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Kiklewicz Aleksander¹

¹University of Warmia and Mazury, Poland
professor, habilitated doctor

CULTURAL LINGUISTICS AND ETHNOLINGUISTICS: THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS, CONCEPTS AND RESEARCH DIRECTIONS IN CONTEMPORARY POLAND AND EASTERN EUROPE

Abstract

The author reviews contemporary cultural linguistics (as one of the fields of anthropological linguistics) in two Slavic regions: Poland and Eastern Europe. The first part of the article discusses the general theoretical foundations of cultural linguistics, as well as the circumstances in which it was established in Poland and Eastern Europe (USSR). In the second part, the author discusses the distinguishing features of both these linguistic traditions. So, he writes that, in Eastern Europe, researchers are more interested in linguoculturology, particularly in the description of concepts and the so-called conceptosphere. In Poland, there is a stronger tradition of folk culture research, folk psychology and folk language. For this reason, the methodology of Polish research is based to a greater extent on empirical procedures, such as field research and surveys.

Keywords: cultural linguistics, anthropological linguistics, ethnolinguistics, linguoculturology, language vs. cultural determinism, heuristic function of language, linguistic worldview

Киклевич Александр¹

*¹ Варминьско-Мазурский университет, Польша
профессор, хабилитированный доктор*

**ЛИНГВОКУЛЬТУРОЛОГИЯ И ЭТНОЛИНГВИСТИКА:
ТЕОРЕТИЧЕСКИЕ ОСНОВЫ, КОНЦЕПЦИИ
И НАПРАВЛЕНИЯ ИССЛЕДОВАНИЙ
В СОВРЕМЕННОЙ ПОЛЬШЕ И ВОСТОЧНОЙ ЕВРОПЕ**

Аннотация

Автор рассматривает современную лингвокультурологию (как одну из областей антропологической лингвистики) в двух славянских регионах: Польше и Восточной Европе. В первой части статьи рассматриваются общие теоретические основы лингвокультурологии, а также обстоятельства, при которых она была создана в Польше и Восточной Европе (СССР). Во второй части автор обсуждает отличительные черты обеих этих лингвистических традиций. Так, он пишет, что в Восточной Европе исследователи больше интересуются лингвокультурологией, особенно описанием концептов и так называемой концептосферой. В Польше существует более сильная традиция исследования народной культуры, народной психологии и народного языка. По этой причине методология польских исследований в большей степени основана на эмпирических процедурах, таких как полевые исследования и опросы.

Ключевые слова: лингвокультурология, лингвистика культуры, антропологическая лингвистика, этнолингвистика, лингвокультурология, язык против культурного детерминизма, эвристическая функция языка, языковая картина мира.

Александр Киклевич¹

*¹Варминь-Мазур университеті, Польша
профессор, хабилитациялық доктор*

**ЛИНГВОМӘДЕНИЕТТАНУ ЖӘНЕ ЭТНОЛИНГВИСТИКА:
ҚАЗІРГІ ПОЛЬША МЕН ШЫҒЫС ЕУРОПАДАҒЫ
ЗЕРТТЕУДІҢ ТЕОРИЯЛЫҚ НЕГІЗДЕРІ, ТҰЖЫРЫМДАМАЛАРЫ
МЕН БАҒЫТТАРЫ**

Аңдатпа

Автор екі славян аймағында: Польша мен Шығыс Еуропада заманауи лингвомәдениеттануды (антропологиялық лингвистиканың бір саласы ретінде) қарастырады. Мақаланың бірінші бөлімінде лингвомәдениеттанудың жалпы теориялық негіздері, сондай-ақ Польша мен Шығыс Еуропада (КСРО) құрылған жағдайлар қарастырылады. Екінші бөлімде автор осы екі лингвистикалық дәстүрдің ерекшеліктерін талқылайды. Сонымен, ол Шығыс Еуропада зерттеушілер лингвомәдениеттануға, әсіресе тұжырымдамаларды сипаттауға және концептосфера деп аталатындарға көбірек қызығушылық танытады деп жазады. Польшада халықтық мәдениетті, халықтық психологияны және халықтық тілді зерттеудің күшті дәстүрі бар. Осы себепті поляк зерттеулерінің әдістемесі далалық зерттеулер мен сауалнамалар сияқты эмпирикалық процедураларға негізделген.

