I. Research articles

Stanisława N i e b r z e g o w s k a - B a r t m i ń s k a
ORCID: 0000-0003-0008-8690
(UMCS, Lublin, Poland)

What data are relevant
to ethnolinguistic analyses?*

Abstract. The article asks what data are ethnolinguistically relevant in the procedure of reconstructing the linguistic worldview. Types of data are considered in relation to the names of subdisciplines (*etymological ethnolinguistics*, *dialectological ethnolinguistics*, *onomastic ethnolinguistics*) and the object of study (*cognitive ethnolinguistics*). Special attention is paid to the data used in *folk* or *national ethnolinguistics*, with a discussion of the treatment of BYLICA 'sagebrush' in the *Dictionary of Folk Stereotypes and Symbols*, and of DOM 'house/home' in the *Axiological Lexicon of Slavs and their Neighbours*. Attention is paid to the entrenchment of features in systemic, questionnaire-elicited, and textual data. However, ethnolinguistically relevant data in this approach also include "co-linguistic" and "negative", data, as well as "post-reset" data that belong to the "Polish map of non-memory" and "latent memory".

Key words: linguistic worldview; etymological ethnolinguistics; dialectological ethnolinguistics; onomastic ethnolinguistics; cognitive ethnolinguistics; systemic data; textual data; questionnaires; co-linguistic data; negative data; "post-reset" data

1. Ethnolinguistics: focus on collective identities

Ethnolinguistics, whose task is to reconstruct the linguistic worldview, is at the same time – along with social psychology, psychology of consciousness,

---

sociology of knowledge, sociology of memory or historiography – a discipline that deals with collective identities and with narratives that are supposed to explain reality (Chlebda 2010a: 10). Within disciplines so defined, collective identity is understood as "a common part of self-identification abstracted from the identity of individual members of a given community" (Bartmiński and Chlebda 2008: 12). It is a mental construct that can be accessed *via* linguistically entrenched and mutually complementary images. The study of identity as communal beliefs, values, and the corresponding symbols is the most effective when it focuses on language both in the narrower sense (language structures, narratives) and in the wider, semiotic sense.[1] In both cases, questions arise regarding the linguistic phenomena that mark speakers' identities, the relevant methods of investigating identity, and, finally, the relevant data involved in constructing the group and its collective identity.

I will focus here on the last issue, i.e. on the nature of the data that serves to express identity and to draw conclusions concerning group identity. The title of this study alludes, firstly, to Jörg Zinken's (2016a) article "What data are needed in comparative ethnolinguistics?", published as a voice in the discussion on the first stage of the project "Values in the linguacultural worldview of Slavs and their neighbours", and secondly, to Wojciech Chlebda's "ethnolinguistically relevant information" (Chlebda 2010a and 2010b).

2. The name of the discipline and the type of data used

In certain types of ethnolinguistics, e.g. *etymological ethnolinguistics* (practised by the Russian scholars Vyacheslav Ivanov and Vladimir Toporov), *dialectological ethnolinguistics* (Nikita and Svetlana Tolstoy) or *onomastic ethnolinguistics* (Aleksandr Matveyev, Maria Rut, Elena Berezovich), the types of data used are suggested already in the name of the discipline. Obviously, these are not the only data used by ethnolinguists with an etymological, dialectological, or onomastic orientation, but the most important data that must be taken into account in the first place. In the case of Lublin ethnolinguistics, also known as *cognitive ethnolinguistics* (cf. Nepop-Ajdaczyć 2007; Zinken 2012 [2009]; Vaňková 2010), the types of data can be identified by referring to the database that underlies the discipline's framework. First of all, however, it should be clarified whether the discipline has a semiotic or a linguistic character.

---

[1] For a more extensive discussion cf. Chlebda 2007, 2010a, 2010b; Bartmiński and Chlebda 2008.

As a semiotic discipline, ethnolinguistics attempts to account for the "language of culture", superimposed over natural language, to present its symbolic content, regardless of how it is expressed: through words, actions, beliefs, or an artefact-based code. An analysis of the "content plane" of culture makes use of linguistic methodology (cf. the second element of the term ethno*linguistics*). Within the framework of the discipline so understood, culture is studied through the prism of language, everyday and ritual behaviours, mythological representations and mythopoetic creations (Tolstoye 1995: 5). Defining the theme and tasks of the discipline in the context of the dictionary of Slavic antiquities (SD 1995–), Nikita Ilyich Tolstoy writes:

> In that case ethnolinguistics is one of the best examples of "expansion" [...] of linguistic methodology into neighbouring disciplines, such as ethnography – the expansion that has been discussed extensively and has already brought beneficial fruit. At the same time, ethnolinguistics is not a rival to linguistics or ethnography, folklore or cultural studies, and especially not to sociology. It does not supersede them: it is an autonomous discipline of knowledge, a complex "borderline" endeavour that stands at the interface of the aforementioned disciplines. It relies extensively on their sources and achievements, it benefits from their complex methods, as well as from those of other contemporary disciplines. (Tolstoy 1995: 39–40)

The linguistic orientation of the discipline clearly transpires through the works of Moscow researchers from the circle of Yuri Apresyan (Tatyana Bułygina, A. Shmelev, Nina Arutyunova, Andrey Zaliznyak) and the Lublin group associated with Jerzy Bartmiński. The main difference, however, is that the Moscow circle is closer in its spirit to structuralism, while the Lublin team – to cognitive linguistics. The former assumes the existence of objective features of real-world objects and makes use of classical, Aristotelian categories with clear-cut boundaries. The latter works with subjective categories.

In structuralist research, language is understood as an autonomous system of elements connected through various relations (it is this system that is the subject of linguistic analyses, with a clear distinction made between synchronic and diachronic, as well as semantic and grammatical descriptions). This approach also assumes a sharp boundary between linguistic knowledge and knowledge of the world. Meanings are investigated in terms of "sufficient and necessary" features and their positions on the paradigmatic and syntagmatic axes. Those features are explained via the classical type of definition, with its focus on the *genus proximum* and *differentia specifica*. In comparison, the cognitivist endeavour in linguistics has foundations in experiential realism and assumes the influence of sensory experience on human understanding of the world. Cognitive linguistics makes use of the idea of natural categories, established by the human subject who experiences

and cognises the world. Those categories have fuzzy boundaries: they are open and based on the principle of family resemblance.

