



The linguocultural image of raspberries (*Rubus idaeus*) in Polish

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Research

Abstract

Background: The aim of the article is to reconstruct the linguocultural view of raspberries (*Rubus idaeus*) in the Polish language and folk culture based on the assumptions of the cognitive definition. The popular account of raspberries found in folklore introduces the ethnolinguistic methodology, which is used to describe the world of plants by the Lublin-based team of researchers under the guidance of Jerzy Bartmiński – the originator and editor of *Słownik stereotypów i symboli ludowych* [Dictionary of Folk Stereotypes and Symbols], published since the 1980s. The author shows that similar research – combining ethnobotany, linguistics, ethnography and folklore studies – has also been conducted in other Slavic countries, such as Russia, Serbia, Ukraine and Belarus.

Methods: Following the methodology adopted in the Lublin ethnolinguistic dictionary, the author reconstructs – based on the collected documentary material and using the cognitive definition method – the entry *malina* [raspberry] (*Rubus idaeus*) and arranges stereotypical judgments about this plant into separate semantic subcategories (facets). The reconstruction applies the panchronic approach, which allows to present the general characteristics of raspberries in Polish linguaculture.

Results: On the basis of the collected source material (lexicographic, folklore and ethnographic data) the cognitive definition of raspberries involves such semantic subcategories as: collections and complexes, appearance and properties, ripening and harvesting, location, vehicle, practical applications, magical and medicinal applications, equivalents, and symbolism. The reconstruction of the cognitive definition is preceded by the analysis of names, species and varieties, as well as ways of plant categorisation, according to the postulate of

the subjective reconstruction of the linguistic worldview.

Conclusions: In conclusion, the author presents the semantic “capsule” of raspberry (*Rubus idaeus*), containing the most important characteristics of the plant that are most firmly entrenched in the Polish language and Polish folk culture.

Keywords: ethnolinguistics, ethnobotany, cognitive definition, linguistic worldview, raspberry (*Rubus idaeus*)

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Background

Polish *malina* [raspberry] (*Rubus idaeus*) has already been described by ethnobotanists and linguists. Krzysztof Oklejewicz and Łukasz Łuczaj (2008) developed the characteristics of the folk system of classification and naming of plants belonging to the *Rubus* genus in Poland, based on data from botanical and ethnographic publications, while Elżbieta Balcerzowa (1966) examined the Polish names of raspberries and blackberries. However, described together with the blackberry (*Rubus*) through the prism of folk names, the raspberry has not received a thorough linguistic and cultural study that would also consider the magical and medicinal uses of this plant. Apart from the general statement that “raspberry is

one of the very frequent motifs in folk songs”, which can be found in *Słownik Adama Fischera* – Adam Fischer’s ethnobotanic dictionary (Kujawska *et al.* 2016: 229), the cited studies completely ignored the erotic symbolism of the plant present in folk songs. The essence of the popular way of perceiving raspberries in folklore is contained in Bolesław Leśmian’s poetic description from his work *W malinowym chruśniaku* [*In the Raspberry Thicket*], a fragment of which is quoted below:

W malinowym chruśniaku, przed ciekawych
wzrokiem
zapodziani po głowy, przez długie godziny
zrywaliśmy przybyłe tej nocy maliny.
Palce miałaś na oślep skrwawione ich sokiem.
[...]
Duszno było od malin, któreś, szepcząc, rwała,
a szept nasz tylko wówczas nacichał w ich woni,
gdym wargami wygarniał z podanej mi dłoni
owoce,
przepojone wonią twego ciała.
I stały się maliny narzędziem pieśniody
tej pierwszej, tej zdziwionej, która w całym niebie
nie zna innych upojeń, oprócz samej siebie,
i chce się wciąż powtarzać dla własnej dziwoży
(Leśmian 1992).

In the raspberry thicket, with our heads hidden
from the curious eye, long hours
we were picking fresh raspberries that arrived that
night.
Your fingers were randomly blood-stained with
their juice.
[...]
The air was stifling as you were picking
raspberries, whispering,
and our whisper subsided in their scent only then
when my lips took the fruit
from your fragrant hands.
And thus raspberries become a tool of ecstasy,
the first one, the surprised one, which in all
heaven
does not know any other pleasure but its own,
and wants to repeat itself for its own sake.

The objective of this article is to complement the works that have been previously published – it should provide readers with knowledge on the position of the raspberry (*Rubus idaeus*) in people’s world and what symbolic meanings it has for them. However, my examination of the ethnobotanic problem is conducted on the basis of the scientific apparatus developed within linguistics (ethnolinguistics), as my primary goal is to recreate the overall linguistic and cultural image of raspberries in Polish linguaculture.

Similar research, combining ethnobotany, linguistics, ethnography and folklore studies, has also been carried out in other Slavic countries, including Russia, Serbia, Ukraine and Belarus. For instance, in 2012 the last volume of *Славянские древности: Этнолингвистический словарь* (Slav Tol) was published in Moscow. The dictionary was initially edited by the founder of the Moscow ethnolinguistic school, Nikita I. Tolstoy, and after his death his work was continued by Svetlana S. Tolstoyova. The five volumes of the dictionary also contain entries describing traditional images of plants, inter alia, selected cereals, vegetables and other crops, trees, shrubs, flowers and herbs.

