LEXICAL NOMINATION AN ILLEGITIMATE CHILD IN THE SLAVIC ETHNOLOCULTURAL AND DIALECT SPACE

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Abstract. The article is devoted to lexical symbols of the illegitimate child in the Slavic ethno-cultural context, explication of the methods and motives of the nomination of the illegitimate child in the comparative-typological and areal coverage in Russian, Polish, Ukrainian and Slovak languages. Relevant vocabulary and related cultural performances are analyzed from the point of view of semantics, motivation, functioning in the texts of folklore, beliefs, specific definitions in the dialect and special dictionaries. The main models of category child born out of wedlock and women who gave birth out of wedlock in the compared cultures – locative, temporal, thematic-symbolic associated with curved objects, tableware, parametric (correlated with the semantics of approximate measures), symbols of exchange, determined by the mythological and everyday symptom nomination of relevant cultural denotations in their relationship with the phenomenon of dialect polysemy and derivational specifics of the structure of the notation that is illegitimated in the Russian dialect area have been shown. The main models of category child born out of wedlock and women who gave birth out of wedlock in the compared cultures – locative, temporal, thematic-symbolic associated with curved objects, tableware, parametric (correlated with the semantics of approximate measures), symbols of exchange, determined by the mythological and everyday symptom nomination of relevant cultural denotations in their relationship with the phenomenon of dialect polysemy and derivational specifics of the structure of the notation that is illegitimated in the Russian dialect area have been shown. Their connection with a variety of cultural codes – corporal, pathomorphism, zoomorphic is studied. Private dialect, in addition indicate a bastard and have another cultural denotations (that outline the lower mythology, the subjects of the wedding rituals, the agricultural way of life, a model of plant – an illegitimate child as an animal, a child born out of wedlock is shown on the basis of overall motivation).

Keywords: illegitimate child, nomination sign and model, reconstruction, beliefs, dialect, semantic-motivational model.

ЯЗЫКОВОЙ И КУЛЬТУРНЫЙ ОБРАЗ ВНЕБРАЧНОГО РЕБЕНКА В СЛАВЯНСКИХ ЯЗЫКАХ

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Аннотация. Статья посвящена рассмотрению лексических обозначений внебрачного ребенка в славянском этнокультурном контексте, экспликации способов и мотивов номинации внебрачного ребенка в сравнительно-ти-

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пологическом и ареальном освещении в русском, польском, украинском и словацком языках. Соответствующая лексика и связанные с ней культурные представления анализируются с точки зрения семантики, мотивации, функционирования в текстах фольклора, верованиях, специфики дефиниции в диалектных и специальных словарях. Освещены основные модели номинации внебрачного ребенка и женщины, родившей вне брака, в сопоставляемых лингвокультурах – локативная, темпоральная, предметно-символическая, связанная с кривыми предметами, посудная, параметрическая (соотнесенная с семантикой приблизительной меры), символикой обмена, определены мифологический и бытовой признак номинации соответствующих культурных денотатов в их соотношении с явлением диалектной полисемии и специфики словообразовательной структуры обозначений незаконнорожденных в русском диалектном пространстве. Одним из противопоставлений, обозначающих незаконнорожденного ребенка в традиционной народной культуре, является свой-чужой, ущербность-неущербность. Последние концептуально сопряжены с мотивами ничейной собственности, а также пространством Дома и его частей, забора, целого и разбитого, самопроизвольности, появления неизвестно откуда, обнаружения в крапиве и проч. Отдельные диалектизмы, кроме обозначения незаконнорожденного, имеют другой круг культурных денотатов (обозначают представителей низшей мифологии, предметы свадебной обрядности, сельскохозяйственного быта, устойчивой оказывается модель растение – внебрачный ребенок, животное – внебрачный ребенок по признаку общей мотивированности в многозначных диалектных обозначениях).

Ключевые слова: внебрачный ребенок, признак и модель номинации, реконструкция, песенный фольклор, семантико-мотивационная модель, верования.

INTRODUCTION
Statement of the problem in its general form and its connection with important scientific and practical tasks. The suggested approach is oriented on the inner and outer reconstruction of ethnic cultural senses which requires the reference to the theory of ethnolinguistics, «dialectics of cultural phenomena», modeling of the elements of spiritual culture (N. I. Tolstoy, A. S. Gerd, I. A. Morosov, I. S. Sleptsova). Thus, according to A. S. Gerd, «the comprehensive description of folk culture elements can be performed by developing the logical notional models of the object – the conceptual system of knowledge about the object that is represented on the verbal level and includes the process of modeling certain fragments of national culture notions» [1]. One of the founders of «ethnosemantics» or «new ethnography» U. Gudenaf emphasised that «the culture is not purely a material phenomenon consisting of things, people and their behavior; it is rather the organisation of these components in the consciousness as models of comprehension and interpretation of the world» [2].

We will address the language conceptualisation of the sphere of extramarital affairs and relations on the basis of which we will present the linguistic and cultural image of an illegitimate child in a naive picture of the world based on regional vocabulary, phrases the linguocultures we compare and partially in folklore discourse (involving, in some cases, song folklore, signs and beliefs in Russian, Ukrainian, Polish and Slovak languages).

An analysis of recent research and publications. In the folk and ritual context, «the word is revealed in its archaic meanings, turns into a concept, and its meaning differs from the interpretation in the dictionary and is determined to the world model by the direct appeal» [3].

There are many works dedicated to the language and cultural incarnations of different by its ontology and epistemology of culturally marked nominations – social, value-able, ideological, spatial, mythological, ritual – (written by S. Vorkachev, I. Sternin, Yu. Stepanov, T. Radzievskaya, S. Tolstaya, S. Potapchuk, etc.), where the fundamental similarity of techniques and methods of analysis is found – from the logical-semantic, etymological and derivative bonds of the lexemes, their sustainable phraseological contexts – to cultural and mentally-symbolic correlates of nominative units.

It is the approach, according to which ethnolinguistic scientists, naturally implies «appeal to the system of spiritual values standing behind the language signs, ethnocultural entities – mental and social images, mythological and ritual ideas or practical experience» [4, p. 198].
Ethnolinguistic reconstruction of traditional folk culture objects is focused on identifying the national-cultural specificity of the verbalization of a social continuum certain fragment with the primary and secondary conceptualization means and the possibility of their semantic and motivational analysis within the picture of the world, taking into account the conceptual, «naive», religious and other ideas about the language signs.

The proposed approach is focused mainly on works dedicated to the motivational analysis of dialectic vocabulary and terminology of folk and culture and artifacts written by O. I. Blinova, A. D. Golev, V. K. Pavel, S. M. Tolstaya, N. Tsymbal, etc., and the studies on structural typology and modeling of archaic semiotic systems (V. V. Ivanov, V. N. Toporov, T. V. Sivyan, I. D. Kovalenko and others), mythopoietic and folklore texts, symbols of stereotypes and cultural symbols (Ya. Adamovski, Y. Barminski, St. Nebzhegovska-Barminska, etc.). 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 substantiated the specific transfer from dialectal ethnolinguistics and comparative historical linguistics to cognitive and contrastive ones [5, p. 13].