Түйінді сөздер: лингвомәдениеттану, мәдениет лингвистикасы, антропологиялық лингвистика, этнолингвистика, лингвомәдениеттану, мәдени детерминизмге қарсы тіл, тілдің эвристикалық қызметі, әлемнің тілдік бейнесі.

Introduction. The foundations of contemporary cultural linguistics were laid in the works of the German psychological school of the second half of the 19th century (K. Brugman, O. Schrader, H. Steinthal, W. Wundt, E. Cassirer and others), which, in turn, was founded on philosophical theories of the Enlightenment (especially by J. G. Herder) and the era of Romanticism (especially by W. von Humboldt). These theories are based on the ideas of realism, relativism and linguistic actualism (more on this in: Chruszczewski 2011: 17), as well as empirical research in the field of (then new) field linguistics (dialectology in particular). Scientists from Slavic countries also contributed to the development of this subject area. In Eastern Europe, a major contribution to open (idioethnic) linguistics was made by such researchers as: I.I. Sreznevsky, F.I. Buslaev, P.A.Lavrovsky, D.N. Ovsianiko-Kulikovsky, and especially by A.A. Potebnya as a leading representative of the Kharkiv School. In the second half of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century, a tradition of anthropological linguistics (with a strong ethnographic and psychological emphasis) also developed in Poland. Its representatives were: A.A. Kryński, J. Łoś, J.Rozwadowski, W. J. Porzeziński, L. Malinowski, A. Gawroński, M. Rudnicki, H. Ułaszyn, S.Szober, K. Nitsch and others. The anthropological trend in Poland was so strong that it significantly influenced the critical reception of structuralism, which has never become such a significant phenomenon as in the USSR or in the neighboring Czech Republic (more on this matter: Kiklewicz 2002: 276 ff.). A special case is the research activity of J. N. Baudouin de Courtenay and M.Kruszewski – Poles who worked for a long time at Russian universities and, at the same time, represented both schools. However, according to K. Nitsch (1960: 262), the theories of these linguists “in Polish linguistics [...] stand more or less isolated”.

Today, in Poland and Eastern European countries, as well as, for example, in Kazakhstan, cultural linguistics enjoys the greatest interest – compared to other European countries. This is confirmed by, for example, the iSybislav online database of the Institute of Slavic Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences: the largest number of documents (monographs and articles) with the *cultural linguistics* descriptor are in Polish and Russian. This tendency is manifested not only in the number of publications, but also in the topics of scientific conferences, dissertations, grant policy, framework curricula for higher education, and others. The bibliometric data do not show that cultural linguistics or ethnolinguistics is the mainstream of research (see: Kiklewicz 2015: 40), but it must be admitted that, both in Poland and in Eastern Europe, it is more and more noticeable in key scientific discourses and their key positions. For example, one of the plenary papers opening the 16th International Congress of Slavists in Belgrade (in August 2018) was delivered by J. Bartmiński, a leading representative of Polish ethnolinguistics, and the title of the paper was: “Language in the context of culture”.

Cultural linguistics: theoretical foundations and research methods. The Polish and Eastern European traditions of cultural linguistics have a common basis – a functional approach to language as a tool and, at the same time, a product of social and cognitive activity carried out within a specific cultural community. This view is derived from the theory of linguistic naturalism (biologism): dependence on the environment is a property of living or adaptive systems, as opposed to non-living systems (see Gofman-Kadoshnikov 1984: 325, Arnold 1991: 119). The adaptive nature of language is most obvious in its folk version: the cultural factor of linguistic behavior is most materialized in this case.

Functionalism in linguistics is usually considered in opposition to structuralism, although in reality this opposition is relative. In both cases, the idea of emergentism plays a key role. It is essential for structural analysis to postulate that the whole is not just the sum of the component parts, because the way they are configured creates new values (see Lotman, Uspensky 1971: 151, Miller 1972: 38; Szymańska 1980: 3). Similarly to structuralism, which, according to C. Rówiński (1984: 292), strives to capture the object as a whole, culturalism is based on the assumption about the emergent nature of culture, which is not reduced to the sum of personal images of the world or

types of behavior, cf. the concept of emergent cultural cognition (Sharafian 2008: 109 ff.; 2016: 36). In É. Durkheim's theory, "social facts" have such a character (2007: 34-35).