A seminal book in which ethnobotany and ethnolinguistics meet – both of these disciplines are linked by their special treatment of language, which encodes certain aspects of knowledge (Alexiades 2018) – is Valeriya Kolosova’s monograph (Kolosova 2009) entitled *Лексика и символика славянской народной ботаники. Этнолингвистический аспект*. In the book, according to the declaration of the author, ethnobotany is treated as part of ethnolinguistics – a scientific discipline that explores language through the prism of human consciousness, language immersed in practical and ritual context, encoded in mythological accounts (Kolosova 2009: 6). By analysing linguistic, folklore and ethnographic data, the author did not only point out the most important – from the point of view of people – characteristics of plants, but also reconstructed the ways of thinking about the plant world typical of traditional culture. The monograph includes analyses of folk phytonyms motivated by the names of human body parts (cf. Russian *бабы зубы* ‘coralroot’ (*Dentaria bulbifera*), *царские кудри* ‘martagon lily’ (*Lilium martagon*) or *пятипалечник* ‘cinquefoils’ (*Potentilla L.*)), which Kolosova used to show the anthropocentrism of colloquial lexis, and phytonyms derived from ethnonyms (Russian *вишня жидовская* ‘Chinese lantern’ (*Physalis alkekeng*), Ukrainian *tatnyk* ‘creeping thistle’ (*Cirsium arvense*), *žydivské krislo* ‘marsh thistle’ (*Cirsium palustre*), Czech *žid* ‘inedible mushroom’), which allowed the author to present the phenomenon of “xenomination”, i.e. the formation of linguistic units based on names of foreign ethnic groups.

The ethnobotanic problems are also addressed in the book on trees in Slavic culture, written by another Russian ethnolinguist Tatiana Agapkina (Agapkina 2019), the author of many plant entries in the already mentioned Moscow ethnolinguistic dictionary. In her monograph, apart from chapters devoted to linguocultural images of selected trees, there are also reflections on trees in folk medicine, beliefs, rituals and cultural practices or in folk demonology. The

Polish “equivalent” of Agapkina’s monograph is an ethnolinguistic study by Marzena Marczevska (2002), which is an attempt at recreating the essence of how selected trees function in Polish folk culture.

Interesting ethnolinguistic and ethnobotanical considerations can also be found in the sixth volume of the series “Acta Linguistica Petropolitana”, entitled *Этноботаника: растения в языке и культуре* (Kolossova & Ippolitova (ed.) 2010). The monograph contains articles on practical ethnobotanical issues and problems from the borderline area of ethnobotany and ethnography, e.g. folk phytonyms in selected Slavic languages (Dubrovina 2010) and Finnish (Brodski 2010), herbal medicine practices in Ukrainian Polesia (Ignatenko 2010), metaphors based on human-plant similarity (Kolosjko 2010) or contemporary Greek legends about the origin of plants (Sidneva 2010). A separate part of the monograph constitute articles devoted to linguocultural images of selected plants, such as carnation (*Dianthus*) (Nepop-Ajdačić 2010), violet (*Violet*) and heather (*Heather*) (Piekarczyk 2010), and horseradish (*Cochlearia armoracia*) (Szadura 2010) in Polish tradition, fir (*Abies alba*) in Belarusian folklore (Šved 2010), and betel (*Piper betle*) in Filipino folklore (Stanjukovič 2010). These studies are preceded by a theatrical article by the already mentioned Valeria Kolossova (Kolossova 2010) on the history of ethnobotany in Slavic countries.

There are obviously many more ethnobotanic works in the field of Slavic linguistics, but the mention of these few examples should suffice. The examples listed above demonstrate that the plant world and the relationship between that world and man remain a particular area of interest not only for ethnobotanists but also for linguists. Ethnolinguists and ethnobotanists are also linked by the special treatment of language and the emic perspective adopted in research, i.e. the study of a culture from the perspective of its users, which I described in an article devoted to the ethnobotanic character of the second volume of *Słownik stereotypów i symboli ludowych* [Dictionary of Folk Stereotypes and Symbols] published in Lublin (Kielak 2020).

Materials and Methods

The article refers to the concept of the linguistic worldview (henceforth LWV), which has been presented in Jerzy Bartmiński’s works (Bartmiński 1990, 2002, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2009, 2011a, 2016) and to the methods of LWV reconstruction developed by ethnolinguists from Lublin. The methodological tool used in this study is the cognitive definition, “the main goal of which is to capture the way an object is understood by speakers of a given language, i.e. the way that is socially entrenched, derives from

knowledge about the world, the categorisation of its phenomena, their characteristics and evaluation, all of which can be accessed through language and language use” (Bartmiński 1988: 169-170).

The cognitive definition (which I have discussed in more detail elsewhere, see Kielak 2020) is adopted in *Słownik stereotypów i symboli ludowych* [Dictionary of Folk Stereotypes and Symbols] (henceforth SSiSL, original title: *Słownik ludowych stereotypów językowych*, cf. Bartmiński 1980), published since 1980, which aims at reconstructing the traditional worldview based on stereotypes and symbols using ethnolinguistic and folklore methods (Bartmiński 1996: 9). Currently, using the cognitive definition method, the work is focused on the reconstruction of the images of plants preserved in language and culture. So far, four parts of the second volume of the dictionary have been published, including the definitions of selected cereals, vegetables, spices, industrial plants, flowers and herbs; four more volumes, devoted to fruit, coniferous and deciduous trees, shrubs and bushes and clusters of plants, as well as weeds and mushrooms are in preparation. One of the volumes will include the entry for raspberry (*Rubus idaeus*) (Kielak, forthcoming).

