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NESANTUOKINIO VAIKO SĄVOKA NAIVIAME PASAULYJE: KALBOS PAŽINIMO IR ETNOKULTŪRINIAI ASPEKTAI

The Concept of the Illegitimate Child in the Naive Picture
of the World: Linguocognitive and Ethnocultural Angles

SUMMARY

The article presents the frame modeling of the concept of “illegitimate child” in the Russian, Czech and Slovak languages compared to English. On the basis of the fundamentals of Slavic ethnolinguistics, cognitive semantics and cultural anthropology, the epistemological layer of the concept of illegitimate child is reconstructed. Its evaluative, figurative and metaphorical components are analyzed. These components are presented mainly in dialectal and regional phrasemic content of the compared languages and partly in some literary texts (based on the data of the National Corpus of the Russian language). The following principles and structural and semantic types of secondary figurative nomination were revealed. These which are objectified in phraseological euphemisms FIND + PHYTONYM LOCUS, FIND (BE BORN) + UNCLEAN PLACE, BRING + ARTIFACT (SUBJECT, PLACE), SUDDENLY APPEAR FROM). The related naive notions, stereotypes and beliefs that act as mental-symbolic correlates of the signs of cultural nomination are reconstructed.

SANTRAUKA

Straipsnyje modeliuojama sąvoka „nesantuokinis vaikas“ rusų, čekų ir slovakų kalbomis lyginant su anglų kalba. Remiantis slavų kalbų etnolingvistika, kognityvine semantika ir kultūros antropologija, rekonstruojamas sąvokos „nesantuokinis vaikas“ epistemologinis sluoksnis. Analizuojami sąvokos vertinamasis, vaizdinis ir metaforinis komponentai, kurie pateikiami tarmišku ir regioniniu frazeminiu lyginamų kalbų aspektu. Iš dalies ši sąvoka tiriama ir remiantis literatūriniais tekstais (atsižvelgiant į dabartinės rusų kalbos žodyno tekstyną). Tyrimas atskleidė atrinės figūrines nominacijos principus ir struktūrinius bei semantinius modelius, aptinkamus frazeologiniuose eufemizmuose FIND + PHYTONYM LOCUS, FIND (BE BORN) + UNCLEAN PLACE, BRING + ARTIFACT (SUBJECT, PLACE), SUDDENLY APPEAR FROM. Straipsnyje taip pat analizuojamas sąvokos, stereotipai ir įsitikinimai, kurie veikia kaip mentalinės-simbolinės kultūros nominacijos koreliatai.

RAKTAŽODŽIAI: nesantuokinis vaikas, idiomatinė frazė, tikėjimas, naivus požiūris į pasaulį.

KEY WORDS: illegitimate child, phraseme, beliefs, naive worldview.

INTRODUCTION

Ethno-cultural doctrine of ways to verbally encoding the cultural information, stereotyping, and conceptualizing a reality, the relations between mental and linguistic units are covered in the studies by V. Von Humboldt, O. Potebnya, E. Sapir, B. Whorf, Y. Apresyan, A. Vezhbitykaya and others. This topic intensifies the scientific interest to the questions of ritual, ethno-cultural semantics of lingual signs, their ability to represent the specificity of national world perception and cognitive structures of experience of a certain ethnos, interrelation of lingual and extra lingual factors in the structure of meaning to the reconstruction of deep semantics of rituals and believes.

In this case, the cultural symbol is considered through the verbal, actional and subject codes of the ritual text, its semantics (Adamowski 1991; Konodrodskaya 2007; Nikitina 2002), pragmatic (Levkievskaya 2002; Vinogradova 1995). The subject of researchers is the signs of cultural nomination, their semantic-motivational and cognitive models (Arajeva 2017; Babicheva 2007; Beriezovich 2007; Tolstaya 2008; Rut 2008 and other scholars) as well as semantic oppositions in the symbolic language of traditional culture, belief, mythology (Bartminski 2009; Ivanov 2008; Kovalenko 2003; Tolstoy 1995; Tolstaya 2011; Tsivyan 1990). According to N. Tolstoy and S. Tolstaya, there is an obvious

„isomorphism between the verbal language and culture (traditional folk culture) explicable in terms of the similarity of their functions – cognitive, communica-

tive, 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...” (Tolstaya 2008: 333).