A. Dąbrowska (2004-2005: 141) writes that cultural linguistics, whose the subject is a description of the relationship between language and culture, belongs to a more general direction of research that takes into account the dependence of language on external factors (such an approach is referred to as interactionism or connectionism). Therefore, Dąbrowska emphasizes the need to distinguish between anthropological and cultural linguistics: the subject area of the former is broader and includes such aspects as the area of existence of a linguistic community (cf. the concept of physical anthropology), lifestyle (including rituals and ceremonies), system of social relations, biological (especially racial) and psychological (e.g. cognitive styles, types of temperament) characteristics of individuals, etc. (Manelis Klein 2006: 296). The tradition of anthropological linguistics was formed on the basis of research on illiterate, uncodified languages that meet the communication needs in the sphere of everyday, private interpersonal relations (the so-called natural communication) and are not or only slightly influenced by urban, industrial and official (elite) culture. Such an environment is believed to be the most natural and underlies the formation of humankind and language. In the literature, one can also encounter an opinion that anthropology is not basically the study of cultural communities (especially ethnic ones), as some forms of human knowledge and human behavior (embedded in language) are universal (see Zaniewski et al. 2016: 158).

Such an ambivalent approach to linguistic phenomena was characteristic of the views of J.N. Baudouin de Courtenay. On the one hand, he wrote that a belief in the psychic and social nature of human speech should be an essential requirement of linguistic research. The scholar argued that the nation's centuries-old cognitive experiences accumulate in language – in this sense it is a source of a "separate linguistic knowledge" (cited after: Skarżyński 2016: 166), necessary in anthropological, ethnological and sociological research. For example, a comparative analysis of vocabulary, according to Baudouin de Courtenay, allows one to draw conclusions about the contacts between communities and their history. The cultural factor does not exhaust all the interactions of language with the environment – the biological factor also plays an important role. Writing about the evolutionary process of "gradual shifting of the locations of phonation works from bottom to top and from back to front, [...] from the inside to the outside of the organism, in accordance with the direction of each phonation expiration" (Skarżyński 2016: 148), Baudouin de Courtenay explained it with a two-legged gait.

According to G. Palmer (1996: 5 et seq.), cultural linguistics is an integration of several fields of idioethnic knowledge: 1) anthropological linguistics (following F. Boas); 2) ethnosemantics (e.g. the theory of the linguistic worldview); 3) speech ethnography; 4) cognitive linguistics. The already-mentioned Dąbrowska (2004-2005: 141) points to the fact that J. Anusiewicz, by rejecting the handy term ethnolinguistics, which was used to study the relationship between folk language and folk culture (folklore), treated cultural linguistics as a discipline with a broader scope, taking into account the relationship between literary (general) language and general culture. Taking into account the above findings, the following hierarchy of concepts can be presented:

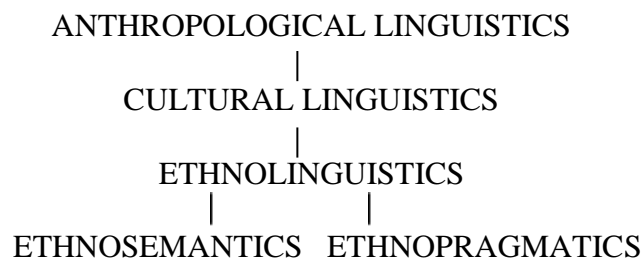


Fig. 1. *The hierarchical arrangement of directions in anthropological linguistics*

The relations between language and culture are of a two-way nature: on the one hand, culture is reflected in language, primarily in the vocabulary system (Grzegorzczkova 2014: 124). On the other hand, language, especially in the pre-scientific period of human development (see Zaniewski et al. 2016: 159), affects the behavior of its users and the content of cognitive categories. E. Sapir (1993: 227) described this function of language as heuristic. Neo-Humboldists dealt with the issue of the social functioning of language in a similar spirit (see Radczenko 1990: 46). The heuristic function of language is particularly clearly manifested in the ontogenesis and acquisition of language: both of these processes contribute to socialization significantly. Moreover, as the authors of the concept of anthropo-linguistics write (Zaniewski et al. 2016: 168), the progress of scientific knowledge depends on the development of specialist vocabulary (i.e. terminology).