As the cognitive definition aims at a holistic description of reconstructed images (Niebrzegowska-Bartmińska 2014), linguistic, textual and “extralinguistic” data, i.e. folk beliefs and practices are analysed jointly. In this article, the cognitive definition of raspberries is reconstructed based on three types of data: (a) lexicographic data, extracted from dictionaries of Polish, phraseological dictionaries, dictionaries of synonyms and antonyms, dictionaries and atlases of dialects, and etymological dictionaries; (b) folklore data, for the raspberry these will include riddles; proverbs; wishing carols; wedding, courtship and love songs and chants; civil-status related and family songs; soldier, partisan and warrior songs; pastoral and profession-related songs; ballads and fairy tales; and written peasant poetry; (c) ethnographic data, i.e. records of beliefs and descriptions of practices, including materials from 18th, 19th and 20th-century ethnographic sources and those recorded in recent years by members of the ethnolinguistic team. In my analyses, I apply the panchronic approach (Łozowski 1999), which is not concerned with time divisions and allows for the presentation of certain generalised characteristics.

By using texts of folklore, specific manifestations of the linguistic system and “extralinguistic” data (folk beliefs and practices), it is possible to situate linguistic data in a broader cultural context. Capturing a given word in context is often a prerequisite for a correct analysis and interpretation; taking reference

to “ethnographic and anthropological studies [may prove necessary – OK] to be able to return to language by a detour” (Okoniowa 1994: 6).

The cognitive definition proposed by Jerzy Bartmiński allows for the arrangement of stereotypical judgements about the object being defined into semantic subcategories called facets. These are based on the conjunction of features which can be distinguished from the gathered material.

On the basis of the collected source material, the cognitive definition of raspberries consists of such semantic subcategories as collections and complexes, appearance and properties, ripening and harvesting, location, vehicle, practical, ritualistic, magical and medicinal applications, equivalents, and symbolism. The description of these subcategories is preceded by an analysis of names, species and varieties, as well as ways of categorising plants, in accordance with the postulate of the subjective reconstruction of the linguistic worldview.

The cognitive definition of raspberries (which in its full version will be published in the relevant volume of SSiSL) consists of (i) the explication made on the basis of the collected documentation (i.e. the “proper” part of the definition) and (ii) the genologically arranged documentation, both of which are preceded by the “capsule”, containing the most important, most strongly entrenched characteristics of raspberries, as well as a general cultural introduction, which allow for the juxtaposition of Polish worldview of the defined objects with the worldviews prevalent in other world cultures. For the purposes of this article, the explication and documentation parts are merged, with relevant fragments of texts included directly in the explication. In addition, the general cultural introduction is omitted while the “capsule” is provided at the end of the article. Also, the analysis does not follow a typical dictionary description, which is limited in the illustrative material to the most expressive examples and devoid of any author’s comments.

Results and Discussion

Raspberry (*Rubus idaeus*)

Names, species and varieties; categorisation; collections and complexes

The general Slavic name *malina* [raspberry] (Spólnik 1990: 67), recorded in Polish since the 15th century, is linked to such words as Lithuanian *mėlynas* ‘blue’, *mėlynė* ‘blueberry, blackberry’, Greek *mélas* ‘black’, Latin *mulleus* ‘purple’, Old Indic *malinā-* ‘dirty, black’ (Boryś 2005: 311-312, cf. also Balcerzowa 1966: 50); and is reduced to the PIE root **mel(ə)-*, denoting different colours, especially dark shades (Boryś 2005: 312), “from the proto-word denoting any shade of ‘blue’, not ‘red’, but such a change in name is not

unusual” (Brückner 1927/1970: 319); the name therefore derives from the colour of the ripe fruit of this bush (Boryś 2005: 312). According to another etymological hypothesis, the name of the plant is derived from the unpreserved Proto-Slavic word **maľb* ‘a single raspberry stem’, ‘a branch with edible fruit’ (Bańkowski 2000: 2/130), from PIE **māl*, preserved in Latin *malus* ‘apple tree’, *malum* ‘apple’ (Długosz-Kurczabowa 2008: 392, cf. also Bańkowski 2000: 2/130); some etymologists associate the name with the indigenous morpheme **mal-*, present in the adjective *mały* [small], this is possibly motivated by the fact that raspberry fruit consists of small particles (Długosz-Kurczabowa 2008: 392).

In Polish regional dialects raspberries are referred to as *manie* (Karłowicz *et al.* 1952-1953: 2/873), *kosmatki* [*kosmaty* = hairy] – due to fine hair on the fruit (Kujawska *et al.* 2016: 229), although the use of this name with regard to raspberries raises objections of some researchers (Balcerzowa 1966), who relate it with gooseberries. In folk songs the name is often diminutivised as *malineczki* (cf. e.g. Dabrowska 1904: 167); raspberry bush: *maliniak*, *malinnik* (Paluch 1988: 63), *malëničë*, *malënovičë* (Sychta 1967–1976: 3/41).

Although both raspberries and blackberries are considered to be bears’ delicacy, in Polish culture this was reflected only in the folk names of blackberries, cf. *niedźwiedzie* [bears] (Lin SJP 2/567) or *miedwiedyny* (Pelc SGLub 5/297). It is also possible that the “bears”-related names for blackberries, which also appear in other Slavic languages (cf. e.g. Czech *medvědice*, *nedvědice*, *medvezinka* ‘*Rubus caesius*’ (Kolossova 2017: 99)), are motivated not so much by culinary tastes but by the dark colour of the fruit (Kolossova 2017: 99, cf. also Kolossova 2012, 2014), which would explain the lack of such names in relation to raspberries.