According to I. A. Morozov and I. S. Sleptsova, «the appeal to local traditions inevitably leads the researcher not only to deal with the phenomenon, which is customary named «folklore dialectology «, but also makes him to use the language manifestations of folk dialects. The language image of the world is inextricably linked with other parties to the People's Worldview. Moreover, it is purely methodologically presented to present the traditional people's worldview not only from the point of view of the external observer – researcher, the creator of the dictionary, but also from the inside – as he understands and sees the carrier of culture [6, p. 5].

E. L. Berezovich, A. Ivchenko, V. M. Mokienko, I. A. Podyukov, M. V. Zhuykova, D. V. Uzhchenko, O. V. Harlai and others wrote about the ethnocultural specificity of the marriage relationship in the study of national-dialect and ethnofrazheology in different languages. So, in the work by O. V. Harlai, an attempt was made to analyze the motivational system structure of "marriage" in English, Polish, Czech and Ukrainian languages through the semantic oppositions "Marriage/Not-Marriage", "Male/Female", "Right/Left", "Take/Give". Based on the principles of axiological linguistics, the author established the relationship (ugly) and qualifying (estimated) nominees denoting the wedding system, described the linguistic motivation models and the direction of the conceptualization of various elements and attributes of marriage [7, p. 21].

It should be noted that the problems of ethnocultural lexical motivation of language units in different aspects are described in the works of such researchers as D. O. Aladko, O. I. Blinova, E. L. Berezovich, V. G. Gak, M. A. Golєv, N. Pashkova, E. Rut, and others. So, Ukrainian researcher N. Pashkova does not see a fundamental difference in the mechanism of the name of artifacts of material and spiritual culture, therefore, in linguistic culture – «linguoculturems», and in onomassiology – «nominative units with a semantics

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ethno-cultural component. In this case, by the semantic ethno-cultural component of a language unit, researchers traditionally understand the part of its meaning, which reflects the connection between the language sign and culture [8, p. 88].

Justification of the relevance of the study. Despite the rather sufficient amount of researches devoted to the analyzes of marriage vocabulary, a wedding ritual, there are no different aspects of the cultural semantics of extractual relationships, in particular, and the linguistic-cultural image of an extremely child on the material of the dialectal vocabulary in the East Slavic and Western linguistic cultures. The urgency of the proposed intelligence is due to its direction for the study of nominative units of material and spiritual culture, which reflects the socio-cultural specifics of names associated with marriage and family, etiquette, ritual and value stereotypes of various ethnic groups' representatives.

The combination of comparative-historical and areal approach to the nominations analysis of an illuminated child is an effective in identifying the motivational bases of modeling these signs by reconstruction their cultural semantics and symbols in the Slavonic language and semiotic space.

In the case of a peculiar white spot, the principles of the nomination of an extraordinary child are found in a traditional folk culture in the arbitrary-typological illumination in view of the folk and folklore representations and an estimation of extremorial illegal ties by society.

The repertoire of diverse illegal child in a retrospective dimension, fresh, euphemistical-metaphorical features and their typology within certain dialectal micrositems (correlation of various otological, domestic and mythological principles of titles) is not studied. Correlation between common in the internal lexems that refer to an illegitimate child and other cultural denotates in the field of material, domestic spiritual culture and other lexical-thematic or phrase-semantic groups. Therefore, the problem can be considered in a wider cultural-semiotic and comparative-typological dimension.

We appeal to the language conceptualization of the sphere of extramarital connections and relations on the basis of which to present the linguistic and cultural image of an extramarital child in the naive picture of the world, according to the regional vocabulary of the Russian, Ukrainian Polish and Slovak languages (attracting the texts of oral folklore in some cases, the facts of history, ethnology, cultural studies and psychology).

It is necessary to emphasize that mainly the primary figurative nominations of the celibacy, that we will show, suggest, the appeal to other conceptsospheres (such as married treason, punishment for the celibacy or loss of virginity, assessment categorization of people who are not married, the methods of civilian marriage, or the life of couples without registration (for faith) and other ethnocultural meanings). The latter can be a reliable and good prospect of studying the vocabulary and phraseology of Slavic linguistic and semiotic and cultural meanings within the framework of the so-called «naive model of the world» (Yu. D. Apresyan).

METHODOLOGY

The purpose of the article. Considering all discussed, the **purpose** of the proposed research is: to present lexical and semantic reconstruction of lexemes related to extramarital affairs in Western and Eastern Slavic languages, to make a brief analysis of their historical and etymological features and to identify on this basis the main semantic and motivational models of names of illegitimate children and extramarital relations in the Russian, Ukrainian, Polish and Slovak languages construed in the context of folk beliefs and conceptions (according to ontological, every day and mythological principles of nomination), to establish the facts of dialectal polysemy of units that have a common internal form and create the inter dialectal synonymous lines.

Setting objectives. The defined aim presupposes the solution of the following **tasks**:

1) to reconstruct language and cultural images of illegitimate child and extramarital relations according to the data of ethnography, cultural anthropology, dialectology, ethnolinguistics and folklore; to define the cognitive principles of their modeling in compared linguistic cultures;

2) to reveal the features of inner form and to determine the origin of the terms that denote illegitimate children in the Slavic languages, to expose the related evaluative semantic dominants and semantic motivational models in the naïve picture of the world of the Russian, Polish, Ukrainian and Slovak languages;

3) to denote the repertory of dialectal synonyms that nominative illegitimate child and the woman who bore out of legal marriage, to clarify the peculiarities of their semantics and motivation and to substantiate the mechanisms of developing dialectal polysemy of corresponding cultural denotata in the languages of folk dialects;

4) to represent folk images and ritual stereotypes of illegitimate child in folk songs, believes, people everyday conceptions and customs, i.e. in the naïve picture of the world in comparative aspect. The theoretical premises of this study are as follows: reconstruction of semantic-motivational models of object-household and ethnographic vocabulary in the native picture of the world (E. L. Berezovich, S. M. Tolstaya, O. I. Blinova, E. Ruth and others) and in broader sense the epistemology of ritual terminology as a whole (Tolstaya [9]; Larina [10]; Buchowski 11]).

Methods, techniques and technologies used. The proposed research involves applying the methods of comparative historical study to the facts of folk culture, addressing the etymological and cultural specifics of cultural names in the aspect of the reconstruction of spiritual values following the works of E. Benvenist, K. Moszynski, N. I. Tolstoy, A. N. Bazylev, E. Stefansky and others, works on ethnography and symbolism of the marriage ritual [12].

