OLEH TYSHCHENKO – OLGA IERMACHKOVA – MARIIA MALANIUK[1]

Nomination of extramarital relations in the language of traditional folk culture (based on the material of Slavic languages and cultures in comparison with English)

TYSHCHENKO, O. – IERMACHKOVA, O. – MALANIUK, M.: Nomination of extramarital relations in the language of traditional folk culture (based on the material of Slavic languages and cultures in comparison with English). Slavica Slovaca 56, 2021, No 2, pp. 205-225 (Bratislava).

Verbalization of the idea of family and matrimonial relations in different languages as well as the representation of underlying language and conceptual pictures of the world, cognitive, ethical and axiological senses and conceptions are directly related to the notion of anti-norm (adultery, breaking of marriage oaths, concubinage, etc.) and, in particular, to the conceptualization of the special status of children born within these relations (the illegitimate child). The latter are very often explicitly negatively marked and connoted or nominated by means of euphemisms. This article represents the frame-modeling of the concept of the "illegitimate child", and highlights the ways of its nomination in imagery and the main directions of linguistic conceptualization of anti-marriage in the Russian, Ukrainian, Belarusian, Polish, Czech and Slovak languages compared to English. It focuses on semantic phraseological filling of the corresponding subframes (phrases, stable word combinations, euphemisms, proverbs endowed with cultural symbolism, in particular stereotypes, beliefs, prohibitions and other folk conceptions). It reveals the existing semantic profiles and cultural codes that participate in the nomination of these ethnic cultural senses (existential, floral, landscape, spatial-locative, etc.). The description of Slavonic, in particular, Russian, Ukrainian, Polish, Czech and Slovak material requires applying the methodology of structural semantic modeling of phraseological units developed in Slavonic ethno-phraseology. We treat the anti-concept absence of marriage as opposite to the sphere of marriage (legal matrimonial relations) that encloses: The subframe of the birth of an illegitimate child in the unity of actional, objective and verbal codes in the cultural text and in dialectal phraseology; The complex of ethno-cultural conceptions connected to the natural marriage (linguistic and cultural image of the so called "living on faith", concubinage, especially the explication of the related symbolic function of things and realia.

Anti-concept, frame modeling, illegitimate child, wedlock, structural and semantic models, dialect phraseology, superstitions.

Introduction

Modern linguistic studies focus on the language image of the world shared by native speakers, on the relation of language and culture, language and mentality as well as the reflection of culture and national world perception in the language. This topic intensifies the scientific interest in the questions of ritual, ethno-cultural semantics of linguistic signs, their ability to represent the specificity of national world perception and cognitive structures of experience of a certain ethnos, and the interrelation of linguistic and intra-lingual factors in the structure of meaning to the reconstruction of deep semantics of rituals and beliefs. According to N. Tolstoy and S. Tolstaya, there is an

[1] Prof. Oleh Tyshchenko, DrSc., Department of Russian Studies, University of Ss. Cyril and Methodius in Trnava. Nám. Jozefa Herdu 577/2, Trnava, Slovakia; Mgr. Olga Iermachkova, PhD. Department of Russian Studies, University of Ss. Cyril and Methodius in Trnava. Nám. Jozefa Herdu 577/2, Trnava, Slovakia; Mariia Malaniuk, Senior Lecturer at the Department of Foreign Languages and Translation Studies, Lviv State University of Life Safety, 35, Kleparivska st., Lviv, 79000, Ukraine.

obvious "isomorphism between the verbal language and culture (traditional folk culture) explicable in terms of the similarity of their functions – cognitive, communicative, social etc. On the other hand – the language and culture function as complementary or duplicating each other phenomena: the same senses can be expressed either verbally, or by rituals, or by objects…".[2] Similar ideas are expressed in the works of E. Berezovich, who suggests that the content of ethno-cultural information is determined by a subjectively naïve world perception of the native speaker that bears ethnic, social and cultural implications rather than by the objective "photograph" of the reality. This information encompasses the basic coordinates of the world model (temporal, spatial, axiological, etc.) but is very selective (the line of semantically close elements includes ones that are culturally or linguistically marked, whereas the other may be deprived of such markers)… different fragments of the picture of the world have their own preferences: one type of knowledge and evaluations is likely to be represented in the "scattered" nominations, the other – in the folk text or in the ritual.[3] Considering all of the above, the scholars aim "to demonstrate the models and mechanisms of semiotisation, mythologization and evaluation of the time and space in oral folk tradition" (usually these mechanisms are universal for different genres). Research of this kind requires the implementation of achievements of cognitive anthropology, theory of nomination and motive studies, ethnosemantics, theory of cognitive definitions and profiling in the language and text.

Recently prominent ethnolinguists have made progress towards transferring methodologies from dialectal ethnolinguistics and comparative historical linguistics to cognitive and contrastive ones.[4]

Senses significant for the culture and for the individual as a subject of culture, as S. Tolstaya claims, can be represented by means of different codes, each having its own special mechanisms of structuring and conceptualization of a certain sense. And only the whole unity of forms that represent these senses is able to recreate the entity which we can call the element of the mental world of the concept. On the other hand – the language and culture function as complementary or duplicating each other phenomena: the same senses can be expressed either verbally, or by rituals, or by objects.[5]

A brief history of marriage and the illegitimate child in Slavic languages

It is worth mentioning that in one of our works we suggested the frame modelling of the sphere of marriage in Slavonic languages (in Russian, Ukrainian, Polish and Slovak proverbs, sayings, and folk beliefs from a typological aspect). The basis of the modelling of evaluative senses is created by the attributive frame (MARRIAGE – QUALITY) developed in the system of subframes. The priority in their analysis is given to those that represent the choice of the marriage partner, successful or unsuccessful marriage, an equal marriage or misalliance, the leadership in the family, the peculiarity of male and female behavior manifestations in the family life (and the motives of a leader or a submissive partner.[6]

---

[2] Толстая, С. М.: Пространство слова. Лексическая семантика в общеславянской перспективе. Москва: Индрик, 2008.

[3] Березович, Е. Л.: Язык и народная культура: Этнолингвистические исследования. Москва: Индрик, 2007, p. 9.

[4] Bartmiński, J.: Etnoligwistyka słowiańska – próba bilansu. In: Etnolingwistyka, T. 16, 2004, p. 9-27; Bartmiński, J.: Aspects of Cognitive Ethnolinguistics. London: Oakville Equinox, 2009; Голубовська, I. О.: Етнічні особливості мовних картин світу. Київ: Логос, 2004, p. 284; Мокиенко, В. М.: К сопоставительной этнофразеологии украинского, белорусского и русского языков (лингвистические и этнологические аспекты формулы отказа). In: Беларусістыка, №1, 1999, p. 24-39; Рут, М. Э.: Образная номинация в русской ономастике. Москва: Издательство ЛКИ, 2008; Wierzbicka, A.: Cross-Cultural Pragmatics. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co, 2003. 502 p.; Жаботинская, С. А.: Концептуальный анализ: типы фреймов. In: Вісник Черкаського університету. Серія: Філологічні науки, 11, 1999, p. 12-25.

[5] Толстая, С. М.: Пространство слова. Лексическая семантика в общеславянской перспективе. Москва: Индрик, 2008, p. 333.

[6] Воркачев, С. Г.: Счастье как лингвокультурный концепт. Москва: Гнозис, 2004. 236 p.

A. Babicheva, meanwhile, suggested the linguistic cognitive modelling of the frame wedding as a multilayer taxonomic and dynamic entity in the Russian and English linguistic cultures. She claims that this frame consists of a set of subframes (PRE-EVENT, POST-EVENT) and the slots (place of the event, roles of the participants, preparations for the ceremony, wedding reception, venue of the party, etc., with the corresponding loci and attributes). She also pointed to the transformation and the dynamics of certain frames and slots (the ceremony of matching has been considerably reduced or eliminated, girls' night or bachelor party, parents' blessing, bride price/dowries, wedding presents, etc.).[7] Slovak linguist L. Gajarský examines the concept "family" in the Slovak and Russian languages and phraseology from gender perspectives.[8] The Bulgarian ethnographer M. Kitanova suggested the motivational analysis of nominations denoting the illegitimate child in Bulgarian dialects and argues that different cultural codes – corporeal, phytomorphic, zoomorphic, etc. are applied.[9] While treating the notions of spinster and out of wedlock motherhood the Slovak ethnologist K. Beňová considers them equal since they manifest the phenomenon of social stigmatization. These two examples expose two statuses, two extremes, two sides of radical social marginalization, both being strictly sanctioned. A single mother breaks the norm by a premature loss of virginity, i.e. a symbolic purity, a spinster – by preserving virginity and failing to perform her basic social role of maternity.[10]

S. Tolstaya suggested a wide range of nominations related to the notion of foundling and, in particular, nicknames and anthroponyms such as foundling (naida) both existing in local dialects and fixed in different Slavonic languages.[11] The works of L. N. Vinogradova in particular represent a rich ground for case studies on the basis of material collected in Polissia region.[12] S. Tolstaya in her article "Where babies come from" suggested the reconstruction of the model "to find + the location or to bring to + location".[13] M. Ugriumova analyses lexical units representing the conception of a child in respect to the semantics of innateness – strangeness in Middle Priob'ye's patois.[14]

This topic was further addressed by phraseologists[15] who in order to analyze these and similar senses applied the methodology of structural semantic modelling approved by studies of the phraseology of different Slavic languages. Thus, the Belarusian scholar V. Koval made an attempt at the structual semantic modeling of phrases indicating extramarital relations in the Belarusian and other Slavonic languages. Based on rich ethno-cultural material that encompasses beliefs, mythology, charms, wedding traditions and rituals as well as the symbolic function of artefacts and realia in the language of national culture, she analyzed the inner forms of cultural and

[7] Бабичева, А. С.: Фрейм «свадьба» в английской и русской лингвокультурах. Диссертация на соискание ученой степени кандидата филологических наук. Волгоград: Волгоградский государственный педагогический университет, 2007, p. 4.

