Part II THE COGNITIVE DEFINITION

Chapter 7

Polish Zwierzęta 'Animals' and Jabłka 'Apples': an Ethnosemantic Inquiry

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1. Introduction

Jerzy Bartmiński (2009/2012) argues that a key project for ethnolinguistics is to explicate the cultural knowledge encoded in certain layers of the vocabulary of a given language. Vocabulary, in his view, occupies a privileged position in ethnolinguistic research, as it constitutes a classificatory network for the social experience of people speaking a given language.

Bartmiński attaches special importance to the general patterns of conceptual organization of lexico-semantic fields, but he also pays much attention to the semantic and cultural content of many individual words. A key analytic tool for him is what he calls the "cognitive definition": "a cognitive definition aims at representing socio-culturally established and linguistically entrenched knowledge, its categorization and valuation" (2009/2012, p. 67). Fully acknowledging the need to distinguish between the linguistic lexicon and the encyclopedic lexicon, Bartmiński emphasizes the importance of understanding the cultural knowledge embedded in word meanings and distinguishing "scientific knowledge" from "folk knowledge" transmitted through language itself. An interpretive perspective consistent with the competence of the users of a given language can, in his opinion, bring into the daylight the deep relationships between language and culture: the meanings of words contain a culturally shaped interpretation of the world, and definitions should elucidate this interpretation.

I entirely agree with these thoughts and postulates. Despite the fact that we work in different fields, from different viewpoints, in different disciplinary contexts, and with different methodologies, I consider our approaches to be complementary and the directions of our research to be convergent.

In this spirit, I make an attempt to explicate, in this paper, aspects of the folk cultural knowledge embedded in the meanings of the Polish words <code>zwierzęta</code> 'animals' and <code>jabłka</code> 'apples.' I studied these words, or their English and Russian counterparts, in various earlier works (starting with my 1985 book <code>Lexicography</code> and <code>Conceptual</code> <code>Analysis</code> and ending with the Russian 2011 volume

Semanticheskie Universalii i Bazisnye Kontsepty). Here, I try to look at them anew, focusing, in particular, on the methodological questions addressed by Bartmiński in his works

2. Zwierzęta 'Animals': a Superordinate Category

How does one explicate the folk knowledge embedded in such a seemingly simple word as *zwierzęta*? What does this word mean in colloquial Polish? Obviously, one can also ask: why explicate such words at all? Don't they mean the same thing in all languages?

Well, no, they don't. While, admittedly, the English word *animals* and the Russian word *zhivotnye* are semantically very close to the Polish word *zwierzęta*, the German word *Tiere* differs from it considerably. For example, in German, one can say in reference to a beetle or a caterpillar: *du hast irgendein Tier auf dem Kragen*, while in Polish one couldn't say in the same situation: ?masz jakieś zwierzę na kołnierzu ("you've got an animal on your collar"); though, one could say, as a joke, masz jakąś bestię na kołnierzu ("you've got a beast on your collar").

Thus, the Polish word *zwierzęta* is not the same as the German *Tiere*, to say nothing of words such as *kuyu* in the Australian language Warlpiri: *kuyu* refers to all edible living creatures that are a potential source of meat, including birds – but only edible ones (cf. Wierzbicka 1996, chpts. 11 and 12).

The influential dictionary of Polish edited by Witold Doroszewski (*SJP*, 1958-1969) offers the following definition of *zwierzę* (the singular of *zwierzęta*): "a living creature feeding exclusively on foods of organic origin; colloquially: a mammal (normally not used of man)." From an ethnolinguistic point of view, a valuable aspect of this definition is the attempt it makes to distinguish scientific terminology and classification from colloquial language. "A living creature feeding exclusively on foods of organic origin" can surely be a bird or a fish or an insect (though it is not clear what living creatures might feed on foods of inorganic origin), but in colloquial use, *zwierzęta* are indeed primarily "mammals" and indeed "mammals" other than humans. The conviction that *zwierzę* refers primarily to creatures which in scientific language are designated as *ssaki* 'mammals' is reflected in many linguistic facts. For example, book titles such as *Zwierzęta i ptaki Australii* ("The Animals and Birds of Australia") indicate that, in colloquial language, birds are not considered by Polish speakers to be *zwierzęta*.

Yet, the word *ssak* 'mammal' itself belongs to scientific terminology rather than colloquial language, and many people (including children) who often use the word *zwierzęta* do not have the word *ssaki* in their vocabularies at all. So the concept SSAK/MAMMAL is a scientific concept and, as such, cannot be part of the folk concept of ZWIERZĘ/ANIMAL.

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At the same time, the colloquial use of the word *zwierzę* suggests that there is no clear-cut boundary between "zwierzęta" and other types of creatures. For example, the use of this word in reference to crocodiles seems much more acceptable than its use in reference to frogs. Frogs, in Polish speakers' minds, are "creatures" of a certain kind, but not "zwierzęta," while crocodiles can, at a pinch, be regarded as "zwierzęta" (though more distant from the prototype of the category than goats or bears).

Trying to give an account of the folk intuitions associated with the word *zwierzę*, I propose the following point of departure (in the newest version of the explication of this word):

zwierzęta 'animals': multi-categoriality and an anthropocentric view

living creatures of many kinds they have bodies of many kinds people can think about them like this:

"their bodies are like people's bodies, not like the bodies of creatures of many other kinds"

According to this interpretation, the basis for the concept of ZWIERZĘ, on which all other aspects of folk knowledge and popular thinking about animals are built, is multi-categoriality ("living creatures of many kinds") on the one hand and, on the other, a general similarity to people in terms of anatomy. In people's eyes, the body of an animal roughly resembles a human body.

The most important and the most unconventional aspect of the proposed foundation for the "cognitive definition" of the word *zwierzęta* is the radical simplicity of the language: all the words used in these six introductory lines are very simple and indefinable (see Table of semantic primes in Appendix I).

Some commentary is needed here for the word *creature* (Pol. *stworzenie*), which may seem semantically complex. However, a comparison with English already suggests that, in fact, the meaning of this word is simpler than it might seem at first glance. In the English explication of the word *animal*, one might say *living things* (literally translated into Polish as *żywe rzeczy*) instead of *creatures* (Polish *stworzenia*). However, in Polish, the collocation ?*żywe rzeczy* is unacceptable even though one can say in the singular *coś żywego* 'a living thing,' lit. 'something alive.' One may thus suppose that in Polish, *żywe stworzenie* does

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¹ Although Wierzbicka's "cognitive definition" differs from Bartmiński's in details (cf. in this volume: Bartmiński, Niebrzegowska-Bartmińska, or Prorok & Głaz), the two notions are based on compatible basic assumptions about language and Bartmiński readily acknowledges being inspired by Wierzbicka's approach. [editors' note]

not differ in meaning from the expression *coś żywego*, i.e. in combination with the attribute "living," the word *stworzenie* 'creature' adds nothing, semantically, to the concept of COŚ/RZECZ/THING.

Bartmiński (2009/2012) stresses how important the choice of the superordinate category (*genus proximum*) is to the cognitive definition:

It is important in defining words to establish the point of departure, i.e. the superordinate category to which a given object is assigned and in terms of which it is characterized. [...] If the dictionary definition is to have a linguistic nature, to reflect the understanding of the object by the speaker and to contribute to the reconstruction of linguistic worldview, it must respect the colloquial conceptualization. (p. 29)

I fully agree with the above remarks. In my opinion, it is "creatures," and not "mammals" (as Doroszewski's dictionary suggests) that constitutes such a superordinate category in the case of the word zwierzęta. According to the popular worldview, zwierzęta are basically at the same level as ptaki 'birds,' ryby 'fish,' and owady 'insects': they are all different kinds of "creatures" ("living creatures").

Sometimes, however, one word is not enough to express a superordinate category (in a justified way). "Living creatures" may indeed be a justified superordinate category for fish (*ryby*) and birds (*ptaki*). In the case of "zwierzęta," however, multicategoriality and anatomical similarity to humans no doubt also belong to that "point of departure" that Bartmiński refers to.

The assertion that "ryby" (or "ptaki") are "one kind of living creatures" sounds reasonable and not counterintuitive in Polish, unlike the assertion that "zwierzęta" are "one kind of living creatures" because, from the perspective of speakers, "zwierzęta" are "living creatures of many kinds" and not "one kind of living creatures."

In the language of Polish-speaking children, the words *ryby* 'fish' or *rybki* 'little fish' and *ptaki* 'birds' or *ptaszki* 'little birds' probably appear sooner than the words *pstrąg* 'trout' or *wróbel* 'sparrow.' The word *zwierzęta*, on the other hand, probably appears later than *pies* 'dog' or *piesek* 'doggy' and *kot* 'cat' or *kotek* 'kitten.' This issue obviously requires further research as I am only making an intuitive judgement here. If this observation is correct, however, "living creatures of many kinds" seems more suitable as a superordinate category for "zwierzęta" than "one kind of living creatures" does.

Yet, the polytypicity of a superordinate category requires a common denominator. Also "owady" (insects) are probably "living creatures of different kinds" rather than "one kind of living creatures," but in this case the common denominator is different than for "zwierzęta": "owady" are very small and they can fly (not very high above the ground). In the case of "zwierzęta" size is less important than for insects because all Polish speakers know that "zwierzęta"

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can be very large (like elephants) and very small (like mice). I believe that what all "zwierzęta" have in common conceptually is mainly the general similarity of their bodies to human bodies.

For comparison, I will provide the first sections of the explications of the words *ptaki*, *owady* and *pszczoły* 'bees' (these are not complete explications but only their first sections).

ptaki 'birds'

living creatures of one kind there are many kinds of creatures of this kind people can think about them like this:

"they can fly, they live in places above the ground"

owady 'insects'

living creatures of many kinds people can think about them like this:

"they are very small, they can fly, they live near the ground"

pszczoły 'bees'

living creatures of one kind people can think about them like this:

"they are very small, they can fly, they make one kind of thing, this thing is very sweet"

As evidenced by these partial explications, "owady" are similar to "zwierzęta" in their multicategoriality ("living creatures of many kinds"), while "ptaki" are, above all, "one kind of creatures." Of course, it is a known fact that there are many kinds of birds, but this knowledge is, as it were, superimposed on the basic categorization of birds as creatures of one kind. I have already mentioned that in children's language the word *ptaki* or *ptaszki* probably appears before words such as *wróble* or *jaskółki*, while the word *zwierzęta* probably appears later than words such as *pies*, *kot*, or *krowa* 'cow.' Similarly, the word *owady* probably appears later than *pszczoły* or *muchy* 'flies' (I provide a partial explication of the word *pszczoły* here for comparison: it only mentions living creatures "of one kind," and neither the first nor the following lines mention "many kinds").

It should be noted that the words *ground*, *fly* and *sweet*, used in the explications, are not indefinable, but they are simple and commonly used "semantic molecules." Their explications can be found in publications such as Wierzbicka (1996) or Goddard and Wierzbicka (2007).

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3. Environment and Mode of Life

Besides the general similarity of their bodies to human bodies, one of the most conceptually conspicuous traits of "zwierzęta" is that, like humans, they live on land (not in water like fish, not above the ground like birds, not in the ground like worms). Therefore, the second section of the proposed explication of zwierzęta reads as follows:

Where zwierzęta live

These creatures live in places of many kinds.

People can think about it like this:

"they live in places where parts of their bodies can touch the ground at many times,

just like parts of people's bodies touch the ground at many times."

The problem of the similarity between certain body parts of "zwierzęta" and certain parts of people's bodies is elaborated in the following part of the explication, which concerns parts of animal bodies that particularly attract human attention. These parts are primarily the head and legs (resembling the human head and legs) and the tail (strikingly dissimilar to any part of the human body).

4. Body Parts

The head of an animal resembles the human head not only in terms of anatomy but also in terms of its function: it is no doubt owing to the appearance and movements of animals' heads that people are inclined to ascribe to animals the capacity to have many feelings. What is more, it is thanks to one part of the head (resembling the human mouth) that animals can produce sounds that bring to mind human speech. This can be presented in the explication in the following way:

The head of zwierzęta

- a. Many parts of their bodies are like parts of people's bodies.
- b. One of these parts is the head.
- c. One part of their head is like people's mouth.
- d. Because the bodies of these creatures have this part they can make sounds, like people can make sounds with their mouth.

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Legs or paws are also very significant for the popular notion of animals. According to this popular notion, an animal usually has four legs, two at the front and two at the back. Of course, quadrupedalism does not apply to all animals; for example, you can think of monkeys or kangaroos as having just a pair of "legs" (and a pair of "arms"). The popular notion, however, is that "zwierzęta," generally, have four body parts comparable to legs; these are parts that touch the ground many times when an animal moves (in a normal manner) in order to be in another place.

The legs of zwierzęta

Some parts of their bodies are like people's legs.

When these creatures want to be in another place after some time,

they can do something with these body parts,

like people do something many times when they want to be in another place after some time.

When people think about these body parts of these creatures, they can think about them like this:

"two such parts are at the front of the body, and two are at the back."

At the same time, people can know that the bodies of some kinds of these creatures are not like this

The most conspicuous body part of animals that does not have a corresponding part in the human body is the tail: located at the rear of the body, elongated, and constantly moving.

The tail of zwierzęta

One part of the body of these creatures is not like any part of people's bodies. This part is at the back of the body.

This part is long.

This part of the body of such a creature can move when the creature wants it.

5. Sex and Birth

Besides the general similarity to people in terms of anatomy and terrestrial mode of life, animals are strikingly similar to people in terms of sex, birth, and care given by the "mother" to the newly born offspring.

Everyone who knows the word zwierzęta, knows that animals, like people, have two kinds of bodies and, therefore, an animal can be either a male (samiec) or a female (samica). It is true that the words samiec (or samczyk) and samica

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(or samiczka) also apply to birds but the psychological significance of this distinction is incomparably greater in relation to animals than to birds (and even greater than in the case of other kinds of creatures), as indicated by the common lexical and even grammatical distinctions lew 'lion' vs. lwica 'lioness,' tygrys 'tiger' vs. tygrysica 'tigress,' lis 'fox' vs. lisica 'vixen' (not to mention words like suka 'bitch,' kocur 'tomcat,' baran 'ram,' byk 'bull,' or maciora 'sow.' Among domestic poultry, we differentiate between kogut 'rooster' and kura 'hen,' kaczor 'drake' and kaczka 'duck,' gąsior 'gander' and gęś 'goose,' but the scope of these distinctions is limited and, in principle, does not include wildfowl. For example, there is no feminine form of words denoting a female vulture, eagle, sparrow, although there is the word gołębica 'hen pigeon/dove.'

In the explication of *zwierzęta*, the division into two different sexes (i.e. the distinction between males and females) can be presented in the following way:

The sex of zwierzęta

Living creatures of all these kinds have bodies of two kinds,

as people have bodies of two kinds.

Some parts of the bodies of one of these two kinds are like some parts of men's bodies. Some parts of the bodies of the other of these two kinds are like some parts of women's bodies

Again, it must be emphasised that, semantically, "men" and "women" are not primes but universal semantic molecules. This means that these words are not indefinable but they have semantic equivalents in all languages and in all languages they serve as components for building the meanings of many other words. (Explications of these words can be found in Goddard and Wierzbicka, 2013.)

The distinction between two kinds of animal bodies, comparable to the bodies of men and women, is closely linked to the image of a family group composed of the animal "mother" and her newly born "young." The significance of this image in popular thinking about animals is also reflected in lexical and word-formation facts. Also in this respect, "zwierzęta" differ from birds and, even more so, from fish. Apart from kurczęta 'chicks,' kaczęta 'ducklings,' and orlęta 'eaglets,' there aren't too many words denoting baby birds of a specific kind. In relation to zwierzęta, on the other hand, the derivation of such forms is relatively productive. This primarily, but not exclusively, applies to domestic animals, cf. kocięta 'kittens,' szczenięta 'puppies,' prosięta 'piglets,' cielęta 'calves,' koźlęta 'kids,' jagnięta 'lambs,' źrebięta 'foals,' lwięta 'lion cubs,' wilczęta 'wolf cubs.' It seems that the key factor here is the image of the animal mother with her young: if the young of a given species are often accompanied by their mother and people are accustomed to such a sight, the form with the suffix -ęta is usually a well-documented lexical fact

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In the explication of zwierzęta, this aspect of popular thinking can be presented as follows:

The young of zwierzęta

People can think about these living creatures like this:

"Because these living creatures have bodies of these two kinds,

small creatures of all these kinds are born the way that people are born.

Before such a small creature is born,

its body is inside a big creature of the same kind for some time,

like the body of a child is inside the body of the child's mother for some time.

For some time after birth, such a small creature

is often with this big creature of the same kind,

like a child is with its mother for some time after birth.

During this time, this big creature of the same kind can do

many good things for this small creature,

like a child's mother can do good things for the child after it is born."

6. Tame Animals (*Zwierzęta Oswojone*) vs. Wild Animals (*Zwierzęta Dzikie*)

An important part of folk knowledge and popular thinking about animals is that they can be roughly divided into tame animals and wild animals. English emphasizes the distinction between farm animals and wild animals. In Polish the category of farm animals (zwierzęta gospodarskie) is not so distinct, and wild animals (zwierzęta dzikie) are rather contrasted with tame animals (zwierzęta oswojone). However, the very idea that "zwierzęta" can be divided into "wild" and other animals is also present in Polish popular thinking.

This is not a clear-cut division by any means. It seems that the main basis for the contrast is living in places where people live or places that are remote from people. In the explication, this aspect of "zwierzęta" can be presented as follows:

Relation to people

People can think about these creatures like this:

"There are many kinds of these creatures.

Creatures of some of these kinds live in places where people live.

People want creatures of some of these kinds to live in these places because this is good for people.

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Creatures of some of the other kinds live far from places where people live.

They do not want to live near places where people live.

At the same time people do not want these creatures to live near places where people live

because creatures of some of these kinds can do very bad things to people."

7. How Do People Think About Animals/"Zwierzęta"?

To a certain extent, everything discussed so far has been an answer to the question: how do people think about animals? However, something very important pertaining to the subject has not been said yet. It has already been mentioned how animal bodies are similar to people's bodies, how the distinction between male and female animals resembles the distinction between men and women, how the way animals are born resembles the birth of children, and how young animals need their "mother's" care similarly to small children.

So what are the main differences between animals and people, apart from the tail, four legs, and the variety of species?

There is no doubt that, from the perspective of popular thinking about animals, the key differences concern what people and animals do, particularly in terms of thinking, speech, and knowledge.

This does not mean that we cannot see similarities in the behaviour and psyche of animals and people. We can. But against the background of these similarities, there are very distinctive differences, from the human perspective, and due to these differences, people are not a kind of "animal" in popular thinking.

