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The Linguistic and Cultural Image of Weaving Craft in Paroemias and Phrasemes (East and West Slavic Context)

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The article suggests a semantic reconstruction of the elements of traditional weaving craft (tools, mechanisms, devices and their parts, raw materials etc.) represented in phrasemes, proverbs and sayings in the Russian, Ukrainian, Polish, Slovak, and, partly, Czech languages in ethnolinguistic dimension. The units of secondary nomination to denote weaving realia are considered from the point of view of their figurative categorization, structural and semantic typology, directions and processes of semantic dynamics, and conceptualization of weaving terminology, which are reflected, first of all, in dialectal phraseology, similes and paroemias in different local traditions. In the article the emphasis is laid on the symbolic function of the objects of material culture, and on the connected with them pragmatic senses, everyday-life and magic folkways, beliefs (calendar paroemias, symbolic function of chrononyms).

Utilitarian and symbolic function of things, weaving, phraseologism, paroemia, beliefs, structural-semantic model, Slavic-speaking area.

Introduction

To identify various aspects of ethnographic information of things that are the product of traditional trades and crafts, one of the most important characteristics we need to take into account apart from the form, material, tool-making technique, and ornament is that of „existence in everyday life” (“бытование”). At least four aspects of a thing’s existence in everyday life should be considered: spatial (area of existence), temporal (duration of existence), frequency-based (degree of existence) and sign-based (mode of existence).¹

The processes of primary and secondary nomination of traditional crafts and artifacts in the linguistic and conceptual pictures of the world in linguoculturological coverage (in folklore and ethnographic texts, specialized bilingual dictionaries of technical terminology, dialectal dictionaries of idioms, dictionaries of symbols, similies etc.) provide a way to reconstruct particular fragments of the picture of the world, cognitive and ceremonial representations connected with traditional crafts and household practices in cognate and genetically remote cultures and languages.

The study of the thing code of culture, according to A. L. Toporkov, is directed at the reconstruction of „ritual functions of the items of material culture, creating background for revealing general patterns of semantization of things and their functioning in traditional ceremonialism”. Therefore, in ceremonialism, those characteristics of things are marked which are determined by their practical use, form, material etc., i.e. by „the character of motivation of the object as a certain ritual symbol”.²

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¹ Коновалов, А. В.: Об этнографических аспектах изучения промыслов и ремесел. In: Промыслы и ремесла народов СССР. Сборник научных трудов. Ленинград, 1986, pp. 162-165.

² Toporkov, A. L.: Символика и ритуальные функции предметов материальной культуры. In: Этнографическое изучение знаковых средств культуры. Ленинград: Наука, 1989, pp. 89-101.

While studying various by their substantive and cultural nature signs of cultural nomination in the sphere of material culture, the researchers came to the conclusion that in the traditional national culture the practical use of things was regulated by a number of bans, recommendations and folk beliefs, and „daily life was steeped in profound mythological intentions”.³

Moreover, the cultural loading and value of the archaic and traditional artifact pertain to the narrow utilitarian needs of a man. However, things function not only in the practical activity (practical plane), being used directly according to their purpose, but frequently perform the role of the signs that mark social relations.⁴

A brief history of weaving lexis studies: regional aspect

The studies of different thematic groups of vocabulary and phraseology have been recently injected with a new vigour in areal and comparative linguistics. I. Nikolayenko's researches provided linguistic material which differentiated about 15 lexical thematic groups of weaving terminology in the East Slobodian dialects.⁵ A.V. Gromova, a researcher of spinning and weaving vocabulary in Yaroslav region, compiled a dictionary of weaving terminology.⁶ Also worth mentioning are some other special dictionaries of weaving terms in the Slavic languages.⁷

For example, valuable findings about the concepts connected with ancient Slavic craftworks and trades are represented in the works by J. Verešová and B. Juráková.⁸ K. Dudová⁹ reconstructs the image of the craft and craftsmen semantically connected with the nutritive and textile terminology in the Slovak and Polish traditional picture of the world. She claims that these phraseological units reflect versatile cognitive and evaluative experience of the society related to the processing of raw materials and manufacturing of household goods and primary necessities. These language units explicate the notions of existential, social, and ethical issues of craftsmen's life.

As a spiritual complex, weaving (this term is used here in a broad meaning and embraces the complete cycle of weaving works – from sewing and plucking textile plants, from the preparatory processes, spinning, from preparation of yarns and threads to weaving; from weaving process proper to scouring of the fabric) in many aspects is a unique phenomenon of traditional daily-life culture. Being a separate fragment of a people's culture, weaving may serve as an essential source of both the culture's study and reconstruction. After all, due to folk weaving's craft-like, mythological and ceremonial nature, the symbolism of weaving processes and items contains limitless resources of ethnocultural modeling of the world around.¹⁰

The aim and objectives of the article

However, it should be noted that the phraseology of weaving products and tools, mechanisms and equipment as well as the image of the craft and craftsmen in different ethnic cultures remains insufficiently discussed in the Slavic language and cultural continuum. The mechanisms and di-

³ Цивьян, Т. В.: Лингвистические основы балканской модели мира. Москва: Наука, 1990.

⁴ Байбурин, А. К.: Семиотические аспекты функционирования вещей. In: Этнографическое изучение знаковых средств культуры. Ленинград: Наука, 1989, p.71.

⁵ Ніколаєнко, І. О.: Лексика традиційного ткацтва в українських східнослов'янських говірках. Монографія. Луганськ: Альма-матер, 2005, p.148.

⁶ Громов, А. В.: Словарь. Лексика льноводства, прядения и ткачества в костромских говорах по реке Унже. Ярославль, 1992.

⁷ Falińska, B.: Polskie słownictwo tkackie na tle słowiańskim. T. 1. Słownik polskich gwarowych nazw tkackich. Wrocław – Warszawa – Kraków – Gdańsk: Zakład narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1974.