The most common variety of the raspberry is the red raspberry (*Rubus idaeus*), which in Polish is also known as *malina pospolita*, *malina właściwa* [lit. common raspberry, proper raspberry] (Karłowicz *et al.* 1952–1953: 2/858). A less popular variety is *malina kamionka* [stone bramble] (*Rubus saxatilis*) – a small plant with small fruit (Oklejewicz & Łuczaj 2008: 204), growing in rocky, stony places, referred to in Polish dialects as *kamienka*, *kościanka*, *kocianka* (Karłowicz *et al.* 1952–1953: 2/858), *kościenica*, *kościannica*, *kostki*, *kościanoczki*, *kamyki*, *kamieniówki*, *kamiuszczka*, *kęmiunka* (Oklejewicz & Łuczaj 2008: 204), *ostrężyna skalna* (Karłowicz *et al.* 1952–1953: 2/858); in Kashubia: *skórcová jagódka*, from *skórc* ‘starling’ (Sychta 1967–1976: 5/57). Dictionaries also distinguish *malina moroszka* [cloudberry] (*Rubus chamaemorus*), called

moroszka, moruszka, mroszka (Karłowicz et al. 1952–1953: 2/1043).

However, I do not differentiate between those species in the provided cognitive definition of the raspberry, since the reconstructed entry adopts the point of view of an average Polish speaker and user of folk culture. In the extracted source material, the examined plant is simply called raspberry, which confirms the observations made by Łukasz Łuczaj, who wrote that it is difficult to differentiate between individual plant species, in practice it can be done only by specialists, and for this reason the folk taxonomy resorts to genus names, without distinguishing individual species within the genus (Łuczaj 2008: 44-46).

In the collected source material, the raspberry is categorised as a *bush* (commonly), *fruit bush* (Karwicka 1979: 50); it belongs to *berries* because “all fruits i.e. cherries, sour cherries, strawberries, raspberries, currants, gooseberries are commonly called *berries* by people” (Gustawicz 1882: 210); hence in courtship songs, alongside other berries picked by girls: blackberries (*Rubus*) (Dygacz 1987: 313-314) or cranberries (*Vaccinium oxycoccus*), called *żurozie* (Krzyżaniak & Pawlak 2002: 4/190).

In texts of folklore, raspberries are combined (form collections) with other edible plants growing in the forest (and orchard), e.g. in a poem written by a peasant poet: *Zbieram grzyby i maliny, / i poziomki i jeżyny, / wszystko to od Ciebie mam, / co ja Tobie za to dam* [I collect mushrooms and raspberries, / and strawberries and blackberries, / all this is from you (=God), / what can I give you for it] (Niewiadomski 1994: 38); in a story, goddesses prepare a feast with *poziomki, maliny, jeżyny, orzechy i wszelkie owoce, jakie w puszczy dojrzewały* [strawberries, raspberries, blackberries, nuts and all the fruits that ripened in the forest] (Łęga 1958: 13-14). In a wedding song, the bride leaving her family home says goodbye to *wiśnie w sadzie, drzewa, maliny* and *jagody w lesie* [sour cherry trees in the orchard, trees, raspberries, and berries in the forest] (Szymańska 2012: 1/477).

In wedding, love and civil status-related songs, the raspberry is accompanied by the viburnum (*Viburnum*), creating a “twin” collection (*kalina-malina*), e.g. *Kalina, malina, czerwona jagoda; straciła wianeczek dziewczyna nieboga* [Viburnum, raspberry, red berry; the poor girl lost her garland] (Lięga & Stoiński 1938: 607); *Kalina, malina, zakalili wode, wzieni mi wianusek i moją urode* [Viburnum and raspberry made the water cloudy, they took my garland and my beauty] (Stoiński 1964: 229). The co-occurrence of the raspberry and the viburnum should not come as a surprise – in folk awareness there are

many similarities between these plants – red raspberries and red viburnum fruit symbolise girl’s beauty, and in folk erotic songs – a girl’s “fruit”, i.e. her virginity; the viburnum grove, similarly to the raspberry thicket, is a place of love for the lovers in songs.

Appearance and properties

The raspberry similarly to the blackberry, is a thorny bush. Raspberry bushes grow in clusters; raspberry bushes have numerous dialectal names, e.g. *malinioki, malinisko, maliniocysko* (Kaś 2015–2018: 6/22), *malinowie* (Karłowicz et al. 1952–1953: 2/858).

The fruit is small (Dąbrowska 1904: 167), sweet and fragrant. The Polish language registers primarily its red colour. The adjective derived from *malina* [raspberry] – *malinowy*, apart from its relational meaning (*sok malinowy, nalewka malinowa* [raspberry juice, raspberry liqueur]), has a qualitative meaning, e.g. *malinowy* ‘having the colour characteristic of a ripe raspberry fruit; pinkish red’ (Doroszewski 1958-1969: 4/404), ‘intense red’ (Kaś 2015-2018: 6/22), *kolor malinowy* [raspberry colour] ‘amaranth, crimson, red tint’ (Skorupka 1967-1968: 1/418), hence: *jabłko malinowe* [raspberry apple] ‘a variety of apple tree’, *rabarbar malinowy* [raspberry rhubarb] ‘a variety of rhubarb with red peel and flesh’ (Doroszewski 1958-1969: 4/405), *malinowe usta* [raspberry mouth] ‘red’ (Skorupka 1967-1968: 1/418).