An important role in this aspect is played by comprehensive studies of motivational models in the folk picture of the world (S. M. Tolstaya), represented in the works related to folk life and the system of kinship relations, spatial loci and boundaries within the framework of the theory of cultural stereotypes (J. Adamowski, V. V. Burak, O. V. Tyshchenko, Z. Salzmann) [13].

On the other hand, the methods for describing the variability, areal variation of semes presented in the works of P. Yu. Gritsenko, N. Tsymbal, V. Konobrodskaya and others may be relevant in this regard [14].

In this regard, the lingual-cultural and partly lingual-cognitive analysis of frame semantics and cultural concepts related to matrimonial relations and the semantics of Marriage is also of great importance. Thus, for example, Yakuba V. V. focuses on the interconceptual connections within the situation framework of consent, matrimonal status, relationships, marriage and divorce), which have different cognitive and communicative means of expression, including different pragmatic means of their expression in English fiction [15, p. 18].

In the authoritative works of Russian ethnolinguists the reconstruction of concept «love» in a patriarchal society, in its language and culture presupposes addressing (is carried out on the basis of) such conceptual frames as the birth of an illegitimate child, punishment for the fruit of sinful love, extramarital affairs, betrayal, the motive of «a female rival in love» etc. The latter are considered in the context of traditional Bulgarian ideas and beliefs from lexical-phraseological, folklore and ethnographic perspectives [16, p. 475].

According to A. S. Babicheva, the marriage frame can be represented as a number of subframes (pre-event, post-event) and a set of slots (Place of action, role participants, preparation for the wedding, wedding feast, place of action (for example, holding a wedding party, loci, attributes). The researcher pays attention to the dynamics and transformation of certain frames and slots (matchmaking, bachelorette party, parental permission for marriage, ransom and gifts, etc. are eliminated or reduced). At the same time, new places of wedding ceremonies emerge (English museum, Golf Club, a planetarium) [17, p. 3–4].

E. L. Berezovich demonstrated the connection between

the nomination of adultery (one of the spouses) and a refusal to matchmaking with ritual games and presented the main models of the semantic categorization of these cultural denotations in the Russian dialects through the prism of the object code of culture. In her opinion, nominations belonging to different semantic spheres in the symbolic language of culture can be combined according to motivational or figurative principles. Thus, the motive of the illegitimate child is correlated with the motives of dissolute behavior and unwillingness to raise the child or take care of him, as well as with the theme of marriage in general [18, p. 111].

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". In his work based on the Ukrainian dialect phraseological material he considered the model («to jump + hiding = hide – to have unmarried sex»), presented by several synonymous variants (to jump into buckwheat, 'to betray the wife (husband); to have unmarried relations'). He put forward several etymological versions of this expression – a naive everyday one (associated with the theft of crops and plants), as well as the concepts dating back to the times of the Ukrainian Cossacks [19, p. 235]. A number of works consider the dialectal designations of an illegitimate child in the Ukrainian dialectal space from the historical-etymological, areal and motivational perspectives: the Eastern Polesye, Hutsul and South Carpathian dialects.

Within the theory of nomination (when considering different groups of domain-specific vocabulary and studying the mechanisms of conceptualization of cultural artifacts), researchers distinguish epistemological, ontological and situational-mythological nominations. Some also distinguish performative-situational and epistemological component in the act of nomination [20].

Russian researcher O. Berezovich suggests distinguishing between nominations according to the so-called cognitive principles and «the ontology of the existence of a thing in the process of secondary conceptualization, the semiosis» The researcher understands the latter as the opposition of ontological («empirical», i.e. related to the comprehension of the subject through sensory experience) and mythological approaches to the nomination. Developing this thesis, M. Zhuikova claims that empirical nominations are based on sensory experience, they are rational and reflect definite features of the named object or phenomenon, let us compare, for example, the Ukrainian names of insects: beetle-deer, stag, grasshopper, dragonfly; and popular names of diseases and their symptoms: 'krasnucha' (derived from the word red) – rubella, German measles, 'zhovtianytsia' (derived from the word yellow) – (yellow) jaundice, 'rizachka' (as a cutter) – a strong pain in the stomach, 'lomota'(as torture) – rheumatic pain/ache, 'triasowytsia' (as shaking) – fever, 'koliky' (as stabbing) – colic pains, gripes [21, p. 59].

Consequently, the analysis of the motivational basis of illegitimate child nominations constitutes a special interest in cognitive-onomasiological and semasiological aspects (as a structure of cultural knowledge representation system and cultural frames of extramarital affairs). It allows explaining the peculiarities of nominative structures that represent the cultural concept of children with special status and revealing the related semasiological mechanisms of language signs cultural semantics.

RESULTS

Presenting main material. Note that almost all etymological dictionaries and dictionaries of euphemisms associate etymon with the 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*).

To begin with, let us consider the nomination of illegitimate child in Slavonic cultures from comparative-typological and historical ethnic-cultural perspective applying data obtained by cultural anthropology and history of the Slavonic languages as well as some ethnographic, folklore and dialectal facts. Thus, an illegitimate child *(bastard, benkart, najda, znajduch, байстрюк)* was undoubtedly labeled negative in the consciousness of society. Compare also the following synonymic chain given by Polish dialectologists: *bachorze, bachor, bąchór, bęch, bęchart, bęchór, bękart* (Dejna SLBWKL I: [22]), *pokrzywnik, najduch* – «an illegitimate child or a foundling», *bękarstwo* – descent from parents that are not married to each other. However, the image, ascribed to popular consciousness, above all at the level of paremiae, is ambivalent.

Addressing the cultural sources of the lexeme *bastard* in etymological versions of several languages reveals the following data. Thus, Fasmer's Dictionary registers: *ба-стрык – 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 16th century. *Bastard* «mixture or hybrid born from the animals or plants of two different genera»; *сумесок – sumesok, вымесок – vymiesok, выро-док – vyrodok, ублюдок – ubliudok, тумак – tumak, ме-жиумок – meizhyutok, болван – bolvan*: a human being of two different tribes, for example Russian and Chud′. The word comes from the Old French *fils de bast, packsaddle child*, where the bast, or *packsaddle*, often was 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.

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 created by a cognate lexical elements that gave rise to the words *bâton* – [*sprout*] and *bâtir* – [*to build, to create*], however there is no unanimously accepted ideas concerning their origin (Kluge Etymologisches 2002: [23]).

The lexeme «baystryuk» is also represented in some Ukrainian Proverbs: *Ne baystryukovi hrih, a bat'kovi/ Not bastard's sin, but father's* (Nomys: [24]), *Baystruk, to roste yak struk.., a ty, yak bolyachka (odkazuye toy, shcho eho podrazhnyly baystryukom)/The bastard, then grows as a pod.., and you, as a sore* (says the one who was teased for being a bastard) (Nomys: [24]).