The concept of linguistic determinism, according to which the language system determines the cultural worldview, is a strong version of cultural linguistics. Its theoretical foundations were developed by E. Sapir and B. L. Whorf in the USA, and L. Weisgerber in Germany, and empirical research became the subject of the first-generation psycholinguistics (the mid-twentieth century). The idea of linguistic determinism is at the heart of ethnolinguistics as conceived by N. I. Tolstoy. According to his statements for this discipline,

it is important to consider not only and not so much the reflection of folk culture, psychology and mythological images in the language, [...] as the creative role of language and its impact on the shaping and functioning of folk culture, folk psychology and folk creativity (Tolstoj 1995: 34).

In the second half of the twentieth century, the heuristic (in Sapir's terminology) approach to language became less popular, perhaps because experimental attempts to prove the so-called Sapir | Whorf hypothesis did not yield the expected results. However, the concept of cultural determinism, whose precursor was F. Boas, became widespread. This is a weak version of ethnolinguistics, based on the thesis on the cultural motivation of the language system and speech behavior: language is considered as a "means of preserving the ethnic worldview" (Zhuravlev 1995: 9). The idea that language and cultural environment are inseparable, and that cultural experiences are reflected in language and other symbolic systems, is at the heart of methodical culturalism (or constructivism) – a research direction of the Marburg School (founded by P. Janich). In the same spirit, J. Anusiewicz (1994: 10), the founder of contemporary Polish cultural linguistics, wrote about language as a reservoir containing the most important content of culture.

The idea of a linguistic reconstruction of culture follows naturally from the postulate about the isomorphism of culture and language, about which A. F. Zhurawlew (1995: 10) writes, among others, (cf. Grzegorzczkova 2014: 129). Since linguistic signs, as M. L. Kovshova (2013: 34) claims, contain cultural information (i.e. additional, added, resulting from people's intellectual or practical experiences), linguistic analysis of the most conventionalized units, for example phraseologisms, may lead to learning their "general cultural background" (Mokienko 2001: 6). In this way, general vocabulary, conventionalized (including figurative) collocations, phrases, key texts (proverbs, aphorisms, prayers, songs, anecdotes, etc.) are interpreted by ethnolinguists as forms of representation and tools for reconstructing the cultural code specific to each community. According to Tolstoy (1995: 26), this historical element distinguishes ethnolinguistics from sociolinguistics, which studies the functioning of modern languages.

General considerations about the influence of culture on language can be refined using three integrated parameters: 1) factor (or effector); 2) area of application; 3) receptor (or reception range). Assuming that each of these categories (variables) is represented by a scale of values, the general picture of the interaction can be presented in the form of the following diagram (Fig. 2).