How people think about "zwierzęta"

People think about these creatures like this:

"These creatures do many things like people,

these creatures feel many things like people."

At the same time people think about them like this:

"These creatures cannot do many things like people can do many things.

These creatures cannot think like people can think.

These creatures cannot speak like people can speak.

These creatures cannot know many things like people can know many things."

8. Complete Explication of the Word Zwierzęta

zwierzęta

CATEGORY

living creatures of many kinds they have bodies of many kinds people can think about them like this:

"Their bodies are like people's bodies, not like the bodies of creatures of many other kinds"

WHERE THEY LIVE

These creatures live in places of many kinds.

People can think about it like this:

"they live in places where parts of their bodies can touch the ground at many times

like parts of people's bodies touch the ground at many times."

BODY

– head

Many parts of their bodies are like parts of people's bodies.

One of these parts is the head.

One part of their head is like people's mouth.

Because the bodies of these creatures have this part they can make sounds like people can make sounds with their mouth.

legs

Some parts of their bodies are like people's legs.

When these creatures want to be in another place after some time,

they can do something with these body parts,

like people do something many times when they want to be in another place after some time.

When people think about these body parts of these creatures, they can think about them like this:

"two such parts are at the front of the body, and two are at the back."

At the same time, people may know that the bodies of some kinds of these creatures are not like this.

– tail

One part of the body of these creatures is not like any part of people's bodies. This part is at the back of the body.

This part is long.

This part of the body of such a creature can move when the creature wants it.

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SEX

Living creatures of all these kinds have bodies of two kinds,

like people have bodies of two kinds.

Some parts of the bodies of one of these two kinds are like some parts of men's bodies. Some parts of the bodies of the other of these two kinds are like some parts of women's bodies.

YOUNG OF ANIMALS

People can think about these living creatures like this:

"Because these living creatures have bodies of these two kinds,

small creatures of all these kinds are born the way that people are born.

Before such a small creature is born,

its body is inside a big creature of the same kind for some time,

like the body of a child is inside the body of the child's mother for some time.

For some time after birth, such a small creature

is often with this big creature of the same kind,

like a child is with its mother for some time after birth.

During this time, this big creature of the same kind can do

many good things for this small creature,

like a child's mother can do good things for the child after it is born."

RELATION TO PEOPLE

People can think about these creatures like this:

"There are many kinds of these creatures.

Creatures of some of these kinds live in places where people live.

People want creatures of some of these kinds to live in these places because this is good for people.

Creatures of some of the other kinds live far from places where people live.

They do not want to live near places where people live.

At the same time people do not want these creatures to live near places where people live

because creatures of some of these kinds can do very bad things to people."

HOW PEOPLE THINK ABOUT ANIMALS

People think about these creatures like this:

"These creatures do many things like people,

these creatures feel many things like people."

At the same time people think about them like this:

"These creatures cannot do many things like people can do many things.

These creatures cannot think like people can think.

These creatures cannot speak like people can speak.

These creatures cannot know many things like people can know many things."

9. Methodological Questions

The proposed "cognitive definition" of the word *zwierzęta* must bring to mind a lot of methodological questions. It is impossible to discuss all such questions here. Answers to some of them can be found in my book *Semantics: Primes and Universals* (1996) and in an earlier book *Lexicography and Conceptual Analysis* (1985), as well as in both editions of Cliff Goddard's *Semantic Analysis* (1998; 2011). In the present study, I would like to concentrate primarily on the key question of arbitrariness, or non-arbitrariness, of this type of "cognitive definitions."

The fact that Goddard's and my works give different versions of principally the same explications may seem to undermine their credibility.

Although in Wierzbicka (1985) I did not give a full explication of the word *animal*, I did mention that this concept corresponded to the category "life form" introduced into cognitive anthropology by Brent Berlin (1992), and that it was at the same level of categorization as *bird* and *fish*. In both Wierzbicka (1985) and (1996) I assume that the superordinate category for "animals" is "a kind of creature."

The same superordinate categorization can be found in my explication of the Russian word *zhivotnye* in my 2011 book *Semanticheskie Universalii i Bazisnye Kontsepty*; that explication, however, differs in many other respects from the explication of the Polish word *zwierzęta* proposed here.

With respect to superordinate categorization, the explication proposed here is consistent with the explication of the English word *animals* published also in Goddard (2011). However, Goddard's explication departs from the one proposed here as early as the second line: "many parts of their bodies are like parts of people's bodies."

What is at issue here, however, is neither the semantic differences among the English word *animals*, the Russian word *zhivotnye*, and the Polish *zwierzęta*, nor a difference of opinion between me and Goddard. On the contrary, we have achieved, at each stage of work in this field, a provisional consistency of analysis. Our analysis develops and is modified under the influence of new arguments, new material, and new analytic techniques both in this field and in other fields that affect the analysis of *zwierzętal zhivotnyel animals*.

The search for an optimal, maximally objective and justified analysis is a long-term heuristic process that usually requires dialogue, debate, and repeated alterations and amendments. We are deeply convinced that this long-lasting heuristic process is neither a question of groping in the dark nor a question of the subjective, and changeable, preferences of different researchers, but that it is an objective and justifiable progress.

A similar extended heuristic process is illustrated, I believe, by changes in the ethno-semantic interpretation of the word *jabłka* 'apples,' which is the topic of the next, very brief part of the present study. This time, let me start with the explication.

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10. Explication of the Word Jabłka 'Apples'

jabłka

KIND/SPECIES

Things of one kind.

People eat things of this kind.

Things of this kind grow on trees.

All things of this kind grow on trees of one kind.

This kind of tree is called "apple tree."

WHERE PEOPLE CAN GET THEM

These things grow on trees at the same time of the year.

People do some things in some places

because they want trees of this kind to grow in these places.

They want this because they want there to be things of this kind for people to eat. After these things have grown on trees for some time,

they are good to eat.

At that time people can pick them from the tree.

If people don't pick them, after some time they fall to the ground.

SIZE

When someone is eating a thing of this kind, this someone often holds this thing with one hand

This hand can be touching this thing on many sides at the same time.

This someone can't hold this thing with two fingers when they are eating it.

SHAPE

When someone sees these things from some sides, they can think about them like this:

"Two places are not like all the other places.

One of these places is far from the other.

The place in the middle of these two places is below other parts of these places. In the middle of one of these two places there is something small, thin, and long; this something is hard.

In the middle of the other of these two places there is something not like this; this something is very small."

COLOUR/RIPENESS

When things of this kind grow on trees,

before they are good to eat they are green.

When they are good to eat, they can be red, they can be yellow, they can be green.

Often people think about these things like this: "If they are red, they are very good to eat."

The parts inside are white.

HOW PEOPLE EAT THEM

- firmness

Things of this kind are not soft, at the same time, they are not very hard. When people bite them, they can feel something good because of this. When people eat them, they can often hear something because of it.

– skin

People can eat these things with the skin, if they want.

Their skin is smooth, it is thin.

Inside things of this kind, in the middle, there is a part with very small hard parts. People don't eat this part.

– taste

People can think about things of this kind like this:

"When these things are good to eat, they can be sweet, they can be sour, they cannot be very sweet, they cannot be very sour."

11. Discussion of the Changes in the Successive Analyses of *Jabłka*

A first, and very long, analysis of the concept associated with the word *apples* was published in Wierzbicka (1985). A considerably altered, but also very long explication of the same (or a very similar) concept embedded in the Russian word *yabloki* can be found in Wierzbicka (2011). The explication of the Polish word *jablka* presented here again differs in many points from the explication of the word *yabloki*, and, again, what is at issue are not the differences between the Russian language and the Polish language, but the methodological progress that has been made in cultural semantics based on NSM theory over the last few years. The English version of the Russian explication can be found in the Appendix.

It is easy to see that the explication presented here, though long, is not as long as the previous ones. The theoretical basis for this reduction is mainly the theory of semantic molecules that has been developed in the recent years.

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The explications presented in Wierzbicka (1985) generally used relatively simple words, which, however, did not come from any closed list of admissible defining concepts. While the list of indefinables was closed (though every few years it underwent certain changes), the list of words used to explicate folk knowledge was open, and so, not confined within any limits. Only over the last few years did research in the field of NSM semantics advance sufficiently to make possible attempts at constructing closed, methodologically well-grounded lists of "semantic molecules."

In his book *Semantic Analysis* (2nd. ed., 2011), Cliff Goddard gives a list of nearly two hundred molecules, which, as shown by the experience of NSM-based semantic analysis, play the role of building blocks in the structure of the English lexicon, and a similar set could be justified for Polish. It is not yet a full or a final list, however. A subset of this set of molecules are probably universal molecules. There are presumably at least 20 of those, maybe a few more. They include the concepts MEN, WOMEN, and CHILDREN, already mentioned here. They also include body part molecules (HANDS/ARMS, MOUTH, HEAD, LEGS, FINGERS, as well as TAIL), some physical descriptors (e.g., ROUND), environment-related concepts (e.g., SKY, GROUND, SUN, FIRE, WATER, DAY, NIGHT), and some names of actions (for instance, HOLD) and processes (for instance, GROW).

Constructing the newest explication of the folk concept associated with the word <code>jabłka</code>, I tried to make use, as far as possible, of the universal molecules, and to adhere to the molecules of the Polish language justified elsewhere. This heuristic principle allowed me to eliminate elements such as "branch," "attached," "cook," "sugar," and "juice," which were unconvincing and inadequate from other points of view.

It is impossible to discuss in this paper all the other criteria for deciding what elements of folk knowledge should be included in an explication and which should not. Here, I put special emphasis on the standardization of the language of explication and the implications of the theory of semantic molecules for the practice of ethnosemantic analysis, because these things are new.

Still in force are the criteria discussed in earlier works on this topic (starting from Wierzbicka 1985 and ending with Goddard 2011). These criteria include, above all, the folk (and not scientific) character of an explication, its internal logic and coherence, and grounding in a body of evidence: lexical, phraseological, proverbial, and ethnographic, in the broad sense of the word.

Such evidence for the semantics of *jabłka* is provided, for instance, by the words *ogryzek* 'apple core' and *jabłecznik* 'apple pie,' the phrases *jabłka pieczone* 'baked apples,' *jabłka suszone* 'dried apples' and *placek z jabłkami* 'apple pie,' proverbs such as *niedaleko pada jabłko od jabłoni* ("the apple doesn't fall far from the tree"), the lyrics of folk songs, such as the ones below, and other data:

Czerwone jabłuszko przekrajane na "A little red apple, cut four ways, krzyż,

czemu ty dziewczyno krzywo na mnie why do you, lassie, look at me patrzysz? askance."

Koło mego ogródeczka zakwitała "Near my little garden, there bloomed jabłoneczka, a little apple tree, bielusieńko zakwitała czerwone it bloomed in pure white and had jabłuszka miała. little red apples."

Also binding are the semantic-grammatical tests such as the ones I discussed, among others, in the article with the provocative title "Apples are not 'a kind of fruit" (Wierzbicka, 1984).

In Doroszewski's dictionary (SJP, 1958-1969), the entry for the word jabłko 'apple-SING' begins with the definition "apple – fruit of the apple tree." However, jabłka 'apple-PL' is a countable noun, while owoce 'fruit' is uncountable. For example, one can ask someone for dwa jabłka 'two apples,' but not for ?dwa owoce jabłoni 'two fruits of an apple tree,' or even for ?dwa owoce 'two fruits' (in the sense of two apples). As I argued in my 1984 article, "owoce" is a collective and heterogeneous category, similarly to "warzywa" (vegetables). If one had eaten two carrots, they wouldn't say ?zjadłam dwa warzywa 'I've eaten two vegetables' and, in the same way, one wouldn't say after having eaten two apples ?zjadłam dwa owoce 'I've eaten two fruits.'

This type of grammatical-semantic tests are particularly useful when it comes to establishing the topmost category, superordinate in relation to the one being explicated. Often, the most difficult part – but also the most important one – is the beginning of a "cognitive explication," and it is here that these kinds of tests are irreplaceable. A good beginning may provide a good foundation for the entire explication. And on a good foundation one can properly build the whole, if one keeps in mind the principles of coherence, standardization of language, and careful attention to linguistic and ethnographic evidence.

It is this type of evidence that shows that "jabłka" represent conceptually "one kind" and not "many kinds" (despite the fact that there are words and phrases designating apple cultivars, such as antonówki, papierówki, złote renety or szare renety). In this respect, "jabłka" are conceptually similar to "pszczoły" (bees) and "konie" (horses), and not to "zwierzęta" or "owady" (insects). However, "pszczoły" are, at the first level, "living creatures of one kind" (and "konie" are "one kind of animals"), while "jabłka" are, at the first level, "one kind of things to eat." The fact that people eat "jabłka" is conceptually superordinate to the fact that "jabłka" grow on trees, in a similar way to the fact that people eat "kartofle" (potatoes) is conceptually superordinate to the fact that "kartofle" grow in the ground.

Reaching these kinds of conclusions requires in-depth, patient conceptual and ethnolinguistic analysis. Of particular help in such inquiries are a comparative perspective, an interdisciplinary approach, and the combined effort of many people. The harvest is huge, but the workers are, as yet, few. It can be hoped that this will change soon – thanks to, among other reasons, inspiration from Lublin.

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Appendix I.

Table of universal concepts

I, YOU, SOMEONE, SOMETHING, PEOPLE, BODY	things and persons
KIND, PART	relations
THIS, THE SAME, OTHER	determiners
ONE, TWO, MANY/MUCH, FEW/LITTLE, SOME, ALL	quantifiers
GOOD, BAD	evaluators
BIG, SMALL	descriptors
THINK, KNOW, WANT, FEEL, SEE, HEAR	mental predicates
SAY, WORDS, TRUE	speech
DO, HAPPEN, MOVE, TOUCH	actions, events, movement, contact
THERE IS, EXIST, HAVE, BE	place, existence, possession, identification
LIVE, DIE	life and death
WHEN/TIME, NOW, BEFORE, AFTER, A LONG TIME, A SHORT TIME, FOR SOME TIME, MOMEMT (AT ONE MOMENT)	time
WHERE/PLACE, HERE, ABOVE, BELOW, INSIDE/IN, ON (WHICH) SIDE, NEAR, FAR	space
BECAUSE, IF, NOT, MAYBE, CAN	logical concepts
VERY, MORE	augmentor, intensifier
LIKE (WAY)	similarity

- Primes exist as specific meanings of certain words (and not as lexical items).
- Exponents of primes are words, morphemes or phrasemes.
- These exponents can be morphologically complex.
- They may have different morphosemantic features in different languages (e.g., they may belong to different parts of speech).
- They may have different combinatorial variants (allolexes).
- Each prime has a specific set of syntactic (combinatorial) features.

Appendix 1.5.7

Appendix II.

Explication of the Russian yabloki 'apples'

yabloki (English translation of the Russian version in Wierzbicka 2011)

THINGS OF ONE KIND
PEOPLE EAT THINGS OF THIS KIND
WHEN PEOPLE THINK ABOUT THINGS OF THIS KIND, THEY CAN SAY THINGS LIKE
THIS ABOUT THEM:

SPECIES

things of this kind grow on trees all things of this kind grow on trees of the same kind this kind of tree is called APPLE TREE there are many kinds of things of this kind

HOW PEOPLE CAN GET THEM

they grow on trees at some times of the year

people do some things in some places because they want trees of this kind to grow in these places

they want this because they want to have things of this kind for people to eat after these things have grown on trees for some time they are good for people to eat

at that time people can pick them from the tree

if people don't pick them, after some time they fall to the ground

SI7F

when someone is eating one thing of this kind, they can hold it with one hand this hand can be touching this thing on many sides at the same time this someone can't hold it with two fingers,

this someone has to hold it with the whole hand

SHAPE

things of this kind are round

at the same time, two parts look a little different from the other parts one of these two parts is at the top, the other is at the bottom the place in the middle of both these parts is a little below the places on all sides of it in the middle of one of these two parts there is a small thin brownish thing when these things grow on trees, they are attached to the tree by this small thin brownish thing

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COLOUR/RIPENESS

when things of this kind grow on trees, before they are good to eat they are green when they are good to eat they can be red, they can be yellow, they can be green often people think about these things like this: if they are red, they are very good to eat when people are eating these things they can see that the parts inside are whitish

HOW PEOPLE EAT THEM

- firmness

things of this kind are not soft, at the same time, they are not very hard when people bite them, they can feel something good because of this when people bite them, they can hear something because of it

– skin

people can eat these things with the skin, if they want the skin is smooth, it is thin

- inedible parts

inside things of this kind, in the middle, there is a part with some very small brownish parts people don't eat this part

– taste

when these things are good to eat, they can be a little sweet, not very sweet

- processing and preservation

the juice of these things is good to drink something of another kind made from their juice is good to drink sometimes people cut things of this kind into thin pieces

because when such pieces are dry they can be good to eat for a long time

cooking

things of this kind are good to eat when they are cooked they can be good to eat with some other things if they are cooked with these other things

Translated by Klaudia Dolecka and Sławomir Nowodworski

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Chapter 8

The Cognitive Definition as a Text of Culture

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1. Setting the Scene

The conceptual inventory of Lublin ethnolinguistics revolves around the notion of the linguistic worldview,¹ and contains such concepts as stereotype, the cognitive definition, profile and profiling, perspective and viewpoint, the speaking subject, or valuation – they all have their own histories and most have served as themes of conferences and conference proceedings published by Maria Curie Curie-Skłodowska University Press in Lublin, Poland (the so called "red series").² The concepts have come to constitute a relatively coherent whole, presented in book form in Bartmiński (2009/2012, esp. chapters 3-9).

In the present study I will focus on one of these concepts, which has recently become especially important in an international research project EUROJOS,³ namely the cognitive definition (henceforth CD).⁴ I will also propose a new interpretation of the CD as a *text of culture*, in relation to current research on narration.

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¹ The origin and current understanding of the term in linguistics is discussed in Bartmiński (2006/2012, pp. 11-21); cf. also chapter 3 of Bartmiński (2009/2012).

² Cf. Bartmiński (1988b; 1990/1999/2004; 2004), Bartmiński & Mazurkiewicz-Brzozowska (1993), Bartmiński & Tokarski (1993; 1998), Anusiewicz & Bartmiński (1998), Bartmiński, Niebrzegowska-Bartmińska, & Nycz (2004), Bartmiński & Pajdzińska (2008). These concepts also appear in various configurations in the other contributions to the present volume.

³ The aim of the project is to reconstruct the linguistic worldview of Slavs and their neighbors, on the basis of multilingual comparative analyses of selected concepts (HOUSE/HOME, WORK, EUROPE, FREEDOM, HONOR/DIGNITY). The assumptions of the project are presented in Bartmiński (2009/2012, ch. 17), Abramowicz, Bartmiński & Chlebda (2009), Bielińska-Gardziel (2009), and Niebrzegowska-Bartmińska (2013).