The red colour of raspberry fruit is found in derivatives: *malëna* ‘a girl with ruddy cheeks’, *malinka* ‘a boy or a girl, especially in a red dress’ (Syhta 1967-1976: 3/41), *malinka* ‘hickey, a reddening of the skin left after a passionate kiss’, ‘a red candy in the shape of raspberry fruit, stuffed with jam’ (Zgótkowa 1999: 169), *Malina* ‘a name given to a cow of red colour’ (Wietrzyk 2011: 84), ‘a red-coloured cow, i.e. with a ripe raspberry-coloured coat’ (Warchoń 2007-2016: 2/172), *Malinka* ‘a completely red cow’ (Warchoń 2007-2016: 2/173); furthermore: *Malina, Malinka* ‘a mare of pale red colour’ (Warchoń 2007-2016: 1/209), *Malina* ‘a pig with pink or reddish bristles resembling raspberry fruit’ (Warchoń 2007-2016: 4/204); *malinówka* ‘a big dark red apple with greenish or slightly pink flesh, crispy and not very juicy; also the tree on which these apples grow’ (Bańko 2000: 1/813), in medical terminology *malina* is ‘a red papillary birthmark, especially on the face’ (Karłowicz et al. 1952-1953: 2/858), *malinica* ‘yaws, a syphilis-like tropical infectious disease (...) with symptoms such as raspberry-coloured lesions on the face, hands, feet and genitals’ (Zgótkowa 1999: 168); *malinieć* ‘to take on the colour of raspberry fruit, pinkish red’ (Zgótkowa 1999: 169).

The red colour of raspberries is also emphasised in numerous texts of folklore, e.g. in a riddle about the raspberry: *Czerwona czapeczka, biała zatyczka* [Red cap, white stopper] (Ulanowska 1892: 209). In ballads, the red colour of raspberries is compared to blood: one of the sisters kills the other, returns home, and *czarny brwi błyszczą krople krwi, czy z kaliny, czy z maliny* [drops of blood shine on her black eyebrows, whether from viburnum or raspberry] (Wójcicki 1837/1974: 224-226, var. Krzyżaniak & Pawlak 2002: 2/75; Bartmiński 2011b: 4/16-17).

Ripening and harvesting

Raspberries, similarly to blackberries, are harvested at the end of June, between St. John's Day and St. Peter and St. Paul's Day, i.e. between 24 and 29 June (Kukier 1968: 141-142); in July (Gierała 1989: 87) – in the Lublin region it is said that “St. James (25 July) is walking in the forest and shaking raspberries off the twigs with his cane” (Kolberg 1884/1962: 172); later varieties – in August (Zawierucka 1987: 7), in September.

The time for collecting raspberries (as well as wild strawberries, currants and other berries) was considered to be the day of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary (2 July), called *Najświętszej Panny Jagodnej* [the Most Blessed Virgin Mary of Berries] (Kolberg O. 1885/1963: 185) or *święto Matki Boskiej Jagodnej* [the feast of Our Lady of Berries] (Gajowiak *et al.* 2012: 52). In the Lublin region it was believed that raspberries and other berries could be picked and eaten only after that day. This ban was particularly strictly observed by women “affected by misfortune such as the death of a child or a miscarriage”; they believed that “if by 2 July they did not collect and eat any forest berries, raspberries, currants, gooseberries and recommended their prayers to Our Lady of Berries, they would be freed of all misfortune and have healthy, strong children resistant to disease and witchcraft” (Gajowiak *et al.* 2012: 52).

Collecting raspberries (as well as blackberries, blueberries and mushrooms) used to be an opportunity to earn extra money. It was a typical feminine activity as evidenced by the names of persons picking raspberries which are preserved in Polish, cf. *maliniorka* ‘a woman picking raspberries’ (Kaś 2015–2018: 6/22).

The motif of collecting raspberries appears in numerous texts of folklore. In love songs, a girl *idzie na maliny* [goes to pick raspberries] (Bartmiński 2011b: 1/375; Krzyżaniak & Pawlak 2002: 4/190), she goes to *gaj, bo ją maliny wabią* [the grove because she is lured by raspberries] (Cercha 1900: 183), *po zorze maliny zbiera* [she picks raspberries at twilight],

zbiera maliny [she collects raspberries] and meets a boy (Bartmiński 2011b: 4/79, var. Szymańska 2012: 2/99), *zbiera maliny i daje je chłopcu* [she collects raspberries and gives them to the boy] (Szymańska 2012: 2/412, cf. also Dąbrowska 1904: 167), because *jej do smaku nie były* [they were not to her taste] (Cercha 1900: 183). The seemingly innocent maiden's expedition for raspberries – on the level of added meanings – refers to the girl's readiness for initiation, while collecting raspberries symbolises the very sexual act, which is linked to certain consequences: in a family song, the girl *posła na maliny i powiła syna* [went to pick raspberries and gave birth to a son] (Kopernicki 1888: 158). In courtship songs also boys can go *na maliny* [to pick raspberries] (Kopernicki 1888: 152; Stopka 1898: 90), a boy promises a girl *śłodkik malinecek* [sweet raspberries], for which she gives in return her *wionecek* [garland] (Kaś 2015-2018: 6/21); sometimes he says goodbye to a girl with words: *Ostaj, dziewczę, zdrowa, byś nie chorowała, żebyś te maliny zawsze wspominała* [Girl, stay healthy, don't get sick, so that you always remember these raspberries] (Bartmiński 2011b: 4/149).