Cognitively-oriented research treats language as a tool of cognition and interpretation of the world: what is perceived sensually and what is prompted by cultural memory is combined into an experiential frame. Diachronic and synchronic descriptions are united in the panchronic approach;[2] grammatical elements are assigned semantic values. Linguistic knowledge is regarded as part of the knowledge of the world, and knowledge of the world as part of linguistic knowledge. The ultimate subjects of analysis are the understanding of concepts in broad contexts, the description of meaning including nuclear (categorial) features as well as peripheral ones, and the meanings of words as they are presented in the form of the cognitive definition.[3]

3. The focus of ethnolinguistic research
vis-à-vis the types of data

According to Bartmiński, ethnolinguistics is "a branch of linguistics that deals with language in its relations to the history of particular communities (environmental, regional, national) and their culture, esp. to group mentality, behaviours, and value systems" (Bartmiński 2002: 380). The object of ethnolinguistic research is by no means limited to folk language and culture because the prefix *ethno-* carries broader meanings (cf. the Greek *ethnos* 'people, tribe', but also 'nation', 'community'). Therefore, we can distinguish concentrically related research fields: first, concerning the language-culture relation at the folk level (as in the works of Kazimierz Moszyński, Bronislaw Malinowski, Bernard Sychta, Jerzy Treder, and in the Dictionary of Folk Stereotypes and Symbols (SSiSL)); secondly, at the national level (Tadeusz Milewski, Anna Wierzbicka, the Axiological Lexicon of Slavs and their Neighbours (LASiS)). The prototype object of research remains the relationship between folk dialects and folk culture. What unites both kinds

---

[2] According to Łozowski, "an attempt should be made to define the relationship between synchrony and diachrony according to principles other than those that establish the superiority of a synchronic system over a diachronic change, and bearing in mind the fact that differences between synchrony and diachrony cannot be viewed in terms of formal and binary oppositions. If the usual response of cognitive linguists to the latter problem is the fuzziness of categories, panchrony is becoming an increasingly common solution to the former" (Łozowski 1999: 25).

[3] The assumptions and tenets of structuralism and cognitivism are juxtaposed in Mikołajczuk (2000: 88–89). The meaning of the adjective *cognitive*, which relates to the knowledge of a certain area of reality, to perception and cognition (including memory, evaluation, reasoning), along with feelings and will, is discussed in Krzeszowki (1997).

of ethnolinguistics, i.e. at the level of folklore and at the national level, is the idea of linguistic worldview (LWV) and the common set of basic conceptual tools: stereotype, cognitive definition, profiling, point of view and perspective, the speaking subject, and values (cf. Tyrpa 2006).

Linguistic worldview as the key concept of cognitive ethnolinguistics has been adopted following the work of Jerzy Bartmiński (cf. e.g. Bartmiński 1990, 2006), who defined it as "the interpretation of reality encoded in a given language, which can be captured in the form of judgements about the world" (Bartmiński 2012 [2009]: 76). Those judgements can be "entrenched" (in the lexicon and grammar of the language, in stereotyped texts, such as proverbs), but also "presupposed, i.e. implied by language forms, fixed on the level of social knowledge, convictions, myths, and rituals" (Bartmiński 2006: 12).[4] Following Putnam, elements of LWV are treated as images that function in the human mind and account for what X is like, how it works, what it looks like, etc. These images reside in the consciousness of individual people but they also have a social dimension:

> If we acknowledge the role of language in communication, then apart from its individual dimension, when it represents the speaking subject's mental states (thoughts, beliefs, aspirations, etc.), it is also plays a role in passing on the content of these states to others, which is what takes place in communicative exchange. Therefore, as a communication tool, it is also "a kind of social art". It is a treasury of social memory, a system that preserves the socially developed worldview, a mechanism of preservation and determination of cultural identity. (Muszyński 1993: 189–190)

Thus, in ethnolinguistic research the focus is on the description of the image of X that functions in collective consciousness: e.g. in the consciousness of the Polish peasant or the average Pole. What various ethnolinguistic analyses also have in common is their methodology, i.e. a recognition of the various parameters of the cognitive definition that account for the categorisation of phenomena preserved in language, the characteristics and evaluations inherent in conceptualisations, the way speakers of a language understand object X (Bartmiński 1988). Stereotypical judgments concern typical X and are organised into facets. The cognitive definition that results has the form of a narrative about a certain portion of reality (cf. SLSJ 1980; SSiSL; esp. Bartmiński 2011, 2014a) and enjoys the status of a "text of culture". In another study, I propose that "[s]tereotypical views of X can be translated into 'scenarios', which account for what X does and feels, where X is, with whom X interacts, etc., and thus into textual categories" (Niebrzegowska-Bartmińska 2007: 98).

---

[4] Unless indicated otherwise, all translations into English by Agnieszka Gicala. [transl. note]

The relevant database has always been an important issue in LWV research. According to Renata Grzegorczykowa (1990), the database should consist of: the grammatical properties of the language under description, its lexis as a classifier of reality (in particular the word-formation properties of lexemes, their etymology, connotations preserved in conventionalised metaphors, derivatives, phraseological units), and poetry. However, Grzegorczykowa has expressed doubts concerning the last category because the poetic use of language is "something completely different from the other kinds of linguistic facts; hence it is better not to use the term *linguistic worldview* with regard to poetry, but rather reserve it for systemic data" (Grzegorczykowa 1990: 47).