[8] Gajarský, L.: Koncept rodina v ruskom a slovenskom paremiologickom obraze sveta. In: Acta Rossica Tyrnaviensis IV: zborník štúdií Katedry rusistiky Filozofickej fakulty Univerzity sv. Cyrila a Metoda v Trnave. Brno: Tribun EU, 2019.

[9] Китанова, М.: Дети с особым статусом в болгарской традиционной семье: анализ номинаций в свете оппозиций «свой-чужой». In: Научный диалог, 9 (45), 2015, p. 31-52.

[10] Beňová, K.: Žena v tradičnej kultúre Slovenska: menštruácia, panenstvo, materstvo (so zameraním na nečistotu a tabu). In: Antropowebzin, 3, 2010, p. 161-168.

[11] Толстая, С. М.: Из полесской лексики: нашлось дитя. In: Український діалектологічний збірник. Київ: Довіра, 1997, p. 290.

[12] Виноградова, Л. Н.: Откуда берутся дети? Полесские формулы о происхождении детей. In: Славянский и балканский фольклор. Этнолингвистическое изучение Полесья. Москва: Индрик, 1995, p. 173-188.

[13] Толстая, С. М.: Пространство слова. Лексическая семантика в общеславянской перспективе. Москва: Индрик, 2008.

[14] Угрюмова, М. М.: Константы народной культуры в языковом воплощении представлений о ребенке (на материале говоров Среднего Приобья). In: Вестник Томского государственного университета. №359, p. 25-27.

[15] Коваль, В. И.: Фразеология народной духовной культуры в деривационно-семантическом аспекте. Диссертация на соискание ученой степени доктора филологических наук. Минск: Белорусский государственный университет, 1999; Ужченко, В. – Ужченко, Д. (ред.). Фразеологічний словник східнослобожанських і степових говірок Донбасу. Луганськ: Альма-матер, 2005.

ceremonial idioms as they function in the structure of several correlated and interrelated structural-semantic models.[16] Imagery characterizing nominations of a euphemistic type related to procreation and sexual intercourse occupy the main position in the study: Rus. *тайменя поймать* – [*to catch taimen*], Belarus. *рой улавіць* – [*to catch a swarm*]; Rus. *гороху объесться* – [*to overeat peas*], Belarus. *з'есці павука* – [*to eat a spider*] – "to bear an out of wedlock child" and others.[17] Among 40 discussed models special attention has been given to the following ones "**to catch (to eat, to overeat oneself) + a thing with a productive symbolism = to become pregnant (to give birth to an out of wedlock baby)**".[18] Alongside these general "wedding related", in Gura's terms,[19] ritual and ethnic cultural, symbolic senses, the topic of the illegitimate child, the ways and means of his nominations, and his connection with ancient traditions and beliefs in national folk culture, languages and dialects have been comprehensively analyzed: in particular the image of the mother of a bastard and loss of virginity, and the related prohibitions, regulations, and stereotypes of behavior reflected in folk culture, rituals and phraseology.

Ukrainian phraseologist D.Uzhchenko came to the conclusion that such designations can form an integral model of figurative nomination typologically similar to the motif of having a baby, especially in conversation with small children. This semantic-derivational locative model Ukr. *найшли в капусті* – [*to find in cabbage*], etc., as demonstrated by Uzhchenko, is represented among the Slavs by numerous synonymous variants-euphemism: Ukr. *у щавлі найшли (знайшли)* – [*found in sorrel*]; *під ялинкою знайшли* – [*found under a Christmas tree*]; *купили на ярмарці* – [*bought at a fair*]; *у ярку найшли (знайшли)* – [*found in a ravine*]; *найшли (знайшли) на баштані* – [*found in a watermelon plantation*]; *у буряках найшли (знайшли)*– [*found in a bed of beetroots*]; *серед гарбузів (знайшли, сидів)* – [*found/was sitting among pumpkins*]; *найшли (знайшли) у гарбузинні під листочком* – [*found among pumpkin stems and leaves*] and similar ones.[20]

According to Nikitina, with regard to the expression "children are found in cabbage", it should be emphasized that the verb *найти "to find"* is highlighted as the most frequently used and the most stable one of all recorded,[21] and it connotes a certain outflow of surprise and spontaneity.

We argue that the complex of these ethno-cultural nominations still remains scarcely described in different languages and cultures (unlike the concepts of MARRIAGE and WEDDING in general) with regard to the modern lingual-cognitive and ethno-linguistic methods mentioned above.

In this paper we address the conceptual sphere of extramarital relationships in their versatile connections with the actional code – the birth of an illegitimate child, the ways of his nomination and evaluation in the language of the traditional folk culture (metaphors, euphemisms, phrases, stable word combinations, proverbs, stereotypes and beliefs encoded in the context of different languages and cultures). One circle of nominations and cultural conceptions (which we term as subframes related to the symbolic function of the artefacts in space and time and with other

[16] Коваль, В. И.: Фразеология народной духовной культуры в деривационно-семантическом аспекте. Ibid.
[17] Коваль, В. И.: Фразеология народной духовной культуры в деривационно-семантическом аспекте. Ibid.
[18] Коваль, В. И.: Фразеология народной духовной культуры в деривационно-семантическом аспекте. Ibid.
[19] Гура, А. В.: Брак. In: Славянские древности: этнолингвистический словарь. Том.1 (А-Г). Москва: Международные отношения, 1995.
[20] Вархол, Н. – Івченко, А. (ред.): Фразеологічний словник лемківських говірок Східної Словаччини. Братіслава-Пряшев: Словацьке педагогічне видавництво в Братіславі, 1991.
[21] Виноградова, Л. Н.: Откуда берутся дети? Полесские формулы о происхождении детей. In: Славянский и балканский фольклор. Этнолингвистическое изучение Полесья. Москва: Индрик, 1995, p. 173-188.

cultural codes and profiles – floral, objective, etc.) is linked to the semantics of concubinage, the other one – with the textual and phraseological reflection of people who failed to marry within the due time (celibacy, singleness) including some symbolic ways of punishment for the celibacy (these and similar phenomena constitute a special subtype of the discussed frame).

Concept is a constituent of culture; it aggregates cultural information and provides the clue for its interpretation. The approaches to the comprehension of a concept's structure and the ways of its description differ depending on how the essence of the concept is understood and its typological characteristics. Frame modelling is a special cognitive mode of investigation, which helps to represent a considerable volume of hierarchically organized information about a certain situation or phenomenon in the most concentrated form.

The aim and objectives of the article

The defined **aim** presupposes the solution of the following **tasks**:

1. to define the common and ethnically specific traits of the analyzed concept objectivation within the conceptual sphere of extramarital relationships; the study was based on the micro texts of culture with the consideration of culturally specific meanings of phraseological units, proverbs and sayings, stable comparisons in Slavonic traditions (in the Russian, Ukrainian, Belarusian, Polish, Czech and Slovak languages);

2. to represent the conceptual sphere of extramarital relations in the compared languages through 3 basic subframes and perform a comprehensive analysis of imagery-metaphoric, phraseological and symbolic representations of the concept of illegitimate child, extramarital relations (natural marriage, out of wedlock pregnancy, etc.) in the language of traditional folk culture, folk beliefs, and mythological conceptions of the ancient Slavs;

3. to clarify the national and cultural specificity of verbalization of certain structural-semantic models of "the illegitimately born child" in Czech and Slovak phraseology, euphemisms, proverbs and sayings with consideration of image-semantic and motivational structure of these cultural signs;

4. to describe the means of lexical and phraseological objectivation of these relations in different local traditions that verbalize corresponding fragments of the conceptual sphere "family relations", for example, marital infidelity, adultery, misconduct, punishment for the loss of virginity (symbolic function of ritual attributes), as well as other motivating vectors in semiotic space.

Methodology and theoretical framework

The theoretical premises of this study are as follows: in accordance with the general postulates of Slavonic (Russian and Polish) ethno-linguistics, cognitive semantics and anthropology the article suggests the reconstruction of historical, etymological and epistemological layers of the concept ILLEGITIMATE CHILD, analyses its notional, historical-etymological, evaluative, imagery-metaphorical components[22] and examines the basic semantic motivational models represented mainly in dialectal and regional phraseology of the compared languages. Developing the concepts' taxonomy, A. Prykhodko points to the fact that the semantic space of the concept is situated on the axiological scale graduated by the poles of "good" and "bad". i. e. between the zone of the Norm (neutral evaluation) as a starting point and the Ideal (the pole of the positive

---

[22] Воркачев, С. Г.: Счастье как лингвокультурный концепт. Москва: Гнозис, 2004, 236 p.; Приходько, А. Н.: Концепты и антиконцепты. Днепропетровск: Белая Е.А, 2013.

evaluation).[23] Some concepts can be opposed to their negative correlates (antagonists) – anti-concepts. Cognitive scientists treat the anti-concept differently: as an antonym to the name of the other concept or as a semantic opposite of the concept.[24] So, according to Nikitina concepts are grouped in unities where they are organized according to the principles of contraposition and binarity. In this context the Ukrainian researcher A. Prykhodko implies the notion of anti-concepts (i.e. concepts that are opposite to basic ones).[25]

Z. Popova and I. Sternin consider the frame as a type of concept, a part of the organized system of experience reflecting the reality. They define it as "a comprehended in the unity of its constituent parts multi componental concept, volumetric notion, a set of knowledge about a certain object or phenomenon".[26]

S. Zhabotynska considers that all frame structures are traced in the semantic of syntax, and the information structured by one frame can be represented by means of another one.[27]

We treat the anti-concept ABSENCE OF MARRIAGE (in Prykhodko parlance) as opposite to the sphere of MARRIAGE (legal matrimonial relations) that encloses: 1. The subframe of birth of an illegitimate child in the unity of actional, objective and verbal codes in the cultural text and in dialectal phraseology; 2. The complex of ethno-cultural conceptions connected to the natural marriage (linguistic and cultural image of the so called "living on faith", concubinage, especially the explication of the related symbolic function of things and realia; 3. The subframe that includes the nomination of people who fail to marry within the due time (the sphere of celibacy, singleness) which can be related to the close periphery of the analyzed phraseological semantic field of the conceptual sphere ANTI-MARRIAGE. We argue that the complex of these ethno-cultural nominations still remains scarcely described in different languages and cultures (unlike the concepts of MARRIAGE and WEDDING in general) with regard to contemporary lingual-cognitive and ethno-linguistic methods.