This is evidenced by 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*. I.Franko recorded in the «Galician-Russian sayings» the following context: *На кож-ного бенькарта щастя єднаке/ Na kozhnoho ben'kar-ta shchastya yednake/Bastards have a lot of luck/ are the luckiest people* (Franko GRNP III: [25]). Concerning this and similar expressions, while giving comments to the cited proverb, Polish ethnographer Y.St. 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 (Bystroń 1933: [26]).

According to Ya. Karlovich, in dialect speech, the lexeme *bastruk* has two meanings «dziecko nieprawe», *bajstruk* «extramarital child» and «evil spirit who sits under the roots of elderberries and breaks the hand of the one who digs this bush» (in the vicinity of the city Poznań), an extramarital child is called *pastrak, bajstruk, bajstrzek, bastrom, bastroń, bastry* «march lambs» (obsolete, with m. Plock) (SGP I: 54-55). Borrowed from the Polish language, the word *benkart* is recorded in special lexicographic sources with the following

meanings: «extramarital child, bastard», «too active, mobile, restless child» (expletive, ironic, joking), «a person without moral principles»; «freak», «smaller capacity of a keg of beer», «the smallest capacity of a bottle of alcohol (100–125 grams)», also presented derivatives of benkarteria «extramarital children» (Hobzey, Simovich 2009: [27]). As a phonetically modified borrowing from the Polish language *bękart* this dialectal lexeme is presented in Naddnistriansk dialects in the Ukrainian language.

At least it is fixed by I. Franko in two meanings: in a stylistically reduced context as someone else's child, the child of a widower: *Я ще ни надїювала ся, а ту бав меже чужі букарти/ Ya shche ny nadyivuvala sya, a tu bav mezhe chuzhi bukarty/* Said the woman who married a widower with children (GRNP Franko III: [25]). In addition, it functions as an insulting nickname to denote not only an illegitimate child, but the child at all, especially naughty: *А, ти букарте єден!* / *A, ty bukarte yeden!* (GRNP Franko I: [25]). Russian borrowing *bankart* «extramarital child» (Lithuania, recorded by historical sources 1963) (SRNG 2: 94).

Polish lexicologist A. Rejter defines within the expressive vocabulary a separate semantic category DZIECKO Z NIEPRAWEGO ŁOŻA encompassing the following nominations: *bękart* and its derivatives – *baster* and its word building variations, synonymic row *fotarlę, mamzer, wyleganiec, najduk, nalezionek, podmiotek, podrzutek, pokrzywnię, pokrzywnik, samosiejka, samosiejek, wylęganiec, najduch, najdek, nabytniak, przypłodek* (Rejter 2006: [28]). On the material of these lexical units Polish scholar E. Woźniak foregrounded the key words – *wyleganiec, pokrzywnik* and *bękart* in the Old Polish sources and legal texts of 16th century. The scholar defines semantic status, clarifies stylistic differences of these terms functioning in legal and historical-lexicographic texts, as well as in dictionaries of dialects which allows her to perform their culturally semantic reconstruction to determine their connection to Roman Catholic Law.

In the «Etymological dictionary of the Czech language» by V. Machek, *panchart* is also considered as a loan from the German language filed with variants parchant «son of an unmarried woman (often unfree), but a married father». To refer to an extramarital child, several synonyms *levoboček / What is on the left side* is the old Czech *panchart, kopřivčic, spirius ženimčic, baňkart* including the meaning «bad child». Together with the Slovak *pankhart, panghart*, Polish *beńkart*, Lusatian *bankart* and Croatian *pankert* ascends from the form *banchart* with a mocking meaning, word – formatively correlated with banc «bench», i.e. it is a child conceived on a solid bench instead of a marital bed; cf. also middle Latin scamnifex-here is scamnum «bench»; French *bastard, batard* goes back to the middle Latin *bastum* «the saddle that served for sleeping instead of a pillow»; native old Czech names *koprivnik, koprivče, koprivčic* (Machek: [29]).

To this should be added synonyms from the Boykiv dialect of extramarital child as «column in the sleigh», hoof «pokritka», hoof «Sheep, up to a year small lamb», hoof «*baistryuk*». More synonyms *bukart, kobyl, kopyv, kopylya, kopylyak, kopylchuk, kopciuch, naida, pozhalivnyk, pokropivnyk*. In the «Galician-Russian sayings», I. Franko recorded the following curses of an extramarital child: *A chyya to divka? – To, vibachte, kopylanya – maye matir, a ne maye bat'ka* /*You are a filthy pig*, «*And whose girl is this*? *Then, pardon me, is a bastard – has a mother and no father*» (GRNP Franko I: [25]), as well as the proverb *З биля робити копиля/Z bylya robyty kopyla/* «to gossip about someone» with the meaning «to let someone disreputableness, evil fame, like the expression «make a mountain out of a molehill», «only with a touch of gloating».

As to the origin of this name, allegedly a lexical carpathism (the latter, together with derivative formations, is represented in Transcarpathian and separate Bulgarian speeches), some see it as lexical bulgarism, which came to existence as a result of the previous influence of the Bulgarian language on the Carpathian *kopylets'* «an illegitimate child» (Bulgarian *kopyle*) (Dzendzelivsky 2001: [30]). According to some researchers, in the Bulgarian custom, the widow who gave birth to a child, (compare this name in some Bulgarian dialects *копилуша, копилана*) was disgraced and punished in the same way as an unmarried woman: she was thrown into the water, made to ride naked on a donkey or banished from the village.

In the Ukrainian historical and etymological versions we find such explanations of the lexical unit *копил* an «illegitimate child, bastard, degenerate», *kopel, kopelya, kopylets, kopylcha, kopylyak, kopyl'chuk, kopylytsya* – «an illegitimate wife, mistress, lover», *kopylytysya* «to give birth to an illegitimate child», Slovakian *kopil*, Bulgarian *kypele, kopyle* come from old Slavonic *kopil*, which is, obviously, a substrate word of Dacian-Thracian (or Illyrian) origin, possibly a borrowing from Romanian or Albanian lingos (compare Romanian *kopil* «a child, boy», *copil* «an illegitimate child», Albanian *kopil* «a servant» as a possible derivation with the aid of the prefix *ko-* (Albanian language) which is cognate with Old Indo-European *ka-* «bad», from Albanian *pjell* «to give birth (about animals)». Researchers note the lexical unit *kopyl* with the following «technical» meanings – «riser», «clamp», «ax holder», «block» and others, as the forward parts of the body – head, nose, legs as well as denoting an illegitimate child (see also: Zhuravlev 2005: [31]). Interesting facts in connection with the idea of a miracle, abnormalities, motive, ignorance and denial of danger in connection with the attainment of hail clouds among Serbs shows E. Levkievskaya (Levkievskaya: 2002 [32]). The researcher cites the example sentence from cumulonimbus storm clouds when the young girl, throwing aside the clouds of their vests, shout *«колико jа знала за моj дом, толико град убио моj род»* – As I know my home so let the hail beat my harvest S. M. and N. I. Tolstye, showing this example, commented as follows: «*Apparently, girls in this rite pose as «copilu» i.e., illegitimate children who do not know their kind, and thus demonstrate a «miracle» that can stop a hail cloud.*

As for the dialect designations of an illegitimate child in the Slovak language, they are not numerous, but mostly contain negative expression, bordering on derogatory nicknames and expletives, obscene vocabulary. Terms for a child born out of wedlock, mostly nominal and verbal formations, are isomorphic to those considered in other Slavic zones: *nezákonné, vykurvenec, had vykurvený, prespanča, najdúch, kopirdan, kopil, panghart*. Available: https://www.ludovakultura.sk/polozka-encyklopedie/nemanzelske dieta.