⁸ Verešová, J. – Juráková, B.: Ľudové zvyky, tradície a remeslá vo výchove mimo vyučovania. Bratislava: Metodicko-pedagogické centrum v Bratislave, 2014, p. 74.

⁹ Dudová, K.: Jazykový obraz remesla v slovenskej a poľskej frazeológii. In: Slavica Slovaca, 2018, roč. 53, č. 3-4 (supplementum), pp. 19-28.

¹⁰ Боряк, О.: Ткацтво в обрядах та віруваннях українців (середина XIX – початок XX ст.). Київ, 1997, pp. 9-10.

rections of semantic derivation of the weaving terminology need specification. It is important to trace the metaphoric connections of imagery signs and artifacts, their functioning in the structure of phraseological units, aphorisms, stable comparisons et al., semiotics of everyday artifacts. Their symbolic functions in the language of traditional folk culture, corresponding people believes and conceptions, warning and prejudices related to the process of spinning and weaving enjoy a traditionally scrupulous attention in ethnography, ethnolinguistics and dialectal studies. It is also necessary to conduct a more precise explication of the corresponding pragmatic and cultural senses and semantic (metaphoric) meanings of collocations reflected through the evaluative connotations of the following weaving terms: *spindle, reed, loom, spinning wheel, swift* etc. In the process of their semantic development, these terms have been evaluatively and semantically reconsidered and the resulting associations can be construed as semantic profiles of the weaving and spinning phraseology.

These nominative units form, according to V. M. Mokiенko's terminology, a common structural-semantic model, where invariant sense is represented by different figurative concretizers and synonymic variants.

In order to demonstrate elements of the folk ritual worldview, we refer to some text corpora which represent different cultural referents and facts reflecting pragmatic intentions of a certain ethnoses (bans, recommendations, warnings, threats, etc.).

In this respect it is worth tracing the processes of metaphorisation and of secondary semiosis of the weaving terms in their utilitarian pragmatic and symbolic function in the riddles of different languages.

As it is known, these ancient texts encode the primordial archaic conceptions about the structure of the Universe, acts of creation, space, the world of flora and fauna, everyday artifacts, crafts and tools. According to A. Yudin, the riddles contain concepts „about the anthropomorphic nature of domestic utensils; in particular, the furniture and traditional instruments as well as kitchenware are isomorphic to the human body (were created according to its model)".¹¹ The Ukrainian ethnographer E. Boriak claims that the cognitive function of Ukrainian riddles is determined by the integration of somatic and numeric codes in their conceptual connection with the idea of motion that allegorically represents the information about spinning and weaving technique.¹²

Theoretical premises of this study are as follows:

1. Archaic material culture is a comprehensive semiotic system, every constituent of which is referred to other elements, with all of them „taking part in all-embracing metaphor." The artifact code of culture is tightly interwoven with the subject-locative, agentive (names of professions and tools), and mental-symbolic codes which include omens, beliefs, folktales, folkways and precepts; they form a cognitive basis for multiple figurative units with the meaning of weaving.

2. The items of weaving tools as well as the weaving terms (old toolware, raw materials, products, weaving mechanisms and devices) are verbalized in Slavic linguocultural space differently, so they have different semiotic, phraseological, and pragmatic loading; they semantically categorize „man as the measure of all things" in figurative signs of secondary nomination.

3. The semantic and imagery center of these and similar units in the compared languages is created by the terminology of weaving mechanisms, equipment and tools, raw material and some products. The semantics of these terms, accumulated in the imagery signs and phrases of folk genres, reveals itself both in utilitarian practical senses and symbolic, characterological, anthropomorphic, parametrical, socially-evaluative, magical functions through versatile cultural codes.

4. The conducted research is based on the assertion of the ethnographers A. L. Toporkov and A. K. Bayburin about double semantic nature of a cultural symbol which, on the one hand, is associ-

¹¹ Юдин, А. В.: Ономастикон восточнославянских загадок. Москва: ОГИ, 2007, p. 12.

¹² Боряк, О.: Ткацтво в обрядах та віруваннях українців, p. 47.

ated with man and his everyday needs and values, and on the other hand – with the utilitarian function of things and connected with the things ritual practices and mythological thinking stereotypes.

5. Researchers also point out polyfunctional character of many traditional crafts and trades. Russian ethnographers believe that not only in the archaic, but also in the traditional community, the symbolic and utilitarian aspects of human activity were not separated, but perceived syncretically. The craftsman created a thing which represented „artificial cultural symbol”.¹³

Images of spinning and weaving in riddles

Weaving technology and weaving concrete vocabulary symbolism in the riddles of various languages are combined with anthropomorphic and zoomorphic images. So, the substituting concepts of a weaving loom and other culture specific objects and accessory used in riddles answers are predominantly a spinning wheel, or images of spinning and rotation. The sounds of these objects are compared with growling of a tiger, thus imitating the noise of working parts of a weaving loom.