The models of ethno-cultural semantics nomination in the language of traditional Slavonic folk culture are represented in the works of E. Beriezovich, S. Tolstaya, E. Rut and other scholars. E.Rut suggests a hierarchy of image notional spheres that are created based around the principle of anthropomorphic nominations of things and the environment and takes the following form: human – family – dwelling – outer world.[28] The description of the Slavonic, and in particular Russian, Czech and Slovak material requires applying the methodology of the structural-semantic modelling of phraseological units developed in the Slavonic ethno-phraseology[29] and other). A. Ivchenko described in detail several structural semantic phraseological matrices in the areal-typological and derivational aspects in the Ukrainian dialectal continuum, among which special attention was paid to "extramarital affairs and adultery". The analysis of cognitive experience (social and individual) related to the evaluation and categorization in the discussed conceptual sphere presupposes that the technique of cognitemes,[30]

[23] Приходько, А. Н.: Концепты и антиконцепты. Днепропетровск: Белая Е.А, 2013, p. 67.
[24] Приходько, А. Н.: Концепты и антиконцепты. Днепропетровск: Белая Е.А, 2013.
[25] Приходько, А. Н.: Концепты и антиконцепты. Днепропетровск: Белая Е.А, 2013, p. 66.
[26] Попова, З. Д. – Стернин, И. А.: Язык и национальная картина мира. Воронеж: Истоки, 2002, p. 23.
[27] Жаботинская, С. А.: Концептуальный анализ: типы фреймов. In: Вісник Черкаського університету. Серія: Філологічні науки, (11), 1999, pp. 12-25.
[28] Рут, М. Э.: Образная номинация в русской ономастике. Москва: Издательство ЛКИ, 2008.
[29] Івченко, А. О.: Українська народна фразеологія: ономасіологія, ареали етимологія. Харків: ФОЛІО, 1999, p. 235; Мокиенко, В. М.: К сопоставительной этнофразеологии, с. d., p. 24-39; Ужченко, В. Д.: Східноукраїнська фразеологія: Монографія. Луганськ: Альма-матер, 2003, 362 p.
[30] Алефиренко, Н. Ф.: Фразеология в свете современных лингвистических парадигм. Москва: Элпис, 2008. p. 44.

structural-semantic modelling of ethno-phrasemes should be addressed revealing their genesis and cultural symbolism).[31]

To fulfill this aim we appeal to the Slavic ethnographic texts and special dictionaries which include a) some beliefs, charms, or fortune-telling that help to represent the mental symbolism, in Tolstaya's terms, and correlates of false **marriage/non-marriage ideas**; b) the definitions of symbolic functions of objects, especially the embodiment of action and symbolic planes (material code, attributes, rituals and everyday symbols and artefacts).

In this respect it is worth mentioning the existence of common cognitemes in the typologically similar models applied for the nomination of false marriage and the illegitimate child in different linguistic cultures. For example, in the Czech language the unreliable, semi-legal marriage is realized through the stable expression *manželství na půl kola*, whose motivation transparently hints at the idea of deficiency, the part instead of the whole: *půl kola* – [*semicircle, half of the wheel*].[32] This very cognitive scheme "the part and the whole" is represented in the typologically similar, in terms of its inner form, Russian stable word combination *половинкин сын* – [*the son of the half*] "the child born out of wedlock" marked in the dictionary as ironic, humoristic, contemptuous.[33]

Analysing the main structural-semantic models that define the category of the illegitimate child and, more broadly, extramarital relations presented in the phraseology and proverbs in the compared languages, let us refer to the thesis of Zhuykova, who claims that "the phraseological system of language reflects the culturally national specificity of the nation and phraseological units are the source of both the linguistic and the cultural information, moreover, it is very often the only source of information that fixes the cultural practice of the past".[34]

Historical-etymological, epistemological layer and transformations of the concept BASTARD

As is well known, academician Stepanov defines the notional aspect of the concept and its initial form (etymology) as everything that makes the concept a fact of the culture; its history reduced to the basic forms: modern associations; evaluations, etc.[35] Note that almost all etymological dictionaries and dictionaries of euphemisms associate BASTARD's etymon with birth in an unusual place (Son of the saddle, although there are other cultural motivations of the original meaning, dated back to the Latin *bastard*). Addressing the cultural sources of the lexeme *bastard* in etymological versions of several languages reveals the following data. Thus, Fasmer's Dictionary registers: *бастрык – bastryk, бастрок – bastrok*, *бастрюк – bastriuk* "degenerate, illegitimate child", Voroniezh region (V. Dal'). Sobolievsliy relates the word *бастрыга – bastryga* (vulgar) to the same concept, pointing to the existence of this word in proper names since the 16th century.[36] *Bastard* "mixture or hybrid born from the animals or plants of two different genera"; *сумесок – sumesok, вымесок – vymiesok, выродок – vyrodok, ублюдок – ubliudok,*

[31] Жуйкова, М. В.: Динамічні процеси у фразеологічній системі східнослов'янських мов. Луцьк: Вежа, 2007; Коваль, В. И.: Фразеология народной духовной культуры, с. d.; Мокиенко, В. М.: К сопоставительной этнофразэ ологии, с. d., р. 24-39; Подюков, И. А.: Народная фразеология в зеркале народной культуры. Пермь: ПГПУ, 1991; Ужченко, В. Д.: Східноукраїнська фразеологія, с. d.

[32] Харлай, О. В.: Ономасіологічна характеристика мікросистеми ´ШЛЮБ´ у лінгвокультурологічному висвітленні (на матеріалі англійської, польської, чеської та української мов). Одеса: Південноукраїнський національний педагогічний університет імені К. Д. Ушинського, 2011, р. 110.

[33] Мокиенко, В. М. – Никитина, Т. Г. – Николаева, Е. К.: Большой словарь русских поговорок. Москва: ОЛМА Медиа Групп, 2007, р. 654.

[34] Жуйкова, М. В.: Динамічні процеси у фразеологічній системі східнослов'янських мов, с. d.

[35] Степанов, Ю. С.: Константы: Словарь русской культуры. Москва: Академический проект, 2004.

[36] Фасмер, М.: Этимологический словарь русского языка. Москва: Прогресс, 1964, р. 132.

тумак – tumak, межиумок – mezihyumok, болван – bolvan:[37] a human being of two different tribes, for example Russian and Chudʹ.

The word comes from the Old French *fils de bast*, *packsaddle child*, where the bast, or *packsaddle*, was often used as a bed by mule drivers. Its synonym, "bantling," seems to have parallel etymology, being rooted in the German *bank*, *bench*, with the implication that the child was begotten on a bench rather than in a bed.[38] In the German language, as Kluge claims, *Bastard* has the meaning of illegitimate child, metis, half-bred with the first written mentions (spelled *basthard*) dating back to the 13th century in High and Middle German. It was borrowed from the old French *bastard (another variant "file de bast")* with the meaning "an acknowledged son of a nobleman and an unmarried woman or a married woman of lower social status". The word was qualified as derogative and humiliating and most obviously derived from the expression "step-son, offspring" (as a cultivated side-shoot germinating from a noble root). Its basis is formed from cognate lexical elements that gave rise to the words *bâton* – [*sprout*] and *bâtir* – [*to build, to create*], however there are no unanimously accepted ideas concerning their origin.[39]

Without dwelling in detail on the historical and etymological layer of the concept and its **epistemological foundations**, we will briefly focus on the cultural and semiotic background, ritual and religious origins and customs associated with illegitimate children, in particular, ransom and trials, in some archaic cultural traditions that go back to antiquity and ancient beliefs and prohibitions. It is worth paying special mention to some customs related to a woman who has given birth to a child out of wedlock, known as cover-up and adultery in general. The birth of such a child has always been considered a violation of established socio-cultural norms, and, therefore, in history, sociology, ethnography, folklore and heraldry the guidelines and assessment of illegal birth have always acquired various pejorative semiotic and cultural layers. Thus, there are some interesting semiotic facts in different cultural traditions. In the heraldry of Sri Lanka a bar on the coat of arms to the left (that is, to the right of the viewer) meat that the owner of this coat of arms was a bastard.[40]

Some metaphorical reinterpretations in Polish journalistic texts can be considered an interesting example of conceptosphere *bastard* (*illegitimate child*) transformation together with the extramarital affairs and adultery semiotics. Thus, in connection with the manufacture of brand duplicates Toyota car advertising in M. Adamyuk's article entitled "*Skok w bok*" the metaphorical scenario of an abandoned baby found in cabbage or brought by a stork is clearly traced (08/08/2018): "Oto *wyrodne dziecko* Toyoty, *czarna owca, odszczepieniec niepodobny do reszty stada*. Tak bardzo nie pasuje do rodziny, *jakby została podrzucona albo znaleźli ją w kapuście*. Nie. GT86 nie została podrzucona, ani *nie upuścił jej bocian*. Jest owocem przelotnego związku, romansu, choć z rozsądku. Toyota jest matką, ojcem zostało Subaru… <…> Romanse nie są złe. GT86 *to mały skok w bok dla Toyoty*…"[41]

[37] Даль, В. И.: Толковый словарь живого великорусского языка: Современное написание. В 4-х томах. Т.1. А-З. Москва: Астрель, 2003, p. 85.

[38] Rawson, H.: A Dictionary of Euphemisms and Other Doubletalk. One Park Avenue, New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1981, p. 30.

[39] Kluge: Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache. Berlin – New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2002, p. 95.

[40] Коваленко, І. Д.: Просторові відношення і опозиція „прямий-кривий" в лексико-семантичних системах індоєвропейських мов. In: Слов'янський вісник. Збірник наукових праць. Серія Філологічні науки. Рівне: Рівненський інститут слов'янознавства Київського славістичного університет, 2003, p. 9.