Jerzy Bartmiński, who has repeatedly referred to the foundations of the linguistic worldview, recognizes the following aspects of language as important in the reconstruction and description of LWV (Bartmiński 2010):

(a) lexis, as a unique, vivid and dynamic cultural inventory, constantly being enriched with new units; a kind of "social seismograph" that detects and records changes in culture and society;

(b) holistic meanings of words, covering both their cores and peripheries, i.e. all attributes positively assigned to an object: both encyclopaedic and "explicitly subjective" ones;

(c) the internal form of a word; in accordance with the belief that the speaker's perspective is contained in the word being used, in "living" word formations, as well as in "dead", highly conventionalised ones, the meaning of which is opaque to the modern language user, and to which access is provided through etymological research;

(d) semantic fields, their internal organisation, the number and quality of lexical exponents, i.e. superordinate–subordinate (hypero- and hyponymic) relationships, "equonymic" relationships (from Latin *aequus* 'equal'), i.e. synonyms and antonyms, regular derivative sequences and syntagmatic relationships, describable with the use of Fillmore's semantic roles;

(e) collocations and phraseological units, metaphors, semantic derivatives;

(f) grammar (linguistic categories);

(g) texts, ranging from minimum ones, such as proverbs, to multi-sentence ones, in whose analysis a special role is played by presupposed judgements;

(h) "co-linguistic" data: generally accepted and binding behaviours, practices, rites, convictions and beliefs without which linguistic communication and interpretation of utterances are impossible;

(i) questionnaire-based research, especially involving open-ended questions.

In discussing the tenets of ethnolinguistic research on identity, Bartmiński and Chlebda (2008) point to four basic types of data that guide inquiries into the content of axiological concepts:

(a) lexicographic data, obtained from dictionaries of a given language and presented in chronological order (the use of specialised dictionaries is also possible, if needed);

(b) texts, derived from excerpts from public discourse, especially from "high-level" journalism;

(c) corpus data (language corpora and Internet searches);

(d) experimental data (elicited by means of questionnaires, with preference to open-ended questionnaires).[5]

The same foundational principles are mentioned by Abramowicz, Bartmiński, and Chlebda (2009) in the context of comparative research. The authors argue for the use of a diversified database in order to be able to reconstruct relatively comprehensive and objectivised images. With regard to excerpts from textual sources, the authors recommended that those facilitate an identification of a wide range of features attributed to a given concept: proverbs and common sayings, articles from wide-circulation press titles, school textbooks, representative of a particular national community (Abramowicz, Bartmiński, and Chlebda 2009: 342).

In the discussion concluding the first stage of the EUROJOS project, Jörg Zinken postulated the use of conversational data as a complement to the S–Q–T model:

> The EUROJOS project recognizes three types of data: systemic (from dictionaries), questionnaires (students' responses), and textual (for simplicity's sake: from newspapers). Obviously, however, we do not learn our language (and values) from dictionaries or questionnaires, or from newspapers. We learn the language and grow into its value system in everyday interaction. Therefore, would it not be worth considering whether recording everyday interactions could supplement the data collected in the S-Q-T framework? What kind of recordings could these be? One could look for situations in which key concepts play a crucial role; for example, when studying the Polish concept of DOM, we could record children drawing their houses or homes and talking to their parents about it. These could also be normal everyday situations, such as common meals, because they provide robust illustrations of what it means to be "at home" in a given culture. (Zinken 2016a: 336)[6]

Bartmiński replied as follows:

> I regard the postulate of using everyday interactions (apart from the systemic, questionnaire and textual data) in linguistic worldview research as possible to implement, insofar as transcripts of conversations could be treated as texts and interpreted with the application of the entire conceptual inventory of text lingusitics. (Bartmiński 2016: 348)

---

[5] Cf. also Chlebda 2010a, 2010b, 2010c.

[6] Zinken himself has shown how to apply this methodology, cf. Zinken 2016b. [editor's note]

4. Types of data used in ethnolinguistic research on "folk" and "national" levels

Folk-level and national-level descriptions of specific portions of LWV are based on different data, even by the same researcher. Let us consider two major publications of the Lublin-based ethnolinguistic team: the Dictionary of Folk Stereotypes and Symbols (SSiSL) and the Axiological Lexicon of Slavs and their Neighbours (LASiS). In both, the unit of description is a certain semantic correlate ("stereotype", "cultural concept") that stands between the word and reality; in both, descriptions follow the principles of the cognitive definition. Both dictionaries are based on three types of data – but if in SSiSL these include systemic data (from the Polish rural dialect and standard Polish), textual, and co-linguistic data, in LASiS the database includes systemic facts, texts, and questionnaires. Both dictionaries use stereotyped texts as well as literary texts (in LASiS the latter are taken from belles-lettres, in SSiSL from collections of written peasant poetry). In SSiSL the emphasis is put on the genological differentiation of the texts, while in LASiS on their discursive diversity.

Co-linguistic data are used only in the folk dictionary, although Jerzy Bartmiński emphasised their relevance to "national" stereotypes long ago: Bartmiński pointed to, among other things, the usefulness of caricatures in analyses of ethnic stereotypes. While presenting the assumptions of SSiSL in the introduction to its first volume, the author argues for the use of co-lingusitic data in descriptions of language in the cultural context:

> The ethnolinguistic profile of this dictionary means, first and foremost, that language is viewed in the context of culture, and therefore that we go beyond purely linguistic data (the lexis or linguistic semantics, which obviously constitute the foundation of the publication), that we take into account language use and also consider socially established beliefs and practices. These count as a co-linguistic (rather than an extra-linguistic) context of verbal expression. We even use (although only in a fragmentary manner) information on visual folk art, such as ornamentations and paintings. In short, the way we understand the object of description in the dictionary is fundamentally ethnolinguistic. (Bartmiński 1996: 11–12)

The role of the questionnaire is evaluated primarily in research into cultural concepts in national languages. The data collected in this way not only confirm other data but also enrich them with new features: systemic data are usually poor, texts are highly varied, while data obtained from respondents, after a statistical breakdown, allow the researcher to distinguish between core and peripheral features (Bartmiński 2014b). On the basis of its use in research on national languages, the questionnaire has also been adapted to meet the needs of folklore research. Its role in both cases is

similar: it provides access to information about the language system and about its textual manifestations.