The function of the objects mostly correlates with a human being, human appearance and characteristics. Let us turn to the example of the Russian riddles about the loom: **Деревянные ноги – Хоть все лето стой.** – *lit. Wooden legs — one can stand all summer.*¹⁴ The same mode of motivation is used in the Ukrainian riddles for objects used in warping process, namely, spindle and reel: **Чотири кози на одній нозі, п'ята посередині жене за ними свині, Хурчить, дзижчить, крутиться, а хвіст в нього сучиться.** – *lit. Four goats on one leg; the fifth is in the middle, drives pigs after them, Humming, buzzing, rotating, and its tail is being spun (spindle), Один чоловік лиш раз у рік вбирається.* – *lit. The man gets dressed up only once a year (reel),* and in the Polish language metaphorical nomination relates to the riddles about millstone and spindle: **Leći krowa od Krakowa, A z tyłka jej kapie, Brat brata siece, Biała krew ciece,**¹⁵ which is *kolovrat* in the Slovak language: **Lezie šnúra po železe, koleso sa za ňou vezie (kolovrat).**¹⁶

The Russian folklorist D.Sadovnikov discusses some examples in connection with interpretation of the riddles where the key lexemes are those denoting kinship, and where the process of weaving is conceptualized: **Пять братьев по дороге бегут, да сухи; Пять братьев под одоньем стоят, да мокры.** – *lit. Five brothers are running along the road, but they are dry; Five brothers are standing under the stack of hay, but they are soaked.*¹⁷ He writes, „It's a wonderful folk riddle about weaving. The images for comparison are taken from the world of peasants' life. **Одонье** is a stack of hay, it represents here **мыканка** (flax tow). The fingers drawing the thread are wet, moistened with saliva or water, for the thread to be easier drawn. „Along the road” means along the thread, where dry fingers rotating the spin are running”.

In the traditional folklore of Novgorod dwellers, the movements of weaving loom parts are represented by five sheep, the nomination of which is combined with verbs of movement, transition, and other actions: **Пять овечек огород подъедают, а пять прочь отбегают (шерсть прядут).** – *lit. Five sheep are eating up the vegetable garden, and other five are running away (spinning wool into yarn).*¹⁸ In the Ukrainian folklore a similar somatic symbolism is found: **Животом пре, ногами тре, а руками що хоче, те й робить (ткач).** – *lit. His stomach presses it forward, the legs rub, and the*

¹³ Коновалов, А. В.: Об этнографических аспектах изучения промыслов и ремесел, р. 162.

¹⁴ Садовников, Д. Н.: Загадки русского народа. Москва: Издательство Московского университета, 1960, р. 90, 134.

¹⁵ Glogier, Z.: Zagadki ludowe z nad Narwi i Buga na pograniczu Mazowsza z Podlasiem w latach 1865–1880. Kraków, 1883, р. 10.

¹⁶ Zátarecký, A. P.: Slovenské prislovia, porekadlá, úslovia a hádanky. Bratislava: Tatran, 2018, р.752.

¹⁷ Садовников, Д. Н.: Загадки русского народа, р. 90.

¹⁸ Власова, М. Н. – Жекулина, В. И.: Традиционный фольклор Новгородской области. Пословицы и поговорки. Загадки. Приметы и поверья. Детский фольклор. Эсхатология. Санкт-Петербург: Трoпа Троянова, 2006, р. 64.

hands do whatever he wants (a weaver).¹⁹ In light of this we cannot but mention similes denoting size in the Ukrainian language: **Сюди смик, гуди смик — мій починок, як бик.** – *lit. Tug it here, tug it there – my cop is like a bull.*²⁰

Very similar images are contained in Polish and Slovak texts about the loom: *Lata borsucek po zapleciu, A za nim kiska sie ciagnie* (shuttle), *Zolte prose popod plociu lata*,²¹ *Lelitko (z ptaszka) sie snuje, Leti vtáčik popod dášik a za sebou črevce vleče, Letí, letí, neutečie, bo sa črevce za ním vleče.*²²

It is of interest to note that in the Ukrainian language folklore weaving terms are compared with natural phenomena, some birds (swallows bring spring with them), or objects of folklore cosmogony astronomy. In some variants of the riddles such denotata have a feature of meaningless or stranger's speech: **Шило-мотовило понід небесами ходило, из панами говорило, из князями розмовляло** (блискавка). – *lit. An awl of a swift was walking under the skies, speaking with lords, talking to princesses* (lightning), **Чорне мотовило понід небо ся вило** (ластівка). – *lit. A black swift flying in the sky* (swallow), **Шило-мотовило понід небом/небесами ходило, понімецьки говорило, потурецькі закидало.** – *lit. An awl of a swift was walking under the skies, speaking German, speaking Turkish*, **Шило-вило мотовило, понід небеса ся вило: в літі співає, на зіму нас покидає.** – *lit. An awl of a swift was flying under the skies: singing in the summer, leaving us in the winter.*²³

A common cultural topos in riddles is a spider spinning the web of the Universe: **Bez krosán a bez vretienka napradiem, natkám do tenká; bez pušky si zapoľujem, bez rozumu prorokujem,** **Kto pradie bez vretena, bez praslice, bez kolovrátko?**²⁴

However, in kindred Slavic traditions are observed some differences related to the symbolization of the loom motivated by inner domestic loci in the Ukrainian culture (by traditional domestic work of girls): **На припечку рубежі, під припечком рубежі; а хто знає — не кажи** (кросна). – *lit. Baffle on the hearth, baffle under the hearth, if you know the answer, keep silent* (loom).²⁶

Weaving tools, devices, and raw materials as components in similies, figurative phraseology in Slavic dialect space

O. N. Trubachev in his monograph *Traditional Crafts Terminology in Slavic Languages* notes that traditional crafts, and especially spinning and weaving, has become a powerful source for multiple transferred and figurative expressions in many languages; the tools and implements used in them as consequence of their form, functions and movements are a considerable contribution to the common vocabulary.²⁷

It is a common fact that language and language semantics are anthropocentric by their nature because human factor is the moving force of both linguistic and conceptual worldview, of multiple semantic fields and subject vocabulary groups. This is also true for lexis of spinning and weaving used as the basis of figurative nomination in phraseo-semantic groups.

Let us demonstrate a more detailed picture of it and turn to some anthropomorphic metaphors connected with weaving processes and tools. They are presented in figurative signs of nomination in West and East Slavic languages (both in common literary form and dialectal phraseology) associated with somatic, subject, and parameter codes, external and internal qualities of a human being, and social relations.