[41] Тищенко, О.: Семантическая динамика фразем в польском и русском публицистическом дискурсе. In: Новое в русской и славянской фразеологии. Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého v Olomouci, 2020, p. 203.

The subframe "illegitimate child" in Slavonic folk views, beliefs and superstitions

Referring to some symbolic stereotypes that are associated with an illegitimate child it should be mentioned that these aspects have been well studied and presented in authoritative ethnolinguistic dictionaries. They are mainly related to perceptions of impurity and, thus, such a child can only bring harm, such as damaging the household, or starting a storm, hail, or heavy rains. According to N.Tolstoy "the cause of incessant continuous rains were considered as "desecration of water". For instance, in Bosnia it was assumed that there was something "bad" in the water, that the water contained an abandoned illegitimate child or a dead man and rain will not stop until his body is removed from the water. In Gevgelia (Macedonia) there was a belief that drought was caused by the fact that a gypsy woman gave birth to a bastard and buried him alive in the church yard.[42] According to folk beliefs crimes against "family law", such as incest, fratricide, the birth of an illegitimate child, adultery etc. are the cause of drought. Academician Tolstoy draws attention to beliefs of the South Slavs according to which a secretly hidden illegitimate child was the cause of storms and floods. The force of nature punishes people for their sins and throws the foetus of sinful love away from the earth.[43] In Polessie region people believed that sudden hail on somebody's journey was caused by the murder of a child by his mother.[44]

In Bulgarian Strandja in times of extended drought, old women (more often widows) went to a sinful girl, led her to the river or spring, and threw water on her.[45] E. Levkievskaya describes some interesting facts, popular among the Serbs, connected to the idea of a miracle, abnormalities, ignorance and the motif of dangerous hail clouds.[46] The researcher cites an example of charms against cumulonimbus storm clouds wherein young girls tried to ward off the clouds with their vests, shouting *"колико ја знала за мој дом, толико град убио мој род"* – [*as much as I knew about my home, so much the city killed my family*]. Tolstaya & Tolstoy, provided the following comments on this example: *Apparently, the girls in this rite are exposed as "copilu"* i.e., illegitimate children who do not know their family and, thus, demonstrate a *"miracle"* that can stop hail clouds.[47]

The birth of illegitimate children in the past was condemned. The fatherlessness was considered to be a potential threat to society. Therefore, disapproving-ironic intonations predominate in the characterising of such birth. – from Perm.: *из овина принести* – [*from a suin to bring*]; *сходить горох молотить* – [*go to the peas threshing*] or arch.: *найти по ветру* – [*find in the wind*] and very common as *в подоле принести* – [*bring in hem*]. Such a child was assessed as *банная/прянишная работа* – [*bathing work, showy work*] (in Perm), *луговой ребенок* – [*meadowy baby*] (in Kursk).[48]

This is proved by the facts recorded in the dictionaries: *As fine as a lord's bastard*; *Bastard children born out of wedlock have always been considered lucky*.[49] This odd belief may possibly derive from ancient Roman law, which acknowledged such 'natural' children as not bound by the

[42] Березович, Е. Л.: Язык и народная культура, с. d., p. 464.

[43] Толстая, С. М.: Славянская мифология. Энциклопедический словарь. Москва: Международные отношения, 2002, p. 118.

[44] Толстой, Н. И. – Толстая, С. М.: Вызывание дождя в Полесье. In Толстой, Н. И. (ed.): Очерки славянского язычества. Москва: Индрик, 2003, p. 105.

[45] Толстая, С. М.: Славянская мифология, с. d., p. 169.

[46] Левкиевская, Е. Е.: Славянский оберег. Семантика и структура. Москва: Индрик, 2002, p. 114.

[47] Толстой, Н. И. – Толстая, С. М.: Защита от града в Драгачеве и других сербских зонах. In Толстой, Н. И. (ed.): Очерки славянского язычества. Москва: Индрик, 2003, p. 168.

[48] Подюков, И. А.: Народная фразеология в зеркале народной культуры, с. d., p. 90.

[49] Svartengren, T. H.: Intensifying Similes in English. Inaugural Dissertation, 1918. Available at: https://archive.org/details/intensifyingsimi00svarrich

authority of their biological fathers. Similar beliefs are found in Polish culture which is substantiated by the cited expression. An ironic connotation is characterized in the following English comparison: *as happy as a bastard on Father's Day* referring to an unfortunate person.[50]

The same is observed in some Polish idioms *Bękarcie szczęście mieć*, containing ideas of agility, giftedness and luck of children born out of wedlock which, in fact, is reflected in the fixed comparisons of the Polish language: *Sprytny/ szczęśliwy jak bękart*.[51] Franko recorded in Galicia Russ the following sayings in the same context: *На кожного бенькарта щастя єднаке – [Bastards have a lot of luck/ are the luckiest people]*.[52] Concerning this and similar expressions, while making comments on the cited proverb, Polish ethnographer Bystroń provides an example from fiction that displays the fact that the luck in this context means the good luck and fortune bastards tend to have in card games.

In Polish linguaculture, we find another: *Przysięgał, zaklinał się pod złej matki synem, Od matki komu zadawać – [He swore, he crucified under the bad mother's son, From his mother to ask]*. These are offensive nicknames of an illegitimate child.[53] The synonymic designation in Polish also carries pejorative assessment of the illegitimate child, which is unusually lucky in life: *Im większy szelma, tym większe szczęście miewa – [The bigger Szelma, the more lucky]*.[54]

These motives of luck and extraordinary talent of illegitimate children can also be found in the work of A.K. Dzhivelegov "Essays on the Italian Renaissance" (1929): *Один – Медичи, большой барин, другой – Фарнезе, выскочка. Один меценат, другой инквизитор. Один – ввергнувший папство в пучину унижения, другой... Один – унаследовавший все обаяние отца, даровитый, как все бастарды, другой – жестокий, сухой, умный фарисей. … – [One is the Medici, a great master, the other is Farnese, an upstart. One is a philanthropist, the other is an inquisitor ... One is who inherited all the charm of his father, gifted, like all bastards, the other is a cruel, dry, clever Pharisee ...]*.[55]

The ideas of spontaneity and contingency in the nomination of an illegitimate child by botanical code is recorded both in the Russian and Ukrainian languages: *присев – sowing aside/ sown aside*, Rus. *Раньше горе было присеву, а разве в том человек виноват что он присев. Теперь то про это думать стыдно, никто не спрашивает, присев ты или нет – [Those who were sown aside used to have misfortune, however, is the human being who was sown aside guilty of being sown aside. Now it is a shame to ask whether somebody is sown aside or not, nobody asks such questions now]* (Transbaikalia).[56] Similar phenomena are observed in some English euphemisms *a self-sown plant, seedling growth*,[57] let us compare Rus. *Дудкин сын – [Piping son]* "*an illegitimate child*", vulgar, meaning the same as *the son of the bitch* where *the pipe* or *fife* probably refers to the stem of the nettle.[58]

In some Eastern Slavonic languages euphemisms of an innovative type have been discovered which can be viewed as a transformation of the original prototype, for example, in the Belorussian language *дыплом – diploma*; *Ці відзелі вы: Ганніна дочка прывязла матке дзіплом*

[50] Wilkinson, P. R.: A thesaurus of traditional English metaphors. London – New York: Routledge, 1993, p. 540.
[51] Krzyżanowski, J. – Swirko, S.: Nowa księga przysłów i wyrażeń przysłowiowych polskich. Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy. V. 3, R-Ż, 1972, p. 290.
[52] Франко, I.: Галицько-руські народні приповідки. Том 3 (Рабунок–Ячмінь). Львів: ЛНУ ім. I. Франка, 2007, p. 462.
[53] Krzyżanowski, J. – Swirko, S.: Nowa księga przysłów i wyrażeń przysłowiowych polskich, c. d., p. 409.
[54] Krzyżanowski, J. – Swirko, S.: Nowa księga przysłów i wyrażeń przysłowiowych polskich, c. d., p. 391.
[55] Национальный корпус русского языка. http://www.ruscorpora.ru/ngram.html.
[56] Словарь русских народных говоров. Вып. 31: Почестно – Присуть. Санкт-Петербург: Наука, 1997, p. 379.
[57] Rawson, H.: A Dictionary of Euphemisms & other double talk, c. d., p. 30.
[58] Мокиенко, В. М. – Никитина, Т. Г. – Николаева, Е. К.: Большой словарь русских поговорок, c. d., p. 654.

у пялёнках? – [*Have you seen it? Hanna's daughter has brough her mother a diploma in a hem*][59] or Russian (Perm region) *без билета купить* – [*to buy something without a ticket*]; *У нее уже двое и обоих без билета купила – She has already got two children and she bought both of them without a ticket*).[60]

In the Russian language there exists a metaphoric model of an unexpected emergence on a tree as a nomination of an illegitimate child, a child born out of marriage. Stable euphemistic designations of birth, as it were, switch the interlocutor's attention from concept to its form ('*broke out of a knee, pulled out of the armpit, bought in a shop*' lost their archaic meaning and actualize the modern idea, since it is known that *the armpit* in many nations is a stable analogue of the mother's womb).[61] Russian synonymic groups (with spatial, disapproving, rude and even ironic meanings fixed by dictionaries) related to the idea of uncultivated, uninhabited space, wilderness, forests can serve as the substantiation of these statements: *с дерева сняли кого* – [*somebody has been taken down from the tree*] "about a rude, uncultured and uneducated person", (Perm dialect) "about a child born out of wedlock".[62]

Phraseological verbalization of illegitimate child in Czech and Slovak languages: structurally-semantic modelling

Our analysis of illegitimate child phraseological embodiment in the Western Slavic languages, based on the material of Zaoralek's phraseological dictionary, demonstrated a specific productivity of the corresponding figurative-motivational models in the Czech language. Most of the idioms presented in this dictionary are euphemisms, formed according to a structural model with spatial semantics of Agent + Verb (with the meaning of movement, intensity or sudden appearance) + LOCUS (figurative concretizer-actant), less often to BE + FROM a certain place (from NOWHERE).