We will now consider the practical use of different types of data: in folk-oriented ethnolinguistics, i.e. in the Dictionary of Folk Stereotypes and Symbols, and in national language-oriented ethnolinguistics, i.e. in the Axiological Lexicon of Slavs and their Neighbours. Both cases will be exemplified with Polish data.

4.1. Data in SSiSL (Dictionary of Folk Stereotypes and Symbols). The example of Polish BYLICA 'sagebrush'[7]

Descriptions in SSiSL are based on the records of dialectologists, folklorists and ethnographers, integrated into coherent accounts, and meet the requirements of ethnolinguistics as anthropological-cultural linguistics. I will discuss a sample entry for BYLICA 'sagebrush', compiled for the dictionary by Ewa Pacławska (to appear in SSiSL, volume 2(3)). It consists of the explication (which includes the following facts: Categorisation, Collections, Complexes, Oppositions, Appearance and properties, Place of growth and localiser, Blessing in church, Applications, Use in healing, Use in magic, Use in rituals, Use in farming, Equivalences, Symbolism) and the relevant documentation, quotations from dictionaries, texts of folklore (midsummer songs, harvest songs, love and courtship songs, song of marital status,[8] humorous songs, ballads, belief stories and myths), as well as records of beliefs and descriptions of conventionalised behaviours (midsummer rituals, funeral rituals, magical practices, medicinal and farming practices). An abridgement of the entire entry might have the following form:

> In Polish folk tradition, the wild-growing BYLICA 'sagebrush' is treated as an herb associated with femininity and fertility and is referred to as *matka zielna*, lit. 'herb mother'. It is characterised as having a balsamic scent, it is similar to a tree, it is green, with white leaves, limp, susceptible to the wind. It was believed to have various healing properties and was used primarily for women's ailments or to aid fertility and childbirth, plus for the head, lungs and stomach diseases. It was believed to drive away evil, magical spells, diseases, and storms, to purify and to win love for girls and women. Symbolically, it was associated with women and female sexual activity, as well as with witches, who were believed to use it at midsummer night. Because of its limpness, BYLICA was associated with promiscuity, instability in feelings, and infidelity. (Pacławska, in print)

---

[7] The Polish *bylica* has several English equivalents, e.g. *bylica* (Latin *Artemisia*) is *sagebrush* or *motherwort*, *bylica pospolita* (*Artemisia vulgaris*) is *mugwort*, *bylica piołun* (*Artemisia absinthium*) is *wormwood*, *bylica Boże drzewko* (*Artemisia abrotanum*) is *oldman wormwood* or *southernwood*, *bylica nadmorska* (*Artemisia maritima*) is *sea wormwood* or *old woman*. [transl. note]

[8] I.e. dependent on one's marital status: maiden songs, marriage songs, etc.

This abridgement of the dictionary entry contains a set of the most strongly entrenched ideas and judgements concerning BYLICA. These judgements have different degrees of stabilisation and are evidenced in different types of sources: systemic, textual and co-linguistic. Below is a list of characteristics with an indication of their source.[9] The symbols represent the following data types: S – systemic, T – textual (with a specification of the genre), C – co-linguistic:

> **BYLICA** '*Artemisia vulgaris*' is a *herb* – T (midsummer songs)
> *B.* is the *herb mother* (S, C)
> *B.* grows wild (T: midsummer, harvest, love and courtship songs)
> *B.* has a balsamic scent (S, C)
> *B.* is similar to a tree (S, T: proverbs, midsummer songs, love and courtship songs, songs of marital status; C)
> *B.* is green (S, T: midsummer songs)
> *B.* has white leaves (S, T: wedding songs, colloquial accounts)
> *B.* is limp, short-lasting, susceptible to the wind (S, T: love and courtship songs, belief stories; C)
> *B.* has healing properties, it is used to: treat women's diseases, support fertility in women, treat head, lung and stomach diseases (C)
> *B.* is blessed in church (C)
> *B.* keeps away spells, diseases, thunderstorms (S, T: midsummer songs, C)
> *B.* has cleansing properties (C)
> *B.* wins love for girls and women (C)
> *B.* is associated with female fertility (T: midsummer, harvest, love and courtship songs)
> *B.* is associated with women, female sexual activity, and with witches, who use it on midsummer night (S, T: midsummer, harvest, love and courtship songs, humorous songs, ballads)
> *B.* is associated with promiscuity, instability in feelings and infidelity (T: love and courtship songs, songs of marital status, humorous songs)

The many aspects and characteristics of BYLICA that contribute to its overall image are present in all types of data or only in selected types. All types confirm its limpness, impermanence, susceptibility to the effects of the wind, as well as its power to counteract spells and drive off diseases and storms. The language system and texts confirm that BYLICA is similar to a tree, it is green, has white leaves, keeps away spells, is associated with women, female sexual activity, and witches. Only texts point to how BYLICA is categorised (as a herb) and where it occurs (it grows wild). It is in texts, too, that one finds BYLICA linked to female fertility, promiscuity, instability in feelings, and unfaithfulness. Only co-linguistic data indicate that it is blessed in church, that it has purifying properties, and that it can win love.

---

[9] The system was adopted in Bartmiński's analyses of the concepts of MOTHER (1998) and GOLD (2015b).

The characteristics of BYLICA have various foundations. For example, the cognitive basis leads to judgments about its appearance (BYLICA is green, has white leaves, resembles a tree), its properties (it is short-lasting), and its habitat (it grows in the field, in remote areas). According to beliefs, BYLICA is used by witches and has protective and purifying properties (the scent of BYLICA is believed to repel evil powers), as well as playing a special role in love magic. According to stories, legends and beliefs, BYLICA is sanctified through contact with the head of Saint John, and the fact that it was used by the Virgin Mary to reattach the saint's head to his body. Allegedly, BYLICA was also placed in Virgin Mary's coffin.