Accordingly, the lexical parallels for a woman who gave birth to an extramarital child are typologically uniform and similar, with a few exceptions, to other Western and Eastern Slavic terms: *prespanka, závitka, pokrytka, zmrhalka* and pod. Its quite clear axiology is apparent, while opaque motivation presented verbal education *zmrhalka* (From medieval times to the recent past it was morally and economically condemned by society and the Church: high fines, public screams, exposing the front of the Church or in another public place (in front of the bell tower, column), sometimes even beaten or spitted), correlated with the dialect verb zmrhať «in vain, useless, needless to use, to lose, to miss, to waste» and is partly reflected in the sustainable combination *Partu panenskú zmrhala* (Janko Kráľ) – about lost innocence. Available: https://www.ludovakultura.sk/polozkaencyklopedie/prespanka/; *Nekaždá panna, čo má partu na hlave, Mala partu, vzal ju čert, Mala vlasy, vzal ich žid, Cez ploty preskakuje* (Záturecký 2018: [33]).

As for the repeatedly mentioned Germanism of *banhart*, the latter functions in Slovak culture in the context of a mythological character, a masquerader who comes to live with an extramarital child who constantly cries and screams (Botík, Slavkovský [24]). Sources provide the following contexts for the use of this lexeme: *Žena pobehlica, nestará sa o nič, ani o toho svojho pankharta* (Jégé); *Notárovho pangharta chováte, to Eva Hlavajová s notárom mala* (Urb.);

Prečo mám nepodarených pangartov? (Al.); *Dutkuline pangarty, každé od iného otca...* (Jégé); *Čo to za pankart zrodil sa z ich lásky* (Len.); *Panchart akýsi, takto mi odpove dal* (Tal.). Available: https://slovnik.aktuality.sk/pravopis/slovnik-sj/?q=pankhart.

In language expression, the motif of *cuckoo children* is reflected in dialect phraseology and lexical one-word categories in different languages and in folklore. Thus, in Ukrainian dialect phraseology (East Slavic dialects), the euphemism *cuckoo put* means the birth of a child, often extramarital: *Vy chuly? Rodyni Ivashchenka zozulya pidklala* – Literally: *Have you heard that in Ivashchenko's family, the cuckoo put?, зозуля принесла /zozulya prynesla / the cuckoo brought it* «about the birth of a child» (mainly in conversation with young children), Russ. *Bytovat' kukushkoy/ to live as a cuckoo, to be a cuckoo* «to be childless» (*She was married twice, but still remained a cuckoo),* the phrase *zozulyna dytyna/cuckoo child* is recorded by researchers in Bukovina dialects; it records dialect units with this *internal form* and Ya. Karlovich in Polish dialects *zozulicz* «dziecko opuszczone od rodziców i wychowane przez kogo innego, jak pisklę zozuli czyli kukułki» – *a child left by parents, being brought up by strangers (other) people, like a cuckoo chick*. In the Czech language J. Zaoralek provides an example *je kukaččí* (Zaorálek, Lidová rčení I: [35]). Associative and symbolic parallels associated with the image of a cuckoo in the Ukrainian naive picture of the world can be correlated with other cultural designate: *zhyttya kukuvaty/the life of a cuckoo* «to live alone», *zhyty zozuleyu/to live as a cuckoo* – «dissolute life», *zozulya perekuvala koho/the cuckoo is jamming someone* «someone went as a servant» obviously, with the same sema «lack of their own nests, living in a strange place, nest».

The motive of cuckoo's guilt and retribution for sins, – notes A.V. Nikitina, – is more than stable, it is fixed in such linguistic forms as proverbs or expressions of aphoristic type, for example, *Kak kukushka po chuzhim gnezdam letayet/ Like a cuckoo flying around other birds' nests* (cuckoo is a carefree mother who leaves her children for others to bring up), *Ne dikovina, chto kukushka v chuzhoye gnezdo polezla, a vot to b dikovina, kaby svoye svila / It's no wonder that a cuckoo climbed into someone else's nest; it'd be strange, if it made its own*. This guilt (sinfulness) of the cuckoo bird, which caused the revenge of birds, was reflected and developed in etiological legends about the origin of the cuckoo. Its loneliness and widow status are based in these legends precisely from the standpoint of ideas about the guilt of a woman in violation of marriage.

Folk ethnocultural nominations of illegitimate children are subject to the General semantic laws of cultural dialect vocabulary and ritual terminology, justified in the works of A. Blinova, T. Larina, N. Tolstoy, P. Gritsenko, N. Tsymbal, etc. – structural-semantic and phonetic variation, inter-dialect polysemy and synonymy (analogous to inter-dialect synonymic series), imagery, metaphor, symbolism, euphemization and connection with others areas of the cultural dictionary.

The consideration of local traditions will inevitably lead the scholar not only to the necessity to pay attention to the phenomenon of «dialectology of folklore» but makes him/her to face the need of accounting for the manifestation of folk dialects. The language image of the world is inseparably linked to the other sides of folk world outlook. Moreover it is more correctly methodologically to treat the traditional folk outlook not only from the perspective of external viewer – a researcher, the author of a dictionary, but also from inside – from the perspective of national culture representatives. Consequently, it results in the problem of application of broader textual and speech fragments rather than description of stable, fixed folk language forms.

According to T. A. Bernshtam, those «born out of wedlock received various collective nicknames that accompanied them throughout their subsequent life, which did not exclude social age terms if their life went well. The most common nicknames were: *skolotniki, zauhol'niki/the one found around the corner* (North Russian, South Russian), *mirskie/ the wordly ones* (Russian), *polevyye/the ones found in a field*, *zhyroviki/fats* (from the word «zhirit'sya» – «to become fat»– in the meaning of «play», «to love» (West-South-Russian.).

In addition to profane-domestic nominations, as a rule, swearing and scornful expressives (*vygonok/the one who was cast out, vygulok, nakhalonok/the nasty one*, specific semantic and word-formation principles of the nomination of an illegitimate child are found in the system of Russian dialect nominations. First of all, let us pay attention to the ratio of the semantic structures of dialecticisms, which nominate the off-season babies of domestic animals, mushrooms and an illegitimate child. E. Berezovich very convincingly argues that in the dialect of the people, the semantics of the general easily flows into the semantics of «neutral», NEUTRAL PROPERTY. In this case, we are talking about the characteristics of objects whose owner is unknown. The semantics of the words «public», «neutral» is indirectly represented when designating an illegitimate child (*vologoskoe*): *lyudshchina* as 'bastard; Perm *miron* 'the same' (from the word world or «people»), Ryazan *mirskoy* «bastard» (Berezovich 2007: [18]).