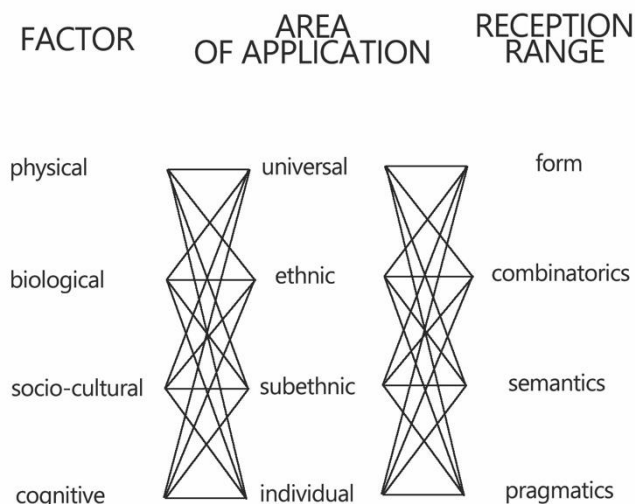


Fig. 2. *The matrix of language system conditioning by external factors*

The diagram shows four main categories of factors: physical, biological, socio-cultural and cognitive. Of these, only the last two are related to culture; although the first two are important in a broader, anthropological perspective. By postulating four areas of application, I realize that a more detailed specification is possible. At the sub-ethnic level, there are various types (of a larger or smaller format) of social groups in terms of region, class, nation, profession, gender, age, denomination, etc. By distinguishing four areas of reception: form, combinatorics (e.g. syntax), semantics and pragmatics, I take into account that external influences concern not only the content of linguistic units (their semantic and pragmatic functions), but also their expression. While cultural linguistics deals mainly with the former aspect, sociolinguistics and stylistics deal with the latter, i.e. socially acceptable and permissible forms of linguistic behavior, as well as the formal differentiation of the language system under the influence of social factors.

All categories in the diagram are connected by lines that indicate the directions of the conditions. The diagram allows for the distinguishing 64 possible combinations, i.e. types of conditions. They can all be represented as symbols:

P-U-F	P-E-F	P-S-F		B-U-F	B-E-F
P-U-C	P-E-C	P-S-C		B-U-C	B-E-C
P-U-S	P-E-S	P-S-S	...	B-U-S	B-E-S
P-U-P	P-E-P	P-S-P		B-U-P	B-E-P

For example, the formula S-E-P means: “the socio-cultural factor at the ethnic level affects the pragmatics of the language”, the formula C-I-S means: “the cognitive factor at the individual level affects the semantics of the language”, the formula B-U-F means: “the biological factor at the universal level affects the form of the language”, etc.

The above conditioning types are partly described in the scientific literature. Most often, the subject of research is the impact of the social factor on language activities (speech acts and discourses) and the impact of the cognitive factor on the lexical meaning and the lexical-semantic classes. It should be noted that there is a tendency in both Polish and Russian publications to treat a narrow understanding of culture as collective knowledge. For example, M. L. Kovshova defines culture “as a space of essentially evaluating cultural senses, created by people in the process of depicting reality” (2013: 70). Similarly, Dąbrowska (2004-2005: 141) believes that cultural linguistics (as well as anthropological linguistics) begins with the study of language and tries to “reach culture and the way of perceiving the world related to it”. P. Chruszczewski (2011: 15) shares the opinion that culture is “a dynamically changing symbolic system of knowledge”, however (which is important) he

adds: “based on historically developed social patterns of behavior shared by a specific speech community and on the products of these behaviors”. The verbocentric approach to culture is not justified, for example, due to the fact that the cognitive-semantic aspect of the “language and culture” problem is only one of several aspects (cf. Manelis Klein 2006: 296).

The complex, multidimensional nature of culture is expressed in the diversification of research. In this regard, one can refer to the two paradigms of cultural research proposed by S. Hall (1980: 60 ff.): one is reflective and ideational, while the other one emphasizes social practices. Both paradigms are integrated with the functional approach to culture (p. Malinowski 2000a; 2000b) as a system of social institutions ordered in accordance with the necessity to meet human needs (at various levels of social organization), as well as forms of mental representation of reality shaped on their basis and tools for their verbalization. Such an approach to culture is declared by the authors of the Białystok Manifesto (see Zaniewski et al. 2016: 164), who (as a factor conditioning language activity) take into account not only spiritual culture, but also material culture. These researchers, for example, write that for the needs of industrial production in Europe (especially in England and Scotland) in the 18th and 19th centuries, an extensive technical terminology was created, especially a system of compound terms. Moreover, the authors from Białystok draw attention to the innovative phenomena in language (the processes of specialization and social diversification of vocabulary), whose source is the urban culture.

Semantic phenomena in language and speech are not necessarily directly determined by collective knowledge – social, pragmatic, behavioral factors also contribute to it. For example, sociological research shows that the ideological and political polarization of a society has increased in recent decades (particularly in Eastern and Central European countries). This phenomenon is reflected in language communication, namely in the intensification of verbal aggression, the “rhetoric of war” (Kolbuszewska 2008: 185) through the use of colloquialisms and vulgarisms in public discourses, in the semantic profiling of keywords, suspension of the category of truth, and others. This type of rich Russian-language material is collected in an article by E. M. Vereščagin (2002).