Let us pay attention to the motifs of exception, specific origin or birth, darkness, and the images of natural elements, natural phenomena and disasters, which metaphorically define the reason for the disappearance of child's father: Cz. *býti ze zelené krve* – [*be of green blood*], *býti z mysliveckého rodu* – [*belong to family of a hunter*].[63] Other similar phraseological units realize the symbolic archetype of light-darkness opposition, where the latter is marked: Cz. *přišel na svět potmě* – [*to come to this world in darkness*], also with the meaning of mental inferiority *dělali ho potmě* – [*he was done in the dark*], *je to hlupák* – [*he is a fool*].[64] There are idioms in which natural disasters are mentioned: (*whirlwind, water, carried away by a flood*): Cz. *povětří mu otce zaneslo* – [*father was carried away by a whirlwind*];[65] *ve snách s nim vítr do povětří vzlétl* – [*in his dreams the whirlwind took him away*]; *povodeň mu otce vzala* – [*the father was taken by the flood*]; *(otce mu) vzal vítr na západ* – [*the wind took/bring the father to the West*].[66] As we can see, the nominations of the natural elements are combined with verbs of movement – *zanest', vzlétl, vzala* – [*took, took off, took away*] etc.].

The structural-semantic model FATHER + VERB with the MEANING of LOSS, STRANGENESS, PREMATURE DEATH = ABSENCE of the FATHER is represented by numerous synonymous variants (which can vary lexically: the first component – *otec*, *tata*, and verb – predicates

[59] Юрчанка, Г. Ф.: Народнае мудраслоўе. Слоўнік. Мінск: Беларуская навука, 2002, p. 95.
[60] Прокошева, К. Н.: Фразеологический словарь пермских говоров. Пермь: ПГПУ, 2002, p. 188.
[61] Подюков, И. А.: Народная фразеология в зеркале народной культуры, с. d., p. 44.
[62] Мокиенко, В. М. – Никитина, Т. Г. – Николаева, Е. К.: Большой словарь русских поговорок, с. d., p. 187.
[63] Zaorálek, J.: Lidová rčení. Praha: Academia, 2000, p. 158.
[64] Zaorálek, J.: Lidová rčení, c. d., p. 276.
[65] Zaorálek, J.: Lidová rčení, c. d., p. 618.
[66] Zaorálek, J.: Lidová rčení, c. d., p. 618.

as part of a stable phrase). The latter have the meaning of physical impact and condition, the loss of the father, and euphemistically encode the imaginary metaphorization of the death of the father (suffocated, drowned) + PLACE (locative sign of the nomination). And sometimes the loss of the father in a naïve picture of the world is associated with an unusual place (where it is actually impossible to live): Cz. *táta se mu zadusil v konopí* – [*dad choked on hemp*];[67] *otce se mu utopil v seně* – [*his father drowned in the hay*]; *otec se mu zabil věchtovím* – [*killed himself with a rag*]; *otec se mu (jí) utopil v louči* – [*father drowned in torch*]. Similar semiotic parallels are presented in the Slovak language: *Otca mu kozub zabil* – [*his father was killed with a fireplace*];[68] *Otec mu z kapustného hlúba hlavu zlomil* – [*his father broke the head of a cabbage stalk*];[69] *Pod plotom ho našli* – [*it was found under the fence*];[70] Cz. *otec mu šel aprílem* – [*dad left in April*], *zalezl mezi cihly do cihelny* – [*he climbed into bricks at a brick factory*];[71] *zabředl hluboko, až se nemohl najít* – [*he went so deeply that he could not go out*] etc or names symbolizing the death of his father: *utonul v Holandu* – [*drowned in Holand*]; *otec mu utonul v Holandu* – [*his father drowned in Holand*], *Zmrzl při svatém Janě na ledě* – [*he froze on the ice at St. Yana*].[72] The symbolization of some proper names is also opaque, as in the following case, where we can talk about innovation, transformed signs correlated with the odious military figures of totalitarian times: *otce mu zahnal Prchlík* – [*Prchlik chased his father away*]. *Prchlík* is the surname of a famous general, a member of the Communist party of Czechoslovakia.

Less often, the somatic code underlies the motif of loss (he lost money and ran away): Cz. *blejskl patou* – [*to take a clean pair of heels*];[73] *prohrál peníze a utekl* – [*he lost the money and ran*].[74] The national-cultural specificity of verbalization is also realized in the following Czech expressions – *jeho otec hledá ženy* – [*His father is looking for women*].[75] In Slovak the idea of the father's love affairs is represented by ritual terms, indicating that the baptism of the child took place before the wedding: *Prvej krščenie jako veselie*.[76] Let's also consider some Slovak allusions – the answer to the teaser that someone does not have a father: *Ty, čo ani otca nemáš*! *Mám ich viac ako ty*! – [*Don't you have a father? I have more than you!*].[77]

The subframe "extramarital relationships, cohabitation, adultery, concubinage"

In Ukrainian folklore (Galicia) there was a tradition of "taking by postoronok", according to which a girl who gave birth to a child out of wedlock was beaten naked on Sunday in front of the church using *postoronok* – a whip made from the rope of a large bell, which was soaked in saltwater (*Будеш ти ще від великого дзвона посторонком брати* – [*You will be a stranger from the big bell*]).[78] In some American Indian tribes a cut-off nose was a sign of adultery.[79] According to their customs if a woman was claimed to be guilty of adultery she asked her husband or her father

[67] Zaorálek, J.: Lidová rčení, c. d., p. 142.
[68] https://zlatyfond.sme.sk/dielo/1433/Zaturecky_Slovenske-prislovia-porekadla-a-uslovia-Clovek/7#ixzz6AkofLeVU
[69] Ibid.
[70] Ibid.
[71] Zaorálek, J.: Lidová rčení, c. d., p. 705.
[72] Zaorálek, J.: Lidová rčení, c. d., p. 709.
[73] Zaorálek, J.: Lidová rčení, c. d., p. 719.
[74] Zaorálek, J.: Lidová rčení, c. d., p. 715.
[75] Zaorálek, J.: Lidová rčení, c. d., p. 618.
[76] https://zlatyfond.sme.sk/dielo/1433/Zaturecky_Slovenske-prislovia-porekadla-a-uslovia-Clovek/7#ixzz6AkofLeVU
[77] Ibid.
[78] Франко, I.: Галицько-руські народні приповідки. Т. 1. А – Діти. Львів: Львівський державний університет, 2006, p. 763; Горинь, Г.: Громадський побут сільського населення Українських Карпат (XIX – 30-ті роки XX ст.). Київ: Наукова думка, 1993, p. 178.
[79] Clark, W. P.: The Indian Sign Language. Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1982, p. 24.

to give a banquet with dancing. When everything was ready she took an arrow, touched a coloured bison's skull with it and solemnly vowed she was innocent. The dance was considered a trial of divine justice and if a woman failed to perform her dance appropriately she was considered guilty.[80]

Own – Alien; Clean – Dirty

In the Russian language picture of the world the imagery nomination of concubinage as well as adultery in general is related to the inner space of the house, the motifs of the breaking of social norms, the intrusion into the territory of other people, into the strange space: Rus. *Печь хлеб в печке соседа* – [*to bake bread in neighbor's oven*] "to illegally cohabit with somebody, to have prohibited intimate relations" – to the idea of moral dirt: Rus. *Нечистый подол у кого-то* – [*someone has a dirty lap*] as a hint to adultery, somebody's dissolute behavior. These motives are semantically related to the sphere of a spouse's adultery,[81] where a set of invariant senses can be traced relating to the common semantic model in different cultures.

We can show examples of Russian dialect phrases, which are included in the semantic field of adultery, or betrayal of the girl by the boy: Rus. *заняться чужбинкой* – [*do a stranger* (Mordovskoe)] – 'to change your husband, wife': *на чужбинку* – [*to strangers*],[82] *поджечь чужую Масленницу* – [*set fire to someone else's Maslenitsa*] 'change either' (Novgorod sayings).[83]

This is included in rather extensive synonymous phraseological designations, correlated in different languages with the images of life and agricultural and other instruments, even dishes. As an example, we give can find in Arkhangelsk sayings: *Парить кишку в чужом горшке* – [*Farming in someone else's pot*] 'that means to live with someone else's wife'.[84] According to the model *'encroach on someone else's property, wife and so on'* some Ukrainian sayings were formed. For example: *Не скакай у чужу гречку, бо лихо тобі буде, Чужая жона – здоров'є чиєсь, Як против солнця води не напитися, так з чужою жоною, або з мужем чужим не нажитися* – [*Do not rope in someone else's buckwheat, because you will go to you, alien to John, Healthy someone, as the waters of the water will not get drunk, so with someone else's noise, or with a hilarious people not to get to*].[85] Similar ideas we find in the Belarusian tradition, in which "the illegimate relationship of married people was perceived as the loss of individual vital energy: *Не паглядай на чужых жонак: ці скасееш, ці здурнееш* – [*Do not look at other's wives: you'll go off head*] and family life: *Чужую галубіць – сваю сям'ю згубіць* – [*Someone else's dunk – his family lose*]. It was believed that the most actively adulterous men become similar to their penis *Чужая падушка лысину працярэбіць* – [*A foreign pillow bald lines*].[86]

As an example let us consider the motive of adulterous intercourse and extramarital relationships in English phraseology represented through the symbol of the sickle and rye, a field that belongs to other people (*put your sickle in another man's corn* "commit adultery").[87]

[80] Clark, W. P.: The Indian Sign Language, с. d., p. 45.

[81] Tyshchenko, O.: Language means of 'envy' and 'betrayal' conceptualization: sphere of socially evaluating and emotional concepts and their interaction. In: Vectors of the development of philological sciences at the modern stage. Lviv-Toruń: Liha-Pres, 2019, p. 284.

[82] Мокиенко, В. М. – Никитина, Т. Г. – Николаева, Е. К.: Большой словарь русских поговорок, с. d., p. 742.

[83] Моргунова, О. В. – Кривощапова, Ю. А. – Осипова, К. В.: Русский народный календарь. Этнолингвистический словарь. Москва: АСТ-Пресс, 2015, p. 253.