¹⁹ Номис, М.: Українські приказки, прислів'я і таке інше. Зб. О. В. Марковича та ін. Київ: Либідь, 2004, р. 310.

²⁰ Номис, М.: Українські приказки, прислів'я і таке інше, р. 212.

²¹ Glogier, Z.: Zagadki ludowe z nad Narwi i Buga, p. 11.

²² Zátarecký, A. P.: Slovenské príslovia, porekadlá, úslovia a hádanky, p. 748.

²³ Номис, М.: Українські приказки, прислів'я і таке інше, р. 303-304.

²⁴ Zátarecký, A. P.: Slovenské príslovia, porekadlá, úslovia a hádanky, p. 769.

²⁵ Zátarecký, A. P.: Slovenské príslovia, porekadlá, úslovia a hádanky, p. 756.

²⁶ Номис, М.: Українські приказки, прислів'я і таке інше, р. 310.

²⁷ Трубацев, О. Н.: Ремесленная терминология в славянских языках: этимология и опыт групповой реконструкции. Москва: Наука, 1966, р. 6.

Somatic code: the size of some body parts, constitution, appearance

Multiple set expressions have lost their connection with the original weaving and spinning prototype; their primary technological or processing semantics has faded out in the process of determinologization; they acquired functions of characterization or parameterization of the object, its external or internal qualities, where „man has become the measure of all things”.

Anthropocentrism of semantics of such everyday life signs and technical signs of figurative nomination and similes is beyond any doubt. To a certain extent, it is manifested in trite similes. Let us turn to some dialectal facts of the Russian language. In dialectal similes of the Russian language (the Yaroslavl and Perm subdialects), the somatic code to denote appearance, elements of organization of the body, posture, bodily constitution of man is actualized mostly in the pejorative reinterpretation. Figurative-symbolic basis of such units is one of the details of the loom – *пришва* (cloth beam): **голова у кого как (что) пришва** – *lit. somebody has a head like cloth beam* (Yaroslavl dialect, jocular) ‘about somebody’s very smooth (shaven or bald) head’, where *пришва – 1. ‘Forebeam of a loom on which cloth is rolled as it is woven’, 2. ‘Vamp of boots’; **как пришвица** – *lit. like a cloth beam* (Perm subdialect, derog.) ‘about a fat and clumsy woman’.²⁸

External features of a person, thinking and verbal abilities, physical and mental condition, traits of character

Traditional similes in various dialects of the Russian and other languages to denote idle talk or a person talking more than necessary are objectified through the following weaving terms: Russian **шлёпать языком как набелки** – *lit. to swing one’s tongue as the lathe*,²⁹ **молоть языком ровно щеколда** – *lit. to wag one’s tongue like shchekolda* ‘about a glib-tongued woman’ (Yaroslavl subdialect), where *shchekolda is ‘a part of a weaving loom: cloth beam on which cloth is rolled as it is woven’,³⁰ Ukrainian (Galician) **Язык му на веретені ходит** – *lit. My tongue moves like a spindle* (about a chatty man).³¹

Similar lingual and cultural analogies for rendering these senses (related to categorial seme MOVEMENT) are registered in *The Big Dictionary of Russian Folk Similes* and other sources, with some of them bearing an ironic or strongly marked pejorative shade of meaning. For example, in Mordovia, a simile with ironic connotation was registered: **хлопать зенками как набилками** – *lit. to blink one’s eyes like swinging lathe* ‘about somebody’s constantly blinking eyes’, where *nabelki (lathe) is ‘a narrow hanging frame, suspended from the weaving loom, into which a reed is inserted; during the process of weaving the lathe is swinging intensively’.³² Another example – **как основу сновать (так и ходить)** – *lit. to walk like warping thread* ‘about a person with rash and hasty behavior’.³³

The same meaning is registered both in Pskovian and Ukrainian (East Slobodian) phraseologisms: **сновать как сновало** – *lit. to warp as a warper* ‘about people in a hurry, or moving quickly in different directions’, **сновать/носиться/шнырять как челнок/челноком** – *lit. to shuttle/run/move as a loom shuttle* ‘to move to and fro energetically, tirelessly, busily, or fussily’,³⁴ **like a housewife’s**

²⁸ Мокієнко, В. М. – Нікітіна, Т. Г.: Большой словарь русских народных сравнений. Москва: ОЛМА Медиа Групп, 2008, р. 538.

²⁹ Мокієнко, В. М. – Нікітіна, Т. Г.: Большой словарь русских народных сравнений, р. 766.

³⁰ Мокієнко, В. М. – Нікітіна, Т. Г.: Большой словарь русских народных сравнений, р. 766.

³¹ Франко, І.: Галицько-руські народні приповідки. Том 3 (Рабунок–Ячмінь). Випуск 2 (Час–Ячмінь). In: Етнографічний збірник. Видає Етнографічна комісія Наукового товариства імені Шевченка. Львів, 1910, р. 479.

³² Мокієнко, В. М. – Нікітіна, Т. Г.: Большой словарь русских народных сравнений, р. 422.

³³ Мокієнко, В. М. – Нікітіна, Т. Г.: Большой словарь русских народных сравнений, р. 470.