⁴ Cf. also Niebrzegowska-Bartmińska or Prorok & Głaz in this volume.

2. The Cognitive Definition: its Origin and Theoretical Assumptions

The idea for the CD emerged in the course of reconstructing a folk view of the human world, a project that was begun in Lublin in 1970s, as one aspect of research on the language of folklore. After the publication of my book O języku folkloru ("On the Language of Folklore," Bartmiński, 1973), Czesław Hernas, coordinator of a research program on Polish culture, suggested that I analyze and present the lexis of folklore in the form of a dictionary.⁵ The first attempt towards this goal was a preliminary installment (Bartmiński 1980) of "The Dictionary of Folk Stereotypes and Symbols" (Słownik Stereotypów i Symboli Ludowych, SSSL, 1996-2012). It contains all the major ideas that later began to constitute what Jörg Zinken (2009/2012) calls cognitive ethnolinguistics, with its focus on reconstructing the linguistic worldview of a given speech community and the central notion of stereotypes as socially entrenched images of people, things, and events. Since the very inception of the project, it has been clear that the linguistic worldview embraces a whole gamut of data: the most strongly entrenched systemic data (grammatical categories of tense, person, number, aspect, etc.), lexical meanings, and so-called lexical and cultural collocations (cf. the volume on connotation, Bartmiński (1988b), with its contributions that reference, but also partly oppose, the work of Yuriy Apresyan and Igor Melchuk). I had critiqued the idea of limiting description to necessary and sufficient features in Bartmiński (1984).

Stereotypes have been defined in the spirit of Lippmann (1922) and Putnam (1975) as socially entrenched ideas of an object, concerning what it looks like, how it functions, what it is like, and how it is talked about. The proposal in Bartmiński (1980) was at the same time an attempt to meet Putnam's postulate that it is linguists who should further the principles of establishing the content of stereotypes and the mode of its presentation.

The preliminary 1980 installment of the dictionary became a kind of "manifesto" of Lublin ethnolinguistics (it was published in Wrocław but originated and compiled in Lublin). The first attempts to reconstruct stereotypes were then recognized by English-speaking linguists (e.g. Kardela, 1988; 1990) as akin to cognitive linguistics, still a relatively new enterprise at the time.⁶ The title of Bartmiński's (1988a) article, "The cognitive definition in a description of connotation," purposefully reflects these non-coincidental convergences.

⁵ I present the history of these endeavors in Bartmiński (2008).

⁶ This view of Lublin ethnolinguistics was then corroborated by Tabakowska (2004), Zinken (2004; 2009/2012), Nepop-Ajdaczyć (2007) and Grzegorczykowa (2010). A critique was launched by Kiklewicz & Wilczewski (2011) but refuted by Głaz (to appear).

The ethnolinguistic aspect of the Lublin project was taken as a commitment for the dictionary to present language in the context of culture. Furthermore, both the content and the form of the definitions were to be based on the principles of subject-oriented reconstruction, i.e. one that would reflect common experience, colloquial conceptualization and categorization of the world, colloquial (or folk) knowledge of the world. I illustrate these principles in Bartmiński (1988a) with two examples: the colloquial standard Polish <code>deszcz</code> 'rain' and the folk Polish <code>strzygoń</code> 'vampire' – these are their shortened versions:

DESZCZ 'rain'

water in the form of drops

falls from the clouds with different intensity

it may *mżyć* 'drizzle,' *kropić* 'spit,' *lać* 'pour' (cf. the corresponding names: *mżawka* 'drizzle,' *kapuśniaczek* 'drizzle,' *ulewa* 'downpour')

co-occurs with storm and lightning

foreboded by a twinging in the bones or the behavior of crows and swallows (based on Bartmiński, 1988a, pp. 175-176)⁷

STRZYGOŃ 'vampire'

a fright with double rows of teeth, a pale face, livid marks on the back, blood behind fingernails, closed eyes

comes out of the coffin at midnight and roams the earth in silence, strangles people appears at night and disappears when the rooster crows

can be made powerless by driving an aspen pin or a nail into its head

(based on Bartmiński, 1988a, 174)8

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⁷ Cf. *SJPWar* (1900-1927), vol. 1 (1900): "watery precipitation, falling to the ground in the form of drops"; *SJPDor* (1958-1969), vol. 2: "atmospheric precipitation in the form of raindrops falling from a cloud"; *PSWP* (1994-2005), vol. 8: "atmospheric precipitation in the form of water drops above 0.5mm in diameter, or occasionally smaller, that results from the linking of small drops or melting of ice crystals [sic!] in the cloud"; *ISJP* (2000): "raindrops falling from a cloud."

⁸ Dictionaries of standard Polish do not list *strzygoń*, which is considered folk dialectal; cf. *SJPWar*, vol. 6 (1915): "(folk dialectal) the soul of an illegitimate male child, prematurely deceased, assuming various shapes and tempting married women to sin, cf. *strzyga.*" It is instructive to note the differences between the definitions of *strzygoń* and those of the nearly-synonymous *strzyga*, cf. *SJPDor*, vol. 8 (1966): "according to folk accounts: the soul of a child born with teeth and prematurely deceased, assuming various shapes and scaring people." *ISJP* (2000): "according to folk beliefs, *strzyga* is a frightening creature that assumes the appearance of e.g. an old woman or a bird, frightens people and often feeds on their blood." *PSWP*, vol. 40 (2003): "in Slavic folk beliefs, a vampire, witch or the soul of a child born with teeth; it assumes the shape of a person or a bird feeding on human blood; it harms people and frightens them." As one can see, lexicographers are helpless in defining mythological creatures – these can only be explicated contextually, on the basis of texts.

The idea of the CD, which without using the term was *de facto* introduced in the dictionary's preliminary installment in 1980, is best illustrated in contrast to, on the one hand, the definitions in dictionaries of standard Polish,⁹ and on the other hand, to encyclopedic definitions.

Let us take the Polish word *koń* 'horse.' In dictionaries of standard ("national") Polish, the word is defined thus:

(equus caballus) a single-toed animal with fibulae, i.e. bare, callused skin on the inside of the legs (SJPWar, vol. 2, 1902)

Equus caballus, a one-toed herbivorous mammal belonging to the family Equidae, domesticated, bred as a draft animal; also living in the wild (SJPDor, vol. 3, 1961)

a herbivorous even-toed mammal of the *Equidae* family, weighing between 200 and 1,000 kilograms; a quadruped with a short but long-haired tail, a long head crowned with a mane; bred as a draft animal, a beast of burden, a saddle animal, or for slaughter; there exist many breeds of horses; it also lives in the wild; *Equus caballus* (*PWSP*, vol. 17, 1998)

Equus caballus, a big herbivorous animal with a long head and neck, a mane on the crest and the forehead, a long-haired tail, long and hoofed legs and short-haired coat; bred as a saddle or draft animal (USJP, 2003)

In the Gazeta Wyborcza Encyclopedia (EGW, 2005), the horse is described as a class of animals known worldwide:

[A]n animal of the *Equidae* family, used as a draft or saddle animal, less frequently as a beast of burden or for slaughter (meat, hide, hair); in parts of Asia, the milk of mares is used for making koumiss.

The origin of the domestic horse is uncertain, it has probably evolved from the wild Przewalski's horse, the Tarpan, and the extinct Asian forest and tundra horses; domestication probably took place around 8-6,000 years B.C. in Europe and Asia (independently); the breeding first developed in Central Asia, then in Asia Minor, Macedonia, Greece and Rome, and only in the 4th c. A.D. in Arabia.

⁹ About three decades ago, I drew this kind of comparison in a study on lexicographic definitions (Bartmiński, 1984).

With regard to build, horses are classified as hot-blooded (light and noble, e.g. purebred Arabian horses) and cold-blooded (heavy, e.g. Arden horses); with regard to the use there are saddle horses (e.g. the Thoroughbred), all-purpose farm and carriage horses (e.g. the Wielkopolski), sport and farm horses (e.g. the Oldenburg), heavy draft horses (e.g. the Breton), or beasts of burden (e.g. the Hucul pony).

Horse breeds are diversified with respect to size (80-180 cm, i.e. around 8-18 hands, at the withers), build and body mass (200-1,200 kilograms), as well as use. There also exist breeds that are around 4 hands at the withers and weigh about 15 kilograms (the Pony of the Americas).

The domestic horse achieves sexual maturity at 12-18 months, reproduction begins at the age of 3, full biological maturity is reached at the age of 5-6. Pregnancy lasts 336 days on average; usually one foal is born, very rarely two (1% of cases); stallions can usually reproduce until the age of 16-24. Horses are used for working since the age of 3 to 20; the domestic horse lives 18-30 years; the age is estimated by looking at the teeth.

Horses have diverse coat colors.

Due to the mechanization of work, the significance of the domestic horse in farming and transportation has been diminishing, as have the stocks, although it is still found useful, esp. in small farming and horticulture. In contrast, its significance in sport and recreation has risen significantly; hippotherapy has also been developing.¹⁰

As one can see, lexicographers use nominal definitions and aim at objectivity; they attempt to add a scientific dimension to their explanations, thanks to which the word has an unambiguous reference to the object. They willingly resort to specialized nomenclature and even introduce Latin terms. Citations of the use of words in contexts (collocations, stock phrases, metaphors) are isolated from definitions proper and provided in separate sections of the dictionary entries. Despite aspirations to scientific objectivity and the use of taxonomic classifications, the explications exhibit a considerable degree of diversity with regard to both content and the terminology being used. Differences between dictionaries pertain both to the number and the quality of the defining features of the horse. Categorization is performed differently (with hyperonyms animal or mammal), different properties of the object are taken into account (appearance and built, weight, nutrition, usefulness) and within one aspect, e.g.

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¹⁰ Division into paragraphs J.B.

body built, different specific features of its characterization are underscored. Some lexicographers additionally introduce numeric parameters ("body mass from 200 to 1,200 kilograms") and so approximate their lexicographic definition to an encyclopedic description. It is thus corroborated that "the dictionary is subjective (subject-oriented) in its nature" and "by making decisions, the lexicographer interprets linguistic data" (Chlebda, 2010, p. 14), including word meanings.

Encyclopedic definitions, in turn, are purely objective: they describe things in the real world rather than the way they are named and portrayed linguistically. The encyclopedic definition above mentions the place of the horse in animal taxonomy, its origin, diversification according to the build, the stages of its life, its role in contemporary economic and social reality, etc. Usually, the differences in various parts of the world are noted.

The cognitive definition of the horse proposed in the preliminary installment of *SSSL* (Bartmiński, 1980) differs both from typical, traditional lexicographic definitions and from encyclopedic definitions. It addresses different questions and takes note of subjective components. If the former two types are largely one-sided, the CD is multi-sided or, in the words of Wojciech Chlebda (1993), "two-eyed." What does this mean?

I will give here a simplified version of the definition (the full explication extends over fifteen pages, or as many as twenty-five pages with the documentation):

KOŃ 'horse'
a big and valuable livestock animal
wise and faithful
helps people and can sense a person's death
used as a saddle and as a draft animal (for pulling carts, the plow, or
the harrow)
occupies the highest position in the farm hierarchy and custom
considered a man's animal (of the householder, a young man, or a
soldier), as much as the cow is a woman's animal
possession of horses is a sign of affluence and a reason for pride
considered to be vigorous and demonic

(Bartmiński, 1980, pp. 119-144)

The idea of the CD rests on the following assumptions:

1. The CD "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, 1988a, pp. 169-170, quoted from Bartmiński, 2009/2012, p. 67). The socially dependent view of an object may differ from one language to another or even from one language variety to another.

The traditional, folk image of the horse can be compared with its image in standard Polish. Referring to the entry in Bartmiński (1980) and to my article on the lexicographic definition (Bartmiński, 1984), Janusz Anusiewicz proposed a slightly different definition for standard Polish – it basically meets the requirement of the CD, although the author did not use the term:

KOŃ 'horse': a big, strong and valuable domesticated animal, used for heavy work, as a draft or a saddle animal; it is characterized by an elongated body, a big head, big longish teeth, hard hooves, a long tail, and a long mane; it can run fast and jump; it produces loud and noisy sounds. The following features are attributed to the horse: health, strength, large size, grandeur, intensity. Due to its usefulness for people, it is positively valuated and liked. (Anusiewicz, 1990, p. 149)¹¹

In contrast to the objectivized, impersonal dictionary and encyclopedic definitions, the CD is *subject-oriented*: it reflects the viewpoint of a socially and culturally defined experiencing and conceptualizing subject.

2. The basic unit being defined is a "mental object," which is not a reflection but an *interpretation* or a *projection* of the real object. It contains the whole richness of its linguistically entrenched characterization, both descriptive and evaluative

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¹¹ In a similar manner, Anusiewicz reconstructs the linguistic and cultural view of the cat in colloquial Polish:

KOT 'CAT': a small animal with sharp, crooked and prehensile claws, good eyesight, a shapely round head, agile and slender body covered with a soft and fluffy coat; endearing and playful, hence often bred for play but also for catching mice; it hates dogs, purrs and meows, likes milk; it hunts alone; it moves about noiselessly. The following features are attributed to the cat: cunning, wisdom, shrewdness, cleverness, cautiousness, wariness, deftness, as well as unyieldingness, independence and self-reliance. Because of its gracefulness, docility, the softness of its fur (pleasant tactile sensations), and usefulness, it is liked and approached with a friendly attitude. (Anusiewicz, 1990, p. 138)

The definitions of *kot* 'cat' in dictionaries of Polish are markedly different:

zool. (Felis) a sucking predatory animal with protractile claws and a spiky tongue (SJPWar, vol. II, 1902)

Felis domestica, a domestic animal from the family of the same name (SJPDor, vol. 3, 1961)

a small domesticated animal, originating from Asian and African wild cats; there are numerous noble breeds and interbred forms of the cat; it is mainly bred in an amateur fashion, for hunting mice and other rodents; *Felis domestica* (*PSWP*, vol. 17, 1998) a small animal with a soft fur, long whiskers and claw-ended paws. Some people keep

a small animal with a soft fur, long whiskers and claw-ended paws. Some people keep cats at home for hunting mice or for pleasure (ISJP, 2000)

Felis domestica, a small animal with a soft fur, a long tail and whiskers, claw-ended paws, small spiky ears and a slender body (USJP, 2003)

3. The CD must meet two requirements: of *content adequacy*, i.e. the definition must contain common, everyday knowledge (the perception, conceptualization and valuation of the world by a given speech community), and *structural adequacy*, i.e. the links between its features should reflect those relationships between them that are "sanctioned" in a given language and culture.

4. The requirement of content adequacy means that the CD should take note of all the *positive* features attributed to the object by the speakers. These include both the categorial and the characteristic (characterizing) features, plus those traditionally labeled "connotative," e.g. not only the fact that the horse is an 'animal' but also that it is perceived as 'strong,' 'healthy,' 'wise,' and 'faithful.' These are not the features of a "typical" (any average) horse but of a "stereotypical" horse (the horse "as it is and should be"). The CD is not restricted to necessary and sufficient features (for a justification cf. Bartmiński, 1984),¹² let alone distinctive features (or, rather, those that are deemed distinctive by the analyst!).

The CD is based on linguistic (systemic and textual) data but also makes use of experimental data (questionnaires), as well as accounts of socially entrenched behaviors and beliefs (the so called "co-linguistic data," cf. Bartmiński, 2009/2012, pp. 34-35¹³).

5. For a feature to be considered entrenched, it has to be supported by "linguistic evidence" (Wierzbicka, 1996, pp. 355ff.). A set of such features positively attributed to the object and thus included in the CD can be identified through an analysis of the language system, texts, and by means of questionnaires.

The stereotype of the horse in the Polish folk tradition has been reconstructed on the broad basis of systemic data, in accordance with the methodology of investigating the linguistic worldview,¹⁴ i.e. through an analysis of the word's "internal form" (its etymological motivation), the place of the name in a network of paradigmatic relations (hyperonyms, hyponyms, synonyms, co-hyponyms, also antonyms), partonomic relations (the parts of the horse's body), and syntagmatic relations (links with other elements in the sentence, with a salient

¹² This means that distinctive features are not underscored (though they are by no means rejected) but are considered secondary, being dependent on the comparative perspective of the speaker (scholar). The extension of one's interest beyond "distinctive feature semantics" towards a holistic description marks the boundary between the structuralist and the cognitivist approaches. For a discussion of these approaches with regard to questions of synonymy, polysemy, and vagueness cf. Łozowski (2000).

¹³ The less fortunate term *ad-linguistic* is used in that publication.

¹⁴ The methodology is a joint effort of such (often independently working) authors as Yuriy Apresyan, Jerzy Bartmiński, Renata Grzegorczykowa, Jolanta Maćkiewicz, Stanisława Niebrzegowska-Bartmińska, Anna Pajdzińska, Jadwiga Puzynina, Ryszard Tokarski, and others.

roles of the Agent, Patient, the feeling and experiencing Subject/Sensor, the Addressee and the Instrument), analyses of recurring uses in stereotyped texts (such as proverbs, riddles, songs, tales, etc.). Accounts of beliefs and practices were also taken into account (the simplified version of the entry can be found in Bartmiński, 2009/2012, pp. 22-37).

Following Bartmiński (1980), the procedure of feature verification was exquisitely applied by Janusz Anusiewicz (1990), who showed, among others, that:

- the feature 'big, strong' is found in phraseological units such as móc zjeść konia kopytami '(be so hungry that) one could eat a horse,' żre jak koń 'he eats a lot' (lit. like a horse), końska dawka 'megadose' (lit. 'horse's dose');
- the feature 'healthy' appears in the stock phrase *końskie zdrowie* 'the constitution of a horse';
- the feature 'speed, intensity' appears in pędzi, co koń wyskoczy 'runs like a
 bat out of hell' (lit. 'as fast as a horse') and i w sto koni nie dogoni, lit. 'one
 wouldn't catch (them) even with a hundred horses'; the notion of speed
 is also present in the etymology of koń: according to Brückner (1927), the
 Old Polish expression iść komunikiem, related to koń, meant 'on horseback,
 without carts' but also 'fast';
- 'characteristic body parts': cf. koński ogon 'ponytail,' końska grzywa 'thick hair' (lit. 'horse's mane'), końskie zęby 'big, long teeth' (lit. 'horse's teeth');
- 'loud, easily recognizable sound': *rżeć jak koń* 'laugh loudly' (lit. 'neigh like a horse'):
- the feature 'valuable, wise, grand' is present in proverbs based on opposition: Konia puścił, mysz chwycił 'He let the horse go but caught a mouse'; Przesiadł się z konia na osła 'He got down a horse and mounted a donkey'; Konia kują, a żaba nadstawia nogę 'As they are shoeing the horse, the frog is offering its leg';
- 'usefulness for hard work': harować jak koń 'work like a horse,' etc.