By definition, the reconstruction presented in SSiSL takes into account conventionalised and repetitive characteristics. However, it is also appropriate to include individual, idiosyncratic characteristics in the description, as long as their "cognitive paths" can be marked out in a network of "strong" and "weak" characteristics. In the case of BYLICA, the following paths can be identified:

1. a) Saint John's head fell into BYLICA → b) it helps in the treatment of headaches;

2. a) BYLICA is associated with witches → b) it is burnt in bonfires on midsummer night (to summon a witch).

The features that make up the holistic image are coherent and mutually complementary; the blessing of BYLICA, mentioned in records of beliefs and descriptions of practices, its cleansing and love-inducing properties, complement these characteristics and contribute to the overall image of the herb in Polish folk tradition.

4.2. Types of data in the Lexicon of Slavs and their Neighbours. The Polish DOM 'house/home'

In the Axiological Lexicon of Slavs and their Neighbours (LASiS), the description of values as cultural concepts, i.e. "axiologically marked concepts, endowed with culture-specific connotations" (Bartmiński 2015a: 9), is based on three types of data: systemic (lexicographic) (S), elicited through questionnaires (Q), and excerpted from texts, i.e. from proverbs, national corpora, nationwide press titles (representing major political and ideological options), and the literary canon (T). The reconstruction of a concept aims to specify its "base image" and its various profiles in various types of discourse. Reconstructed in this spirit, the image of the Polish DOM as a complex mental construct (a gestalt) includes four dimensions: psychosocial, functional, spatial, and cultural (axiological). The following synthetic explication can be

proposed on the basis of Bartmiński and Bielińska-Gardziel's (2015: 109–110) in-depth study:

a place (building, detached house, cottage, manor, room, studio...) (S, T)

where someone (family, "one's own folk", the loved ones, connected by close relationships into a community with the woman-mother in the dominant position) (S, T)

    lives, i.e. stays for a long time/permanently (S, T)

    separated from the surroundings, in a private, non-public space (S, T)

    with a sense of being in *one's own* space, in a *familiar* place, where one feels free, *at ease*, where one can wear *casual* clothes (S, Q, T)

    satisfies the basic, vital needs, especially:
        security (S, Q, T)
        protection from cold (S)
        sleep and rest (Q, T)
        being with loved ones, with one's children (S, T)
        (usually:) satiating hunger (S, Q, T)
        (usually:) personal hygiene (T)
    (usually:) passes on to the younger generation cultural patterns: language, beliefs, traditional norms and values (S, T)
    (sometimes:) performs paid work (S, T)[10]

This explication shows that all types of data preserve the characteristics of DOM as a place where a person has a feeling of being at home, in their own space, can satisfy one's vital needs, especially the need for safety and satiating hunger. In the language system and in texts, DOM appears as a place, a building in which the family (one's own people, loved ones) live and where one can be with them, where one can pass cultural values on to children, and where sometimes paid work is performed. Questionnaires and texts confirm the role of DOM as a place where one sleeps and rests. Only the language system points to protection from cold, and only texts mention personal hygiene. The characteristics reconstructed on the basis of different sources are coherent and mutually reinforcing.

5. The role of co-linguistic data in the reconstruction of LWV

What are co-linguistic data and what kind of new elements do they add to the reconstruction of LWV? For example, would drawings count as relevant data? Bartmiński and Bielińska-Gardziel claim:

---

[10] The types of data that confirm each fragment of the explication (S – system, Q – questionnaires, T – texts) are provided here after Bartmiński and Bielińska-Gardziel (2015).

When one uses the word *dom* in Polish, one thinks first about a building with walls and a roof, doors and windows, a smoky chimney, surrounded by flowers, a tree, a path, with the sun shining above it. This is how Polish children usually draw "dom", even if they live in blocks of flats. (Bartmiński and Bielińska-Gardziel 2015: 111)[11]
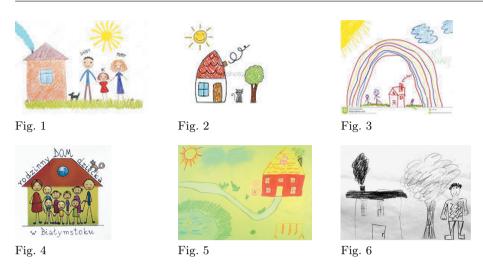
It may therefore be said that children's drawings communicate more than lexicographic definitions of *dom*.

Children's drawings[12] and the covers of children's books typically show a building with a roof, windows (a window), a door and a chimney; the building (house) is located in a specially dedicated space, it is usually delimited by a fence and has trees and flowers growing around it. It can be inferred that DOM is perceived as a warm place (with a fire and the smoke coming out of the chimney, Figures 1–3, 5–6) and a safe one (the proverbial "roof over one's head"); DOM is inhabited by a family or a community of close, albeit unrelated persons, as in the drawing of a family children's home in Figure 4; there are strong ties between family members (in Figure 1 all the people are holding hands). *Dom* evokes positive associations in children: the house is presented in bright colours (Figures 1–5), with the sun (Figures 1–2, 5) and a rainbow (Figure 3) above it; children play near DOM; there are pets around that live with the family (a dog and a cat, Figures 1–2). Of special significance is the drawing of DOM produced in black pencil: it has a black roof, black smoke, one tree and one human figure next to it (Figure. 6). The building has walls, a roof, two windows and a door, but its dark colours and just one figure next to it evokes associations with an anti-home (anti-DOM): a place that is warm physically (cf. the smoke from the chimney, which indicates fire inside) but with loneliness at the same time.

The features of DOM identified on the basis of drawings reinforce some characteristics that constitute its base image, as summarised by Bartmiński and Bielińska-Gardziel (2015): the fact that it is a place (a building, a detached house), in which – in one's private space – "one's own people" live (the father, the mother, a child or children). In children's imagination, DOM is a place that satisfies the basic, vital needs: the need for security, protection from cold and hunger. These and other features of DOM can be established

---

[11] Cf. also: "DOM (in the sense of 'house') is a favourite topic of children's drawings. It has walls, windows, usually a chimney with smoke coming out as a sign of people living in the house. But the image of DOM also includes invisible characteristics, carries certain values and functions as a cultural symbol, i.e. it also means 'home'." (Bartmiński 2012 [2009]: 149)

[12] Figures 1–3 come from pl.depositphotos.com (accessed June 22, 2017). Figure 4 is the logo of the Family Children's Home in Białystok, Poland. Figures 5–6 were submitted for the competition My Home Without Violence, announced by the MONAR Association; see www.dombezprzemocy.monar.org/?page_id=2 (accessed June 22, 2017).