In ballads and fables, the girl who manages to collect the largest amount of raspberries in the shortest time is considered to be the best candidate for a wife – in a folk ballad, the literary version of which was popularised by Juliusz Słowacki (“Balladyna”) during the Romantic period, a master send two sisters to pick raspberries: *która więcej malin zbierze, tę za żonę pan wybierze* [the one who collects more raspberries will become the master's wife] (Wójcicki 1837/1974: 224-226, var. Krzyżaniak & Pawlak 2002: 2/75; Bartmiński 2011b: 16-17); in a fable, the bachelor, desired by the three sisters, will marry the girl who first collects the raspberry basket (Bugiel 1893: 349-351). In each of the works, the youngest sister, who showed the greatest zeal in collecting raspberries and was the first to perform the task, dies at the hands of the eldest sister.

The motif of “testing” a candidate for a wife, present in ballads and fables, can be read on two levels – the literal and the figurative one. On the entirely literal level, the efficiency in picking raspberries was certainly an advantage of a “good wife”; after all, in traditional communities, women engaged in gathering (men – hunting), feeding the family with what they managed to collect. On the figurative level, a girl with a basket full of raspberries is a girl mature for love (which of course does not contradict the concept of a “good wife”).

Location and vehicle

Raspberries grow in forests (e.g. Krzyżaniak & Pawlak 2002: 2/191, Szymańska 2012: 2/412), in the

woods (Dąbrowska 1904: 167; Kotula 1970: 190-191), in love songs *w (zielonym) gaju* [in a (green) grove] (Cercha 1900: 183; Kolberg 1966: 437-438), *w dole* [in a pit] (Staniszewska 1902: 699; Pleszczyński 1893: 214), *nad wodą* [by the water] (Saloni 1908: 207); they are also cultivated in the garden (Szczawiej 1972: 813). The place where raspberries grow is called *maliniak*, *maliniec* in Polish (Karlłowicz *et al.* 1952–1953: 2/858).

The thick raspberry bushes are a space of love in Polish folklore, hence in Kashubia: *sedzec w malénach* ‘about a boy and a girl having a meeting’ (Sychta 1967–1976: 3/41). In love songs *malinowy las* [raspberry forest] is the place where the girl loses *wianeczek rozmarynowy* [a rosemary garland] (Ligęza & Stoiński 1938: 640); in fear of *nie pomion wianeczek na głowie* [the garland on her head getting crumpled] the girl *nie pozeni wołków w gęste malinowie* [will not drive the oxen into the thick raspberry bush] (Siarkowski 1880: 154). In soldier songs *malinowy laszek wycinają*, and *kochaneczka na wojnę szukają* [the raspberry forest is being cut down while the lover is being prepared for war] (Krzyżaniak & Pawlak 2002: 2/191). In a wedding song *jabłonia* [an apple tree] growing *w sadzie malinowym* [in the raspberry orchard] is a maiden ready to get married (Krzyżaniak *et al.* 1974: 108).

At the same time, in folk songs, raspberry bushes grow in the places where the murdered people rest: in a soldier song *w lesie, pod sosnami, gdzie rozkwitają maliny, tam młody żołnierz w grobie spoczywa, z daleka od swej rodziny* [in the forest, under the pine trees, where raspberries blossom, a young soldier rests in a grave, far away from his family] (Świrko 1971: 483); in a ballad, an older sister killed the younger one and *pod kierzem malin skryła* [hid the body under the raspberry bush], it is later a pipe made of a willow growing by the raspberry bush that sings a song about the murderess (Wójcicki 1837/1974: 224-226; Bartmiński 2011b: 4/16-17).

Practical, ritualistic, magical and medicinal applications

As observed by Łukasz Łuczaj, Poles are great *fructophiles* (Łuczaj 2011: 69), introducing this term in analogy to the concepts of *mycophilia* and *mycophobia*, proposed by Gordon and Valentina Wasson to define a culturally conditioned positive or negative attitude towards fungi (Wasson & Wasson 1957). Raspberry was once one of the most commonly used wild plants not only in Poland, but in the whole Slavic region (Łuczaj 2011: 111). Raspberries are eaten raw “as food supplement” (Burszta 1967: 397); the fruits are also used to make jams (Muszyński 1956: 88), juice (e.g. Karwicka 1979: 131; Paluch 1988: 63); dried raspberries were

used to make tea (Niebrzegowska 2000: 114), hence in a song: *Maliniok, borówniok na herbacie suse* [I dry raspberry and blueberry for tea] (Kaś 2015-2018: 6/445).

Raspberry fruit was also used to produce wine (Paluch 1988: 64), liqueur and vodka: the so-called *malinówki* (Bańko 2000: 1/813) and *malinioki* (Podgórski & Podgórska 2008: 168); raspberry juice was used to make mead, the so-called *maliniak* (Karlłowicz 1900-1911: 3/103). Perhaps due to this common use of raspberry fruit for making alcoholic beverages there was a saying: *zobaczyć się z Malinowskim / dostać pana Malinowskiego / uciąć Malinowskiego* [to see Mr Malinowski / to get Mr Malinowski / to take a nap at Mr Malinowski’s (Malinowski is also a real Polish surname)] ‘to get drunk, to vomit’ (Krzyżanowski 1969-1978: 2/376).

Raspberries are eagerly eaten by birds, e.g. in a song: *Przebierałach sobie mezy mładeńcami, jako ci ptaszki mezy malinami* [She was picky about young men, just as those birds are picky about raspberries] (Cinciąła 1885: 291). In Orava, raspberries were fed to restless (kicking) cows, it was also believed that they would protect the cows from *bosarka*, i.e. the witch (Kaś 2011: 1/556).

The motif of *eating raspberries* (symbolising the act of love) often appears in folk love songs. However, in order not to duplicate the same information, these issues will be discussed together with the symbolism of raspberries.