I am not listing all the features of the horse that make up its linguistic portrait, for it is only important to show the method of revealing their semantic relevance (more on this issue in Bartmiński, 2009/2012, pp. 30-31).

From today's perspective, one can see that the features extracted with this method have a diverse status (which Anusiewicz does not show): some of them relate to the very object and are "objective," encyclopedic ('big,' 'strong,' 'has a head, mane, teeth, hooves,' 'neighs'), others contribute subjective valuation and emotional estimates imposed by speakers onto the object: 'wise,' 'faithful,' 'liked by people.' In the folk view of the horse the subjective features are more numerous ('demonic,' 'sensing death,' 'vigorous,' 'man's animal').

6. The features attributed to the object can pertain to its various aspects: appearance, build, function, usefulness for people, etc. To uncover the aspectual interpretation of the object by the speaking subject is an important task of the researcher. Bundles of features, linked into "semantic subcategories" according

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to aspects to which they relate, reveal ways of seeing the object characteristic of specific speech communities. The objectified "picture" becomes a subjective "vision," depending on who talks about it, from what point of view, what is the speaker's attitude to it, etc.¹⁵ A comparison of the folk (Bartmiński, 1980), "literary" (Anusiewicz, 1995), and encyclopedic views of the horse shows that the differences pertain both to the selection of subcategories (facets) and their content.

7. The defining method is through "minimal diagnostic contexts" in the form of sentences communicating stereotypical judgments of the object. In other words, these are not abstract names of features but sentences or their equivalents: "The horse pulls wagons," "The horse is a saddle animal," "The horse is a healthy animal (as a rule)," "The horse can sense a person's death," etc. These sentences function in a pragmatic-modal frame that one can express as "the speakers think that..." and relate it to "a stereotypical horse."

The defining sentences can be linked into logical sequences and assume the shape of a "regular" text, in which one can identify the principles of temporal sequence, cause-and-effect, part-vs.-whole, or logical implication. The cognitive definition of the horse above may thus be "textualized" or even reformulated as a narrative:

KOŃ 'horse' is a big and valuable livestock animal; it is wise and faithful, and helps people because it is used for riding and as a draft animal. It occupies the highest position in the farm hierarchy and custom. It is considered a man's animal (the animal of the householder, a young man, or a soldier), as much as the cow is a woman's animal. Possession of horses is a sign of affluence and a reason for pride. The horse is considered vigorous and demonic; it is also thought to be able to sense a person's death.

A CD thus constructed meets the criteria of the contextual definition, ¹⁶ it is the latter's more elaborate form. Having said which, we can proceed to the

¹⁵ The following subcategories (later called *facets*) were identified in Bartmiński (1980): collection, parts, attributes, quantity, agent, subject, state, process, provenance, stimulus, object, addressee, instrument, location, similarity, equivalencies, oppositions. The ordering of the subcategories was not important. It was only when Anna Wierzbicka (1985) emphasized the significance of the sequence of subcategories that the order of the facets was adjusted to the internal logic of the concept, to its implication-based "cognitive structure."

¹⁶ The contextual definition focuses on the entry word in context and corresponds to the logical conceptions of the "entangled definition," the "axiomatic definition," or "a definition through postulates," developed by Kazimierz Ajdukiewicz (1965), Leon Koj (1969) or Tadeusz Pawłowski (1978) in relation to the work of Rudolf Carnap. For Ajdukiewicz (1965, pp. 79-82), a definition through postulates is an arrangement of sentences ("postulates") that contains the word being defined in various contexts and that meets two conditions: of non-contradiction (i.e. it has a solution) and of non-ambiguity (i.e. it has no more than one solution). Such sentences mark out the meaning of the word.

next section and address the very heart of the matter, namely the question of whether the CD is text and in what sense it is a text of culture.

3. The Cognitive Definition as Text

I put forward two hypotheses here: first, a definition is text; second, a definition is a text of culture, which is particularly true of the cognitive definition.

To say that a definition is text means that it meets the requirements of textuality. I assume that text is a super-sentential linguistic unit (i.e. one that is higher than a sentence in the typological sense, not necessarily longer), a communicatively autonomous macro-sign characterized by structural integrity and semantic coherence. It has its subject (the sender/speaker), a specific genological and stylistic markedness, an identifiable intention that facilitates understanding by the hearer. It is subject to internal divisions, semantic and logical, and in the case of longer texts — also compositional (Bartmiński & Niebrzegowska-Bartmińska, 2009, p. 36).¹⁷ Definitions meet all the criteria of textuality.

Let us consider yet another example, namely that of BOCIAN 'stork,' analyzed in detail by Bartmiński & Niebrzegowska-Bartmińska (2008).

The CD of BOCIAN in standard Polish, a reconstruction of the image entrenched in Polish culture based exclusively on "core" systemic data, contains about twenty features supported by "linguistic evidence."¹⁸ The features are presented as sequences of sentences or phrases that can easily be "textualized":

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¹⁷ Beaugrande i Dressler (1981) formulated seven criteria of textuality: *cohesion* (linking of words according to grammatical rules), *coherence* (a logical connection and consistency), *intentionality, acceptability, informativity, situationality* (the text is relevant to the situation of occurrence), *intertextuality* (its understanding depends on the knowledge of other texts). Bartmiński & Niebrzegowska-Bartmińska (2009, p. 49) add stylistic and genological markedness, plus they underscore the presence of the speaking subject, implied by the message's intentionality.

¹⁸ Each of the twenty features can be supported by "linguistic evidence" that corroborates its semantic relevance. These are stable features usually included in lexicographic definitions, but also: (i) the metaphorical extension of *bocian* meaning 'a long-legged and slow-walking person'; (ii) phraseological units: *chodzić na bocianich nogach* 'walk with long, slow strides,' (lit. 'on stork's legs'), *wierzyć w bociany* 'be naive' (lit. 'believe in storks'); (iii) co-occurring collocations: *bocianie nogi* 'stork's (i.e. long and thin) legs,' *bociani krok* 'a long, slow stride,' *bociani dziób* 'stork's (i.e. long and red) bill'; (iv) collocations: *przylotl odlot bocianów* 'coming and going of storks,' *wędrówka bocianów* 'stork migration,' *bocianówa* 'the water supposed to help a woman become pregnant' (cf. Bartmiński & Niebrzegowska-Bartmińska, 2008). The image of the stork in folk Polish is much richer; e.g. the presence of a stork on one's farm is considered a good omen, the destruction of storks' nests is forbidden, the behavior of storks is used to foretell the future, etc. The full description of the relevant folk stereotype will be included in a future volume of *SSSL*.

BOCIAN is a big black-and-white bird, with a long red bill, long neck, and long red legs. It produces characteristic sounds (clatter), walks slowly (wades), stands on one leg, arrives in spring and flies away in fall (migrates), gathers in flocks that fly in V formations while migrating. It feeds on frogs and cleanses the world of them in this way. It lives in damp areas and on swamps, builds nests on rooftops, chimneys and poles. It is believed to bring babies. ¹⁹

This definition is a semantically and structurally coherent text, it realizes a certain pattern of textual structure, an easily recognizable, peculiar speech genre with a clear intention to explain something. The pattern is composed of three canonical components: the *definiendum*, the copula plus the *definiens*,²⁰ and the communicative intention – these help the reader to interpret the definition.²¹ Definitions as a speech genre belong to scientific and official style, where the need for precision and non-ambiguity of expression is especially high.²²

It must be emphasized here that a definition always rests on a certain type of knowledge and on the convictions of a speaker/subject. In the definition of the stork above, the subject is someone who watches storks from close-up, lives in a country where there are swamps, frogs, houses with chimneys or poles, where

¹⁹ In the CD, it is possible to show its internal segmentation into facets; however, contrary to the views of many authors, the facet-based parametrization of the CD is *not* its most important feature. In *SSSL*, facets are introduced as inconspicuous "icons." Should one desire to use the full names of the facets (cf. Wierzbicka, 1985; this volume), the CD of BOCIAN would assume the following shape:

BOCIAN is [categorization] a bird that is [size] large, [appearance: color] black-and-white, [appearance: built] with a long red bill, long neck, long red legs; [behavior] it produces characteristic sounds (clatter), walks slowly (wades), stands on one leg, arrives in spring and flies away in fall (migrates), gathers in flocks that fly in V formations while migrating; [eating habits] it feeds on frogs and cleanses the world of them in this way; [location] lives in damp areas and on swamps, builds nests on rooftops, chimneys and poles; [beliefs] it is believed to bring babies.

²⁰ Several definition types can be identified. In the opinion of the Polish lexicographer Witold Doroszewski, the best is the reality-*cum*-semantics definition, which he distinguished from the structural and the range-based definitions. Anna Wierzbicka has for several decades consistently used extended explications based on a limited set of semantic primes. I have based my idea of the CD on sentences that communicate standard, colloquial (stereotypical, i.e. entrenched and repeated) judgments about mental objects. Halina Zgółkowa operates with encyclopedic definitions. Mirosław Bańko has introduced contextual definitions into his *ISJP* (2000), etc. Sager (2000) is a useful anthology of classic, philosophical approaches to definition.

²¹ With reference to these properties of text, Bakhtin (1976/1986) uses the term *finalization*.

²² A speech genre is not only based on the communicative intention but also invokes a specific worldview and endows it with an appropriate ontological (modal) status. It has a variety of linguistic forms at its disposal.

storks come in spring and fly away in fall; it is someone who considers frogs to be "impure," someone who both believes in and doubts that storks bring babies. The speaking subject, the "creator of the scene," is mentally immersed in Polish folk culture. In that culture, there is also a conviction (without evidence in standard Polish) that a destruction of a stork's nest brings misfortune in the form of a fire because the stork "takes revenge."

The part of the definition called the *definiens* has a significant informative value: from the textological point of view it is referred to as the *rheme*: it supplies new information. The scale of the novelty of the rheme (Jan Firbas's "communicative dynamism," 1992, ch.2) depends on the whole situational context: who compiles the definition, for whom and why, to what kind of the receiver's knowledge does it relate? The definitions constructed by a specialist for a layperson will differ from those constructed by a teacher for his/her pupils, by a lexicographer for a broad audience, or by an expert in a given language for an overseas student of that language, etc.²³ The frequent postulate of contextual substitutability of the *definiendum* and the *definiens* is by no means absolute; indeed, its application can bring grotesque results.²⁴

4. The Cognitive Definition as a Text of Culture

In what sense and thanks to which of its features is the CD a *text of culture?* Texts of culture are those that have a special, above-average significance for the speakers, the community, and the culture that unites it. These are texts that function as a "communal good, maintained, transmitted, and enriched by subsequent generations" (*SPTK*, 2002, p. 307), those that have a certain social character and "realize a socially entrenched pattern" (*STL*, 1998, p. 575). Texts of culture carry socially important ideas; they influence people's imagination and emotions.²⁵ Included here are literary texts, as well as films, dramas, musical

²³ The diverse definition types vis-à-vis their goals are discussed in Grochowski (1993).

²⁴ Cf. e.g. Stefan Themerson's Professor Mmaa's Lecture (1953).

²⁵ According to SPTK (2000), a text of culture is a text that is considered a common good, maintained, transmitted, and enriched by subsequent generations, an objectified result of a multi-generational activity, with a potential to spread and develop. It results from the repeated internal and external behavior of members of a given community (e.g. thinking, feeling, acts of creation).

Next, it is said that a text of culture has a material dimension (it may be a book, a painting, a film reel) and a spiritual one, i.e. "it expresses the symbolic aspect of the object, it shapes attitudes, influences thinking and emotions." It may be a single object, a specific literary work of art, performance or film, or it may be the culture's literature, theater or cinema in the global sense.

compositions, paintings, etc. "Texts of culture participate in the creation of social bonds, function as sources of knowledge that underlies the development of a civilization." Therefore, "researching texts of culture allows one to trace and participate in the spiritual and material development of societies." The role of language is to co-create texts of culture and facilitate their transmission from one generation to the next (*SPTK*, 2002, p. 307).

Thus, the CD is a text of culture in three ways:

- 1) it contains a record of socially entrenched knowledge about objects, people, and phenomena;
- 2) it contains a record of convictions and beliefs entertained by the speakers with regard to the world and to people;
- 3) it relates to the norms and values shared by the speaking subject.

It is sufficient to consider the two examples discussed here, i.e. the cognitive definitions of the horse and the stork, to see that the subject-oriented structure of the CD, its emphasis on the reconstruction of the viewpoint and the cognitive perspective of speaking subjects in a given culture, leads one to reveal the knowledge, experience, beliefs, norms, and values entertained by those subjects. The CD is an instrument of a description and understanding culture in the ideational sense (following Ward Goodenough, e.g. 1957), as a complex of norms and values underlying the language-entrenched worldview.

As the final point, let us consider the cognitive definition of MATKA 'mother' (cf. Bartmiński, 1998) to take better note of the role of norms and values as cultural factors. The CD of MATKA, built of defining sentences based on linguistic evidence, sentences-judgments that conform to the principles of subject-oriented reconstruction, should contain at least thirty stereotypical features. They can be arranged into a text with a characteristic cognitive structure:

MATKA is a woman who gave birth to a child, nourishes and brings up the child, and is tender towards the child; she is ready to sacrifice and understands everything; she also scolds and punishes the child for misbehavior; but she is the only one, irreplaceable, etc. (cf. Bartmiński, 1998; 2009/2012, ch. 11)

The sentences that constitute the CD can have a different status or modality. The categorial aspect ("every mother") is attributed to the feature "gave birth to," but not to "brings up" – because not every mother does (only those who fulfill social and cultural norms, the "true" mothers). As the proverb has it, "The mother is not the one who gave birth, but the one who raised." It appears that the characterization of the mother is subjected in the stereotype to double modification, whose nature is expressed by the generalizing quantifier every and the modifiers connected with it: typical (normal, usual, average, representative, etc.) and true. If the modifier typical has a descriptive value and is subject to

truth-conditional verification, true means something more: 'the way it is and should be.' It thus has a descriptive and deontic value, it relates to the norm and value system of the speaker and escapes truth-conditional verification (for more details cf. Bartmiński, 2009/2012, pp. 138-140). It is at this juncture that the CD, which reconstructs the interpretation of the mental object by language speakers, most forcefully encroaches on the cultural terrain: it becomes a text of culture in the sense defined. Not only does it express a socially entrenched experience of the world, the elements that constitute knowledge of the world and historical memory, but also actualizes the valuation inherent therein, provides access to the system of norms and values that lie at the core of every culture. This is particularly conspicuous in the case of highly abstract concepts such as FREEDOM, EQUALITY, SOLIDARITY, RESPONSIBILITY, DIGNITY/HONOR, WORK, or JUSTICE, recently in the limelight of the international project EUROJOS (cf. Bartmiński, 2009/2012, p. 223; Abramowicz, Bartmiński, Chlebda, 2009; Bielińska-Gardziel 2009; Niebrzegowska-Bartmińska 2013). Their respective cognitive definitions must always relate to a broader context, norms and values, and propose an interpretation of the concepts within the framework of a cultural paradigm.

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Translated by Adam Głaz

Chapter 9

The Cognitive Definition of Iron (*Żelazo*) in Polish Folk Tradition

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1. General Assumptions

The chapter is an attempt to reconstruct the linguistic portrait of iron (*żelazo*) entrenched in Polish folk culture.¹ The linguistic (linguistic-cultural) worldview is one of the main concepts of ethnolinguistics. In the Lublin approach, represented by Jerzy Bartmiński and his team, ethnolinguistics is treated as the area within contemporary linguistics that aims to reconstruct the subjective worldview entrenched in language by focusing on "culture in language." Bartmiński claims that the relative uniqueness of Lublin ethnolinguistics results not so much from a continuation of previous research or from sources of inspiration, but from its research instruments, i.e. the terms and concepts it uses:

In general, they are the same as those in cultural, anthropological and cognitive linguistics, but they are also somewhat different from

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¹ In Poland, the term "folk culture" is attributed to the culture typical of peasant communities. Among its characteristic features are: isolationism, traditionalism, an oral form of transmission of knowledge and tradition, sensuality, and a specific type of religiousness (Burszta, 1999, pp. 116-118). Bartmiński says:

Folk culture, peasant folklore, or regional dialects have for centuries served as the bedrock of national culture, a source of literary inspirations and the source power for national language, both in its colloquial and artistic variants. [...] The boundary between what is folk and what is national was not and is not sharp. On the contrary, both spheres of national culture have permeated each other for a long time. Historically speaking, standard Polish emerged between the 14th and the 16th c.; it is founded on folk dialects and in later centuries the process of borrowings and diffusion involved single words and concepts, but also phrases, idioms, proverbs, topics, and motifs, as well as whole texts. (SSSL, 1996-2012, vol. I, no. 1, p. 10)

Hence in SSSL (Dictionary of Folk Stereotypes and Symbols) there is no sharp boundary between folk and non-folk sources: "[W]e have decided to show as widely and systematically as possible the relationship between folk culture and primarily colloquial thinking entrenched in standard, spoken variety of Polish" (Bartmiński 2000, p. 49). The problems of folk vs. non-folk culture in the context of ethnolinguistic research are discussed, among others, in Prorok (2012).

the latter, and in any case, they are sometimes understood and used in an idiosyncratic manner. Together they form a coherent system of concepts useful in descriptions of language in its various social manifestations, so they are certainly valuable in the operational sense. They include not only the idea of the linguistic worldview, but also such concepts as type of rationality, viewpoint and perspective, the understanding of text as a specifically structured "macro-sign," colloquialness understood anthropologically as a common linguistic, cultural and experiential base, the stereotype that rest on this base, the idea of profiling concepts and stereotypes in specialized discourses, and finally the speaking subject, who communicates by controlling conceptualization, verbalization, and profiling. (Bartmiński, 2008, p. 23)

We will try to reconstruct the linguistic picture of iron following the methodology used in the Dictionary of Folk Stereotypes and Symbols (SSSL, 1996-2012), the main project of Lublin ethnolinguistics. The aim of the dictionary is to reconstruct the traditional picture of the world and of humans in that world, accessible through language, texts of folklore, and descriptions of beliefs and practices. The method of defining used in the dictionary is that of the cognitive definition, which significantly differs from the known ways of defining adopted in lexicography. Its assumptions are formulated by Bartmiński as follows:

The cognitive definition aims to portray the way in which an entity is viewed by the speakers of a language, to represent socioculturally established and linguistically entrenched knowledge, its categorisation and valuation. [...] The defined entity is a "mental object" (Bartmiński, 2009/2012, p. 67), [with the whole richness of its characterization, entrenched in the linguistic worldview (Bartmiński, 1988, p. 170).]