Diversification of research concepts and practices. Cultural linguistics became popular in Slavic countries in the 1970s, and especially in the 1980s. However, several circumstances influenced its development in Poland and Eastern Europe. In the USSR, ethnolinguistics (focusing on folk culture research) was perceived as an alternative to structuralism, which was shaped by the elitist modernist culture (see Kiklewicz 2012: 32). N. I. Tolstoy (1995: 25) openly declared that ethnolinguistics stands in opposition to general semiotics, which is based on the structuralism of F. de Saussure. On the other hand, ethnolinguistics, to some extent, alluded to Marxist linguistics, most notably to Marx’s thesis on the social nature of language. In the Polish linguistics of the 1970s and 1980s, however, there was no such open antagonism between culturalism and structuralism, perhaps because structuralism, as already noted in the introduction, did not play such a significant role in Poland as it did in the USSR.

Despite general theoretical assumptions, the Polish and East-European traditions of cultural linguistics and ethnolinguistics differ with regard to several important features. First of all, attention should be paid to the differences in conceptual and nominal categorization of the “language and culture” thematic field. Each scientific community has developed its own methods of profiling this problem. The very direction of research in Slavic countries is relatively rarely referred to as *cultural linguistics* – the iSybislaw online database contains 49 documents with this keyword in Polish and Russian. The alternative terms *linguoculturology* and *ethnolinguistics* are more frequently used (but, as noted in the previous section, they cannot be considered synonyms). The first term is much more common in Russian publications: in the online database e-library.ru there are 2259 documents with the keyword *linguoculturology* and only 803 documents with the keyword *ethnolinguistics*. However, in the iSybislaw database, there are 103 Polish documents with the keyword *ethnolinguistics* and no document with the keyword *linguoculturology*. Moreover, Russian scientists

actively use the derivative term *linguoculture* (Russian: *lingvokultura*), which is practically not found in Polish publications (except for a few by Russian scholars).

Another difference concerns the basic categories of the linguistic worldview. In Russia, such a status is granted to the category of the concept – it is a form of integration of various types of information about objects and states of affairs – referents of signs. The theoretical basis of these studies was established by J. S. Stepanov (1997). Polish researchers mainly refer to the concept of a stereotype as a set of the most general and conventionalized (confirmed by contexts) connotations of the meanings of lexical units. In the iSybislav database, there are 73 documents in Russian with the keyword *concept* and only 14 documents with the keyword *stereotype*. In the documents in Polish, the proportion is reversed: *concept* — 28 documents, *stereotype* — 158 documents.

The most important concepts of linguistic analysis in Russia include the *conceptosphere* as a set of concepts, yet this term is practically absent in Polish publications. In practical research, the “conceptosphere” is the same as the lexical-semantic class referred to in structural linguistics.

There are different lines of linguistic research. In Eastern Europe, the problem of linguistic personality (Russian: *yazikovaya lichnost*) has gained popularity. Research in this area was initiated by J. N. Karaulov (1987). The Polish terms *personal language*, *idiolekt*, and *idiostyl* are used in sociolinguistics and stylistics, and they mainly refer to the formal properties of the language of writers. On the other hand, Polish researchers are more interested in the functioning of stereotypes within sociolects and discourses (media, political, academic, marketing, etc.). Therefore, W. Kajtoch (2008: 14 ff.) develops the concept of the textual worldview, although this concept also appears in Russian literature. The difference is that Kajtoch refers to the ethnolinguistic theory of the linguistic worldview, which, in relation to the textual worldview, is a generic (higher-order) concept; while in Russia this research is conducted within imagology. The Russian e-library database holds 934 documents with the keyword *imagologiya*, while the Polish POL-index database includes only 33 such documents. It should be noted, however, that research in the field of imagology refers to comparative literary studies and discourse, without directly touching the issues of cultural linguistics or ethnolinguistics.