³⁴ Мокієнко, В. М. – Нікітіна, Т. Г.: Большой словарь русских народных сравнений, р. 627, 736.

spindle, often in combination with the words *to spin, to twirl around etc.* ‘constantly, all the time’.³⁵

The identical feature of nomination forms the basis of some common in meaning folk similes connected with the idea of movement, spinning, twisting of different intensity: Как на кружале – *lit. as if on the wheel* ‘about somebody’s constant movement’; derived from the verb *кружить*, the dialectal word *кружало* has different meanings correlating with the meaning of the comparison expression: 1. ‘potter’s wheel’, 2. ‘hand wheel of turning lathe machine’, ‘a part of a weaving loom’ (Perm subdialects), *крутиться как кружало – lit. to spin like the wheel* ‘about an unsteady, spry person in a constant movement’ (Pskov subdialect).³⁶

The Russian (Pskov subdialect) folk expressions with the component *веретено* (spindle) also take some figurative metaphorical meanings correlated with behavior characteristics of people, particularly children. The expressions are associated with the symbolism of spinning and quick rotations of the spindle: *Катка словно верченое веретено – lit. Kata is like a spinning spindle*, *Как вертешка вертеться – lit. to spin/swing like a spindle*, the latter being polysemantic with the meanings ‘about a spry person’, ‘about a restless person’ (p. 91), *скакать как вертоха – lit. to hop like the spindle* with the same meaning.³⁷

In this case the dialectal word *веретешка* is a diminutive form of the word *spindle* in folk speech where it denotes various spinning/rotating objects. In the subdialects of Vologda, Nizhny Novgorod, and Perm it denotes a boisterous toddler.

Cf. also the opposite symbolic meaning of the word *прядка* (a sliver of yarn) presented in the East Slobodian phraseological area to denote a sluggish person: *Як прядку пряде – lit. as if spinning (a sliver of) yarn* ‘to do something very slowly (go, eat etc.)’³⁸ (the units demonstrate antonymic relations of weaving terms).

This meaning correlates with that of the Russian folk simile having a jocular and somewhat ironic connotation: *На самопрядке как черт на точиле – lit. To work on a spinning wheel like a devil on a grindstone* ‘about a woman spinning fast’ (Bryansk subdialects).³⁹ Analogous directions of semantic derivation are traced in Czech and Slovak proverbs and sayings presented in several variants: *Vrtí sa (v práci) ako ciha, Vrtí sa ako vrtievka/vreteno,⁴⁰ Krúti sa ako motovidlo,⁴¹ Moce sa ako motovidlo, Motá sa ako motovidlo⁴²* – *lit. Spinning (rotating) like a swift.*

Parametric characteristics of an object: size, large or small quantity of something

Parametric adjectives, as Ye. Rakhilina noted, are associated, first of all, with such characteristics of an object as the form, color, and size, but in terms of lexical semantics and, particularly, distributive models of names we characterize an object in relation to its length, width, height, thickness, and depth.⁴³

We should agree with the idea of R. Grzegorzczkova that one of the components of conceptualization of space is the determination of dimensional characteristics, length of physical objects, i.e. ascription to objects the possibility of being measured. Moreover, various types of measurement, preserving their primary figurativeness and physical characteristics, can refer to human mentality

³⁵ Ужченко, В. – Ужченко, Д.: Фразеологічний словник східнословобожанських і степових говірок Донбасу. Луганськ: Альма-матер, 2005, p. 55.

³⁶ Мокиенко, В. М. – Никитина, Т. Г.: Большой словарь русских народных сравнений, p. 311.

³⁷ Мокиенко, В. М. – Никитина, Т. Г.: Большой словарь русских народных сравнений, p. 91.

³⁸ Ужченко, В. – Ужченко, Д.: Фразеологічний словник східнословобожанських і степових говірок Донбасу, p. 251.

³⁹ Мокиенко, В. М. – Никитина, Т. Г.: Большой словарь русских народных сравнений, p. 743.

⁴⁰ Zátarecký, A. P.: Slovenské prislovia, porekadlá, úslovía a hádanky, p. 258.

⁴¹ Zátarecký, A. P.: Slovenské prislovia, porekadlá, úslovía a hádanky, p. 545.

⁴² Zátarecký, A. P.: Slovenské prislovia, porekadlá, úslovía a hádanky, p. 546.

⁴³ Урысон, Е. В.: Семантика величины. In: Апресян, Ю. Д. (отв. ред.): Языковая картина мира и системная лексикография. Москва: Языки славянских культур, 2006, pp. 713-758.

where a person's feelings, emotions, beliefs, strivings, intellect, and will are localized gaining different evaluative categorization via the concept of size.⁴⁴

Phraseological units of this phraseo-semantic group can form the opposition *fat – skinny*. For example, the Ukrainian corpus GRAK⁴⁵ demonstrates the following senses in folk similes: thinness verbalizes the body image of a woman: **На тебе навіть старий пес ногу не підніме! Бо суха ж, як веретено – і пішла додому...** *lit. Even an old dog wouldn't lift the leg on you! 'Cause you're dry as a spindle, – and she went home.*

In the Ukrainian dialectal phraseology, the image of a skinny person is marked with the help of the reinterpreted weaving term *бердо* (reed): **Хоч у бердо тягни.** – *lit. One can be easily put through the reed* meaning 'very thin', where *бердо* (*reed*) is a type of a comb in the frame of a weaving loom, through dents of which warp threads pass. The figurative component of the expression is based on the fact that because of the dense dents of the reed only a very thin person „can be put through” the reed.⁴⁶

Another parametric characteristic related to the width of a loom's *reed* provides the basis for several folk comparison expressions. For example, in the Urals area of Russia, this characteristic in combination with a body part *горло* (*throat*) denotes insatiability, over-eating: **Горло у кого-то как широко бердо** – *lit. One's throat is like a wide reed.*⁴⁷

The abovementioned proverb has several synonyms represented by variants, among them – a transformed and newer one: **Крестьянское горло – суконное бердо: все мнет.** – *lit. A peasant's throat is like a reed – presses down everything* 'about the simplicity of peasant diet', **У солдата горло, как суконно бердо.** – *lit. A soldier's throat is like a reed* 'soldiers can eat anything' (Ural).⁴⁸