Thus, the internal form of the designation *подсуслонник* has such a circle of denotations «a mushroom growing in the field under laying sheaves (*suslon*)»; «a late chicken bred by a brood hen at harvest time» (Arkhangelsk, Kostroma, Vologda, Sverdlovsk regions). In the same northern area, the meanings chick hatched from an egg after harvest» and «piglet born in September» are presented (*porosyata rodyatsya ne vo vremya, osen'yu, v sentyabre/piglets are not born on time, in autumn, in September – doc. podsuslonniki; they are somehow bad; nothing grows, podsuslonnik*) – and «illegitimate child», *podsuslonok (She brought in a podsuslonok, what a shame!)*. In different local zones of the Russian dialect space there were also found such lexical units as *zaugolok* – in the second meaning, along with the original «the one who is hiding, stands around the corner» (Arkhangelsk region, *podzaugolnik* with the same meaning, *podtynnik/the one found under the fence* «plant of the poppy family; celandine» (Oryol, Bryansk regions), «illegitimate child» (Don region), lexical unit *podtynnitsa/the woman found under the fence* only in the second meaning denotes a promiscuous woman (Don region); besides this, it means «a type of spring fever». An identical locative sign of a nomi-nation is objectified when designating unmarried and single, for example, in Russian perm dialects *старый подовин-ник/staryy podovinnik/old podovinnik* «a man who has not been married for a long time, old bachelor» – Literally: *Old podovinom*. In special dictionaries, this dialect phraseology is represented mainly in perm dialects. The latter is motivat-ed by the reality of *подовинник/podovinnik* «a long dry log used to heat a barn when drying sheaves before threshing it» (Siberian).

S. M. Tolstaya, analyzing different Slavonic languages, exposes the locative semantic feature in dialectal lexicon belonging to different thematic groups, including nominations of illegitimate child, mythological creatures and collective sobriquets. She treats these groups of nominations through the prism of semantically motivational models (Tolstaya 2008 [36]); see also the dialectal nominations: N.-Rus., S.-Rus. *zaugol, zaugolish, zaugolchik*, Yaroslavl *podkrylechnik/the one found on the porch, podkustarnichek/ the one found in the bush, podpechnik/the one found near a furnace, solomennitsa/a girl found in a hay pile*, Siberian *podstozhnik, podogorodnik/the one found in the garden or a field,* Kursk *lugovoy/the one found in a meadow*, Don *podtynnik, colloquial podzabornik.*

As we can see, the semantics of an illegitimate child in a folk dialect language develops from other meanings or correlates with a number of other dialect meanings, motivated by the original, usually locative. An example of such indirectly derived nominees, in the terminology of

V. G. Hack, can also be those that combine the relational-evaluative and profane-everyday type of motivation. Thus, the adjective *obydennyy/mundane* is correlated with the designated cultural sign only through a number of other peripheral meanings 'random', 'produced, made within one day', 'one-day'.

Let us pay attention in this regard to the mythological type of motivation (a term by E. L. Berezovich): *obmen/exchange*, correlated with the dialect lexical unit under consideration in the third meaning of «loss» (North Dvinsky area); according to popular belief, – the goblin child, a devil replaced by a human child (Arkhangelsk, Olonets, Tver, Yaroslavl, Perm dialects); the same dialecticism in abusive use is applied to a child (usually a boy) who behaves badly (*Akh ty, obmen! Kak ty smel eto sdelat'!/Oh you exchange! How dare you do it!*) (Vologda region); «foundling, illegitimate child» (Arkhangelsk region); «a person who has changed a lot after the illness, who has become unlike themselves» (Novgorod region); «about an ugly man», etc.

Let us consider some other units that denote an illegitimate child in the Russian dialect space. Dialectal unit *prygulysh* also corresponds with the meaning «animal, adhering to someone else's flock» (Vladimir, Vologda, Kostroma), *prigulochnyy rebenok* – fatherless child, explicit internal form is peculiar to *pridannik* – lexeme, whose derivational structure is manifested through formant – *at* – and the motivating verb (verbal derivative); it is necessary to pay attention to the verbal derivative in the Sverdlovsk dialects *pridannik*, which in addition to an illegitimate child means also the younger brother of the bride, bringing her dowry and a step-child, what the dowry; ramified semantic structure has a respective designation of origin. Hence, dowry – Literally: That which is imparted, added finds in Arkhangelsk dialects, of which only the latter represents an illegitimate daughter (other «bride with a rich dowry», «the woman who takes the dowry to the groom's house and prepares a bed for the newlyweds», «girl cousin of the bride, which she takes home with her groom», «cow, horse or a thing obtained as a dowry»). With the help of the formant -pri – formed and derivatives *приколтыш* – *prikoltysh* «the one who stuck, stuck to someone, something, foster», «child, in particular, and extramarital», «young lambs» (Vyatskoe, Kirovskoe), seeded «extramarital child» (Transbaikalia). This disease, obviously, can be contracted in any unclean places, under a fence); *padalitsa* refers to "an illegitimate child" only in its fourth meaning (other three meanings being «a ripe bump», «a self-sowing forest», «extreme stripes of the bread field»). These polysemic dialectic transformations in the semantic structure of the word are correlated with the participle *padalichny*, first and foremost, in its direct, initial meaning "grown out of crumbled seeds, self-sowing (coniferous ears)». The idea of animal birth is also presented as abusive and derogatory lexical unit *vyportok* – «a cub taken out, fluttered from a killed female sea animal», also *vykhovanets* in its second meaning (compare the first meaning «pupil, foster baby or foundling»). Compare also *konfetochnik*, marked «humorous» in the dictionary (Saratov region) with unclear motivation. An illegitimate child and a boy who was rejected by a girl during matchmaking is indicated in dialects through the same inner form, for example, *oskolotok* «an illegitimate child» (Arkhangelsk Region), *skolotok, oskolotochek* and *oskoloshnik* «a bridegroom who received a splinter as a token of refusal» (We answer to the boys that they are *oskoloshniki*, that they don't seem to get married because they have eaten the splinters, that is, they «were rejected»).