Raspberries used to have also other practical uses. For instance, paints were made from concentrated raspberry and beet juice (Trajdos 1978: 1/107). It was believed that cucumbers planted in a bush of raspberries or blackberries would be fresh all year round and they would be protected from cold (Rostafiński 1895: 120).

Raspberry twigs were added to the Easter palm (e.g. Gloger 1894: 60; Chętnikowa 1980: 15; Kłodnicki 2002: 186) and blessed in the church on Palm Sunday. Raspberry twigs were cut and put in the water a few days earlier so that they could bloom on Palm Sunday (Szymańska 2012: 1/356). Raspberries were also part of a collection of plants blessed on the day of Our Lady of Herbs (15 August) (Gustawicz 1882: 202).

It was believed that if a raspberry twig was put under the bed of a sick person, “this person would not be in despair at death” (Kosiński 1891: 49).

The Jews living in Poland believed that if a pregnant woman, having seen raspberries for the first time in a

given year, was astonished and at the same time touched her face or another part of her body with her hand, “the newborn baby would have an image of raspberry in the that place” (Lilientalowa 1905: 161).

Raspberries were also commonly used in folk medicine. Both in the past and nowadays raspberries are considered to be a home remedy which helps relieve fever and induce sweating (e.g. Kujawska *et al.* 2016: 229; Paluch 1988: 63). In the past, raspberry juice (Muszyński 1956: 88; Tylkowa 1989: 121) and extract from raspberry leaves (Tylkowa 1989: 121) were used for fever. Raspberry juice (Jastrzębski 1961: 147), an infusion from dried raspberry fruit (Rokossowska 1889: 188; Pleszczyński 1893: 121) or from dried leaves (Jastrzębski 1961: 147; Kaś 2011: 1/646) were recommended for sweating, but forest raspberries were considered better (more effective) than those cultivated in the garden (Kujawska *et al.* 2016: 229). Flowers, leaves and stems of raspberries were also sometimes used as a diaphoretic medicine (Paluch 1989: 151; Kujawska *et al.* 2016: 229).

Raspberry juice is used to treat a cold (e.g. Paluch 1988: 63).

In folk medicine, the raspberry was also used for coughing – the patient was recommended to drink raspberry juice (Paluch 1988: 63), a decoction of dried fruit (Rokossowska 1889: 188), brewed leaves (Kujawska *et al.* 2016: 229) or an infusion of stems and leaves (Paluch 1988: 63); fruit juice or an infusion of stems and leaves (Paluch 1988: 63) was considered a cure for runny nose and sore throat (Paluch 1988: 63).

Raspberries were used in the treatment of asthma and tonsillitis (Paluch 1989: 151); raspberry juice – in the treatment of bronchitis (Tylkowa 1989: 55), it was also recommended for measles patients *aby krosty wyszły na wierzch* [for the spots to go out] (Jastrzębski 1961: 147). In Kashubia, drinking raspberry juice was recommended for *ograżka*, i.e. body shaking cold and shivers (Sychta 1967-1976: 3/297). Raspberries were also used for heart and infectious diseases, e.g. flu and tonsillitis (Paluch 1988: 63).

Raspberries were sporadically used in folk veterinary medicine – the sick cattle were incensed with raspberry twigs (Gustawicz 1881: 123; Majewski & Jarecki 1903: 315).

It is worth mentioning here that individual colours have their own cultural symbolism, e.g. white is associated with milk, yellow – with fire and gold, red – with fire and blood (Libera 1987; Kolosova 2009). The symbolism of individual plants associated with

colour was of great importance in folk medicine, e.g. “yellow” plants were used to treat jaundice – the sunflower (*Helianthus annuus*) was used for this purpose in Serbia (Kolosova 2009: 18), in Poland – the marsh marigold (*Caltha palustris*) (Piątkowska 1894: 140); by contrast, “red” plants were commonly used to treat diseases associated with heart, blood and liver (Paluch 1989: 39), e.g. an infusion of flowers or fruit of the hawthorn (*Crataegus*) was used to treat heart diseases in Poland (Paluch 1989: 39), because it was said that “the hawthorn regulates the blood” (Tylkowa 1989: 119), the raspberry fruit was also, but less frequently, used for this purpose (Paluch 1988: 63). Similarly, the red raspberry fruit (red associated with fire, heat) could be used to treat fever or to induce sweating.

Equivalentents and symbolism

In folklore, plants have a sex – some plants symbolise a woman while others a man (Tolstoy 1995; Kolosova 2009). The raspberry – juicy, fresh and red – is in Polish a symbol of girl’s beauty, hence in idiomatic phrases, songs, fairy tales and stories there are fixed comparisons such as *dziewczynyna jak malina* [a girl like a raspberry]; *dziewczynyna z buzią jak malina* [a girl with a face like a raspberry] ‘a very pretty, robust, fine-looking girl’ (Skorupka 1967-1968: 1/418); cf. also in dialects *malëna* ‘a ruddy-cheeked girl’ (Sych SGKasz 3/41), *malinka* ‘a very pretty girl’ (Pluta 1973: 83).

In love songs, raspberries are interchangeable with plants associated with femininity, such as viburnum (*Viburnum*) and lily (*Lilium candidum*). In different variants of a popular song: *ja pójdę górą, a ty doliną, ja zakwitnę różą, a ty maliną* [I will go uphill, and you will walk in the valley, I will bloom as a rose, and you as a raspberry] (Malinowski 1900: 39), in place of the raspberry we may also find: *kalina* [viburnum] (Bartmiński 2011b: 4/469) or *lilija* [lily] (Kotula 1976: 425).