The research of this kind needs 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 the prominent ethnolinguists have substantiated the specific transfer from the dialectal ethnolinguistics and comparative historical linguistics to the cognitive and contrastive ones (Bartmiński 2016: 8).

Slovak linguist Gajarský examined the concept “family” in the Slovak and Russian languages and phraseology from gender perspective (Gajarský 2019). A Bulgarian ethnographer Kitanova suggested the motivational analysis of nominations denoting illegitimate child in Bulgarian dialects and argues that different cultural codes – corporeal, phytomorphic, zoomorphic, etc. are applied (Kitanova 2015: 38-39). While treating the notions of spinster and out of wedlock motherhood a Slovak ethnologist Beňová considers them equal since they manifest the phenomenon of social stigmatization (Beňová 2010). Tolstaya S. suggested the reconstruction of the model „to find + the location or to bring to + location“ (Tolstaya 1997).

The birth of such a child has always been considered a violation of established socio-cultural norms, and, therefore, in history, sociology (Gibson 2016),

ethnography (Malyutyna 2009; Shcherbak 2004), folklore (Hnatiuk 1919) and heraldry (Kovalenko 2003) the guidelines

and assessment of illegal birth have always acquired various pejorative semantic and cultural layers.

FRAME AS A COGNITIVE INSTRUMENT OF ETHNO-CULTURAL SEMANTICS MODELLING: CONCEPT AND STEREOTYPES OF ILLEGITIMATE CHILD

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 (Prykhodko 2013: 67). 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 (Alefirenko 2008), structural-semantic modelling of ethno phrasemes should be addressed revealing their genesis and cultural symbolism (Koval 1999; Mokienko 1989, 1999; Podyukov 1990; Uzhchenko 2003 and others).

The figurative-metaphorical, conceptual 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 modeling of these components is carried out within the framework of the opposition **MARRIED-SINGLE** as the embodiment of the **CONCEPT AND ANTI-CONCEPT**, **NORM AND ANTINORM**, legal-illegal.

We have identified the following cultural subframes: 1) children with a special status, illegitimate; 2) the birth of an illegitimate child, the ways of its figurative nomination 3) stereotypes and ideas about the illegitimate child in traditional culture and beliefs.

According to Frazer, in Ancient Greece the legality of child's birth was tested in the following way (imprinted in some pictures). Thus, the Celts who were said to have submitted the question of the legitimacy of their infants offspring underwent the judgment of the Rhine; they threw the infants into the water, and if the babies were bastards the pure and stern river drowned them, but if they were trueborn, it graciously bore them up on its surface and wafted them gently ashore to the arms of their trembling mothers (Frazer 1919: 455).

Curious superstition exists in the Cornwall area. According to the dictionary of superstitions a limestone (a stone known for its magnetism) can cure children who suffer from rickets. They are rocked at midnight on the Logan stone at Nancledra, St. Ives, and it is said that all children will be cured except those who were born out of wedlock (Pickering 1995: 159). The superstition says that the warts will disappear if they are rubbed against a known adulterer who has fathered a child out of wedlock (*ibid.*, 275–276). Werewolf, according to pan-European superstition, is a man who under certain circumstances changes into a wolf and then hunts down and feeds on human prey. „The Dictionary of Superstitions“ states that those who are born out of wedlock are likely to become werewolves

(ibid., 285). Some Eastern traditions also present motifs about the illegitimate children as people of a lower caste. They have a stain on their birth, their reputation is damaged forever; and therefore they are expelled from the wedding feast, although in a while, for fear of the revenge and misfortunes, they are invited to the wedding table (Clodd 1898: 203). 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 child can only bring harm, damage the household, start a storm, hail, heavy rains. According to 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 (Tolstaya 2002: 118, 141, 169).