[84] Алексеенко, М. А. – Белоусова, Т. П. – Литвинникова, О. И.: Человек в русской диалектной фразеологии. Москва: ИТИ технологии, 2004, p. 97.

[85] Номис, М.: Українські приказки, прислів'я і таке інше. Київ: Либідь, 2004, p. 183.

[86] Санько, С. – Валодзіна, Т. – Васілевіч, У. М.: Беларуская міфалогія: Энцыклапедычны слоўнік. Минск: Беларусь, 2004, p. 570.

[87] Wilkinson, P. R.: A thesaurus of traditional English metaphors, с. d., p. 159.

Other dialectal equivalents are worth mentioning. They were recorded, for example, in the phraseology of Lemky: *ходити до чужого ревиру* – [*to go to other man's territory*] "to commit adultery".[88]

Some linguistic and cultural facts expose ideas related to dirty objects, motivated by impure relations being connoted through imagery of uncleanness, rubbish, waste. Their connection to corresponding rituals is obvious: Rus. *прокатить кого-то на венике* – [*to drive somebody on a broom*] (Novgorod regional dialects) 1) to punish somebody, to betray somebody, to break an oath.[89]

In other traditions the *broom* is connected with idioethnic ritual actions and functions – jumping over something, untying something as in some English expressions dated back to images and ideas of Ch. Dickens. They have the meaning of wedding without proper rituals, the absence of permission to marry sanctioned by the representatives of society: *jump over the broomstick*: *This woman in Gerrard Street here had been married very young over the broomstick, as we say, to a tramping man* (Ch. Dickens).[90]

According to the Dictionary of Plant-lore you should never step over a broom if you are unmarried, for if you do this you will have a bastard child. According to Scotland Highlands superstition the large number of pine trees growing in a certain area was the result of many illegitimate births (Begg).[91]

Nomina loci

This ritual is likely to be a specific equivalent of leading somebody around a brittle willow or similar ritual actions practiced by Ancient Slavs that were described by Podiukov. Practically all sources fix such expressions: *Венчаться под ракитовым кустом* – [*To be wedded under the brittle willow*] all these meanings have negative connotations; they are are marked as pejorative and are considered obsolete / archaic. According to V. Mokienko they date back to a wedding ritual related to the symbolism of the Circle.[92] Podiukov argues "the folk consciousness evaluates concubinage and adultery as blameworthy and reprehensible. The majority of expressions that characterize them are related to the notion of pseudo-marriage, pseudo-wedding (a parody of the wedding emerges as an element of the games associated with the second day of the wedding, can be included into other ritual games, in particular, during the Christmas period). Their essence obviously derives from medieval clownish public worship rituals – distortions of conventional public ritual – intended as protection for society from anomalies affecting the "cosmic order". The variety of the plots of the subverted wedding also stem from these beliefs: (from the Perm' region) Rus. *венчаться вокруг поганого ведра* – [*to be wedded around the broken bucket*]; *свадьба вокруг столба* – [*wedding around the pole*]; *венчались вокруг лоханки помелом* – [*to be wedded around the wash-tub by a broom*] (with the main attributes substituted). We have grounds for considering that some of these phraseological units contain motifs of ancient Slavonic weddings – the expressions of the following type (Arkhangelsk region) *вокруг елки оббежать* – [*to run around the firtree*] (Briansk region), *вокруг дуба венчаться* – [*to be wed-*

[88] Вархол, Н. – Івченко, А. (ред.): Фразеологічний словник лемківських говірок Східної Словаччини, с. d., p. 112.
[89] Мокиенко, В. М. – Никитина, Т. Г. – Николаева, Е. К.: Большой словарь русских поговорок, с. d., p. 76.
[90] Wilkinson, P. R.: A thesaurus of traditional English metaphors, c. d., p. 559.
[91] Watts, D. C. (ed.): Dictionary of plant lore. United Kingdom: Elsevier, 2007. 296 p.
[92] Мокиенко, В. М. – Никитина, Т. Г. – Николаева, Е. К.: Большой словарь русских поговорок, с. d., p. 345.

ded around the oak tree]. Let us compare the archaic expression *венчались круг ели, а черти пели* – [*we were wedded around a firtree while the devils were singing*]".[93]

Regional ethnographic sources of the Polish language represent another aspect of the moral-evaluative conceptualization of reality in connection with the cultural denotations under consideration and, therefore, another model for the conceptualization of relationships without marriage (a curved object – *a hook, a dryuk, a stick*, i.e. an object differing from its normal form. So, according to Wesołowska, the people of Slonzk region said about the life of spouses out of wedlock: Pl. *żyją na krykę* – [*they live on a crooked stick*] and believed that their life would be Pl. *tak sękate i pokręcone życie, jak kryka* – [*Their life will be as knotty and twisted as a crooked stick*].[94]

Probably, in this case we can talk about folk-etymological rethinking and association of the subject (*kryka – dryuchka*) with its shape, curvature. Dialectic and phraseological dictionaries of the Polish language fix figurative expressions with this meaning in different areal zones: *żyć na krykę* – [*life on faith*] "illegitimate cohabitation" where *kryka* means "kula dla kulawego" – [*a crutch*],[95] *idzie jak z kryki* – [*Goes like a crooked stick*]. Synonymous variations are found in Polish phraseology: *Na pytel ślub daje, Na lewą rękę się ożenił* – [*getting married on the left hand*], *Nie chce z nią żyć na backę, żyć na miarki, żyje na wiórki* – [*I do not want to live with her back, live on scoops, live on chips*]. We cannot ignore the phraseologization in the Polish language, motivated by a zoomorphic code and the idea of illegality, lack of the right to own something: *żyć na kartę rowerową / na kocią łapę.* – [*Live on a bicycle map, Live on a cat's paw*].[96]

Next, we will look through Russian and Ukrainian phraseological units denoting marriage betrayal and the extramarital fruit of love in the related languages and their main semantic motivation models. Most of such figurative signs symbolizing betrayal and an extramarital child both in common and in dialectal-folk language are formed according to the **Nomina Loci model**: ***the verb with the value of movement + locus***, for example, *to carry (incur) + locus*, for example, in Siberian dialects where the following expression is considered as disapproving *принести в запоне* – [*to bring in the gathering*] "Having a child out of marriage".[97] In the Slovak cultural tradition this idea is actualized through the symbolic function of things (the existence is mentioned of an unnatural, abnormal, strange location such as *a coffin* that contains an illegitimate child: Slov. *Doniesla si dieťa v truhle* – [*she brought a child in a chest/coffin*].[98] It should be mentioned that the meaning "truhla" – [*chest/coffin*] of the Czech word *truhla* is marked as obsolete by dictionaries, whereas the meaning "chest" is recorded as its modern equivalent. Due to the sense of the word *coffin* or «chest» in the Slovak language, it should be clarified that the *chest* in this case is not a *coffin* and may be motivated in this context as «the notice about the existence of an unnatural, abnormal, strange place in which an illegitimate child is situated». This is shown in the dictionary by Zaturetsky.

Similar structure-shaped names are represented in Ukrainian culture: ***to worship + place*** (***spatial realization or plants***): *скочила через мост з молодшим* – [*heeded through the bridge of the young man*], or *У горох ускакнула* – [*rushed into the peas*], comp. Ukr. *Скочити в гречку, У гречку скочив та и вворвав* – [*To worship in buckwheat; at the buckwheat, the worship of that*

[93] Подюков, И. А.: Народная фразеология в зеркале народной культуры, с. д., p. 52.
[94] Wesołowska, H.: Zwyczaje i obrzędy rodzinne. In: Folklor górnego Śląska. Katowice: Wydawnictwo Śląskie, 1989, p. 13.
[95] Krop, J.: Słownik Gwarowy Ślązka Cieszyńskiego. Wisłą: Ustroń, 1995, p. 156.
[96] Krzyżanowski, J. – Swirko, S.: Nowa księga przysłów i wyrażeń przysłowiowych polskich, с. д., p. 976.
[97] Мокиенко, В. М. – Никитина, Т. Г. – Николаева, Е. К.: Большой словарь русских поговорок, с. д., p. 245.
[98] Záturecký, A. P.: Slovenské príslovia, porekadlá, úslovia a hádanky, с. д., p. 62.

and encompassing]. Less often, the verb of motion or movement is combined with the anthroponym such as *Побігала з Лиськом* – [*Run with Fox*].[99]

As noted by D. Uzhchenko such models with a number of replacements and metaphorical nominations associated with this semantic field, are very common in Ukrainian ethnoculture, as evidenced by numerous verbal phraseological units, the objects of which are growing or spatial loci, symbolizing remoteness from humans, and association with non-residential space, abandoned and dirty places (*бур'ян* – *wee; очерет* – *sketching, кущі* – *bush, яр* – *gill, долина* – *valley*): *плигати в лози* – [*drop into bushes*] "being married, to step out",[100] *з рибалки носити копчену рибу* – [*From the fisherman to wear smoked fish*] "betray in married life" (*Як живеш?* – *Було б усе гаразд, та мій почав з рибалки носити копчену рибу* – [*How do you live? It would be all okay, and my hub started to pick smoked fish*],[101] *проблукати в бур'янах* – [*driving in a weed*], as a rule it was said about a man's betrayal,[102] *бігати по кущах* – [*run into bushes*] 'to step out' (about a husband),[103] *сягати в очерет* – [*reach in reeds*].[104] We will also pay attention to the allusion to 'belling' in the Ukrainian toponym *Гуляй-поле* – [*a walk-field*] which is said about man who often goes out or commits adultery and is motivated by an associative-symbolic connection with the verb *гулять* – *to philander* or to lead a depraved life (*Твій Ванько такий гуляй-поле, шо хоть ховайся* – [*Your Ivan likes to step out*].[105] We also pay attention to the latest transformation: *Піти (ходити) на промисли* (промисел) – [*Start to step out on wife*].[106] Household utensils and zoosemic images in the phrase-semantic group are presented less often. Let us compare the expression *великого хвоста мати* – [*To have the Great Tail*] which means *to brag* and to spend time away from her husband (*Та вона такого великого хвоста має, що бідний її чоловік* – [*She has got such a great tail that her hub is poor*].[107]