In folk songs red, sweet raspberries (similarly to other fruits – blackberries (*Rubus*) and berries (*Bacca*) (Szymańska 2012: 2/412)) symbolise the girl’s virtue. If we follow Jerzy Bartmiński’s idea that in folk erotic songs the love act is most often referred to by invoking three semantic fields: drinking water, destroying plants and picking fruit (Bartmiński 1974: 19-20), then we find requests to pick raspberries in songs – in a ballad, a robber asks a girl encountered in the forest to give him *słodkie maliny* [sweet raspberries] (Szymańska 2012: 2/633); in a love song, a girl asks *wianek malinowy aby nie opadał tej jesieni z głowy* [the raspberry garland not to fall off her head this autumn] (Kotula 1970: 445); *zbiwanie malin* [picking raspberries] and *dawanie ich chłopcu* [giving them to a boy] (Cercha 1900: 183; Dąbrowska 1904: 167; Szymańska 2012: 2/412), *darowanie koszyczka*

z *malinami* [giving a basket with raspberries] to a boy (Bartmiński 2011b: 4/275), less frequently – *obiecywanie dziewczynie słodkik malinecek* [promising a girl sweet raspberries] (Kaś 2015-2018: 6/21), *rozsypany malin* [scattering of raspberries] by a boy (Bartmiński 2011b: 4/79, var. Szymańska 2012: 2/99) symbolises a sexual act. *Opadanie malin* [dropping raspberries] and *blednące licka kochanecki* [lover's face turning pale] (Sadownik 1971: 143) mean the loss of virtue by a girl.

Since in folk culture, the sexual act was also associated with feasting, eating, devouring or preparing food (Wężowicz-Ziółkowska 1998: 86), in the symbolic language of songs, *zjadanie malin* [eating raspberries] by lovers (Bartmiński 2011b: 4/275; Szymańska 2012: 2/622), by a girl (Kopernicki 1888: 135; Ligęza & Stoiński 1938: 729), *kosztowanie* [tasting] them by a boy (Kolberg 2005: 171) are complex symbols of sexual ecstasy.

Conclusions

The adoption of the cognitive definition method allows for the description of raspberries that is significantly different from the concise scientific models of definitions, limited to the provision of necessary and sufficient information, which can be found in the dictionaries of Polish. The “capsule” for raspberries, which contains the most important, most strongly entrenched characteristics of raspberries, is as follows:

The raspberry is a bush with thorny branches and red, small fruits; it grows in forests but is also cultivated in home gardens. Tasty raspberries are used to make preserves, juice, wine and liqueur. Raspberry twigs were used to make Easter palms and garlands which were blessed on the day of Our Lady of Herbs. Raspberry fruits, leaves and branches are commonly used in folk medicine to treat colds, relieve a fever and induce sweating. Raspberry picking used to serve as an opportunity to earn extra money; the motive of raspberry picking appears in numerous texts of folklore, e.g. in ballads a man sends two sisters to collect raspberries: *która więcej malin zbierze, tę za żonę pan wybierze* [the one who picks more raspberries will become the man's wife]; in fairy tales during the raspberry picking, the eldest sister kills the youngest when the latter was first to collect a basket of raspberries.

In folklore, the raspberry, similarly to the viburnum (in wedding, love and civil status-related songs both form a combined “twin” complex: *kalina-malina* [viburnum-raspberry]), is regarded as a symbol of maiden/female beauty – in idiomatic expressions, songs, fairy tales and stories there appear fixed comparisons: *dziewczyna jak malina*

[a girl like a raspberry]; *dziewczyna z buzią jak malina* [a girl with a face like a raspberry] ‘a very pretty, robust, fine-looking girl’.

In love songs raspberries symbolise the girl's virtue: *collecting raspberries* and *giving them to a boy, giving a boy a basket of raspberries, scattering of raspberries* by a boy or *eating raspberries* by lovers symbolise a sexual act. In songs, thick raspberry bushes, a *raspberry forest/grove* are spaces of love, places where a girl loses *her garland*.

The explication of the raspberry, carried out on the basis of the collected documentation, allows to assume that raspberries were not used by people particularly frequently (apart from being used as food or in folk medicine). Perhaps that is why there are so few dialectal names for this plant. However, the cognitive definition of the raspberry contains also a distinctive “cultural” part of the plant's description which can be reconstructed on the basis of texts of folklore and, in particular, based on folk songs with different variants.

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List of abbreviations:

Slav Tol – *Славянские древности. Этнолингвистический словарь*. Edited by НИ Толстой, СМ Толста, СМ Толстая. Москва: Международные отношения. Vol. 1 (A–G) 1995; Vol. 2 (D–K) 1999; Vol. 3 (K–P) 2004; Vol. 4. (P–S) 2009; Vol. 5 (S–Ja) 2012; Россия.

SSiSL – *Słownik stereotypów i symboli ludowych*. Overall concept and chief editor: J Bartmiński, vice-editor: S Niebrzegowska-Bartmińska. Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej. Vol. 1: *Kosmos*, Part 1: *Niebo, światła niebieskie, ogień, kamienie* – 1996; Part 2: *Ziemia, woda, podziemie* – 1999; Part 3: *Meteorologia* – 2012; Part 4: *Świat, światło, metale* – 2012; Vol. 2: *Rośliny*, Part 1: *Zboża* – 2017; Part 2: *Warzywa, przyprawy, rośliny przemysłowe* – 2018, Part 3: *Kwiaty* – 2019, Part 4: *Zioła* – 2019; Poland.

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