LOCATIVE-SPATIAL MODEL OF ILLEGITIMATE CHILD NOMINATION REFLECTED BY CONTRASTIVE PHRASEOLOGY

Subframe ‘internal and external loci, boundaries, topological objects, transport, plants etc’. Further, the lexicophraseological, 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: FIND + PHYTONYM LOCUS, FIND (BE BORN) + UNCLEAR PLACE, BRING + ARTIFACT (SUBJECT, PLACE), SUDDENLY APPEAR FROM). At the same time, the processes of evaluative nomination involve an appeal to the opposite, dysphemistic images of the idea of extramarital birth. Thus, a pejorative or even vulgar connotation pertains to the following Russian expression: *Illegal children are made ass-backwards* (GDRP 2010: 272).

Let us consider this aspect in more details using the material of Russian dialect units in comparison with other

languages. At the same time, let us pay attention, first of all, to the local feature of the nomination of the corresponding euphemisms and phrases in its relation to vegetative, artifact and other cultural codes, represented in different cultural and local traditions, as well as samples recorded in literary texts (based on the Russian National Corpus (RNC) and some ethnographic sources).

Similar images are characteristic to the dialectal idioms recorded in Perm' region. Their imagery basis is related to the elements of the landscape (a mountain with the evaluative meanings ascribed to it – steeple, forgetful). It can be revealed in the metaphoric nomination of an illegitimate child: Rus. *С крутой забывчивой горы (Последний-эт парень у её с крутой забывчивой горы, от другого принесла)* – [From the steeple forgetful mountain (Her youngest son came from the steeple forgetful mountain, she brought him

from an unknown man] (PDPD 2002: 88). Phraseological units motivated by the semantic feature “to emerge from nowhere” are less frequent. They, for example, are represented in Siberia dialects of the Russian language in the form of an imagery euphemism *the cart (телега) had passed and he/she fell out of it on the road (into the grass)* (Fedorov 1983: 196, 205). The majority of phraseological units related to the locative feature of the nomination in their inner form are represented in the Russian dialectal space by one-word lexical derivatives, for example: Rus. *нажива заугольная* (Arkhangelsk region) – [*a profit gained around the corner*] while speaking about an illegitimate child (GDRS 2007: 424). The primary meaning of the word *нажива* is “easy money”. The frequently applied structural scheme represented by the verbs which meaning is “to find + location” (as compared to Siberian “to find around the corner” – to give birth to an illegitimate child (ibid., 678) coincides with the inner form of corresponding Czech, Russian and to some extent Slovak expressions. The analyzed units from the perspective of their motivational structure are created according to the model TO FIND + LOCATION: Cz. *našla dítě na mezi* – [*to find the child on the boarder*] where *the boarder* is perceived as a dirty and foul place or TO BRING + LOCATIVE ACTANT: Rus. (Perm' region) *принести в подоле* – [*to bring a child in the lap/skirt*] (PDPD 2002: 304), *Принести в подоле (запоне, фартуке)* – [*to bring it in the lap / in your apron*] (DRFD 28: 116). In the Slovak cultural tradition this idea is actualized through the symbolic function of things (it is

mentioned the existence 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*] (Zátůrecký 2018: 62). It should be mentioned that the meaning “gorob” of a Czech word *truhla* is fixed as obsolete by dictionaries, whereas the meaning “chest” is recorded as its modern equivalent.