Among such substitution of household metaphors it is useful to mention everything about the verb phraseological synonyms in Ukrainian and Russian languages such as *повісити чайника* – [*to hang the kettle*], *чайник на стіл поставити* – [*put the kettle on the table*], *заторохтіти чайником*, in which form, the marriage betrayal is secondary since their main semantic function, as shown by E. L. Berezovich, V. M. Mokienko, correlates with the designation of the refusal symbolism (refusal during the lovemaking or marriage).[108] So, in the work by E. Berezovich the semantics of betrayal in Russian dialectal phraseology are shown with the material code of culture – household items and instruments related to the refusal symbolism in obtaining consent to marriage, as well as with semantics of refusal in games (see more detail).[109]

The semiotic loci of the internal and external space

Nomina loci. The loci objectivize the meaning of extramarital relations in their syncretic connection to dirty places (wastes, garbage, dung, etc.), and to plants (such as nettles). The bath-house or shed are considered as dirty places in Russian cultural traditions. There are some infrequent connections with zoomorphic code (the symbolism of some domestic animals). Let

---

[99] Номис, М.: Українські приказки, прислів'я і таке інше, с. d., p. 183.
[100] Ужченко, В. – Ужченко, Д.: Фразеологічний словник, с. d., p. 189.
[101] Ужченко, В. – Ужченко, Д.: Фразеологічний словник, с. d., p. 259.
[102] Ужченко, В. – Ужченко, Д.: Фразеологічний словник, с. d., p. 49.
[103] Ужченко, В. – Ужченко, Д.: Фразеологічний словник, с. d., p. 182.
[104] Ужченко, В. – Ужченко, Д.: Фразеологічний словник, с. d., p. 227.
[105] Ужченко, В. – Ужченко, Д.: Фразеологічний словник, с. d., p. 243.
[106] Ужченко, В. – Ужченко, Д.: Фразеологічний словник, с. d., p. 250.
[107] Ужченко, В. – Ужченко, Д.: Фразеологічний словник, с. d., p. 312.
[108] Березович, Е. Л.: Язык и народная культура, с. d.; Мокиенко, В. М.: К сопоставительной..., с. d., p. 24-39.
[109] Березович, Е. Л.: Язык и народная культура, с. d., p. 243.

us examine this aspect in detail. Belarusian researcher Valodzina demonstrates that the wicker fence and associations related to it underlie Belarusian metaphors that mirror erotic acts or illegal, unauthorized social events, therefore, in dialectic vocabulary an illegitimate child is called *падплотником* – [*under the fence*],[110] while *Ты от ворот, а он через забор* – [*You came through the gate, and he is over the fence*] means "the unfaithful wife".[111]

Thus, from a semiotic point of view *under the fence* meant "to be outside domesticated space, to be removed from the social environment". Let us also discuss a Belarusian expression: *Мало чии бычки – были б наши телята* – [*No matter whose bulls they were – the calves should belong to us*] – "a mockery that hints at a bastard born in somebody's family or an expression denoting the idea of appropriation of other people's labour".[112]

The symbolic function of these loci is also found in the Kashub dialects, except for nettles and fences: *Vesele pod płotim, a ślub potim, zrąkavine pod płotem, a vesele potem* – [*Wedding under the fence, and marriage later, Betrothal under the fence, and the wedding later*],[113] and is also ascribed to a bridge, as displayed by the following phrase with this locative component: *vzic ślub pod mostą* – [*to marry under the bridge*], *Ti mele ślub pod mostą* – [*They got married under the bridge*].[114]

Similar features of extramarital affairs and children nomination is presented in Western Slavic ethno cultural phrase-parallels: Cz. *po kopřivách déti sbirati* – [*Collect children in nettles*], *v kopřivách se narodil* – [*Born in nettles*] "bastard", Pol. *W pokrzywach się wylągł, ojciec jego w pokrzywach ślub odprawował* – [*hatched in nettles, his father married in nettles*].[115]

The vegetative nomination *blackberry* marks the word combination *Blackberry (patch) baby* with the meaning "someone born out of wedlock".[116]

Concerning the idea of unclean places, we observed the existence of a garbage nomination model in many ethnic cultures, where the unclean locus such as a pile of garbage is associated with extramarital affairs, for example, in Ukrainian *На смітнику женився* – [*he got married at a heap of rubbish*][117] or *dung*. The same idea is realized in the "Galician-Russ proverbs" recorded by I. Franko: *Ми не на гною шлюб брали* – [*We are not married on gleet/ a purulent pile*] – when a man or a woman deny having illegitimate children or deprecate their children being called bastards – *байстрята* – "*baystryata*".[118] The Czech language also contains the above mentioned 'rubbish model' that expresses the idea of marriages using something worthless: *manželství na hromádce (na hromadě), manželství na haldě* – [*marriage on a pile (on a pile), marriage on a heap*].[119]

The Ukrainian parallels *Шлюб під парканом* – [*Marriage under a fence*] or *Шлюб у заячому холодку* – [*Marriage in a rabbit chill*] also reconstruct the ancient symbolism of unclean plac-

[110] Санько, С. – Валодзіна, Т. – Васілевіч, У. М.: Беларуская міфалогія: Энцыклапедычны слоўнік, с. d., p. 384.

[111] Носович, И. И.: Сборник белорусских пословиц, составленный членом-сотрудником И. И. Носовичем. Записки Императорского Русского географического общества. По отделению этнографии, т. 1. Санкт-Петербург: Рус. геогр. об-во, 1867, p. 446.

[112] Носович, И. И.: Сборник белорусских пословиц, с. d., p. 342.

[113] Sychta, B.: Słownik gwar kaszubskich na tle kultury ludowej, v. 4. Wrocław – Warszawa – Kraków: Wydawnictwo Polskiej akademii nauk, 1970, p. 90.

[114] Sychta, B.: Słownik gwar kaszubskich na tle kultury ludowej, v. 3, Ł-O. Wrocław – Warszawa – Kraków: Wydawnictwo Polskiej akademii nauk, 1969, p. 114.

[115] Flajšhans, V. (ed.): Sbírka přísloví, průpovědí a pořekadel lidu českého v Čechách, na Moravě a v Slezsku. Vol. 1-2. Praha: Nákladem F. Šimáčka, 1911–1913, p. 576.

[116] Wilkinson, P. R.: A thesaurus of traditional English metaphors, с. d., p. 225.

[117] Номис, М.: Українські приказки, прислів'я і таке інше, с. d., p. 183.

[118] Франко, І.: Галицько-руські народні приповідки, с. d., p. 501.

[119] Харлай, О. В.: Ономасіологічна характеристика мікросистеми ШЛЮБ, с. d., p. 273.

es, a garbage pit, as well as an enclosure wall as the border of "domestic" and "alien space". According to ethnolinguistic data, these loci, as it were, formed the specific space/ the symbolic world or function as symbols of the unclean. The following Ukrainian statement *Кошечая любов и меж тини*[120] – [*Cat's make love under the fences*] is pejorative and hints at the idea of an in-human, animal, wild place, remote from a person.

In the Russian folk-dialectal language, as we have already demonstrated, the meanings relating to lack of appropriate wedding ceremonies and church weddings are developed in the application of utensils or household items as elements of phraseological units: *вкруг бани да в баню* – [*round the bathhouse and in the bathhouse*] – "without church weddings",[121] *обвенчаться вокруг сарая* – [*get married/tie the knot around shed*] "to begin a married life without official registration of marriage" – which are marked as slangy or ironic by the dictionary.[122] A motivation of unclean place symbolism can be attributed to the Russian dialectal units that belong to the same type of nominations: *венчаться/обвенчаться круг бани ожегом* – [*get married/ marry the bath circle with a burn*][123] "to get married without a church wedding, in haste", as well as to some synonymic expressions *венчаться круг поганого ведра* – [*to get married on a dirty bucket*]. In Perm dialects the expressions *окрутить вокруг столба* – [*to walk around a pillar*] are created according to the same structural-semantic scheme and correspond to the similar symbolism of utensils in Polish dialects, which we have already addressed.[124]

Let us dwell on some expressions which are rather transparent in their motivation and apply the agent code and, in particular, the symbolism of the harness (as nomination of people, ideas of unlawfulness, unnatural bonds): *пристяжная сноха* (Siberian) – [*buckled daughter-in-law*] "*the partner / live-in lover of the son*" (Man in the dialectal, *пристяжной муж* – [*a buckled husband*] "*a husband in natural marriage*" (Karelia region);[125] *притаманный муж* – [*incidental husband*] (Siberian) "*a lover, cohabiter*". Ironic and stylistically lower connotations pertain to the word combination *молочные братья* – [*milk brothers – as foster-brother*] "*the loves of the same woman*".[126] A clear sexual ironic meaning underlies an expression in the Arkhangelsk dialect: *по готовой борозде проехать* – [*to follow the ready furrow*] "to marry a woman who has had sexual relations before the marriage", in which the metaphor of furrow and tillage symbolize sexual intercourse.[127]

Symbolic function of ritual attributes

Some imagery signs related to the somatic code are connected to the rituals of swathe, hair-covering and hair-braiding on the eve of the wedding, as well as unbraiding or other wedding rituals. Thus, the inner form of some phraseological units can be explained by ritual actions, wedding songs or absence of the latter when the marriage was improper. In the North Russian areas of Yaroslav and Vologda regional dialectal phrases contain synonymic expressions based on the defined motives: *непетый волос* – [*unsung hair*] "the hair of an unwed woman",[128] *голова невенчана* – [*unwreathed head*], *непокрытая голова* – [*uncovered head*], *непокрытая/*

---

[120] Номис, М.: Українські приказки, прислів'я і таке інше, с. д., p. 352.
[121] Прокошева, К. Н.: Фразеологический словарь пермских говоров, с. д., p. 17.
[122] Мокиенко, В. М. – Никитина, Т. Г. – Николаева, Е. К.: Большой словарь русских поговорок, с. д., p. 594.
[123] Прокошева, К. Н.: Фразеологический словарь пермских говоров, с. д., p. 42.
[124] Прокошева, К. Н.: Фразеологический словарь пермских говоров, с. д., p. 244.
[125] Мокиенко, В. М. – Никитина, Т. Г. – Николаева, Е. К.: Большой словарь русских поговорок, с. д., p. 627.
[126] Мокиенко, В. М. – Никитина, Т. Г. – Николаева, Е. К.: Большой словарь русских поговорок, с. д., p. 59.
[127] Мокиенко, В. М. – Никитина, Т. Г. – Николаева, Е. К.: Большой словарь русских поговорок, с. д., p. 56.
[128] Мокиенко, В. М. – Никитина, Т. Г. – Николаева, Е. К.: Большой словарь русских поговорок, с. д., p. 98.