In the Russian language the term *бѣрдо* (*reed*) is often represented in folklore dialectal phraseology to denote common actions, 'to do something together, in unison', for example, in dialectal (Perm) одним бердом ткать – *lit. to weave with one reed* 'to act in unison': **Хорошо мы жись со стариком изжили, одним бердом ткачи, я ему не полслова, и он мне так же.** – *lit. We've lived a good life with my old man, we weaved with one reed, I never uttered a word against him, so did he. Да еть сразу видно, что оне одним бердом ткали всё заодно делали – *lit. You can tell they weaved with one reed, they lived in perfect harmony.*⁴⁹*

The same meaning is also traced in other Slavic languages, for example, Czech, Slovak, Croatian: **v jedno brdo tkani** (*na jedno kopyto*), **vsef su v jedno brdo tkani** [Jan a Pawel], the meaning dates from the 15th century (1467); **mate prately vsecky v jedno brdo tkane** (1478), **tkavali tri v jedno brdo, nebo jim nebylo tvrdo** (17th cent.) Croatian **Vsi sun a jedno berdo tkani**.⁵⁰ The meaning 'the same, alike, an object resembling another object' is represented in the Slovak culture by some other weaving tools as well, and is related to different thematic groups, denotata of material culture, for instance, blacksmithing and shoemaking, musical instruments playing: **Na jeden roh trúbia, Na jedny gajdy pískajú, Na jednom kolovrátku ihrajú, Na jedno brdo tkani, Na jedno nákovadlo tľú, Do jedného mecha dujú, Do jednej trúby dúchajú, Na jednu strunu bijú, Na jednu strunu drnkajú.**⁵¹

⁴⁴ Grzegorzczkowska, R.: Nazwy wymiarów jako określenia cech psychicznych człowieka. In: Przestrzeń w języku i kulturze. Lublin, 2005, pp. 27-39.

⁴⁵ Генеральний регіонально анотований корпус української мови (ГРАК). Київ, Львів, Єна (2017–2020), <http://www.uacorpus.org>.

⁴⁶ Ужченко, В. – Ужченко, Д.: Фразеологічний словник східнослов'янських і степових говірок Донбасу, р. 37.

⁴⁷ Мокієнко, В. М. – Никитина, Т. Г.: Большой словарь русских народных сравнений, р. 42.

⁴⁸ Мокієнко, В. М. – Никитина, Т. Г.: Большой словарь русских народных сравнений, р. 42.

⁴⁹ Прокошова, К. Н.: Фразеологический словарь пермских говоров. Пермь: Пермский государственный педагогический университет, 2002, р. 374

⁵⁰ Flajšhans, V. (ed.): Sbirka přísloví, průpovědí a pořekadel lidu českého v Čechách, na Moravě a v Slezsku. Vol. 1-2. Praha: Nákladem F. Šimáčka, 1911 – 1913, vol. 1, p. 43-44.

⁵¹ Záturecký, A. P.: Slovenské príslovia, porekadlá, úslovia a hádanky, p. 158.

One more physical characteristic ascribed to a person's condition (esp. when frightened, frustrated, unresolved) – trembling hands – is also compared with the work of a spindle in the Galician cultural tradition: Руки му ся трясут, як на веретени – *lit. My hands are trembling, as if (I were) holding a spindle* ‘about trembling, awkward hands or clumsy movements’⁵² and in some Russian comparison expressions: Дрожать как зуб в гребне – *lit. To tremble like a dent in the reed.*⁵³

It should be noted that in the Ukrainian magic texts (incantations and imprecations) against white spots on eye, a formula is used where the illness is commanded to disappear, and it is compared to the yarn trembling on the spindle: Щоб ти тремтіла, як клоччя па веретени! Пху, пху, пху! Щезай, пропадай і ніколи не вертай! – *lit. May you tremble like the pieces on the spindle! Fie, fie, fie! Disappear and never return!*⁵⁴ Cf. also the phrases from the Ukrainian corpus GRAK:⁵⁵ Таких утлїх, покїрних, дрожали б вони, як клоччя на веретени! – *lit. may they tremble like the pieces on the spindle!* (Katria Hrynevycheva, Helmets in the Sun, 1928).

In other regions of Russia, a symbolization of the male genital organ via *spindle* is registered, which is reflected in some dialectal phrasemes of the type прокатить на веретене (кого) – *lit. to ride somebody on the spindle* (Novgorod) ‘to be unfaithful to the girl, to abandon her’, ‘break the marriage covenant’.⁵⁶

Anthropomorphization of the processes or work of some devices, accessories and mechanisms or their parts is registered in lexicographic sources; for the purpose, such characteristics are chosen as method, manner, external physical attribute; ascribing human attributes is very often performed on the basis of metonymic transfer *part-whole* in distributive relations with various evaluative adjuncts: суровая куделя – *lit. rough tow* ‘a naughty, disobedient person, usually a child’. Надїшка наша – суровая куделя: под ногами мешається, чї попадає в рот ташишит, книжки рвїт. – *lit. Our little Nadya is a tough tow: she is always getting underfoot, puts everything in her mouth, tears up the books, косое веретено* – *lit. a skew spindle* (the axiologized is the idea of skewness as that of cheating, lie, falsehood in transference to a human).⁵⁷

Derogatory axiological assessment of man is also contained in the following regional unit: не к рукам куделя (собаке постеля) – *lit. awkward hands cannot deal with the flax tow (the result is linen for a dog* ‘about something which cannot be done, understood, estimated properly by someone’. Меня все отговаривали: чї, мол, ты пойдїшь за еку-то славу, не к рукам, мол, куделя. А я не побардовала им, не побраковала — вот и живїм уж тридцать годов – *lit. They all tried to dissuade me: why, they said, should you marry such notoriety, awkward hands cannot deal with the tow. But I didn't disdain him — and we've been together for thirty years already. Сестра-то у его такая, мужика ни за что считает, а мужик золото: он кузнец, он и спец, но не к рукам куделя ей, она за другими мужиками гоняется* – *lit. His sister thumbed her nose at her husband, though he really has golden hands: he is an all-around handy man, but her awkward hands cannot deal with the tow – she falls for other men. Татьяна-то дала напрямсть, а она не сделала, не смогла, не к рукам куделя – собаке постеля* – *lit. I asked Tatyana to weave it, but she didn't cope; awkward hands cannot deal with the tow – what she did is a dog's linen.*⁵⁸

⁵² Франко, І.: Галицько-руські народні приповідки, р.69.