The cognitive definition reconstructs colloquial² thinking about the world and strives to extract all established and culturally relevant positive features of a given mental object. This makes it different from the typical, classical definition, which is limited to an enumeration of only some of these features, namely those

² The cognitive definition can be applied "narrowly," i.e. to account for folk language, or "broadly," i.e. with regard to a standard, national language and even in intercultural research. For example, Bartmiński (2009/2012, ch. 11) applies it at the level of the standard variety of Polish. For a discussion of the problem of a "broad" or "narrow" understanding of ethnolinguistics cf. Bartmiński (2009/2012, pp. 9-10) or Prorok (2012).

that identify the object being defined (*genus proximum*) and distinguish it form others (*differentia specifica*). In most "academic" dictionaries, one easily finds definitions that make ample use of scientific knowledge. As an example, let us consider Witold Doroszewski's Dictionary of the Polish Language (*SJP*, 1958-1969), which influenced the shape of Polish lexicography for years to come. According to Doroszewski, a good definition is one in which the entry word can be replaced by the actual definition without altering the sense of the whole. Let us see how he defines *żelazo*:

1. a chemical element, symbol Fe, atomic number 26, a heavy, malleable, soft metal, with magnetic properties; in nature it appears in compounds with oxygen and sulfur; used as raw material in heavy industry; 2. carbon steel, an alloy of iron and carbon; a piece of this alloy; 3. a large iron object or instrument

As separate meanings Doroszewski distinguishes also:

4. a trap for animals, iron hoops snapped by means of a spring; 5 a) a suit of armor; b) cold steel, a sword; 6 a) chains, handcuffs; b) an iron

However, meanings 4 to 6 are merely special cases of meaning 3.

This definition has a specialized character. Two kinds of categorization are introduced: 'chemical element' and 'heavy metal.' The former results from the scientific point of view and contains information important only for a scientist (a chemist), not for an average speaker, e.g. about the element's atomic number.³ The category 'metal' situates the entity closer to colloquial knowledge and implies characterization of its properties and use. But even here one finds specialized and scientific terms, such as *malleability* or *magnetic properties*. Also surprising to an average reader is the information that iron is a soft metal, since in everyday conceptualization it is a synonym for hardness; cf. the expressions

³ This is obviously not typical of Polish lexicography only; cf. even more "scientific" definitions of *iron* at www.collinsdictionary.com:

a malleable ductile silvery-white ferromagnetic metallic element occurring principally in haematite and magnetite. It is widely used for structural and engineering purposes. Symbol: Fe; atomic no: 26; atomic wt: 55.847; valency: 2,3,4, or 6; relative density: 7.874; melting pt: 1538°C; boiling pt: 2862°C

or at www.dictionary.com:

a ductile, malleable, silver-white metallic element, scarcely known in a pure condition, but much used in its crude or impure carbon-containing forms for making tools, implements, machinery, etc. Symbol: Fe; atomic weight: 55.847; atomic number: 26; specific gravity: 7.86 at 20°C.

twardy jak żelazo 'hard as iron,' żelazna ręka 'iron hand,' or żelazny człowiek 'iron man,' etc.

Doroszewski used scientific terms in order to approach objectivity but he associated objectivity with scientific knowledge, rather than with colloquial, common-sense knowledge. In contrast, according to Bartmiński,

a move from what is subjective to what is objective is by no means tantamount to a move from everyday to scientific knowledge, and this for two reasons: (1) even if scientific knowledge is oriented towards maximum objectivity, one cannot disregard objective elements in common knowledge beside subjective ones; (2) an assessment of the subjective or objective character of knowledge can take place only when the same type of rationality and the same attitude toward the world are assumed. Common knowledge has its source in a different attitude (pragmatic, common-sense) than scientific knowledge (theoretical and epistemological), and therefore to assess the objectivity of one from the viewpoint of the other is unjustified. (Bartmiński, 2006, p. 36)

Anna Wierzbicka draws attention to the same problem:

A good dictionary definition must be exhaustive in the sense that it states all the components of the concept, not in the sense that it includes all the available knowledge about the denotata. No knowledge of the denotata should be included in a definition unless it has become part of the concept. The dividing line is clear, at least in principle: no specialized knowledge can be regarded as part of the meaning. In other words, no facts about mugs that only potters would know should be included in the definition of *mug*, and no facts that only zoologists would know should be included in the definition of *tiger*. A zoologist or a zoo-keeper might know how many teeth a tiger has, but one can know what *tiger* means without having that information. (Wierzbicka, 1985, pp. 40-41)

Similarly, for an ordinary speaker the atomic number of iron and its chemical symbol are not relevant; more important are its appearance, properties, and use.

The authors of other dictionaries of Polish follow Doroszewski's definitions and frequently resort to specialist terminology. Stanisław Dubisz in his Universal Dictionary of the Polish Language (*USJP*, 2003) uses such "learned" terms as *ferrous group, oxidation*, or *hemoglobin*. In Halina Zgółkowa's Practical Dictionary of Contemporary Polish Language (*PSWP*, 1994-2005), beside the colloquial information about the silvery-white color of iron and its shining surface can be

found terms like *periodic table, ductility, oxidation, diluted acids,* and *alkaline properties.* Only two dictionaries of Polish break with the tradition of scientific definitions and use elements of colloquial knowledge. The first of those is Mirosław Bańko's Different Polish Language Dictionary (*ISJP*, 2000), where *żelazo* is defined as "a heavy, silvery-grey metal used to produce alloys and in heavy industry; iron appears in the form of minerals and can be found in humans, animals, and plants." Although the definition contains terms like *alloy* or *minerals*, it comes closest to the colloquial conceptualization of the world, thereby reconstructing the understanding of the meaning of *żelazo* by an average speaker.⁴

The other dictionary which refers to the speakers' colloquial knowledge is Zofia Kurzowa's Illustrated Basic Dictionary of the Polish Language (*ISPJP*, 1999), where *żelazo* is briefly defined as "a heavy metal, the main component of steel." This definition only contains the superordinate category 'metal,' which is closer to the colloquial perception of the world, and only one feature, i.e. 'heavy.' At the same time, it contains the error *ignotum per ignotius* – "the unknown by the more unknown." Describing iron through steel does not explain much because in the same dictionary *stal* 'steel' is defined as "hard metal obtained from iron": a clear case of a vicious circle.⁵

To sum up: the quoted definitions have a taxonomic aim and follow the principles of the classical approach to defining. The superordinate category is determined mainly from the scientific point of view. These minimal definitions are limited to the "necessary and sufficient" features, they have a classifying character and are good for taxonomic purposes. For descriptive purposes, however, they are insufficient because they do not shed light on the understanding of words by average speakers or the meanings of texts, phrases, and proverbs, such as *kuć żelazo póki gorgce* 'strike while the iron is hot.'

At this juncture, two questions can be asked: how many features should the "maximum" definition take into account and is the set of these features closed? Bartmiński answers thus:

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⁴ Cf. the strikingly similar definition of *iron* in the *Collins Cobuild* dictionary at www.mycobuild.com: "Iron is an element which usually takes the form of a hard, dark-grey metal. It is used to make steel, and also forms part of many tools, buildings, and vehicles. Very small amounts of iron occur in your blood and in food." It is worth mentioning that in the preface to *ISJP* (2000) Bańko writes: "[T]he compilation [of the dictionary] has been inspired by British pedagogical dictionaries (especially those published by Collins, later HarperCollins) designed for learners of English as a foreign language" (p. v). He does not mention any specific dictionary but the similarity to *Collins Cobuild* is incontestable.

⁵ Note that the same error can be found in the *Collins Cobuild* definition of *steel*: "Steel is a very strong metal which is made mainly from iron. Steel is used for making many things, for example bridges, buildings, vehicles, and cutlery" (compare this with the definition of *iron* in the previous note).

There is no reason why lexicographic explanation of a word could not collect all positive components of its meaning relevant from the point of view of the word's use in texts and its relation to other words in the language. The number of properties associated with the object being defined would grow significantly but at the same time it would be limited to what is registered by the colloquial awareness of speakers, not by scientific knowledge about the world. (Bartmiński, 2006, pp. 40-41; cf. also Bartmiński, 2009/2012, pp. 71-72)

However, does not the postulate of the "maximum" definition transform a lexicographic definition into an encyclopedic one? Not really, because the Lublin ethnolinguists attempt to keep their extended cognitive definitions within the limits of "linguistic evidence" (cf. Wierzbicka, 1996, p.. 335ff. for a more in-depth discussion of the latter term). In the cognitive definition, the set of features relating to a given object is "in principle" closed, 6 their number being primarily determined by linguistic and cultural stability (never 100%). An important aspect is, firstly, the semantic content of the word's core meaning, and secondly, the socio-cultural context, i.e. socially entrenched knowledge of the world, common to the sender and the receiver (this is usually a peripheral sphere of meaning, the so-called "soft connotations"), accompanied by convictions, beliefs, and established practices, without which normal language communication and interpretation of utterances is impossible. These are the so-called "co-linguistic data" (cf. Bartmiński, 2009/2012, pp. 9, 11, 34-35).7 Therefore, during the reconstruction of the "naive worldview," three types of data are taken into account, abbreviated as S-Q-T: the language system, questionnaires, and texts. This, however, is not a sine qua non requirement, cf. Bartmiński (2009/2012, p. 36 and chapters 11-16) for various configurations of the three kinds of sources.

The notion and use of co-linguistic data involves a certain paradox, for how does one reconcile the desire to avoid all-embracing, unlimited and diffuse encyclopedic-type definitions (cf. Wierzbicka above) with incorporating the data into the definitions?

If by being encyclopedic one understands the totality of (conscious or subconscious) knowledge about a given object or phenomenon, then this is not what Lublin ethnolinguistics stands for, as this would preclude defining anything. It appears that this is precisely Wierzbicka's point (1996, pp. 335-336) when she argues in favor of extensive but precise and rigorously executed definitions. But

⁶ The principles of the cognitive definition were formulated in the 1980s but later publications (e.g. Bartmiński & Tokarski, 1993) emphasize the definition's open character. **7** Called *ad-linguistic* in that book.

it is a different matter to seek support for linguistic evidence in the data that is in itself non-linguistic but that both accompanies and sheds light on language use. This is the "socio-cultural" context we have mentioned, the "socially entrenched knowledge of the world." Lublin ethnolinguistics follows in this respect Malinowski's (1935) idea of language as primarily a "mode of action." It is through and by means of language that "things get done" not only in individual face-to-face encounters between speakers (cf. the later theory of speech acts) but primarily in communal joint efforts conventionalized in the form of practices, rituals, or stereotyped behaviors. Language accompanies those behaviors but the reverse is also true, hence "both types of data complement each other and facilitate a comprehensive reconstruction [of a given mental image] that exists in the consciousness of the participants in folk culture" (Prorok, 2012, p. 39).

Importantly, Lublin ethnolinguistics goes further than Malinowski and accepts what is referred to as "the cognitive commitment," i.e. "a commitment to providing a characterization of general principles for language that accords with what is known about the mind" (Evans & Green, 2006, pp. 27-28). In particular, the alternative between cultural practice and mental process is a fallacy: one does not preclude the other. Indeed, the very thrust of cognitive ethnolinguistics is a quest for mental portraits of objects and phenomena that are common to members of a given community who are engaged in certain communal practices. The mental portraits both reflect and shape these practices.

In the following section we will present the cognitive definition of iron as it is conceptualized in Polish folk culture. It will consist of two parts: explication (section 2) and documentation (the Appendix). In the explication, the stabilized characteristics that iron receives in the Polish folk language will be given in the form of "defining sentences." These sentences will be arranged in special semantic categories (facets), that is, groups treated as homogenous from a certain

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⁸ Malinowski (1935) attributes the pragmatic function to any language. This is a development of his earlier view (1923) that the function, in tandem with the so-called "context of situation," is primarily found in the so-called "primitive" languages.

⁹ Because of length limitations here, we will only present a shortened version of the definition. The full version, authored by Katarzyna Prorok and Małgorzata Brzozowska, can be found in *SSSL* (vol. 1, no. 4: *The world, light, metals,* 2012). The documentary part there contains a few hundred texts representing various genres. The texts were first grouped into variants, and then "stereotypical motifs" in the form of sentences (or their equivalents) were extracted from them. These were used in the explication as "defining sentences." In addition, twenty-four sub-entries have been formulated: these contain definitions of selected iron objects (e.g. an iron, an iron horseshoe, an iron bridge, iron shoes). Their cultural portraits are presented separately because they have complex semantics and are involved in a variety of genre-related contexts: the connotations of *iron* as a metal interplay or overlap with those of concrete objects and their names. In this way, complex, new symbolic qualities emerge.

point of view: names, categorization, complexes and collections, oppositions and gradation, origin, transformation, appearance and properties, or actions directed at iron. We will also present prohibitions and divinations associated with iron, its everyday, medicinal and magic uses, and finally we will list its symbolic meanings. These categories reflect the cognitive structure of the entry and the way in which the word *żelazo* functions in texts. The documentation will contain various types of "stereotyped texts" (stabilized in terms of their semantic and/or formal structure and repetitive in social circulation), such as riddles, proverbs, spells, New Year carols, various types of folk songs (wedding, love, religious, festive, soldiers', or profession songs), fairy tales, written peasant poetry, and descriptions of beliefs and practices. They come both from 19th-c. or earlier sources and newly created folk colloquial data, collected in fieldwork and deposited in the Ethnolinguistic Archive at Maria Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin. Their geographical scope embraces the whole ethnic territory of Poland.

2. Explication

NAME. The Polish name of iron, żelazo, has close counterparts in other Slavic languages (Czech železo, Slovak železo, Russian želézo, Ukrainian zalízo, zelizo, Bulgarian żelázo, Serbian/Croatian žèljezo, Slovenian želézo) and Baltic languages (Lithuanian geležis, Latvian dzèlzs). Etymologically related (formally and semantically) with żelazo are the Polish words głaz 'boulder,' głowa 'head' and żółw 'turtle' (Old Church Slavonic žely), as well as Russian želevák 'tumor,' which shows that the dominant feature of iron, entrenched in its name, is hardness.

Other words derived from the noun żelazo not only emphasize its hardness, but also its strength and dark-gray color. The adjective żelazny 'iron,' besides the purely relational meaning 'related with iron' or 'made of iron,' has qualitative meanings 'in some aspect similar to iron,' therefore 'hard and durable as iron,' 'having the color of iron.' Furthermore, as a result of metaphorical extensions from the physical sphere to the psycho-social sphere, żelazny has meanings that refer to human behaviors: 'inviolable, unchanging,' 'ruthless, adamant,' cf. the expressions ktoś trzyma kogoś żelazną ręką 'someone keeps somebody with an iron fist,' żelazny człowiek 'iron man,' żelazna wola 'iron will,' żelazne prawo 'iron law.' In Polish folk tradition żelazny also means 'constant, not belonging to someone, but to a certain institution (e.g. a parish) or given to someone for life,' e.g. żelazna krowa 'an iron cow,' żelazne mleko 'iron milk,' żelazny opał 'iron firewood.' Slow-growing and ripening fruits were also called żelazny: 'the apples are still iron and one could break teeth on them'; żelåznica 'a winter pear or apple.' Other derived words are less interesting because they show only the use of iron as a material: żelaźniak 'an iron pot,' 'a wagon with an iron fitting'; żelazko 'an iron,' 'an iron tool or dish,' 'a tool for ironing fabrics, once heated by a bar of

iron (the "soul") or glowing embers that were put inside, today by electricity'; *żelastwo* 'scrap-iron,' 'pieces of iron, iron objects, especially old, unfit to use, intended for scrap.'

SUPERORDINATE CATEGORY. In Polish folk tradition iron is treated as a metal. Although the word *metal* in itself occurs rarely, it is commonly known and understood.

Steel, i.e. iron merged with carbon in appropriate proportions, is treated as a VARIETY of iron. In folk texts, steel appears interchangeably with iron or next to it, especially when one wants to emphasize the feature of hardness, cf. the expression *żelazne/stalowe nerwy* 'iron/steel nerves'; a proverb mentions 'iron steel' (2);¹⁰ in a poem a blacksmith forges 'iron, hard steel' (47); in a wedding song a girl wants to dance, because her legs 'are made of iron, of steel' (26).

Iron appears in COMPLEXES AND COLLECTIONS with various materials, e.g.: with gold, silver and copper which a miner mines from the ground (35); iron and flint are used to make fire; iron and a magnet attract each other (22) (a) (b), (30); iron with wood form tools (1); in fire iron is heated before forging (5) (a), (29), (37); a hammer and a bellows are needed in the forging of iron (47). In a proverb, in a metaphorical sense as weapon (a symbol of fighting), iron is connected with bread because they both help one survive (20), and with valor, because they are essential in war (14).

Iron also stands in OPPOSITION to other materials. On the one hand, it is considered less valuable and precious than gold or silver (11), (41), (42). On the other hand, it is more useful than they are: gold (i.e. wealth) loses its value during the war, which is fought with iron, a symbol of military force (15), (17). Hard, heavy and resistant iron is also opposed to the softer, lighter and non-resistant materials: lead (39), clay and glass (21), phloem (13), down (3) and feathers (4), silk (10), bread (56). In the metaphorical sense it is weaker than: a tongue that 'injures more than iron' (28), a hand that is 'harder than iron' (3), an unfeeling heart (19).

GRADATION. In the religious songs which draw on the ancient tradition (Greek and Latin), gold – silver – copper – iron and clay function as signs of four centuries in the world history (31). This series is built on the principle "better – worse."

The ORIGIN of iron can be heavenly or earthly. According to the oldest, mythologized verbal transmissions, today rare, iron originates in heaven: God flings a lightning, i.e. a glowing piece of iron, which falls deep into the ground and then it is found as a 'thundering stone.' In fairy tales iron may be a result of magic TRANSFORMATION (42), or it is transformed into more valuable silver

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 $[{]f 10}$ The numbers in the brackets refer to the numbers in the documentation in the Appendix.

and gold (41). According to a legend, the iron mine near Łęczyca, Poland, came into being when the devil, in order to marry the daughter of a stingy blacksmith, brought him a pile of iron higher than the forge. When the clever daughter of the blacksmith told the devil to come to the church for the wedding, he escaped, and the iron caved in deeply into the ground. Mining songs are more realistic: iron is mined from the ground by a miner (35), (36).

FORMS OF OCCURRENCE. Iron occurs in the form of ores (called *żelaziak*, *żelazisko* 'iron stone'), which are mined from the underground. Steel works, factories and forges (called *hamernie* from German) were built in the vicinity: iron was processed there. Ethnographic descriptions also mention 'iron water' or 'iron springs,' which contain minerals. Kashubian *żelezna* is 'water containing a high percentage of iron.'