We found some occurrences of the considered motifs in the Russian National Corpus (RNC):

„Potom prishla pervaya lyubov', slishkom rannaya beremennost' i... neschast'e: grazhdanskij muzh, Vanya Krasnov, pogib v Chechne. Bednaya Anechka, tyazhelo ej prishlos' v poslednie mesyacy beremennosti. Ee podruga i sosedka Liza vspominala, chto Elena Timofeevna ne upuskala sluchaya ukorit' doch'... Vprochem, mozhet, Elene Timofeevne bylo prosto stydno za to, chto Anya „prinesla v podole“ .../ Then the first love came, an early pregnancy and ... misfortune: the common-law husband, Vanya Krasnov, died in Chechnya. Poor Anechka, it was hard for her in the last months of her pregnancy. Her friend and neighbor Liza recalled that Elena Timofeevna did not miss the opportunity to reproach her daughter ... However, maybe Elena Timofeevna was simply ashamed of that fact that Anya „brought in the hem“ ... (Dontsova D. *Medicine for strabismus 2003 – Донцова Д. Микстура от косоглазия, 2003*);

„Мама vsplaknula: kto zhe teper' dochku zamuzh-to voz'met s takim pridanyum! Novost' o tom, chto Natasha Nikolaenko prinesla v podole pyateryh, stremitel'no obletela selo. Voskhishchalis' nemnogie, bol'shinstvo krutili pal'cem u viska... / Mom burst into tears: who will marry her daughter now with such a dowry! The news that Natasha Nikolaenko had

brought five babies in the hem swiftly flew around the village. Few admired, most twisted their fingers at their temples ...“ (Korets M. Strange dowry of Natka Nikolaenko, Trud-7, 2009.05.14 – Корец М. Странное приданое Натки Николаенко, Труд-7, 2009.05.14).

In M. Gorky's works we can find the following:

„Pozvol'te rasskazat' zhizn' moyu; vremeni povest' eta otnimet u vas nemnogo, a znat' eyo – nadobno vam. YA – krapivnik, podkidysh, nezakonnyj chelovek; kem rozhdyon – neizvestno, a podbroshen byl v ekonomiyu gospodina Loseva, v sele Sokol'em... Polozhila menya mat' moya – ili kto drugoj – v park gospodskij, na stupeni chasovenki, gde skhoronena byla staraya barynya Loseva, a najden ya byl Daniloj Vyalovym, sadovnikom... / ... Let me tell you my life; this story will take you a little time, but you need to know it. I am a nettle son, a foundling, a bastard; whom I was born by – is unknown, but was thrown into the state of Mr. Losev, in the village of Sokolye ... My mother - or someone else – left me in master's park, on the steps of the chapel where the old lady Losev was buried, and I was found by Danila Vyalov, a gardener ...“ (Maksim Gorky. Confession, 1908. – Максим Горький. Исповедь, 1908).

In the works of V. Shukshin and V. Lipatov we find the following:

„Prospal Len'ka na uchitel'shinoj skamejke do utra, prosnuvshis' tak, kak byl, – ne pozavtrakavshi i ne umyvshis', – poshel na rabotu, i derevnya ot straha prithila: v Ulyme poyavilsya pervyj «podzabornik». Delo bylo takoe ser'eznoe, chto roditeli Len'ki v subbotu na kolhoznoe pole ne poshli – pryatalis' ot pozora... / Lyonka slept on the teacher's bench until the morning, waking up, as he was, without having breakfast

and without washing, he went to work, and the village got still from fear: the first one “born under the fence” appeared in Ulym. The matter was so serious that Lyonka's parents did not go to the collective farm field on Saturday – they hid from shame“ (Vil Lipatov. Before the war, 1971 – Виль Липатов. Еще до войны, 1971).

The image of the *bastard* (“born under the fence”) is expressed through the idea of someone else's clothes, which the hero of V. Shukshin refuses to wear:

„Da ty chto / Lyuba? YA chto / podzabornik / chto li? Chuzhoe bel'yo napyalyu! / What are you doing / Lyuba? What am I / the bastard / am I? How could I put on someone else's underwear!“ (Vasily Shukshin. Kalina krasnaya, (Red viburnum) motion picture, 1973 – Василий Шукшин. Калина красная, кинофильм, 1973).