⁵³ Мокієнко, В. М. – Никитина, Т. Г.: Большой словарь русских поговорок. Москва: ОЛМА Медиа Групп, 2008, р. 227.

⁵⁴ Ви зорї, зориці.: Українська магїчна поезія (замовляння). Київ: Молодь, 1991, р.142.

⁵⁵ Генеральний регіонально анотований корпус української мови.

⁵⁶ Мокієнко, В. М. – Никитина, Т. Г.: Большой словарь русских поговорок, р. 318.

⁵⁷ Прокошева, К. Н.: Фразеологический словарь пермских говоров, р. 158.

⁵⁸ Прокошева, К. Н.: Материалы для фразеологического словаря говоров Северного Прикамья. Пермь: Пермский государственный педагогический университет, 1972, р. 52.

Other socio-evaluative, ethical, and axiological profiles of figurative signs (easy-hard, worthwhile-futile, industriousness-laziness)

This phraseo-semantic group is also notable for a certain ambiguity in phraseological nomination of weaving terms. And only one pair of examples correlated with an identical term was registered in the Russian and Polish regional phrasemics. In the Russian language phraseology (Pskov area) the object **цeвкa** (bobbin) marks the antonymic meaning *work/laziness*: **Цевки скати — руками не плескати** – *lit. To wind yarn on a bobbin is not like clapping hands*.⁵⁹ In the Russian example above *цeвкa is a thread bobbin in a shuttle of a loom.

In the Russian linguistic worldview, the weaving term **став** (weaving loom) is actualized while denoting a hard labor. **Легче стаю родить, чем став нарядить** – *lit. It is easier to give birth to a flock than to warp a loom*, and in other languages it does not have phraseological usage. While the term **мичка** (bundle of hemp/flax, yarn ready for spinning) acquires secondary nomination only in the Ukrainian set expressions to denote a submissive, weak-willed, unable-to-say-no person and is not registered in other languages at all: **Хоч мички мич** – *lit. You can easily make a bundle of hemp of him*.⁶⁰

One more semantic profile of the *spindle*, metonymically connected with the idea of something tangible, of manufacturing cloth or making clothes, is reinterpreted when denoting the antithesis of the bare (not covered, poor, not having enough material means) and the rich. For instance, the Ukrainian paroemias in this case encode a broader generalized symbolic image of unequal distribution of wealth, and, wider – of social injustice: **Одному на трісочці прядеться, а другому і веретенце не хоче** – *lit. For somebody, it is possible to spin on a splinter; for another, even a spindle won't spin*.⁶¹

An expression, similar in the inner form, motivation, and structural scheme can be found in the Polish language tradition: **Bogatemu i na drzazdze się przędzie, a biednemu i na wrzecionie nie chce**.⁶² The physical and mental closeness related to the location of weaving instruments one above the other generates and actualizes one more dialectal sense – ‘adultery’ which is expressed in dialectal simile recorded in the Lemko subdialect: **як нічильниці на кроснах** – *lit. like the back bearer ‘about the wife being unfaithful to her husband’*.⁶³

Some units denoting weaving tools or tools for spinning in the Slovak language actualize the idea of uselessness of some old things at home: **Stará dievka ako krosná v dome zavadzia** – *lit. The old maid is like a loom in the house – gets in the way*.⁶⁴

The following Polish proverbs represent the social and interpersonal relations reflecting the hierarchy among the members of the community, where the balance of equality and subordination is often violated, and the powerful person is always right, whereas those who are physically or morally weaker obey his power, feel oppressed and exploited: **Z słabej przędzy lichy wątek**,⁶⁵ **Każdy cienko nici przędzie, kiedy mu kto na kark wsiedzie** ‘że mu się powodzi, jest w trudnej sytuacji’, ‘depend on somebody’. Cf. Russian **Через низкое прясло и овца прыгае**⁶⁶ – *lit. If a spinning wheel is low*

⁵⁹ Мокиенко, В. М. – Никитина, Т. Г. – Николаева, Е. К.: Большой словарь русских пословиц. Москва: ОЛМА Медиа Групп, 2010, p. 975.

⁶⁰ Білоноженко, В. М. – Винник, В. О. – Гнатюк, І. С. та ін.: Фразеологічний словник української мови. Кн. 1. Київ: Наукова Думка, 1993, p. 489.

⁶¹ Пазяк, М. М. (упоряд.): Прислів'я та приказки: взаємини між людьми. Київ: Наукова думка, 1991, p. 184.

⁶² Krzyżanowski, J. – Swirko, S. (eds.): Nowa księga przysłów i wyrażeń przysłowiowych polskich. Vol. 1. Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1969, p. 125.

⁶³ Ступінська, Г. – Битківська, Я. В.: Фразеологічний словник лемківських говірок. Тернопіль: Навчальна книга – Богдан, 2013, p. 158.

⁶⁴ Zátorecký, A. P.: Slovenské prislovia, porekadlá, úslovia a hádanky, p. 52.

⁶⁵ Krzyżanowski, J. – Swirko, S. (eds.): Nowa księga przysłów i wyrażeń przysłowiowych polskich. Vol. 2. Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1970, p. 1111.