APPEARANCE AND PROPERTIES. Iron is perceived as a metal that is:

- (I) hard: twardy jak żelazo 'hard as iron,' muskuły z żelaza 'muscles of iron,' cf. (3), (11), (28), (39), (47);
- (II) heavy: ciężki jak żelazo 'heavy as iron,' cf. (4);
- (III) durable: żelazne zdrowie 'iron health,' człowiek z żelaza 'iron man'; in fairy tales a man stronger than all the others is called Żelazny Marcin 'Iron Martin,' cf. (2), (11), (26);
- (IV) rigid: in a wedding song bridesmaids do not sing because they have 'iron or wooden mugs' (27).

Iron has a dark gray color (which is confirmed by the word *żelazisty*) 'ferruginous,' 'similar in appearance to the iron, distinguished by a dark gray metallic color'), but it changes during heating from red to white (38). Underground deposits of iron give water its red color – the water is used in baking iron clay vessels. Rusty iron has red-brown color and so was used to color eggs for Easter.

In its natural state iron is cold, but when heated in fire it is very hot (6), (29), gives warmth (38) and one can knead it like dough (47).

Iron rusts when it is exposed to air and water: *jeść jak rdza żelazo* 'to eat (something) like rust eats iron,' cf. (7) (a) (b). It should be gilded (8) or oiled (32) to protect it from rust.

When iron is made to rasp on glass, the sound is very unpleasant, cf. the expression jak zgrzyt żelaza po szkle 'as the rasp of iron on glass.'

ACTIONS DIRECTED AT IRON may have a purely utilitarian or a magic goal. A miner mines it from the ground (35), (36), a steelworker melts it from the ore, and a blacksmith heats it in fire, then forges and tempers it (5) (a) (b), (25), (37), (38), (47). Hard and durable iron cannot simply be broken (19) or crumbled (5) (a). Therefore, if in fairy tales strong men are called £omiżelazo 'breakingiron,' Żelazołom, 'iron-crowbar,' it is the measure of their uniqueness. According to some beliefs, pstruś 'an ostrich' is a unique bird that eats and digests iron. Objects made of iron can be torn, worn away only in special circumstances: after sprinkling them with holy water, circling with chalk, touching with a cane from a

paradise tree or with special herbs with significant names, such as *rozryw-ziele* 'tear-herbs,' *trawa żelazna* 'iron grass,' *żelazne ziele* 'iron herb.'

Hot iron is used as an instrument of torture and punishment, cf. the expressions próba rozpalonego żelaza 'trial by hot iron,' piec/przypiekać kogoś rozpalonym żelazem 'to burn someone with red-hot iron,' cf. (40), (45). According to beliefs the 'Iron Hand' (43) and the 'Iron Woman' with iron claws (44) spread fear among children and bring death to them.

DAILY USE. Thanks to its hardness, durability and wide availability, iron has had numerous practical applications. Many useful tools are made of iron, especially those that are essential in farming and at home (plows, harrows, sickles, scythes, axes, wagons, chains, nails, stoves, chests, pots, knives), various types of locks (keys, padlocks, locks, doors, gates, bars, walls, chains, tethers, snares), tools of war and violence (weapons, armor), etc. Iron objects with time replaced their earlier, less durable wooden equivalents. The older generation reconciled themselves to the changes reluctantly. For example, older Polish country-dwellers ate with wooden spoons until the end of the nineteenth century and even up to World War I, while young people used iron spoons. Iron objects are produced by a local blacksmith. He usually remakes the metal tools collected in farms into new ones.

Many archaic MEDICAL AND MAGIC PRACTICES related to the use of iron objects have been noted, which confirms the mythological nature of the portrait of iron in folk tradition. It is commonly believed that iron provides health and success, or protects against witchcraft and the powers of evil. At Christmas Eve supper iron was put on feet to make them hard, to protect them from ulcers or in general for one 'to be as healthy as iron' cf. (25). People applied scraps of iron from a forge on the painful part of the body or rubbed boiled scraps of iron into their skin as treatment for rheumatism. For the same purpose they put various objects made of steel or iron into bed. Pebbles, pieces of bones or iron functioned as amulets. They were worn around the neck, under an arm or sewed in dresses as protection against misfortunes, diseases, influences of witches and spells of bad people. For example, in a special formula the 'iron man' chases people's fright away (24). Iron was also put in the covers of a newborn child and its mother to protect them from troublesome witches. By means of iron cooked in milk or by means of heated iron on which milk was poured, people invoked and tortured the witch that had spoiled their cow's milk. If a deceased person was suspected of being a vampire, a piece of iron was inserted into his mouth so that he could not get up (46). On St. John the Baptist's Eve each farmer emptied his well of water and cleaned it thoroughly; at the end he threw a little salt or a piece of iron into it, believing that it will help the well produce healthy water all year. On Christmas Eve iron was placed under the table to protect the ground against moles. In order to protect sauerkraut from going bad, a piece of iron was put into a barrel.

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There were also certain PROHIBITIONS associated with iron, which concerned mainly the iron tools used in farming. It was believed that they can hurt the earth, the living mother, e.g. iron forks were not used for fear that the earth will stop bearing fruit.

Iron was also used in DIVINATIONS. When someone found a needle or another iron object, it was treated as the sign that on that day the person had not sinned. After the Christmas Eve supper, girls went to the river and whichever of them found a piece of iron, she would have a blacksmith for the husband.

SYMBOLIC MEANINGS attributed to iron in the Polish folk tradition do not differ significantly from its meanings in other cultures. Thanks to its physical properties, iron symbolizes hardness (3), (28), (39), (47), durability (2), (26), power (24), implacability and valor (9), (10), (14). As a weapon of war it is also connected with captivity (33) (a), (b), (34) and death (48). A dream about iron is treated as a prophecy of 'hard experiences' because 'iron is heavy.' ¹¹

3. Summary

The cognitive definition of iron in SSSL (vol. I, no. 4) is very complex because it takes into account all culturally relevant positive features of the mental object. On the one hand, there are features for which one can find linguistic evidence, i.e. the fact that iron is a hard, heavy and durable metal; it has a dark-gray color and is cold; it is considered to be less precious than gold, silver or even copper but people appreciate its greater usefulness in everyday life, etc. On the other hand, according to folk tradition entrenched in beliefs and practices, i.e. "colinguistic data" that have no direct formal linguistic exponents, iron is also a means of protection against the powers of evil and provides health to people and livestock. Both types of data – linguistic and "co-linguistic" – complement each other and enable a comprehensive reconstruction of the folk image of iron.

¹¹ This rests on the ambiguity of the Polish word *ciężki*, which can mean either 'hard' (as in *hard experience*) or 'heavy' (in the literal sense, 'weighing much').

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Appendix

Documentation¹²

Riddles

- (1) Wood with iron together form 7. (The scythe)
- (2) What is stronger than iron steel? (Fire)
- (3) What is harder than iron and softer than down? (A hand)
- (4) What is heavier: a pound of iron, or a pound of feather? (Neither: it makes no difference)

Proverbs

- (5) (a) Strike while the iron is hot; variants: Strike while the iron is in the fire; Beat while the iron is hot: Strike while the iron is hot: cold iron crumbles.
- (b) At first the blacksmith heats the iron, and then he forges it.
- (6) Only millstones and hot iron are safe from a thief.
- (7) (a) Rust digests iron, concern digests man.
- (b) A jealous man is like iron: his own rust digests him.
- (8) Gilded iron does not rust quickly.
- (9) Choose a friend with a silk hand and hold them with an iron hand.
- (10) Iron law but golden letters.
- (11) A gold(en) fist breaks the iron wall.
- (12) Iron peace is better than gold(en) war.
- (13) Phloem agreement is better than iron law.
- (14) With iron and valor wars are waged.
- (15) Go gold to gold, we, Poles, love iron more.
- (16) Poland will never run out of iron for weapons, knights for horseriding, rye, flax, wheat and cellars full of wine.
- (17) What are good outfits for in the war, where iron pays, and gold and jewels lose their value.
- (18) A tongue injures more than iron.
- (19) It is easier to crush iron than an unfeeling heart.
- (20) With iron and bread we will go all over the world.
- (21) Fortune changes often: one time it is clay, then iron, then glass.
- (22) (a) Four eyes together are (like) a magnet and iron.
- (b) It attracts [things] to itself like a magnet does iron.

¹² All references to the sources of examples have been omitted but can be found in *SSSL* (2012, vol. I, no. 4, pp. 333-363). Most of these texts are written in the folk dialect whose form cannot be adequately rendered in translation.

Medical formulas and spells

- (23) When a baby loses its tooth, he/she has to throw it into the mousehole saying these words: "Little mouse, little mouse, take my bone tooth and give me an iron tooth" then he/she will never have a toothache.
- (24) When someone is suffering from fright, one should say these words: "A man goes into the forest, he has an ax behind his belt, an iron cap, an iron shirt, an iron belt, iron pants, iron shoes, everything on him is iron. Oh, fright, fright! Go to the woods, forests, dry roots, where no man or creature can go."

New Year carols

(25) Come on, Mary, into the house, you have so many guests in the house: the carpenter, the bricklayer and the blacksmith. Mommy, these guys are not for me. The blacksmith has an iron heart, I don't want such a husband, he just strikes iron and will not respect his wife.

Wedding songs

- (26) [A girl sings:] You, who are playing now, if you can, do not save my legs, because my legs are made of iron, they do not need a doctor, my legs are made of steel, when one plays to them, they dance.
- (27) Bridesmaids, why aren't you singing? Are your mugs made of iron? Are they iron or wooden or locked with pegs?
- (28) Marry, you didn't want wheat bread and now you will (have to) bite hard iron; Marry, you will not carry water in a bucket because you will have enough water under your eyes.

Love songs

- (29) My heart is as sorrowful as iron heated in fire.
- (30) I will love you till I die, you have an iron heart, of magnet is mine.

Religious songs

(31) Four stages have been inscribed in the world's history: the first years were gold, then silver years went by. The third age was copper; the worst is our time, a mixture of iron and clay.

Festive songs

(32) If you drink, drink well, then eat something, then drink again. Because alcohol preserves, do not be surprised, iron must be oiled not to rust.

Soldiers' songs

(33) (a) The platoon went to combat like to a ball, carrying a song of bullets. Through blood and fire, close behind the enemy, who imprisoned the country in iron. [i.e. iron chains]

- (b) We gathered in the forest, let's stay together, because our homeland is imprisoned in iron.
- (34) When they recruit us to the army, they promise us mountains of gold; when they give us iron [i.e. iron weapon], they take away our health.

Profession songs

- (35) A nobleman, a craftsman, all classes thanks to the miner's hands have gold, silver, iron, copper and coal; a miner has to mine them from the ground.
- (36) A farmer could not plow the land if a miner had not dug ore for him from the ground; so a miner can be useful, for you, peasant.
- (37) A blacksmith knows about iron, he puts it into the fire and lights it at once. What he wants he can forge, and he tempers it as needed.
- (38) [A miner sings:] Red iron, you're white when you are melted, you're laughing at me, warming me with your warmth.

Fairy tales

- (39) [Brothers are fighting against a witch for the release of their sister.] When they breathed on her, the ground under her became iron; then she breathed on them, the ground under them became lead. When they began to fight and fight and fight, they were buried to knees to their lead ground, and under it you can barely see traces of feet.
- (40) [Devils are trying to force a boy into speaking for two nights. On the third night] they came in a triple number, they brought hot iron with them and jabbed it straight to his heart, so that he shouted in pain: Oh, Jesus!
- (41) [A poor boy frees spirit from a bottle.] The spirit gratefully gave him a piece of cloth and told him that when he rides over one of its sides, the largest vacuum will fill up, and when he rides over the other side, at once iron will change into gold and silver.
- (42) [When a blacksmith curses his fate, the devil plants a golden rail on him. The blacksmith together with a Jew make rings from this gold. But unfortunately, in the hands of buyers the rings change back into iron.]

Descriptions of beliefs and practices

- (43) Everybody who lives here tells about the Iron Hand and then we are in fear and no one can sleep. The Iron Hand can go through a wall, window, door, and no one can stop it. It strangles people but only children.
- (44) They said: do not look into a well because the Iron Woman sits there. She has iron claws and will pull you into the well, and you will not be here. You will drown. Therefore, children were afraid. They steered clear of the well.
- (45) You can hang yourself even while sitting... Then the most beautiful music begins to play for you, the most exquisite and the most delicious food is presented before your eyes, which stimulates your nose and palate and it is set

on a golden table; meanwhile the devil arrives and presses hot iron into your mouth.

(46) I have heard that the body of the vampire that walked around the village has been unearthed. A piece of iron was inserted into his mouth so that he wouldn't get up.

Written peasant poetry

- (47) Every day with a hammer on the anvil / I forge iron, hard steel. / ... In the sinewy arms like a pendulum / a heavy hammer rhythmically goes / Iron kneaded like a dough, / And from the dirty face sweat flows. (B. Pietrak)
- (48) Dear Poland! ... The three occupants like three vultures / tear you to pieces in struggle between each other / With violence, fire, blood, iron / The three destroy you as one. (J. J. Klich)

Chapter 10

Stereotypes and Values in the Linguistic Worldview

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1. Stereotypes and Values: an Overview

Ethnolinguistics investigates language in its relation to culture, group mentality, people's beliefs and behaviors. Lublin ethnolinguistics, sometimes called *cognitive* (Nepop-Ajdaczyć, 2007; Vaňková, 2010; Zinken, 2009/2012), similarly to other Slavic ethnolinguistic schools (Nikita Tolstoy and Svetlana Tolstaya's dialectological school, Vyacheslav Ivanov's and Vladimir Toporov's etymological school), relates to Wilhelm von Humboldt's philosophy of language as well as to the ideas of Edward Sapir and Benjamin Lee Whorf in that it focuses on a reconstruction of the linguistic worldview, defined as an interpretation of the world contained in and accessible through language. In doing this, it follows the anthropological-cultural and cognitivist research paradigms.

In describing the linguistic worldview, Bartmiński (2009/2012) and his collaborators introduced a few key "conceptual tools," such as stereotype, the cognitive definition, profiling, viewpoint, the speaking subject, and values. Stereotypes are "segments" of the linguistic worldview, mental pictures of what something looks like, what it is like, how it functions (Lippmann, 1961 [1922]; Putnam, 1975). The cognitive definition is a tool for describing stereotypes: its role is to capture the language-entrenched categorization of phenomena, their characterizations and valuation, i.e. the way speakers understand a given entity. Profiling is a conceptual operation, performed in communicative acts, that consists in constructing variants of the base image of a given object. This is done with a certain intention and is definable in relation to styles and speech genres. A profile as a product of the profiling process (a variant of the base image) is constructed from a subjective viewpoint, from the position of the perceiving, categorizing, and speaking subject. For it is always the speaking subject that lurks behind a viewpoint: he/she acts, conceptualizes, and verbalizes thoughts in accordance with certain values important to him/her (or his/her community) and to the interlocutor.

The present contribution aims to juxtapose two of the concepts mentioned above: stereotype and values. More precisely, it addresses a relationship that

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has so far received little attention, namely that between a speaking subject's mental images and whatever is important to him/her. Both concepts are used in the Dictionary of Folk Stereotypes and Symbols (*SSSL*, 1996-2012), they are crucial to work on a Polish axiological dictionary (Bartmiński, 1989) and in the comparative research project EUROJOS (Bartmiński, 2005; Bartmiński & Chlebda, 2008; Abramowicz, Bartmiński, & Chlebda, 2009).¹

Because in certain contexts the notions of value and stereotype function interchangeably (the stereotype of mother, homeland, work, but also mother, homeland or work as values), I will analyze their mutual relationship and propose to locate them anew in the framework of the linguistic worldview reconstruction. I assume that the linguistic worldview, as an interpretation of reality entrenched in and accessible via language (i.e. the language system and texts as manifestations of the system), contains both stereotypes and values, and these are inherited through the process of language acquisition. To paraphrase Bartmiński's (2003) words, one may say that language is (i) a carrier of stereotypes and values, (ii) a source of information about them, and (iii) a tool for effecting the processes of stereotypization and valuation. I will examine the relationship between the two notions with the assumption that stereotypes are images of a given entity, that they are shaped in a certain socio-experiential frame, and that values are what is good and precious for an individual and his/her community.

An attempt of this kind has already been made by Bartmiński & Panasiuk (1993), who identified four categories of stereotype with regard to the modal judgment associated with each: portraits, patterns, mythological images, ideological images (Table 10.1).

type of modal judgment	portraits	patterns	mythological images	ideological images
is	+		+	
may be			+	+
should be		+		+

Table 10.1 Bartmiński and Panasiuk's (1993) four categories of stereotype

Portraits arise from the modal judgment *X* is (such and such), patterns from *X* should be, mythological images from *X* is and *X* may be, ideological images from *X* may be and *X* should be. Within this framework, stereotypes – being axiological

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¹ EUROJOS is an international comparative project affiliated with the Institute of Slavic Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences. Its aim is to reconstruct the linguistic worldview(s) of Europeans. Cf. http://www.ispan.waw.pl/content/view/498/1/lang.pl_PL.ISO8859-2/

concepts – may doubtless be assigned to the last category, sometimes called "ideological stereotypes." Examples include such concepts as EQUALITY, FREEDOM, SOLIDARITY, LOVE, TRUTH, HOMELAND, etc. They are both what "is possible" and postulated but also what "should be."

Ordinary intuition suggests, however, that a value for a subject can be something that has a basic ontological status, something that simply "is," e.g. land, home, God – these are rather portraits (land), patterns (home), or mythological images (God). Therefore, in order to precisely capture the relationship between stereotypes and values, I will refer to descriptions of concepts that represent all the categories of the stereotypes listed above, such as FIRE, SUN, MOTHER, HOUSE/HOME, GOD, ANGEL, FREEDOM, EQUALITY.² I will use the reconstructions proposed by various authors but effected with the same methodology and on the basis of comparable bodies of data. Cognitive ethnolinguists apply the same descriptive method to all categories of stereotype, namely the cognitive definition,³ which "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, 2009/2012, p. 67).

Descriptions of stereotypes are based on three kinds of data: (i) the system of a language (i.e. the names of a given entity with regard to their internal form, metaphorization, derivatives, collocations and phraseological units); (ii) questionnaires and interviews collected in fieldwork; (iii) texts of various genres, from proverbs and other "stereotyped texts" to spontaneous, one-off texts excerpted from corpora of a given language and Internet search engines. Stabilized features, i.e. those that contribute to the linguistic (socially entrenched) image of the object, are excerpted from all three kinds of data. Judgments relating to the object, in the form of sentences or their textual equivalents, are grouped into homogeneous blocks (semantic subcategories), called *facets*: these are projections of the consciousness of language speakers and participants in a culture. They are not imposed on the data "from outside" but emerge from analysis and are thought of as reflecting native speakers' intuitions.