Fig. 1

Fig. 2

Fig. 3

Fig. 4

Fig. 5

Fig. 6

by analysing certain practices that include: hanging a horseshoe (for luck) or a portrait of a Jew (wealth) on a wall; bringing into a new house elements of religious worship first, before other items (e.g. a picture of the Virgin Mary); the spatial arrangement of the house and the designation of central position to the table, the sofa, and the television; the delimitation of DOM as a familiar, inner, perhaps a sacred space (by hanging a crucifix above the door) from the external, secular, outer space. From all these examples, one can conclude that co-linguistic data (in particular artefacts and behaviours) have a special function in the description of LWV: on the one hand, they verify the other types of data (systemic, questionnaire-based, textual); on the other hand, they enrich and complement the description of the reconstructed image with new information.

6. Negative data and the linguistic worldview

Another type of data that may be ethnolinguistically relevant are what I refer to as *negative data*. The issue was raised by Jadwiga Kozłowska-Doda (2015), who wonders when exactly DOM can no longer be considered as such (her divagations concern the Byelarussian DOM). Elżbieta Wiącek (2012) did the same in her study of Machów, a village that no longer exists (a section of her work is titled "Where does *dom* begin and end?"). A reconstruction of DOM that stops being one may be performed on the basis of texts concerning e.g. house arrests of political prisoners, when a person does not have the freedom to act in their own home, with the presence of strangers who do not belong to the family (it is them, rather than the rightful owner, who

have the keys to the house). Another source are accounts of people deprived of their own DOM (as a result of war, fire, flood, debt executions, economic hardships, etc.), or those of homeless people,[13] who have no stable place of residence. Another category are stories of emigrants, who may have found home in another place, another homeland, in refugee camps or centres, but who feel nostalgia for the family DOM, both in the sense of house and home.

7. "Post-reset" data, the "Polish map of non-memory" and "latent memory"

A special type of data, the most difficult to obtain, are those relating to the study of "non-memory". Situated in the context of oral history, these are narratives about events deliberately neglected or left unmentioned, uncomfortable, painful or traumatic, relegated from collective and individual memory because of shame or fear. Significant events of this category in Polish history include: the destruction of Orthodox churches in the pre-war period; the Jewish pogroms in Jedwabne or Kielce;[14] the resettlement of the Lemko population as part of Operation "Vistula";[15] the service of some Silesians in the Wehrmacht, their deportation to labour camps, Siberia, or the Donbass mines; the imprisonment of Polish Home Army soldiers (*Armia Krajowa*) in labour camps; forced resettlements of Masurians, etc.[16]) (for examples of "collective non-memory" cf. Bartmiński and Chlebda 2008: 16). This type data may be called *post-reset data*. They are not revealed to strangers but only passed on to one's own, trusted people with a function to consolidate a group. For the ethnolinguist, they allow for a reconstruction of the fate of the family, the neighbourhood, the local community or nation: they belong to

---

[13] Cf. Kozłowska-Doda (2015: 200–202) for an analysis of the Byelarussian DOM.

[14] The Jedwabne pogrom, committed on July 10, 1941, resulted in the death of at least 340 Polish Jews, burned alive in a barn. At least forty Poles were involved in the atrocity, after being summoned to the village by the German police. The Kielce pogrom was an outbreak of violence toward the Jewish community in a refugees centre on 4 July 1946; forty two Jews were killed and more than forty wounded. The responsibility lies with Polish soldiers, police officers, and civilians. (based on Wikipedia entries; 9 March 2018; transl. note)

[15] A 1947 forced resettlement of Ukrainian, Boyko, and Lemko minorities from the south-eastern provinces of post-war Poland to the so-called Recovered Territories in the west of the country. (based on Wikipedia, 9 March, 2018; transl. note)

[16] There were three major waves of forced displacement of the Masurian population from their territory in northern Poland during WWII and in its wake: by the German Nazis, by the Soviet army, and by Polish settlers supported by Soviet-installed post-war Polish authorities. [transl. note]

the "Polish map of non-memory" (Chlebda 2014: 44), "collective non-memory" (Chlebda 2007, 2012), or "latent memory". For strangers, being perceived as a threat, this content is inaccessible; also, it usually contrasts with the officially accepted and institutionalised "memory" (cf. Hajduk-Nijakowska 2012: 226). Post-reset data (the historical *terra incognita*) are more difficult to interpret, document, and analyse because they require access to and verification from external sources, something that cannot be done through typical interviews. However, in ethnolinguistic research these data are as important as those commonly available, systemic or textual. Their inclusion in the LWV reconstruction process is advocated by Wojciech Chlebda: "the researcher's task is above all to find the terms that function as 'resistance signs' of collective non-memory, to define their meanings, and to mark out their dynamics on the mental map" (Chlebda 2014: 44).

Translated by Agnieszka Gicala

References

Abramowicz, Maciej, Jerzy Bartmiński and Wojciech Chlebda. 2009. Językowo-kulturowy obraz świata Słowian na tle porównawczym. Założenia programu „A" (10 VI 2009). *Etnolingwistyka* 21: 341–342.

Bartmiński, Jerzy. 1988. Definicja kognitywna jako narzędzie opisu konotacji słowa. In Jerzy Bartmiński (ed.) *Konotacja*. 169–183. Lublin: Wydawnictwo UMCS.

Bartmiński, Jerzy. 1990. Punkt widzenia, perspektywa, językowy obraz świata. In Jerzy Bartmiński (ed.) *Językowy obraz świata*. 109–127. Lublin: Wydawnictwo UMCS.