V. Dahl also found a dialectal lexical unit, motivationally coupled with the idea of an unkind look. In its primary meaning the phrase *zazorlivyy chelovek* had the meaning of a man of bad morals; similar dialectic shameful derivatives take, for example, in Arkhangelsk dialects, the meaning «envious» or the meaning of bad morality, compare *zazorchivyy, zazirchivyy* «eager to gape, stern in demeaning»; in the Pskov region, *zazorlivyy chelovek* means «bashful, conscientious» and *zazoristyy* «shameful», zazorit' (someone) – «to vilify, blacken, overspell». *zazornye deti* («illegitimate children») corresponds to the same set of values (V. Dahl). The dialectal lexical unit *marysh* also preserves its unclear inner form, with its meanings «the youngest of the brothers with the same name» (Cherepovets, Novgorod regions), «an illegitimate child» (Penza region), «of any worthless thing» (Perm region). Some dialect nominations are motivated, as noted, by the subject code in the vernacular dialect language: *paugolok* «the protruding end of a log in the corner of curb» and «extramarital son» (Arkhangelsk dialects) and correlated with the idea of the corner, i.e. the space of the house (see below), less often are words with diminutive suffixes (diminutives): *balbashonok* «a child born out of wedlock, during the absence of her husband (Don subdialects), as well as semantic caritives with the component -bes – ('absence, lack of what'): *besputok* – Literally: The one who has no way, the dissolute «extramarital child» (see Ural, 1963). Accordingly, when referring to the women who had given birth out of wedlock (Vladimir, Yaroslavl dialects) is also seen dialect polysemy values also generally correlate with the world and the habits of animals: *raspetushitsa* get on one's high horse – «chicken with the habits and partly the appearance of a rooster, not bearing eggs», «characterless, dull, awkward person who has everything goes wrong», «a girl who got children before marriage» (Cherepovets, Novgorod). A similar pattern is found in dialect composites with a fairly transparent word-formation motivation: *samosedka* – self-sitting – Literally: And, which itself is sitting, sat «a hen hatching chicks without the knowledge of the owners», «a woman who has an illegitimate child» (Buryatia). See also *balovnytsia* «a woman who has entered into an illegal relationship with a man». As for words *prysev*, then his match in the Ukrainian language dissimilar and compound names *samosii/the one that sows themselves* (Eastern Polish), *samosiika dytyna* (Nomys: [24]).

Let examine other Slavic languages. In Polish dialects, lexical units are similar in their internal forms to Ukrainian (*znaydukh* – *знайдух*) and Russian (*nayda* – *найда, nayden* – *найден, naydenok* – *найденок, znajda, znalezieniec*). B. Sykhta also fixes a semantic transition (homonymous form – *znajdek*) to denote a lost rooster (*'zabłąkany kogut'*) and an illegitimate child in the Kashubian local tradition. And to mark the expression of the idea of «pregnancy out of wed-lock», the kashubians use the black eye motif: *mńeć oko pod-bite*. – Literally: *To have a black eye* – «about a woman who became pregnant outside of marriage» (*Ona ma oko podbite – she has a broken eye*), *podbić oko* «to make pregnant» (*Ón je oko podbeł*) – Literally: *He shot her eye* At the same time, dialects are also recorded in the Slenzk suburbs as a part of whole word-building nests, for example, *spyrknóć sie* «about a woman having a child out of wedlock» (*Hanka sie spyrkła. Spyrkła sie przed ślubym, ale ji to umrziło*); also in a warning – *Nie kopej przez połednie, bo sie spyrkniesz* – Literally: *Do not dig at noon* – you become pregnant without marriage, *miarcorz* about a man living in an unofficial marriage without a church wedding. This dialectic lexeme, apparently, is a derivative of the verb *miarczyc* «to live with a woman without a marriage», the phrase *(na) miarki – żyć – miarka*; *to live on a measure* – this phrase deals with the name of a 10 liters dish to preserve wheat. The dish model of extramarital affairs is also updated in the Polish phraseology *żyć na wiaderku* – Literally: *Living on a bucket*, obviously related to the idea of something inaccurate, approximate. In addition, the basics *basak* as «bastard» and *basak* as «rag or rag doll for children» – Literally: *Rag, rag doll for children*, are still known in these dialects. In other dialect zones of Poland, the dishware model of a figurative nomination, designating a woman and a man living in an unregistered marriage, for example, *żyć na knebel* – Live on a stalk, *żyć na wiorek* (Maciejewski 1969: 30) [37].

The derivative *kneblarze* is presented with the same meaning. In Kotsev dialects, according to the testimony of B. Sychta, nominations with the word *żyć* are also presented: *żic na knebel* «live on faith without a church wedding» (where

knebel is «a stick like a plug»). Let us also pay attention to derivatives denoting a woman or a man living in a common-law marriage *kneblaf, kneblarka,*. So, the same form is associated with the designation of bastard and a woman who gave birth out of wedlock, and is also very often used for lexical marking of marital cohabitation, promiscuous behavior, adultery and persons who did not get married in time, since these units form a common associative-derivational series, whose members are connected by semantic-word-formation or epidigmatic connections. An example is Kashubian names like *psenoga* «child born out of wedlock» – Literally: *Dog's leg*, and *psicka* «woman of easy virtue», *pse pasć* – Literally: as *Graze dogs* «to have love affairs, especially out of wedlock», Polish dialects *przespać się* – to sleep has the meaning of «to have a bastard», *przespanica, przespanka przeskoczna, przeskocka* – is the one who jumps, jumps over «the mother of an illegitimate child», *przespanica* «a woman who cheated on her husband, is engaged in foreignness», *przezimka* «a womanshe's small for her sweetheart ditin», *przybłęda* – *Pribluda* is «a child who has strayed from unknown parents or a foundling», which is similar to the Russian dialect of *приблудить ребенка/ pribludit' rebenka /wandering a child* «having an illegitimate child» (Kaluga dialects), *поблудки/ pobludki* in the first meaning «desipiency» (Tver) and in the second – «illegitimate children» (Transbaikalia). Through metonymic transfer, the Kashubian nomination *pąpk* «navel» also emerged, which only in the fourth meaning denotes an illegitimate child. Besides this is peripheral meaning, it also has the meanings «chicken stomach», «middle», «mushroom», and also the expression *Djabli pąpk* – literally *woman's navel* «the last potato bush», *Djabli pąpk* – Literally: *Devil's navel* «damn mushroom» and others. The breach of faith motif (a Belarusian spring song about a young woman who went mushrooming and, returning, walked around and slept in a tower with the fellows) and bastards (Ukrainian *байструки/bajstruky/bystruts* «inedible mushrooms») is also associated with mushrooms.

CONCLUSIONS

Research findings. 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 (Tolstaya [36]: [38]). The special works of L. N. Vinogradova represent a rich ground for case studies on the basis of material collected in Polissia region (Vinogradova [39]). Similar Ukrainian material on this topic is examined in the works of ethnographer N. K. Gavryliuk. A Bulgarian ethnographer M. Kitanova suggested the motivational analysis of nominations denoting illegitimate child in Bulgarian dialects and argues that they apply different cultural codes – corporeal, phytomorphic, zoomorphic, etc. ([40]: 38–39).