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² Although these concepts bear English names here, the reconstruction concerns their Polish counterparts (see below).

³ The assumptions of the cognitive definition were first presented in Bartmiński (1988) and then applied in the *SSSL* dictionary (1996-2012), as well as in several articles, mainly in a volume edited by Bartmiński (1990) and in the journal *Etnolingwistyka* (Adamowski, 1992; Bartmiński & Majer-Baranowska, 1996; Bartmiński & Niebrzegowska, 1994; Maćkiewicz, 1990; Masłowska, 1990; Mazurkiewicz, 1990a,b; Niebrzegowska, 1990, 1992; cf. also Bartmiński or Prorok & Głaz this volume). Bartmiński & Tokarski (1993) point to the open nature of the cognitive definition.

⁴ Rather than "all associations" (Grzegorczykowa, 2010, p. 63).

What images have so far been described in the ethnolinguistic literature and how do these descriptions depart from traditional lexicographic definitions? Representative of the latter are the definitions in Stanisław Dubisz's Universal Dictionary of Polish (*USJP*, 2003), which follows the tradition of Witold Doroszewski's now classic Dictionary of Polish (*SJP*, 1958-1969). I will juxtapose these with the most conspicuous characteristics derived from analyses of linguistic data.

2. Traditional Lexicography vs. the Cognitive Definition: a Few Examples

SŁOŃCE 'the Sun' is defined in USJP (2003, vol. 4, p. 411) as "the star closest to the Earth, the central body in the Solar System, the main source of energy for the Earth, visible in the sky during the day as a fiery sphere." In the cognitive definition, designed to reflect the Polish linguistic worldview (cf. Bartmiński & Niebrzegowska, 1996⁵), the Sun is the biggest light in the sky, the source of light (cf. blask słońca 'the Sun's glare,' słońce świeci 'the Sun is shining') and warmth (ciepło słoneczne 'the Sun's warmth,' słońce gorgce 'the hot Sun,' słońce pieczel pali 'the Sun beats down/burns') whose movement in the sky marks the times of the day and whose location marks the directions (wschód 'sunrise' or 'east.' zachód 'sunset' or 'west'). The Sun is bright (jasne jak słońce 'as clear as day,' lit. 'as the Sun,' jaśnieć jak słońce 'to shine like the Sun') and round (koło słoneczne 'the ring of the Sun'; kula/krgg słońca 'the sphere/ring of the Sun'); it is also mobile (wstaje 'rises,' zachodzi 'sets'). Because it is the central point in the sky, the Sun symbolizes obviousness (być czegoś pewnym jak słońca na niebie, lit. 'be sure of something as of the Sun in the sky'). Its characterization is supplemented with additional valuation: it becomes a symbol of perfection (plamy sq i na słońcu, lit. 'there are spots on the Sun, too'), happiness (słońce wolności 'the Sun of freedom,' promyk słońca 'a ray of sunlight') and joy (być komuś/ dla kogoś słońcem 'be (like) a ray of sunlight to someone'). People like the Sun (cf. terms of endearment słonko/ słoneczko 'honey,' lit. 'little Sun'). It is associated with life (uirzeć słońce 'be born,' lit. 'see the Sun'; jego słońce już zaszło 'he died,' lit. 'his Sun has set already'), and divinity (cf. Słońce sprawiedliwości 'the Sun of justice' in reference to Christ).

OGIEŃ 'fire' in *USJP* (2003, vol. 3, p. 171) is defined as "flames and heat that are produced when something is burning." In the cognitive definition, fire is

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⁵ A comprehensive account of the characterization of the Sun in colloquial and folk Polish can also be found in Bartmiński & Niebrzegowska (1994). Both publications develop earlier proposals in Bartmiński (1980) and Niebrzegowska (1985).

one of the "elements"; its characterization in the Polish linguistic worldview is very rich (cf. Szadura, 1996) and, similarly to other elements, ambivalent. On the one hand, fire gives warmth (grzeje) and is necessary for life; on the other hand, it is also a force that burns, devours, destroys (cf. bać się jak ognia, lit. 'fear something like fire'; ogień walki 'a ranging war,' lit. 'the fire of fight'; ogień grozy/ niebezpieczeństw, lit. 'the fire of terror/dangers'). Hence fire symbolizes passionate but destructive love (ogień miłości/ pożądania/ namiętności 'the fire of love/desire/passion'), hatred and low instincts (ogień oburzenia/ gniewu 'the fire of indignation/anger'; ogień kogoś pożera/ trawi 'someone is devoured/consumed by fire'). According to colloquial and folk beliefs, fire is located not only on earth but also in the beyond: in heaven (ogień niebieski 'heavenly fire'), in purgatory (ogień czyśćcowy 'purgatorial fire'), and in hell (ogień piekielny 'infernal fire'). The latter is taken to be punishment for one's sins and an instrument of torment.

DOM 'house/home' in USJP (2003, vol. 1, p. 652) is "a building assigned for apartments, offices, institutions," "an apartment, one's place," "family, household; the apartment with its inhabitants." In the cognitive definition, the Polish house/ home⁶ is a building (now also an apartment) used for living (dom mieszkalny, lit. 'a house for living'), made of all kinds of materials (dom drewniany/betonowy/ kamienny 'a wooden/concrete/stone house'), with its own appearance, i.e. shape and size (it may be parterowy 'one-storey,' piętrowy 'multi-storey,' niski 'small,' or wysoki 'high'; cf. also drapacz chmur 'sky-scraper,' wieżowiec 'high-rise,' kamienica 'tenement house,' blok 'apartment block,' chata 'hut,' chałupa 'shack, cabin'). It consists of such parts as dach 'roof,' ściany/mury 'walls,' okna 'windows,' drzwi 'doors.' In metaphorical extensions, the physical aspect disappears and the (psycho-)social aspect is augmented: it is also an institution (Dom Kultury 'community center,' lit. 'the House of Culture'), whose functions may be social or custodial (dom poprawczy 'borstal'), religious (dom modlitwy 'House of Prayer,' dom boży 'church,' lit. 'the House of God'), or commercial (Dom Książki 'bookstore,' lit. 'the House of the Book'). The Polish linguistic worldview contains the idea of building a house (budować/wznosić/stawiać dom 'build/construct a house'7) and of the family as a community of person that live in it (dom ludzi 'home full of people,' Wójcicka z domu Krasnopolska 'Wójcicka, maiden name

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⁶ For a reconstruction of the concept in Polish cf. Bartmiński (1997) or Żywicka (2007, pp. 35-46).

⁷ Cf. also the etymology of the Proto-Indo-European word *dom*. The Greek *dómos* and Latin *domus* mean 'house/home,' 'place to live,' 'family'; Latin *dominus* means 'master of the house.' The word links the meanings of 'building,' 'place to live,' and 'family/clan'; it is etymologically related to the Greek verb *demo-* 'build' (cf. *demiurge* 'builder, artificer'). Probably already the Indo-European root **dom-/*dem-* had a complex meaning 'place to live and a group of people linked by social ties or kinship' (Gamkrelidze & Ivanov, 1984, p. 742).

Krasnopolska,' lit. 'Krasnopolska from home'). The image of DOM as the home is based on the notion that home is a community of people (dom rodzinny, lit. 'family home,' domownicy 'household') and the place that satisfies one's needs, provides shelter and safety, secures stability (ognisko domowe 'hearth,' lit. 'home fire'). DOM is then a value as a place where one feels secure, dresses casually (ubiór domowy 'indoor clothes,' lit. 'home clothes'; podomka 'housecoat'; czuć się jak u siebie w domu 'feel (like) at home') and likes to be in (domator 'stay-at-home').

MATKA 'mother' in USJP (2003, vol. 2, p. 789) is merely "a woman who has given birth to a child and is raising the child." In the cognitive definition of the colloquial understanding of the concept (cf. Bartmiński, 1998, p. 69), the image is richer; associated with the mother is a certain positive, socially agreedon characterization that embraces, apart from the very fact of birth-giving: breastfeeding (mamka or matka mleczna 'wet nurse'), care of others (matkować komu 'to mother someone,' matka chrzestna 'godmother'), providing shelter (matecznik 'lair'), cordiality and tenderness (po matczynemu 'the mother's way'), and an important position in the family (cf. the metaphorical extension matka przełożona 'Mother Superior' or matka drużyny 'a team's leader'). Evaluative elements appear in the sphere of the relationship between the mother and the child: the child's attitude is tender (cf. the diminutive forms of address: mamcia, mamusia, mamunia, mameńka, mamula, mateczka, matusia, matunia etc.), the mother is loved (cf. jak mame kocham 'absolutely true,' lit. 'on my mother/like I love my mother'), and respected (the greatest offence is to call someone's mother a whore, cf. the vulgar kurwa mać 'fuck,' lit. 'the mother's a whore').

BÓG 'God,' according to USJP (2003, vol. 1, p. 309), is "the highest supernatural being, the creator and master of the universe." However, according to the cognitive definition, which accounts for linguistic facts, God is not only an invisible being more powerful than people but a being that is endowed with many conventional, linguistic-cultural features (cf. Różyło, 2006): he is the creator of people and the world (stworzenie boże 'God's creation'), the giver of fate, happiness and wealth (dary boże 'God's gifts,' co Bóg da 'whatever God gives,' bogdanka (old use) 'a beloved woman,' lit. 'the one given by God'), the one who takes care of people (Opatrzność Boża 'God's Providence'), supports (szczęść Boże!/z Bogiem! 'God bless you!'), helps in difficult situations (zostawić kogoś Opatrzności Bożej 'leave someone to God's Providence'). People are dependent on God's will (wola boska 'God's will,' niech się dzieje wola Boża/nieba 'let God's will be done,' dopust boży 'dispensation of Providence; scourge'), God being sovereign in his decisions (miłosierdzie boże 'God's mercy'). God is someone who intervenes in a person's life (palec boży 'the hand of God,' lit. 'God's finger,' zrządzenie boskie 'God's decree'), punishes (kara boska 'God's punishment,' sqd boży 'God's Judgment') or rewards (nagroda od Boga/ w niebie 'a reward from God/in heaven') but is always ready to forgive sins (pojednać się z Bogiem 'make peace with the Lord'). God is

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omniscient (*Bóg jeden wie* 'God only knows') and therefore just (*sprawiedliwość boska/boża* 'God's justice'). He lives mainly in heaven (*coś jest pewne jak Bóg na niebie*, lit. 'something is certain as God in heaven'), where he awaits people after they have died (*pójść do Boga* 'go to God,' *stanąć przed Bogiem* 'stand before God,' *oddać duszę Boqu* 'give up one's soul to God').

ANIOŁ 'angel' is according to USJP (2003, vol. 1, p. 85) a "supernatural creature mediating between God and people, impersonating perfection and goodness, represented in art as a human being with wings." The cognitive definition of ANIOŁ in colloquial Polish,8 says that the creature looks like a human being with straight, long, fair hair (włosy anielskie 'angel's hair') and wings (anielskie skrzydła 'angel's wings'). Angels are beautiful (piekny jak anioł, lit. 'beautiful like an angel'), good (anielskie serce 'angelic heart,' anioł dobroci 'goodness incarnate,' lit. 'the angel of goodness'), patient (anielska cierpliwość 'the patience of a saint,' lit. 'angelic patience'). An angel personifies innocence (aniołek 'little angel,' of a child) and stands in opposition to the devil. Angels are also messengers and bring both good and bad news: anioł pokoju/burzy/śmierci 'an angel of peace/ storm/death'). Most typically, an angel is considered God's messenger and therefore a harbinger of the good news (anioł im objawił 'an angel revealed it to them'; cf. the words of a prayer: Anioł Pański zwiastował Pannie Maryi i poczęła z Ducha Świętego 'The angel of the Lord declared unto Mary and she conceived by the power of Holy Spirit'). It is still believed, though now less and less commonly, that an angel accompanies a person as a caretaker and companion (anioł stróż 'guardian angel').

In general, according to popular belief, angels reside in the great beyond, in heaven, where their choirs (chóry anielskie) sing praise to God (śpiewać jak anioł, lit. 'sing like an angel,' i.e. beautifully). Their master is God (Anioł Pański 'the angel of the Lord') and the queen is the Virgin Mary (Królowa Aniołów 'the Queen of Angels'). There is a hierarchy among angels: the ones at the top are called archaniołowie 'archangels.' An innocent child becomes an angel after death (cf. the frequent inscription on children's graves: powiększył grono aniołków 'he was added to the angels' or the now dated fabrykantka aniołków 'an angel manufacturer' for a midwife effecting miscarriages).

WOLNOŚĆ 'freedom' in *USJP* (2003, vol. 5, p. 167) is defined as "independence of one country from others," "the possibility to make one's own decisions," "unconfined life," and "civil rights, delimited by the common good, national interest, and the legal order." According to the cognitive definition (cf. Abramowicz & Karolak, 1991, p. 53), it is "the idea, the political and social goal, the principle of life for individuals, social groups, classes, and the nation."

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⁸ Cf. Pitala (2011) and Kaczan (2005).

For Poles, the basic subject that enjoys freedom is the nation: this is political freedom (wolność Polski/ojczyzny 'the freedom of Poland/the homeland'). In the notion of freedom thus understood, there is a robust axiological component: freedom is desired, people fight (walczą), suffer (cierpią), shed blood (przelewają krew), and die (umierają) for it. Other subjects are social groups and classes (wolność stanów/ludu 'the freedom of the classes/the people') or individuals (wolność człowieka/jednostki 'the freedom of a person/an individual,' wolność osobista 'personal freedom').

One can give (dać, darować) freedom or grant freedom to someone (obdarować kogoś wolnością). One can deprive (pozbawić) another of freedom or bestow it (nadawać) on someone; a person may lose (stracić) or regain (odzyskać) it. Freedom is conceptualized metaphorically as a plant: it blossoms (kwitnie), bears fruit (owocuje) and may be one's staple food (kosztować wolności 'taste freedom,' sycić się wolnością 'be satiated with freedom').

Subjects enjoy freedom to an extent, especially when it comes to public statements in speech and writing (wolność druku/słowa 'the freedom of the press/speech'), to demonstrating one's attitudes and beliefs (wolność sumienia 'freedom of conscience,' wolność zrzeszania się/zgromadzeń/dyskusji 'the right (lit. freedom) to organize/form associations/engage in debates'), to choosing one's religion and denomination (wolność religijna/religii 'religious freedom,' wolność wyznania/kultu 'freedom of creed/worship').

RÓWNOŚĆ 'equality' is defined in *USJP* (2003, vol. 4, p. 219) as "non-segmentation of the society with regard to sex, race or social position; equality of rights." The cognitive definition⁹ takes note of the fact that in Polish, equality is treated as a postulate, a principle to practice; it is a goal difficult or even impossible to attain. Equality between people and groups of people involves *someone* who is equal in relation to *someone else*, hence important notions include equality of people of different sexes, creeds, cultures, generations, different citizens, nations or states. The most deeply entrenched notion is equality before the law (cf. *równoprawny*, lit. 'equally-righted,' having equal rights, or *równouprawnienie*, lit. 'equal-rightedness,' equality of rights) and the need for an equal share of duties. Nowadays the right to equal level of education is also emphasized. The postulate of equality is grounded in the recognition of a person's dignity, therefore a certain degree of obliteration of the natural differences between people is considered good and socially beneficial. Equality as a principle of interpersonal relationships is taken as a postulate, it calls for promotion and even for active struggle.

In colloquial Polish, an ambivalent attitude toward equality can be observed: on the one hand, there is a certain distance towards that notion as a "propagandist"

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⁹ For a full reconstruction cf. Bartmiński & Żuk (2009).

and empty political slogan," on the other hand, equality is treated as an ideal, a postulate, a desired state. Absolute equality is viewed as utopian and removed from real life (Bartmiński & Żuk, 2009, p. 63).

3. Stereotypes vs. Values Revisited

The reconstructions summarized above show that stereotypes contain both descriptive and evaluative components, inextricable but manifested at different levels to a different extent. In the stereotypes of the sun, fire, mother, house/home, God, and angel, the descriptive component predominates. In the "ideological stereotypes" of freedom and equality, i.e. at the highest level of axiology, values come to the fore. In Puzynina's (1992) terminology this is "primarily axiological lexis," which embraces, apart from wolność 'freedom' and równość 'equality,' also miłość 'love,' solidarność 'solidarity,' niepodległość 'independence,' prawda 'truth' etc. It is not so with portrait stereotypes, such as those of the sun and fire, which carry values: one may say that values "reside in them." Evaluative elements may be found on their two levels: the elementary level and a higher level.

SŁOŃCE 'the sun' symbolizes such values as perfection, happiness, freedom, life, or God. This is the high symbolic and "superimposed" level, but already at the basic literal level, the emission of light and warmth is for people an instrumental and vital value, for it ensures safety and creates conditions for living. Similarly, the semantics of OGIEN 'fire' links it with life, happiness, love and spirituality, but at the bottom of these "high" values there lie existential ones, especially the biological need for warmth. The image of DOM 'house/ home' is founded on social values (the family), psychological values (safety, comfort), but also existential ones (shelter). MATKA 'mother' in the Polish linguistic worldview is for an average speaker the first person who satisfies the need for closeness, tenderness, love, cordiality, safety. At the elementary level, the mother is someone that satisfies a person's basic biological needs. BÓG 'God,' who for believers is the provider of order and sense at the higher level of the axiological ladder (sacrum tremendum), at the lower level is simply the giver of "health, happiness, and well-being." 10 ANIOŁ 'angel' symbolizes innocence, spiritual purity, perfection, beauty, and the good news.

Can these stereotypes of the sun, fire, mother, house/home, God, and angel be treated as values (i.e. on a par with freedom and equality) and thus be included in the axiological dictionary? What in fact should be included in the Polish, Slavic, or European dictionary of this kind?

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¹⁰ Zdrowia, szczęścia, pomyślności: a common Polish wishing formula.

In 1985, several outstanding Polish humanists were asked what entries should be included in an axiological dictionary of values that have animated Polish social and cultural life over the last two centuries. They pointed to (i) the high values (Puzynina, 1992; Scheler, 1921), the key notions crucial in the political reality of the time, such as freedom, democracy, independence, political bondage/servitude, socialism, (ii) socio-political values, such as nation, homeland, patriotism, internationalism, cosmopolitism, (iii) moral values, such as justice, brotherhood, solidarity (but also betrayal and revenge), (iv) personal virtues, such as dignity, fidelity, courage, valor, (v) emotions, such as love and hatred. On the same list were also truth, lie, violence, evil, as well as person, family, education, knowledge, and wealth (Bartmiński, 1989, pp. 201ff.).