Bartmiński, Jerzy. 1996. O „Słowniku stereotypów i symboli ludowych". In SSiSL [Dictionary of Folk Stereotypes and Symbols] 1(1). 9–34. Lublin: Wydawnictwo UMCS.

Bartmiński, Jerzy. 1998. Podstawy lingwistycznych badań nad stereotypem – na przykładzie stereotypu „matki". *Język a Kultura* 12 [*Stereotyp jako przedmiot lingwistyki. Teoria, metodologia, analizy empiryczne*, ed. Janusz Anusiewicz and Jerzy Bartmiński]: 63–83.

Bartmiński, Jerzy. 2002. *Etnolingwistyka*. In *Wielka encyklopedia powszechna* PWN, vol. 8, ed. Jan Wojnowski. 380–381. Warszawa: PWN.

Bartmiński, Jerzy. 2006. *Językowe podstawy obrazu świata*. Lublin: Wydawnictwo UMCS.

Bartmiński, Jerzy. 2010. Pojęcie „językowy obraz świata" i sposoby jego operacjonalizacji. In Przemysław Czapliński, Anna Legeżyńska and Marcin Telicki (eds.) *Jaka antropologia literatury jest dzisiaj możliwa?* 155–178. Poznań: Poznańskie Studia Polonistyczne.

Bartmiński, Jerzy. 2011. The cognitive definition as a text of culture. In Adam Głaz, David S. Danaher, and Przemysław Łozowski (eds.) *The Linguistics Worldview: Ethnolinguistics, Cognition, and Culture*. 161–175. London: Versita.

Bartmiński, Jerzy. 2012 [2009]. *Aspects of Cognitive Ethnolinguistics*, Ed. Jörg Zinken; trans. Adam Głaz. Sheffield and Oakville, CT: Equinox.

Bartmiński, Jerzy. 2014a. Narracyjny aspekt definicji kognitywnej. In Dorota Filar and Dorota Piekarczyk (eds.) *Narracyjność w języku i kulturze.* 99–115. Lublin: Wydawnictwo UMCS.

Bartmiński, Jerzy. 2014b. Ankieta jako pomocnicze narzędzie rekonstrukcji językowego obrazu świata. In Iwona Bielińska-Gardziel, Stanisława Niebrzegowska-Bartmińska, and Joanna Szadura (eds.) *Wartości w językowym obrazie świata Słowian i ich sąsiadów*, vol. 3. *Problemy eksplikowania i profilowania pojęć.* 279–308. Lublin: Wydawnictwo UMCS.

Bartmiński, Jerzy. 2015a. *Leksykon aksjologiczny Słowian i ich sąsiadów – co zawiera, na jakich zasadach się opiera, dla kogo jest przeznaczony?* In Jerzy Bartmiński, Iwona Bielińska-Gardziel, and Beata Żywicka (eds.) *Leksykon aksjologiczny Słowian i ich sąsiadów*, vol. 1. DOM. (LASiS vol. 1). 7–13. Lublin: Wydawnictwo UMCS.

Bartmiński, Jerzy. 2015b. Perspektywa semazjologiczna i onomazjologiczna w badaniach językowego obrazu świata. *Poradnik Językowy* 1: 14–29.

Bartmiński, Jerzy. 2016. Uwagi końcowe (pp. 348–351). Part of: Dyskusja podsumowująca projekt „Metody analizy językowego obrazu świata w kontekście badań porównawczych". *Etnolingwistyka* 28: 337–351.

Bartmiński, Jerzy and Iwona Bielińska-Gardziel. 2015. Polski językowo-kulturowy obraz DOMU i jego profile. In Jerzy Bartmiński, Iwona Bielińska-Gardziel, and Beata Żywicka (eds.) *Leksykon aksjologiczny Słowian i ich sąsiadów*, vol. 1. DOM. (LASiS vol. 1). 89–121. Lublin: Wydawnictwo UMCS.

Bartmiński, Jerzy and Wojciech Chlebda. 2008. Jak badać językowo-kulturowy obraz świata Słowian i ich sąsiadów? *Etnolingwistyka* 20: 11–27.

Chlebda, Wojciech. 2007. Tezy o niepamięci zbiorowej. *Prace Filologiczne* LIII: 71–78.

Chlebda, Wojciech. 2010a. W poszukiwaniu językowo-kulturowego obrazu świata Słowian. In Wojciech Chlebda (ed.) *Etnolingwistyka a leksykografia. Tom poświęcony Profesorowi Jerzemu Bartmińskiemu.* 7–20. Opole: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Opolskiego.

Chlebda, Wojciech. 2010b. W jakim zakresie słownik dwujęzyczny może być źródłem informacji etnolingwistycznej? In Wojciech Chlebda (ed.) *Etnolingwistyka a leksykografia. Tom poświęcony Profesorowi Jerzemu Bartmińskiemu.* 201–208. Opole: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Opolskiego.

Chlebda, Wojciech. 2010c. Wstępne założenia analizy słownikowej w projekcie badawczym EUROJOS. In Wojciech Chlebda (ed.) *Etnolingwistyka a leksykografia. Tom poświęcony Profesorowi Jerzemu Bartmińskiemu.* 219–226. Opole: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Opolskiego.

Chlebda, Wojciech. 2012. Pamięć ujęzykowiona. In Jan Adamowski and Marta Wójcicka (eds.) *Pamięć jako kategoria rzeczywistości kulturowej.* 109–119. Lublin: Wydawnictwo UMCS.

Chlebda, Wojciech. 2014. O potrzebie mapowania polskiej pamięci/niepamięci zbiorowej. In Ewa Golachowska and Anna Zielińska (eds.) *Konstrukcje i dekonstrukcje tożsamości*, vol. 3, *Narracja i pamięć.* 39–47. Warszawa: Slawistyczny Ośrodek Wydawniczy.

Grzegorczykowa, Renata. 1990. Pojęcie językowego obrazu świata. In Jerzy Bartmiński (ed.) *Językowy obraz świata.* 41–49. Lublin: Wydawnictwo UMCS.