The contemporary Polish ethnolinguistic tradition has been shaped, to some extent, by the influence of American cognitive semantics, in particular by the theories of such scholars as G. Lakoff or R. Langacker. Concepts previously developed within cognitive science, such as: idealized cognitive model, cognitive base, domain, profile, facet, etc., have been used for empirical research (see Bartmiński, Niebrzegowska 1998; Bartmiński 1990). In Russian research, especially when the subject is a historical reconstruction of folk culture, this conceptual instrumentation is absent. Most often, researchers use an etymological or historical analysis of derivative units, as well as an analysis of their linkage or contextual analysis.

In the case of linguoculturology, however, references to cognitivism can be encountered (and even quite often). It happens that the terms *linguoculturology* and *linguocognitology* are used side by side as synonymous (see Akhmetzhanova, Mussatayeva 2013). Unfortunately, it should be said that these references are mostly superficial and even speculative: the declarations are not backed by any serious research, whose object would be cognition (individuals, categories, processes, cognitive mechanisms). An example of this is a monograph by V. A. Maslova (2004), often quoted in Eastern Europe and Central Asia, in which there are practically no references to the publications of Western specialists, and the cognitive (essentially pseudo-cognitive) study of texts boils down to an analysis of the semantic connotations of individual lexemes.

There is a more developed empirical component in the Polish tradition. J. Bartmiński (1998: 66) includes not only the system of language, utterances, texts and linguistic intuition as sources of ethnolinguistic information, but also surveys. One of the first empirical studies of this kind (on national stereotypes) was conducted by K. Pisarkowa (1994), and M. Fleischer (1997) is a widely recognized authority in this field. Surveying is considered an indispensable method in axiolinguistic research (see Bartmiński, Grzeszczak 2014: 29).

In the Polish version of cultural linguistics, the axiological component is also more important (which is confirmed by the data from the iSybislaw bibliographic database). The Polish concept of ethnolinguistics takes into account the subjective nature of the reception of reality, which manifests itself in evaluative semantics as the most significant element of the connotative content of signs. The canon of values (as well as anti-values) largely determines the linguistic worldview. Researchers from the Lublin group have attempted to prepare an axiological dictionary of Polish (Bartmiński, Grzeszczak 2014: 24).

In Eastern Europe, evaluative concepts are also studied (for example, in the works of S.G.Vorkachev), but the number of these studies is negligible (according to the e-library, they account for approximately 0.06%). In Russian publications, the following terms are distinguished more consistently than in Polish: *value*, *rating*, and researchers' attention is more focused on the latter category. In the theoretical aspect, this research refers to another field – intensional semantics, and it has little in common with cultural linguistics.

The peculiarity of East-European ethnolinguistics is a broad understanding of this discipline, which goes beyond the limits of strictly linguistic problems directly related to the description of linguistic forms. In many cases, the anthropology of everyday life or ethnography is hidden behind the facade of ethnolinguistics. The linguistic component of such studies is almost marginal. For example, it is difficult to see linguistic problems in A. F. Zhuravlev's monograph entitled *Farm animals in the beliefs and magic of the Eastern Slavs* (1994) or in a monograph by A. B. Strachov entitled *The cult of bread of the Eastern Slavs. Ethnolinguistic study* (1991). In a similar way, A.A.Kamalova and L. A. Savyolova, the authors of a monograph entitled *The linguistic description of the northern Russian countryside* (2007), despite the presence of the linguistic element in the book's title, mostly describe elements of the material and spiritual culture of dialect users. Similarly, the ethnolinguistic study by V. V. Usacheva (2008: 18 ff.) consists in a description of folk rituals, micro-rituals and ceremonies, while the linguistic elements present in their structure (the so-called ritualisms) have a subordinate status.

This state of affairs is explained by the general attitude of East-European ethnolinguistics, which Tolstoy interpreted as a kind of special semiotics. It aims to expose a set of sign tools and symbols functioning in the cultural system, their mutual relations, ordering, their similarities in the area of Slavic cultures, as well as their local differences (1995: 25). Tolstoy wrote that specialists in ethnogenesis and Slavic antiquities use archaeological and linguistic data, while ethnolinguists rely on folklore and ethnographic data (which clearly indicates a non-linguistic attitude).