Somewhat different results (but also including high values) were obtained in 1986-1987 by the sociologist Maria Mańkowska on the basis of a questionnaire conducted in various social spheres: the first ten in the ranking were love, patriotism, integrity, justice, freedom, honor, friendship, courage, material goods, and moral values. Next on the list were money and work (cf. Bartmiński, 1989, p. 205, fn 15).

Over two decades later (in 2009 and 2010), the question of the axiological canon of Poles was again addressed by Jerzy Bartmiński & Monika Grzeszczak (2012), who relied on the 1985-2007 linguistic and sociological research undertaken by the Public Opinion Research Center (CBOS).¹¹ In 2009, the first three positions in the ranking were occupied by freedom, work, and family (then came love, truth, dignity and patriotism, goodness, tolerance, democracy, honor, solidarity, justice, responsibility, person, friendship, integrity, nation, homeland, community, faith, tradition). On the 2010 list (based on twenty studies), the first three positions were taken jointly by thirty-five values, beginning with family values, such as family, work and love, then faith and friendship, freedom, homeland, person, justice, tolerance, democracy, dignity. The next ones on the list were truth, goodness, honor, money, solidarity, integrity, power, health, and responsibility.

A comparison of both lists shows that the first ten positions are nearly the same. With the extended range of analyses for the 2010 list, tradition, nation and community drop out of the top twenty and are replaced by money, power and health.

The above synthetic view of the Polish canon of values reveals that it embraces both the "high values" (freedom, independence, democracy), found

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¹¹ Among others, the following publications were taken into account: Bartmiński (1989), Dyczewski (1993), Świda-Ziemba (1995), Jedliński (2000), Pisarek (2002), Fleischer (2003), Bock & Lühr (2007), Sękowska (2007).

in the lexicon of the national language (Pisarek's "flagship words" or Fleischer's "collective symbols"), and those important for an average person (home, family, love, health, money).¹²

The juxtapositions we have just seen also reveal that for an average speaker the most important value may be something that does not belong to ideological stereotypes or "high values" (cf. the 2010 list above). One concludes, then, that depending on the political, social, or economic situation, speakers may value different categories of being: these in fact may be very real entities or phenomena that function as carriers of values. In this way, then, the cognitivist hypothesis that values permeate the totality of language rather than being only found in isolatable linguistic facts (cf. Bartmiński, 1989, 2003; Krzeszowski, 1997) receives additional support.

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¹² Bartmiński (1989) refers to both groups as "value terms."

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Chapter 11

The Linguistic-Cultural Portrait of Saint Agatha in Polish Folk Tradition

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1. Preliminary Remarks

The aim of this chapter is a reconstruction of the linguistic-cultural portrait of Saint Agatha in Polish folk tradition. I accept Jerzy Bartmiński's understanding of the linguistic worldview as "the interpretation of reality encoded in a given language, which can be captured in the form of judgments about the world. The judgments can be either entrenched in the language, its grammatical forms, lexicon and 'frozen' texts (e.g. proverbs) or implied by them" (Bartmiński, 2006, p.12; 2009/2012, p.76). The method of description of the linguistic and cultural worldview is the cognitive definition, used in the Dictionary of Folk Stereotypes and Symbols (SSSL, 1996-2012): it "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, 1988, p. 169; 2009/2012, p. 67). The cognitive definition has a "cognitive nature, not purely semantic." Its basic component is a judgment relating to the mental object being described in the form of a sentence or its textual equivalent. Defining sentences are arranged in semantic categories called facets. A cognitive definition consists of an explication built of facets and the documentation, arranged by the text genre. A very important part is played by so-called "co-linguistic data," i.e. records of beliefs and practices that, although not strictly speaking linguistics, point to the "socially entrenched, belief-based knowledge of the world, common to the speaker (sender) and the hearer (receiver)" (Bartmiński, 2009/2012, p. 34).1 These practices can accompany the use of language (e.g. in magic spells) but can also occur on their own, as conventionalized, culture-conditioned behavior.2

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¹ In Bartmiński (2009/2012) these are called ad-linguistic data.

² For more on the cognitive definition, cf. the chapters by Bartmiński, Niebrzegowska-Bartmińska, and Prorok & Głaz.

2. Saints in Polish Folk Culture

For Polish country dwellers, saints are patrons of days, seasons or years, e.g. St. Andrew's Eve, St. Nicolas's Day, St. Barbara's Day, St. John the Baptist's Night. In proverbs, the actual date can be replaced by the name of the saint, for example: "On St. Isidore's day [May 10], it's time for the stork"; "On St. John the Baptist's day [June 24], it's full blossom"; "On St. Bartholomew's day [August 24], there is plenty of fruit"; "On St. Martin's day [November 11], goose is the best." Saints are associated with seasons ("On St. Martin's day winter begins"; "On St. Margaret's day [June 10] summer begins"), atmospheric phenomena ("On St. Casimir's day [March 4], the day is wrestling with the night"); "St. Lucia [December 13] extends the day"), farm activity ("It's already St. John's the Baptist's day, let's go and collect hay"; "It's St. Giles's day [September 1], let's go sowing"), religious periods ("St. Catherine [November 25] begins the Advent, St. Andrew [November 30] confirms it"), social phenomena ("On St. Giles's day come to me for matchmaking"; 'On St. Francis's day [October 4] our brother will get married" – the fall until Advent used to be the traditional wedding period in the country), or weather and harvest forecasts ("The weather on St. John the Baptist's day will last for thirty days"; "If it rains on St. Michael's day [September 29], winter will be mild"; 'If on St. Florian's day [May 4] the rain is torrential, the harvest will be abundant, good and clean"; "If it rains on St. Jacob's day [July 25], the wheat harvest will be poor") (Tomicki, 1981, p. 44). A practical and worldly attitude dominates in folk religiousness and therefore the veneration of the saints has a utilitarian nature (Baranowski, 1970, pp. 96, 112; Czarnowski, 1956, p. 96; Tomicki, 1981, p. 45). Country dwellers seek out saints who will help them in their everyday problems: religion is adapted to the needs of a rural community. For a country dweller only those saints are important who can influence the spheres of reality important from his or her point of view. Most folk holidays, e.g. St. John the Baptist's day (June 24), St. Vit's day (June 15), St. Martin's day (November 11), derive from pre-Christian celebrations, although they were given and have retained Christian interpretations (Stomma, 1981, pp. 45-57). In short, folk religiousness differs from Roman Catholic religiousness.

In what follows, I will focus on St. Agatha, a saint important for official Roman Catholic hagiography. St. Agatha was a third-century martyr; she died in Catania in Sicily, probably in the time of the religious persecution during the reign of the Roman emperor Decius. She refused to marry Quintianus, the prefect of Catania, and was punished by being sent to a house of prostitution and a prison. She was then tortured, had her breast cut, and was burnt on live coals. After her death, lava from Mount Etna that may have destroyed Catania passed by the town, and the miraculous event was attributed to St. Agatha's divine intervention. Because of that she was revered as a patron of Catania and a guardian from fire (*Encyklopedia katolicka*, 1973, p. 170).

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Folk culture, not only in Poland but also in other European countries, adopted much from the Catholic Church tradition, but it made a peculiar adaptation of it to its own system of values and ideas. In the final part of the chapter, I will compare the image of Saint Agatha in Roman Catholic hagiography with her image in Polish folk tradition.

3. St. Agatha as a Saint Person

St. Agatha is one of the saints especially revered by members of Polish folk culture, particularly in Silesia (south-central Poland), where diminutive forms of her name are used: *Agatka* or *Jagatka*.³

It is commonly believed that St. Agatha protects from fire; cf. the proverbs: "St. Agatha's bread and salt protect huts from fire"; "Where there is St. Agatha, the hut is safe." Country dwellers talk about the effectiveness of St. Agatha's care in the form of first-hand eyewitness accounts. Examples of such accounts were recorded in the Lublin region (eastern Poland) in 1997 from Anastazja Filip (born 1925) from the village of Szczałb, and in Mazovia (central Poland) in 1997 from Wiktoria Głowienka (born 1925) from the village of Kaleń A:

- (1) As far as St. Agatha's picture is concerned, I experienced it myself. St Agatha's picture is very precious. When there was a fire at our house in Szczałb, it broke out in a moment because it happened in the morning. They asked: Where is St. Agatha's picture? I took the picture and walked around with it three times. I kissed it and made the sign of the cross obviously and walked around the fire three times. I turned with this picture towards an alder, not buildings. Believe me. After some time everybody saw what was going on. They saw the wind turn in this direction, to this alder. Only then did everybody believe. I left this picture near the alder. After some time I took this picture away and brought it back. (Anastazja Filip, in Adamowski, 1997).
- (2) I had my own event. At my parents' there was a fire. We were brought up in the belief that St. Agatha protects from fires. When I noticed that it was already burning, I ran there. I grabbed St. Agatha's picture. I was out of breath because there was a fire in my house and I gave this picture to my neighbor, who was a young girl. I told her to run around with it and

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³ All references to the sources of examples have been omitted, but can be found in the Dictionary of Folk Stereotypes and Symbols (*SSSL* 1996-2012).

put it in the fields. Because when some people put it near another house, everything burnt. People who were looking at what the girl did said that it was a miracle. They saw fire turning away. All things were saved, nothing was burnt. (Wiktoria Głowienka, in Adamowski, 1997)

Anastazja Filip and Wiktoria Głowienka are naive and non-contemplative narrators, representatives of a naive culture. Such individual accounts are especially important for the reconstruction of folk consciousness. Similar accounts can be found in other sources from various regions and times: from Pomerania (northern Poland, along the Baltic Sea), Kujawy (central Poland), Mazovia, and the Lublin region, in sources from the early and late 20th century, as well as the early 21st century.

People could be punished for showing disrespect to St. Agatha's picture. In one account, a woman walked around a burning building with a picture of St. Agatha:

(3) Franek [a man's name, A.B.] came from the village and shouted: "Woman, where are you trudging with this painting? You won't help here and your dress will catch fire." My mother said: "Listen, don't curse such holy things because you don't know what may happen to you." He said: "Yes, a miracle would happen if my buildings caught fire." All of a sudden I heard: "Fire!" I looked around and people looked around everywhere: where is the fire? And someone said: "Franek, your barn is burning!" (in Adamowski, 1998)

Because St. Agatha was credited with the power to turn away fire, her pictures were very popular with the rural population. In folk iconography, she is presented with salt, a loaf of bread in her hand, and a chalice.

On St. Agatha's day, February 5, salt, bread, and water were blessed: these were considered instrumental in extinguishing fires and protecting houses from them. Relevant accounts come from the Lublin region and from Silesia:

- (4) St. Agatha's salt protects from fire. It is sprinkled around when a fire breaks out. People go in the opposite direction in the fields and immediately wind follows the salt to the fields, where there are no buildings. (in Bartmiński, 1989)
- (5) When two houses were burning in Dąbrówka Dolna, one poor woman came to that place and sprinkled St. Agatha's salt around. As soon as she did, the fire died and the farms didn't burn. (in Pośpiech, 1987)
- (6) When lightning struck a barn, people sprinkled salt around. It was salt blessed on St. Agatha's day. It was said: "St. Agatha's salt protects huts from fire." (in Czyżewski, 1993)

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(7) St. Agatha is a great guardian against fire and all disasters. We built our house ourselves. Once there was a fire at our neighbor's and it was coming towards us. Other neighbors ran with St. Agatha's bread and threw it into the fire. The fire turned away immediately. Thanks to it our house didn't burn. We believe that St. Agatha's bread helps. (in Pośpiech, 1987)

As reported in these accounts, St. Agatha's bread would be thrown into fire or carried around the house. A piece of it was put on each corner of the table in the house because people believed that it could extinguish fire, prevent it from spreading, change the direction of the wind, make flames turn away and move to a harmless place, for example to the field or meadow. Similar beliefs concerned St. Agatha's salt and water.

People also turned to St. Agatha in other difficult situations, e.g. storms and floods. St. Agatha's salt was believed to calm down a storm. Consider the account in (8):

(8) One day during a storm at sea, fishermen from Jastarnia [a seaside fishing village, A.B.] couldn't pull in to shore. One fisherman's wife ran out on the shore and sprinkled salt blessed on St. Agatha's day on the sea. Immediately the waves lost their strength and the fishermen came back safely. (in Stelmachowska, 1933)

During a storm St. Agatha's water was sprinkled around the house and bread was put into the fire to protect the house from lightning. The so-called "St. Agatha's bell" was also rung for protection: people would walk around the house three times and ring the bell continuously to drive away evil spirits. In the Sandomierz region (east-central Poland), salt and bread blessed on St. Agatha's day was kept in a barn as protection against fires and thunderbolts. To drive away storms and hail clouds, people would go to the fields and drop St. Agatha's salt on the ground or would throw it towards the approaching clouds. When a cloud came or during a storm, St. Agatha's picture was also displayed for protection.

In Kashubia (north-central Poland) and Pomerania, St. Agatha was thought to guard people against floods. According to Kashubian beliefs, St. Agatha's salt, bread and water also protected against the pressure of the ice that came from the sea onto the land. Similarly, in a Carpathian village in southern Poland, when a stream flooded, salt blessed on St. Agatha's day was thrown into water.

St. Agatha was called upon in the case of diseases because she was revered, together with St. Rosalia, St. Valentine, and St. Roch, as a patron of human health. Because she was tortured by having her breast cut, women suffering from breast diseases would pray to St. Agatha.

St. Agatha's salt, bread, and water was believed to have a therapeutic effect and the power to protect from illnesses: they were used in treatments of people

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and animals, for such ailments as sore throat, toothache, stomachache, goiters, or even pimples. The salt, bread, and water were also given to sick livestock, e.g. to cows suffering from the foot and mouth disease, to cows that were hard to milk, to cows and sheep as protection against the plague or snakebites. In Silesia, St. Agatha's bread was thought to protect people from being bitten by a rabid dog:

- (9) It's good to take St. Agatha's bread with you, for example when you go mushrooming or bilberry picking. A snake smells it and escapes from it. (in Pośpiech, 1987)
- (10) St. Agatha's bread protects a person from being bitten by a rabid dog throughout a year. Each person gets a bit of bread blessed on St. Agatha's day to eat and a sip of holy water to drink. A rabid dog won't bite such a person. (in Pośpiech, 1987)

St. Agatha's salt and bread were also thought to protect people from evil spirits and the devil. Blessed salt was used to drive off witches that took milk from the cows. Finally, it was believed that blessing bread on St. Agatha's day protected from hunger and a morsel of St. Agatha's bread kept at home provided wealth. People threw a little of St. Agatha's salt and bread into a newly built or cleaned well to have clean and healthy water. In the same manner, it was thought that St. Agatha's salt prevented the house from being infested by insects.

4. The Day Dedicated to St. Agatha

In this rather short section, I will briefly describe the customs practiced on St. Agatha's day, February 5, as well as the beliefs associated with this day. On this day, oats were blessed and in Zakopane (a mountain town in southern Poland) flour was blessed. Pieces of paper with inscriptions protecting from fire were also blessed and hung in the house.

People noticed changes in the weather on this day: it began to get warmer and spring was expected to arrive soon, as expressed in the proverb "On St. Agatha's day, if the sun looks into the hut through a window, spring looks out on the world." Laundry could be dried outside, cf. the proverbs: "On St. Agatha's day clothes will dry"; "On St. Agatha's day rags will dry"; "After St. Agatha's day clothes will dry on a fence." On this day, winter insulation was also removed from houses. Because spring was imminent, one had to be prepared for spring work in the field, cf. the proverb "On St. Agatha's day take a plow out of the shed." It was believed that warmer weather and the coming of spring are foreseen by animals, e.g. by young swallows coming out

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of the mud after the winter sleep and by old swallows losing their feathers and turning into frogs. The relevant proverb was: "St. Agatha expels the swallow from the mud." Because of warmer weather, flies appeared in the house, cf. the proverbs: "After St. Agatha's day we see flies in the hut"; "When is St. Agatha's day? When flies fly out from behind the beams." Mud on St. Agatha's day was believed to be a forecast of ice on Easter: "If on St. Agatha's day there is a lot of mud. there will be ice on Easter."

5. Folk Tradition vs. the Catholic Church Tradition

The description of St. Agatha as a saintly person is different from the description of the day dedicated to the saint because the function of legends differs from that of calendar proverbs. In the description of St. Agatha's day, salt, bread, and water blessed on this day play a very important role and have a symbolic meaning. They were believed to protect people from evil spirits and dangerous natural phenomena, e.g. salt drove away dark forces associated with fire (Łeńska-Bąk, 2002, pp. 129-130). The sacredness of bread was believed to increase by being blessed on St. Agatha's day: in this practice magical elements were joined with religious ones. St. Agatha's bread preserved the magical protective properties for the whole year (Kowalski, 2007, p. 247).

In the linguistic-cultural picture of Saint Agatha, Roman Catholic religiousness and folk religiousness overlap. As an example, consider the following legend from Wiktoria Głowienka from the village of Kaleń A in Mazovia:

(11) St. Agatha came from a well-off family. When Christianity was accepted, she decided to live in piety and preserve her virginity. When the mayor of the town proposed to her, she refused. Then she was sentenced and sent to a brothel, but even there she kept her virginity. She was sentenced to torture, was torn apart and had her breasts cut. Later she was thrown on live coals. A year after her death a volcano erupted. A ball of lava was coming toward the town, but it stopped, went sideways and didn't damage the town. It was thanks to St. Agatha. (in Adamowski, 1997)

The legend is a prompted text, prepared earlier. It contains elements of knowledge from the written tradition, i.e. from devotional texts assimilated by folk culture. Thus, it has a dual source, oral texts and devotional texts, which overlap and augment each other. The details of the life and death of St. Agatha known in folk religiousness are taken from church religiousness (Fros & Sowa, 2000, p. 75; Niewęgłowski, 2005, p. 31; Zaleski, 1995, p. 78). According to folk religiousness, St. Agatha is the guardian against fire, lightning, flood, all disasters, and the patron saint of women suffering from breast diseases. The latter is also

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true in church religiousness (Fros & Sowa, 2000, p. 76; Niewęgłowski, 2005, p. 31; Zaleski, 1995, p. 79), but she is also the patron saint of breast-feeding women (Niewęgłowski, 2005, p. 31) and bell-founders (Fros & Sowa, 2000, p. 76; Niewęgłowski, 2005, p. 31). In folk religiousness, her attributes are salt, bread, and a chalice, whereas in church religiousness, apart from bread, her attributes are breasts in a bowl, a crown in her hands, martyr's palm, a torch, a burning candle, and ivory (Niewęgłowski, 2005, p. 31).

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