непетая головушка – [*uncovered, unsung head*] 'a girl living with a man out of wedlock'.[129] Karelian dialectal expression *остаться трясти косой* – [*to go on shaking one's plait' with similar meaning*],[130] semiotically can be related to some Ukrainian (Galician) regional phraseological units obviously dating back to folk wedding rituals. According to Franko "it is a great shame of a woman to show her hair in public"; *розчіпити її при людях* – [*to unbraid the plait on public*] – is a great abuse, offence. So, the girl could be cursed in the following way: *Бодай єс сі постаріла, абис сивов ковов світила* – [*may you become old, may you show your grey plait*].[131] Let us compare some well-known motives of cutting off a braid as an image of singlehood and loss of maiden purity.[132]

This type of ethical and evaluative conceptions about the loss of the virginal honour, sin, moral descent, and the absence of wedding attributes include the Czech and Slovak nominations *neočepená* – [*without a cap of a married woman*], *padlá* – [*a done woman*], *zneuctěná dívka* – [*a dishonoured girl*], *dostala se do hanby (do ostudy)*, *padlý anděl* – [*sinful angel*], *zavitá dívka* – [*a covered girl*], *závitka* – [*covered*], *zmrhaná dívka* – [*a spoiled girl*], *poneštěstěná dívka* – [*a girl of misfortune*], *podvedená dívka* – [*a deceived woman*] etc. In this regard, let us also pay attention to the hair symbolism in East Slovak dialects. They say *zľahla ve varkoču*, that refers to a single mother. Let us also pay attention to some metaphoric signs of the loss of the wedding wreath in Czech phraseology: *místo věnečku chystá prádýlko* – [*she washes diapers instead of the wedding wreath*], 'dishonoured', *kozy ji snědli věnec* – [*goats have eaten her wedding wreath*], *ztratila věnec (pentle)* – [*she has lost her wedding wreath/band*]. Some expressions with the same meaning contain the idea of breaking and destruction as a metaphoric representation of the loss; they are related to the objective symbols of (clothing, its tearing Cz. *roztrhla si fertoušek* – [*to tear the apron*], and less commonly they contain the idea of acquiring of something undesirable, objectionable, or harmful, such as bringing misfortune, troubles, and illness: Cz. *dostala živou nemoc* – [*to get a live illness*].[133] The Slovak proverb *Vyslúžila si tam živý mrváň* – [*she earned there a live mrváň*] "about entering into an illegal intimate relationship with a man", where *mrváň* means "koláč, ktorý sa dával pri odchode zo služby"[134] – [*the pie that was given when leaving the church service*] also has a well-known national-cultural marking.

Discussion and conclusions

This article models the comparative and ethnocultural aspects of the extramarital relations conceptual sphere and its attendant mythological, ritual, religious and folklore representations, cognitive images and subframes in various related and unrelated linguistic cultures. The latter in their totality represent the image of an illegitimate child and illegal marriage in the separate ethnocultural zones of the Slavs and ancient Germans (in the Russian, Ukrainian, Polish, Czech, Slovak languages in a fragmentary comparison with English and German).

The figurative-metaphorical, conceptual, etymological and philosophical-epistemological layers of this cultural concept form in their totality the conceptual sphere of extramarital relations in its various connections, genus-specific correlations and oppositions. Conceptual mode-

---

[129] Алексеенко, М. А. – Белоусова, Т. П. – Литвинникова, О. И.: Человек в русской диалектной фразеологии. Москва: ИТИ технологии, 2004, p. 96.

[130] Мокиенко, В. М. – Никитина, Т. Г. – Николаева, Е. К.: Большой словарь русских поговорок, с. д., p. 318.

[131] Франко, І.: Людові вірування на Підгір'ю. In: Етнографічний збірник, Том 5. Львів: Етнографічна комісія Наукового товариства імені Шевченка, 1898, p. 180

[132] Жайворонок, В. В.: Знаки української етнокультури. Словник-довідник. Київ: Довіра, 2006, p. 309.

[133] Харлай, О. В.: Ономасіологічна характеристика мікросистеми ШЛЮБ, с. д., p. 273.

[134] Záturecký, A. P.: Slovenské príslovia, porekadlá, úslovia a hádanky, с. д., p. 62.

ling of these components is carried out within the framework of the opposition MARRIED-SIN-GLE as the embodiment of the CONCEPT AND ANTI-CONCEPT, NORM AND ANTINORM, LEGAL-ILLEGAL, FRIEND-FOE, RIGHT-LEFT.

We have identified the three following cultural subframes: 1) The "illegitimate child" in Slavonic folk views, beliefs and superstitions; 2) "extramarital relationships, cohabitation, concubinage"; 3) The semiotic loci of the internal and external space.

Further, the lexico-phraseological, semantic and semiotic content of these subframes is highlighted, taking into account the onomasiological mechanisms of profiling cultural signs as part of the following structural and semantic models: spatial-locative, botanical, subject-symbolic (artifact), dishware (the latter is connected with a cognitive container and symbols of the corresponding items for storing or containing something) with the corresponding subtypes (slots): FIND + PHYTONYM LOCUS, FIND (BE BORN) + UNCLEAN PLACE, BRING + ARTIFACT (SUBJECT, PLACE), SUDDENLY APPEAR FROM).

A separate subframe is formed by folk ideas about an illegitimate child, reflected in the symbolic language of traditional folk culture, stereotypes, beliefs, prohibitions, mythological ideas and images. In the Slavic folk tradition, the motif of an illegitimate child clearly appears in the magical actions of protection from a hail cloud, protection from other dangers and natural disasters – floods, droughts, (see: motives of causing rain at the well in the Polissia folk tradition). Separately, mention should be made of the notions of the happiness and unusual luck of illegitimate children in the Polish and English world language picture, presented in stable comparisons and phrasemes (initially we talk about the custom of luck in playing cards, dating back to the tradition of the ancient Romans).

In the ethnocultural nomination and typology, the symbolization of unclean plants and places (nettles, garbage, garbage heap, mainly among the Western and Eastern Slavs) dominates, the idea of birth or birth in unusual places is actualized - under a bridge, as in the Kashubian tradition, or through a side door in some English phrases and expressions, or in a shed - in Russian folk dialect phrasemes. Units are distinguished by a peculiar national-cultural marking, the figurative-semantic center of which is other objects such as a threshold, a window, the reverse side of a bedspread, a broom, the left or seamy side of some household items. As our investigation has shown, nettle nominations for designating both an illegitimate child and adultery and marriage (subframe 2) are common to almost all linguistic and cultural traditions. The latter are mainly related to the idea of moral uncleanness, other objects associated with uncleanness and its removal, sweeping, ablution, a broom (in different traditions) and a bathhouse (only in Russian traditional culture).

The generative model is typologically common for all compared languages, however, it is highly productive in Czech-Slavic parallels created according to the structural model with spatial semantics AGENT + VERB (with the meaning of movement, intensity and sudden appearance) + LOCUS (image concretizer-agent – *from the bench*, *behind the stove,* or means of movement, transport – *from cab*), and less commonly according to the model TO BE + OUT OF SOMEWHERE (NOWHERE), which in its turn causes a set of LOCATIVE-SPATIAL and GARBAGE imagery to be realized in descriptive phraseological units denoting extramarital relationships (garden, border, dump, pus, forgotten mountain). Some units are marked through the space of a wood where the father went away, got lost and died (went to the forest to pick up plants, mushrooms).

The Czech euphemisms denote the mode of the father's death through the nominations of natural forces and phenomena and their semantic structure is based on the archetypal model of

the world in which the concepts of Home (Yard) and Forest, inner and outer space, light and darkness, inhabited and uninhabited, familiar and strange are opposed. Less often the image signs of nominations correspond to the concepts of exchange, games, unowned property, spontaneity, etc.

Illegal marriage and illegal birth are conceptualized through the symbolism of TABLEWARE and curvature and crooked objects (hook, stick and dishes in the Polish language picture of the world). It also reveals, among other things, the repeatedly mentioned idea of illegality, unowned property or the appearance of something unknown from nowhere, something lost (see: with possession of a bicycle card) or an artificially tied, mocked, imposed object (in certain Russian dialects).

Номинация внебрачных отношений в языке традиционной народной культуры (на материале славянских языков в сопоставлении с английским)

Олег Тищенко – Ольга Ермачкова – Мария Маланюк

В предлагаемой статье представлен восточно- и западнославянский языковой и культурный контекст внебрачных связей и отношений в сравнительно-типологичеком освещении (пословицы и поговорки, диалектная фразеология, устойчивые сравнения символика и ритуальная атрибутика, стереотипы и верования).

Особое внимание обращено на историко-этимологические связи концепта *бастард,* онтологический, метафорический и ценностный слои, связанные с появлением на свет внебрачного ребенка и преждевременной беременности. Описаны модели номинации супружеской измены и конкубината (*свой-чужой, nomina loci,* символическая функция границ, нечистых мест, кривых предметов, посуды, растений, животных, соматический код) в составе нескольких культурных фреймов незаконного брака в русской, украинской, белорусской, польской, чешской и словацкой наивной картине мира (типология сходств и различий, мотивационные особенности, этнокультурная символика в сопоставлении с английским языком).