The lexeme *bastard* functions as an allusion to a proper name Ivan as part of the transformed and rethought expression *Ivan who does not remember his kinship* (*Иван не помнящий родства*) in the work of B. Vasiliev:

„U tebya uzhe est' po krajnej mere odin bratec, kotoryj mne izvesten. Mladshe menya, ego roditelya, na chetyrnadcat' let. Estestvenno, Ivan: manera nazyvat' *bastardov Ivanami* pridumana ne nami, no logika v etom est', poskol'ku im sovershenno nezachem pomnit' o rodstve svoem. / You already have at least one brother that I know ... He is fourteen years younger than me, his parent. Naturally, Ivan: the manner of calling the bastards Ivans was not invented by us, but there is logic in this, since they have absolutely no need to remember their kinship“ (Vasiliev B. The Gambler and the Scrapper, the Player and the Duelist, 1998 – Васильев Б. Картежник и бретер, игрок и дуэлянт, 1998).

Our analysis of illegitimate child phraseological embodiment in the Western Slavic languages, based on the material of Zaorálek'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). Different household items, utensils that mark the main space of the house play the role of such loci, for example, Cz. *spadl z lavice* – [to fall from the bench / by the way] (Zaorálek 2000 I: 173).

Another expression similar in its component composition (containing *fireplace, stove, hearth*) has a different motivation: Cz. *z desky spadl pod lavici* – [to fall from a plate under the bench] “about an unsuccessful person” (ibid., 173); *otec se mu vyspal za kamny* – [is father slept behind the stove/hearth]. The expression of similar type can also contain some ethnic nominations, for example, the gypsies: Cz. *cikán ho ztratil s rozvozy* – [The Gypsy lost him and dropped from the cart] (ibid., 305).

We cannot also ignore other loci as elements of the phraseological units which belong to this semantic group, mainly related to occupations, harvesting in the forest, in the field, in the garden, other agricultural occupations, as well as hunting: *garden, border, fence* (realizing the semantics of boundaries, borders in traditional culture (Adamowski 1991). Most of them encode the idea of

‘out of nowhere, from nowhere’: Cz. *narodil se na mezi a mez zvovali* – [born on the border, among garbage/humus] (Zaorálek 2000 I: 191), agricultural land (rye or wheat field): Cz. *jeho otec šel sbírat klasy – utekl* – [His father went out to gather the ears of corn] (ibid., 711), *šel na jahody* – [went for strawberries], *šel na lov* – [went hunting], *šel na ořechy* – [went for nuts] (which semantics interrelates with the group of PLANTS profile). As we have seen, household code (the abode of the father), in combination with the locus (place of birth) applied for indirect nomination of the birth of illegitimate children dominates in the Czech linguistic picture of the world, which, incidentally, is evidenced by the following examples: *otec je na houbách (n. na hubách)* – [father went for mushrooms] (such entries are found in old metrics, i.e. birth certificates, if the child did not have a father (ibid., 88), a variant with the motif of fornication: *otec šel na houby* – [father went for mushrooms], *ztratil se* – [and got lost] (ibid., 709), *on a willow tree* – Cz. *narodil se na vrbě* – [he was born on a willow tree] (ibid., 396), Cz. *čert ji pletl na vrbě, když měl* – [the devil tied him on a willow tree, to go for morels – Cz. *šel na ryzce* – [he went for redheads]; Cz. *šel na smrže* – [he went for morels]. There are other synonymous variant created according the model: go + deictic euphemism: Cz. *šel do níma* – [he went into it] (ibid., 396). It is worth indicating that in this context the expression Cz. *šel na ryby* – [he went for fish], *do lesa* – [to the forest], *cerelates*, on the one hand, with the structural model “to USE an IMPROPER TOOL for FISHING”, and, on the other, with the frame “to DO

UNNECESSARY USELESS WORK, WASTING TIME, according to Araeva (Araeva 2014).