In Russian publications (especially in the study of the “conceptosphere”), the subject of investigation is literary language as a tool for recreating general culture with national characteristics. The task of researchers often boils down to highlighting *the key words of Russian culture* (see Zaliznyak et al. 2005). A. V. Pavlova and M. V. Bezrodny (2013: 141 ff.) pointed out that in many publications there is an apologetic pathos, i.e. glorification of Russian culture. This research trend is criticized by Zarecki 2008; Shafikov 2013; Kiklewicz 2017, or Berezovich 2018 et al. Thus, V. M. Mokienko (2007: 50), a well-known phraseology researcher, notes that ethnolinguistic research focuses “on the search for the national specificity of language as a cultural phenomenon”. According to Mokienko, the implementation of this task is hindered by a too vague and subjective interpretation of linguistic facts, excessively treated as exponents of specific national features. Mokienko states: “[a] general methodological feature of many studies of this kind is the globality of conclusions based on an inappropriate compilation of facts from different languages, or the lack of a compilation” (ibidem: 50). Mokienko also criticizes the idea of a “monocultural worldview”, whose supporters, in his opinion, disregard the fact that universal and, above all, borrowed elements have always organically coexisted in folk cultures and folklore (ibidem: 51; see also: Shafikov 2019). This remark is even more fair when applied to the urban or general culture.

There seems to be an ideological theme behind this discussion. The idioethnic concept of language in Russia still evokes associations with Marrism – a version of vulgar materialism, just as in

Germany – with neo-Humboldtism (see Radchenko 2014: 96 ff.). In both cases, linguistics became a tool of political propaganda, an element of totalitarian systems: the communist one in the USSR and the national-socialist one in Germany. In the USSR, the opponents of the “new theory of language” by N. Y. Marr became victims of mass political repression; many of them were executed in the 1930s. This explains why ethnolinguistic issues were considered taboo in the post-war German linguistics. Similarly, in contemporary Russia, the reference in linguistic publications to ideological rhetoric, especially Great Russian, raises concerns among part of the scholarly community.

In the history of Polish linguistics, ethnolinguistics seems to have never been involved in ideological discourses. Yes, it can be noticed that in the “canon of European values” described by ethnolinguists (at least in some of its versions) a lot of space is occupied by Christian values. However, firstly, it reflects the objective state of affairs, to some extent, and secondly, it does not fundamentally affect the general ambivalent nature of the image of culture.

In conclusion, it should be noted that in contemporary Polish linguistics, the anthropological and cultural direction is more significant, more clearly exposed. This is facilitated by intentional institutional activities of groups of scientists concentrated in university centers in Lublin, Wrocław and Cracow. Ethnolinguistics is implemented in Poland as part of several long-term projects; there is an Ethnolinguistics Section in the Linguistics Committee of the Polish Academy of Sciences, and an Ethnolinguistics Committee in the International Committee of Slavists (which used to be headed by the late Jerzy Bartmiński for many years). Over 20 ethnolinguistic conferences have been held in Poland in recent years.

Polish researchers, to a greater extent, continue the tradition of this subfield of linguistics, originated by P. Smoczyński, the author of the *Questionnaire for the Dialect Atlas of Lubelszczyzna*. Contemporary Polish publications still refer to the folk language, although the scope of research is constantly expanding. In Eastern Europe, there is a noticeable tendency towards conceptological research, while ethnolinguistics is in the background.

Final remarks. Cultural linguistics (ethnolinguistics, linguoculturology) as a scientific direction has been actively developing in Poland and Eastern Europe. Both traditions have much in common, but also many differences. The differences result from the specificity of each cultural situation, and, above all, from the research tradition, related to the history of the nation (which is extremely important in the case of humanities and social sciences). A comparative description of research practices in both regions brings significant conclusions not only in a theoretical and metalinguistic perspective, but also in a practical and heuristic perspective: the awareness of alternative solutions to the problem of the relationship between language and culture, regardless of whether they can be considered correct or incorrect. Reflections of this kind are valuable because they enrich the research practices of each side, and scholars discover new possibilities of verifying hypotheses, as well as the possibility of putting forward new ones.

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