka* on the contrastive research methodology of the linguistic worldview.[12]

Financial support. The new phase of EUROJOS began at the end of 2012, when the Institute of Slavic Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences received a grant from the Ministry of Science and Higher Education for its research project *Methods of Analysing the Linguistic Worldview in the Context of Comparative Studies*.[13] A report on the project results was published as Bartmiński, Bielińska-Gardziel, and Chlebda (2016). The project was summarised during the EUROJOS XI conference in Warsaw, on 13 October 2015. That conference was attended by a total of 45 participants (including 24 from abroad), representing 27 academic centres. The work was summed up, followed by reports from the editors of individual volumes of the LASiS publication series (*Leksykon aksjologiczny Słowian i ich sąsiadów* [Axiological Lexicon of Slavs and their Neigbours]), i.e. Jerzy Bartmiński, Wojciech Chlebda, Maciej Abramowicz, and Petar Sotirov), who related to the progress on analyses of the five concepts investigated at that stage, i.e. HOUSE/HOME, EUROPE, FREEDOM, WORK, and HONOUR. Svetlana Tolstoy (Institute of Slavic Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow) and Jörg Zinken (University of Mannheim) offered feedback on the project. Finally, a discussion with fifteen project participants was held (both opinions and the discussion are reported on in issue 28 of *Etnolingwistyka*).

Summary. The objectives of the EUROJOS programme in the period reported were realised on two levels: (i) theoretical (proposals for precise conceptual tools for the investigation of the linguistic worldview and their relation to constructs form traditional linguistics); and (ii) analytical (reconstruction of individual portions of the linguistic worldview in Polish and other selected languages).

At the theoretical level, the participants sought to agree on the conceptual and terminological apparatus, as well as a comparable selection of sources and methods of defining meanings. As part of terminological regulations, *lexemes* as units of expression were distinguished from *meanings*, *concepts*, and *ideas* as elements of semantic content, whereas values were described as cultural concepts, i.e. axiologically marked notions with specific cultural connotations. The participants agreed that the data for semantic analysis should be: excerpted from the language systems (including dictionaries) [S for *system*], elicited speakers through questionnaires [A for *ankieta*, Polish for questionnaire], and excerpted from texts, such as national corpora and high-circulation press, selected proportionally to representative political and theoretical options [T for text]. This is known as the SAT principle.

[11] The proceedings appeared as Bartmiński, Bielińska-Gardziel, and Niebrzegowska-Bartmińska (2014). Some contributions to the volume were financed with the grant project no. NPRH2/H12/81/2012.

[12] Cf. in particular: Bartmiński and Chlebda (2008), Abramowicz, Bartmiński, and Chlebda (2009), Grzegorczykowa (2009, 2011), or Puzynina (2010), with a reply to the latter in Abramowicz, Bartmiński, and Chlebda (2011).

[13] Grant project no. NPRH 0132/NPRH2/H12/81/2012.

The measurable effects of the EUROJOS programme until 2015, both financed with the ministerial grant and with other funds (including the individual researchers' grants), include publications in the journal *Etnolingwistyka* and in collective volumes. As for the latter, in addition to those previously mentioned, four others should be acknowledged here: *Wartości w językowo-kulturowym obrazie świata Słowian i ich sąsiadów 3. Problemy eksplikowania i profilowania pojęć* [Values in the Linguistic and Cultural Worldview of Slavs and their Neighbours 3. Problems Concerning the Explication and Profiling of Concepts] (Bielińska-Gardziel, Niebrzegowska-Bartmińska, and Szadura 2014) and three volumes in the LASiS series: vol. 1 on HOUSE/HOME (Bartmiński, Bielińska-Gardziel, and Żywicka 2015);[14] vol. 3 on WORK (Bartmiński, Brzozowska, and Niebrzegowska-Bartmińska 2016), and vol. 5 on HONOUR (Ajdaczić and Sotirov 2017). The work on the two remaining volumes, on FREEDOM (ed. Maciej Abramowicz and Jerzy Bartmiński) and EUROPE (ed. Wojciech Chlebda), is advanced. Another forthcoming volume is *Nazwy wartości w językach europejskich. Raport z badań empirycznych* [Names of Values in European Languages. An Empirical Study Report], ed. by Iwona Bielińska-Gardziel, Małgorzata Brzozowska, and Beata Żywicka).

Perspectives. At the end of the meeting on 13 October 2015, many colleagues expressed their willingness to carry on work on subsequent volumes of LASiS (if any are planned). Therefore, the EUROJOS project will continue operating under the auspices of the Ethnolinguistic Commission, the International Committee of Slavists, and the Institute of Slavic Studies, Polish Academy of Sciences. It is envisaged to extend its field of interest to the so far rather neglected non-standard variants of language: a specific proposal of (ETHNO)EUROJOS came from Stanisława Niebrzegowska-Bartmińska (cf. Niebrzegowska-Bartmińska 2013). The project remains open to all researchers interested in its theme and the study of linguistic and cultural worldviews (in particular of axiological concepts) in various languages.

translated by Rafał Augustyn

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