Similar features of extramarital affairs and children nomination is presented in Western Slavic ethno cultural phrase-parallels: Cz. *po kopřivách děti sbirati* – [Collect children in nettles], *v kopřivách se narodil* – [Born in nettles] “bastard”, Pol. *W pokrzywach się wylażył, ojciec jego w pokrzywach ślub odprawował* – [hatched in nettles, his father married in nettles] (Flajšhans 1911-1913: 576). The vegetative nomination *blackberry* marks the word combination *Blackberry (patch) baby* with the meaning “someone born out of wedlock” (Wilkinson 1993: 225).

It is noteworthy that in the English language the ideographic nominations of a bastard child fixed by phraseological dictionaries are not numerous and mainly relate to the locative-spatial or object code. Their semantic motivation and evaluation are associated with the violation of accepted norms, i.e. the birth and the concept of the end of a blanket: *to be born/come out on the wrong side of the blanket* (Wilkinson 1993: 540). Another English idiom correlates with the symbolization of the action “to leave a child surreptitiously in the basket” (obviously, talking about the foundlings), the child who appeared out of nowhere: *left in the basket*, neglected, uncared for, deprived of human care, abandoned, forgotten (ibid., 540). The internal space of the house and its parts (mainly the threshold) create the associative basis of the following English expressions: *to lay at the door of...* – as a figurative expression of ‘attributing something to somebody,

imputing something upon somebody/ (obviously, stemmed out of the practice of leaving a newborn bastard on his father’s doorstep or the custom of leaving foundlings and abandoned children under the doorstep of the hospital (ibid., 540). The metaphor *to come through a side-door* with the meaning ‘to be born out of wedlock’ is recorded in the thesaurus of English metaphors (ibid., 327).

According to the dictionary of plantlore, the hazel (*Corylus avellana*) is a tree of countless virtues, a fairytree, in fact. Hazel was the medieval symbol of fertility. Throwing hazel nuts at the bride and groom is a custom of Greek weddings. Until quite recently, Devonshire brides have been given little bags of hazel nuts as they left church. They had the same significance as rice and confetti have today (Rowling) (DPL 2007: 184). A Bohemian proverb says that hazel nuts meant the birth of many bastards (Dyer), but in Somerset it also meant the fertility in wedlock (Tongue): The more hazel-nuts, the more bastard children – (Gloucestershire) “Going a-nutting” is a euphemism for love-making (DPL 2007: 184). It is considered that in ancient Greece and Rome, pine cones had a phallic symbolic meaning, so they were the symbols of fertility. According to Scotland Highlands superstition the large number of pine trees growing in a certain area was the result of many illegitimate births (Begg) (DPL 2007: 296). To be born “under the rose” is said to mean being illegitimate, a rose being also a symbol of secrecy, so the wild rose is sometimes used to signify illicit love (Briggs 1974) (DPL 2007: 322).

CONCLUSIONS

The linguistic and cultural reconstruction of actional, objective (semiotic function of objects and cultural artifacts) and mental-semiotic codes of verbalization of the concept of an illegitimate child in different linguistic cultures made it possible to describe two core models of its nomination - spatially-locative and floral. Structural and semantic variants of synonymous phrases have been discovered, the figurative and semantic center (subframe) of which is created mainly by the symbolism of the internal and external space (door, corner, barn, threshold, fence, household items, etc.), household and household buildings. In some phraseological units (mainly in the Czech language), the space of the forest and some occupations and trades (motives of picking up mushrooms, berries, fishing) are also concep-

tualized. The vegetative feature of the nomination of an illegitimate child is associated with nettles, cabbage, nuts), which perform producing and magical functions in different cultures.

The national-cultural specifics of beliefs, signs, ancient mythological concepts makes it possible, firstly, to find out non-identical object symbols and metaphorical places of discovery or birth of an illegitimate child - the left or wrong side of the bed (English idioms), coffin, box (Slovak), items of clothing and footwear – hem, near-floor – are reflected in the Russian linguistic picture of the world. And, secondly, one can argue about the idioethnic labeling of cultural stereotypes associated with the image of illegitimate children (let us compare the magical practices of initiation, testing, treatment for rickets and warts, etc.).

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