A social status of woman and illegitimate child in Ukrainian archaic society was addressed within the domain of ethno pedagogy (Kvas & Yarushak [41]), customary law, historic ethnology, cultural anthropology (Shcherbak [2]) and others. Thus G. Bortnyk analyses the opposition "of stable word combinations *lawful wedlock/ consensual marriage* that nominate the corresponding phenomena of matrimonial conceptual sphere – *legal and de facto union* (Bortnyk [42]). The evidences related to historical ethnology can also shed some light on the topic. They provide records «about family and matrimonial relations in the context of Ukrainian legal culture in 16–17th centuries at the time of Lithuanian Statute» that regulated the rights of ownership, redemption, the right of a widow to marry, the attitude to illegitimate children. In her other work E. Woźniak analyses a number of old Polish legal terms with evaluative meaning dated back to Roman Canon law and Latin enclosing *łoże* as their component: *dzieci nieślubne, nieprawego łoża, nieczystego łoża, niedobrego łoża, złego łoża, niepoczciwego łoża, naganionego łoża, as well as* innovations *nieprawe potomstwo, potomstwo z nieprawego związku, dzieci naturalne* (Woźniak 2017:[43]). In this context a more recent term *wyleganiec* is worth attention, it was used in 16th century (as a derivative of the verb *wylęgać, legać* 'to have sexual relations' (Woźniak 2017: [43]).

M. M. Ugriumova analyses lexical units representing the conception of child in respect to the semantics of *innateness – strangeness* in Middle Priob'ye's patois (Ugriumova: [44]).

Marriage in traditional society was one of the important social institutions associated with a certain system of ritual forms, motives, and symbols. Marriage and the birth of children in marriage, as normative circumstances for procreation, were, from the point of tradition view, necessarily-normative stages of the individual life cycle. It is no accident that there were a large number of premarital, marriage, and postmarital customs and ritual actions that were intended to ensure the fertility of the spouse (Shcherbak 2004: [2]). The community had a negative attitude to «illegal» –marriages, in particular, those that were performed without observing the marriage ritual and wedding rites. For example, the Ukrainians of the Carpathians, where in the 16tth and 17th century the rules of customary law were particularly conservative, a common form of punishment for illegal marriages was a monetary fine, which was called *bykove.* When this tax was paid, it was possible to live together, alone, only as long as the child was born; then the in-live lovers had to get married. Even in his «History» Herodotus writes about the sarmatians.... No girl gets married until she kills some enemy. It happens that some of them die unmarried, if they do not have to do it according to custom.

The birth of such children required the «correction» of existing anomalies according to the anatomical (stereotypical) pattern by symbolic means – by performing certain ritual and magical actions. Deviations from the social norm, that is born out of wedlock were registered in such names as «extramarital», «bastard», «spurious» – Literally: *The one that was found*, «tally-ho»; «on the side», «off the brush» child – Literally: *The child was born* and determined a certain specific attitude of society to it (Shcherbak 2004: [2]).

The prohibition to have illegitimate children both in primitive and modern cultures, – according to a well known anthropologist B. Malinovskiy – in most cases refers to the mother rather than the father, whereas the punishment is directed to an individual rather than to a group. It is the single woman who suffers having an illegitimate child, however the man might also take the guilt when he supports the woman and shares the responsibility for the consequences of sinful love. Let us recall in this connection such Slovak contexts as *Lepší stvoriteľ ako zabiteľ* – Literally: *Better a creator than a killer*, says the «free woman» in her defense. In this case, the relics of ancient practices are seen, when a woman who gave birth out of wedlock tried to get rid of the fruit of sinful love (Záturecký: [14]). Something similar records in the «Galician-Russian sayings» Ivan Franko: *Не де-м діла, су-ре-м ззїла / Ne de-m dila, syre-m zzyila* – Literally: *Where is, I ate it raw* – the young woman or the unwed mom answers angrily when asked where the child is. They say that before there were cases that a girl, having an unofficial child, with scare before shame, ate it after birth (Franko GRNP II: [15]).

The motive of pokrytka, drowning or eating the bastard child is well-known in Slavic and non-Slavic folklore and thoroughly is described by the ethnographer V. Hnatiuk.

Prospects for further research in this area. The main ways of image nomination of an illegitimate child and realia related to it in naïve picture of the world of the discussed languages include the following structurally-semantic models – locative-vegetative, zoomorphic, locative-spatial, utensils and somatic. The locative conceptual sphere HOME (as living space and utility room) opposed to the external, alien, uninhabited space or wood is the imagery-semantic center of nominative units that verbalize the source of illegitimate child origin. The analysis of the semantic structure of the dialectal lexemes denoting an illegitimate child, especially in the Russian language, demonstrated not only a huge synonymic

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ТИЩЕНКО Олег Владимирович и другие
ЯЗЫКОВОЙ И КУЛЬТУРНЫЙ ОБРАЗ ВНЕБРАЧНОГО ...

potential of them in different local traditions and the diversity of the characteristics of category (spatial-locating, traffic, real (symbolic function of objects), part of the whole and destruction of the object, the symbolism of the exchange, no man's property, zoomorphic, vegetative), but other semantic features. You should pay attention to the rather extensive semantic structure expessing many nicknames, nicknames and terms that have multiple meanings, in addition to the semantics of the illegitimate child and women in illegal marriage (by common internal forms of the dialect they relate to different, albeit close circle of cultural denotations, often in derivational nests of units). The motivation of some of them remains unclear. So, the question is, about the nomination of some local signs, nicknames in Russian language (such as *балбашонок, зазорные дети, пауголок, сураз, конфеточник, марыш*, etc.). It is dominated by the profane-everyday, relative evaluation, mythological, charitably signs the nomination, in the terminology of V. G. Gak, E. L. Berezovich, S. M. Tolstaya.

It should also be noted relatively poor phraseological «snap-in» key terms such as *байстрюк, bękart, копил, bastard, pankhart,* a singleness associated proverbial sayings in almost all cultures, in contrast to the secondary of euphemisms and phrasal units and idioms, designating the place and manner of occurrence of the illegitimate (born model was found, abandoned, place and cause of the loss of a father), with their inherent semantic component of abnormality, strangeness (in this birth or origin).

As it is showed in the analysis, one of the oppositions denoting an illegitimate child in traditional folk culture, is friend or foe, handicap-pusherbot, conceptually associated with the motives of no man's property, and space of the House and its parts, fence, whole and broken, of spontaneity, self-seeding, emergence out of no where of detection in nettles and so on.

Motivational analysis of the designations of illegitimate children have found links with a variety of cultural codes – corporal, pathomorphism, zoomorphic (cf. the link with the image of a cuckoo bird or a dog and a bird nomination in connection with the designation of the illegitimate from the kashubians, etc.), some dialects, except illegitimate child, represent another circle of cultural denotations (in particular from the lower mythology – objects and attributes of the wedding ceremony, the agricultural way of life, a model sustainable plant – all mean an illegitimate child; an animal – an illegitimate child with derivational or semantic motivation).

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