Hajduk-Nijakowska, Janina. 2012. Pamięć utajniona. Funkcjonowanie narracji o śląskiej martyrologii. In Jan Adamowski and Marta Wójcicka (eds.) *Pamięć jako kategoria rzeczywistości kulturowej.* 225–235. Lublin: Wydawnictwo UMCS.

Kozłowska-Doda, Jadwiga. 2015. DOM w języku białoruskim. Jerzy Bartmiński, Iwona Bielińska-Gardziel, and Beata Żywicka (eds.) *Leksykon aksjologiczny Słowian i ich sąsiadów*, vol. 1. DOM. (LASiS vol. 1). 177–206. Lublin: Wydawnictwo UMCS.

Krzeszowski, Tomasz P. 1997. O znaczeniu przymiotnika „kognitywny". In Franciszek Grucza and Maria Dakowska (eds.) *Podejścia kognitywne w lingwistyce, translatoryce i glottodydaktyce. Materiały z XX Sympozjum zorganizowanego przez Instytut Lingwistyki Stosowanej UW i Polskie Towarzystwo Lingwistyki Stosowanej, Grzegorzewice, 12–14 stycznia 1996 r.* 23–32. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego.

LASiS. *Leksykon aksjologiczny Słowian i ich sąsiadów*. Vol 1. DOM, ed. Jerzy Bartmiński, Iwona Bielińska-Gardziel, and Beata Żywicka, 2015. Vol. 3. *PRACA*, ed. Jerzy Bartmiński, Małgorzata Brzozowska, and Stanisława Niebrzegowska-Bartmińska 2016. Vol. 5. *HONOR*, ed. Petar Sotirov and Dejan Ajdačić, 2017. Lublin: Wydawnictwo UMCS.

Łozowski, Przemysław. 1999. Panchronia, czy językoznawstwo bez synchronii. In Anna Pajdzińska and Piotr Krzyżanowski (eds.) *Przeszłość w językowym obrazie świata*. 25–50. Lublin: Wydawnictwo UMCS.

Mikołajczuk, Agnieszka. 2000. Kognitywizm a nauczanie języka polskiego jako obcego. In Jan Mazur (ed.) *Polonistyka w świecie. Nauczanie języka i kultury polskiej studentów* zaawansowanych. 83–96. Lublin: Wydawnictwo UMCS.

Muszyński, Zbysław. 1993. O podmiotowym, społecznym i formalnym wymiarze języka, czyli o trzech aspektach znaczenia komunikacyjnego. In Jerzy Bartmiński and Ryszard Tokarski (eds.) *O definicjach i definiowaniu*. 181–193. Lublin: Wydawnictwo UMCS.

Niebrzegowska-Bartmińska, Stanisława. 2007. *Wzorce tekstów ustnych w perspektywie etnolingwistycznej*. Lublin: Wydawnictwo UMCS.

Nepop-Ajdaczyć, Lidia. 2007. *Polska etnolingwistyka kognitywna. Pomoc dydaktyczna*. Kijów: Centrum wydawnictwo poligraficzne Uniwersytet Kijowski.

Pacławska, Ewa. In print. Bylica. In *Słownik stereotypów i symboli ludowych* [SSiSL], vol. 2(3). Ed. Jerzy Bartmiński and Stanisława Niebrzegowska-Bartmińska. Lublin: Wydawnictwo UMCS.

SD 1995–. *Slavyanskye drevnosti. Etnolingisticheskiy slovar' pod redaktsyei N. I. Tolstogo*. Ed. N. I. Tolstoy, T. A. Agapkina, L. N. Vinogradova, V. Y. Petrukhin, S. M. Tolstaya. Moskva: Mezhdunarodnye otnoshenya

SLSJ 1980. *Słownik ludowych stereotypów językowych. Zeszyt próbny*. Wrocław: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego.

SSiSL. *Słownik stereotypów i symboli ludowych*, vols. 1(1)–1(4), 1996–2012. Lublin: Wydawnictwo UMCS.

Tolstoy, Nikita I. 1995. Etnolingvistika v krugu gummanitarnykh distsiplin. In Nikita I. Tolstoy (ed.) *Yazyk i narodnaya kul'tura. Ocherki po slavyanskoy mifologii i etnolingvistike*. 27–40. Moskva: Indrik.

Tolstye, Nikita I. and Svetlana M. 1995. O slovare „Slavyanskye drevnosti". In *Slavyanskye drevnosti. Etnolingisticheskiy slovar' pod redaktsyei N. I. Tolstogo*. Ed. N. I. Tolstoy, T. A. Agapkina, L. N. Vinogradova, V. Y. Petrukhin, S. M. Tolstaya. Vol. 1. 5–14. Moskva: Mezhdunarodnye otnoshenya.

Tyrpa, Anna. 2006. Etnolingwistyka ludowa, narodowa, porównawcza – koncepcje neofilologów i polonistów. *Etnolingwistyka* 18: 105–116.

Vaňkova, Irena. 2010. Úvodem: na cestě kognitivní (Etno)lingvistice. *Slovo a Slovesnost* 71/2010 (4): 245–249.

Wiącek, Elżbieta. 2012. Żegnaj moja wiosko... Pamięć o Machowie i kulturze lasowiackiej w twórczości Marii Kozłowej. In Jan Adamowski and Marta Wójcicka (eds.) *Pamięć jako kategoria rzeczywistości kulturowej*. 183–201. Lublin: Wydawnictwo UMCS.

Zinken, Jörg. 2012 [2009]. The Ethnolinguistic School of Lublin and Anglo-American cognitive linguistics. In Jerzy Bartmiński. *Aspects of Cognitive Ethnolinguistics*. 1–5. Sheffield and Oakville, CT: Equinox.

Zinken, Jörg. 2016a. Jakich danych potrzebuje etnolingwistyka porównawcza? *Etnolingwistyka* 28: 334–336.

Zinken, Jörg. 2016b. *Requesting Responsibility. The Morality of Grammar in Polish and English Family Interaction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.