⁶⁶ Мокиенко, В. М. – Никитина, Т. Г. – Николаева, Е. К.: Большой словарь русских пословиц, p. 729.

enough, even a sheep can jump over it. Lexems denoting weaving tools together with somatisms parametrizing the idea of little quantity, of being not tall, 'not clever enough' may fulfil the function of the model of a narrow-minded person, like it is manifested in the expression с ноготок – *lit. of thumbnail size* 'little quantity': Сам с прясло, а ума с ноготок⁶⁷ – *lit. He is about the size of a spinning wheel, but not clever enough* etc.

Figurative nomination of other weaving tools and implements

Now let us consider of semantic structure of other weaving terms being a part of signs of secondary nomination in their semantic dynamics.

The term *motovidlo* (swift) is rather often used in other non-specialized metaphorical spheres and situations; it motivates metaphorization of specialized terminology in the Czech, Polish, and Russian proverbs and sayings. Here we consider a broad spectrum of meanings of this weaving tool, taking into account its phraseological symbolism in different language pictures of the world:

- to have the ability to manage one's household, to have all necessary tools at hand (Polish) **Dobry chlop ma igły, szydła, motowidla**.⁶⁸ The conceptualization of these symbolic artifacts belonging to the sphere of weaving is combined with related realia (awl, yarn) and is mostly categorized in the following semantic classes:

- the idea of the domestic and strange when describing close people or relatives: Polish **Znalazło szydło motowidło, Znajdzie szydło na ono niecnotliwej baby motowidło** 'like draws like';⁶⁹

- one's own is closer than the strange, one's own interests are always closer to one's heart, everyone wants to get a benefit: **Każdy wije na swoje motowidło, Każdy rad na swoje motowidło prędcę zwija, Na swoje wijąc motowidło**.

- in fixed similies (by the form of the sphere, where movement of terrestrial sphere is coded via a tool for spinning, twining) in Polish: Świecie, świecie, tyś kulaty jako motowidło.⁷⁰

The second group of paroemias is transformed to denote talks, deeds, actions or objects that are incompatible with each other, different from each other:

- unfit for use, thoughtlessly chosen for the realization of an intention: Czech **motovidlem tkati, podobno jako motovidlem sudlici** – *lit. to be alike as the reel/swift and the voulge* (where *sudlice* is a historicism 'old pointed-top sharpened weapon', 'stará bodná zbraň s hrotem, zprav. listovým, a s dvěma postranními hroty';⁷¹

- unfit things, when a thing cannot replace another: Czech **z motowidla nebude šíp** 'the reel will not make the arrow';⁷²

- the use of an unfit tool, which does not allow one to fulfil the task or reach the aim; to do something in vain: **motovidlem střelil** – *lit. to shoot with the reel* 'not to fulfil one's task/ duty; to malfunction' – about the gun, for example, to do something 'in vain', the expression is synonymous to the Czech on **jakoby z motyky střelil** 'he shot as if he fired a hoe';⁷³

- when speaking people mean different things, such units are represented by several synonymous and lexical variants in Polish: **Baba o szydle, dziad o motowidle (mydle)**; the idea in Polish is expressed via the image of the swift and the awl **Znajdzie się, jak mówie szydło na niecnotliwej baby, motowidło**;⁷⁴

⁶⁷ Мокшенико, В. М. – Никитина, Т. Г. – Николаева, Е. К.: Большой словарь русских пословиц, p. 729.

⁶⁸ Krzyżanowski, J. – Swirko, S. (eds.): Nowa księga przysłów i wyrażeń przysłowiowych polskich. Vol. 1, p. 267.

⁶⁹ Krzyżanowski, J. – Swirko, S. (eds.): Nowa księga przysłów i wyrażeń przysłowiowych polskich. Vol. 3. Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1972, pp. 422-423.

⁷⁰ Krzyżanowski, J. – Swirko, S. (eds.): Nowa księga przysłów i wyrażeń przysłowiowych polskich. Vol. 3, p. 477.

⁷¹ Flajšhans, V. (ed.): Sbirka přísloví, průpovědí a pořekadel lidu českého v Čechách, na Moravě a v Slezsku. Sv. I, p. 1017.

⁷² Flajšhans, V. (ed.): Sbirka přísloví, průpovědí a pořekadel lidu českého v Čechách, na Moravě a v Slezsku. Sv. I, p. 1017.

⁷³ Flajšhans, V. (ed.): Sbirka přísloví, průpovědí a pořekadel lidu českého v Čechách, na Moravě a v Slezsku. Sv. I, p. 1017.

⁷⁴ Krzyżanowski, J. – Swirko, S. (eds.): Nowa księga przysłów i wyrażeń przysłowiowych polskich. Vol. 3, p. 44.

• a secret will always come out: traditional Russian **шило в мешке** – *lit. the awl in a sack* is rendered in the Polish linguoculture by some more synonymous realia: **Wyszły szydła z motowidła, Nie zatai się szydło w worku, Wyszły szydła z motowidła**;

• the idea of failed exchange of something, which in Ukrainian corresponds to other symbolic correlates of the material sphere: *Soap and stab-awl* (Ukrainian *lit. Exchanged a ploughshare for a stab-awl*)⁷⁵ in Polish is rendered with the help of figurative symbolism of turning subjects or sharp and destructive tools: **Niech będą szydła za motowidła** ‘unequal exchange’, ‘dissimilar things’;⁷⁶ in the Czech language the figurative fixed simile **točí se jako motovidlo** denotes a clumsy and awkward person.⁷⁷

The term *мотовило* (swift) in the Russian linguistic worldview is mostly used in similes to characterize behavior and actions of people, which finds its expression in abusive interjections, discourteous or rude forms of address with colloquial shades of meaning, and in pragmatics of threats: **Полно, старый хрен, болтаться-то тут тебе, словно мотовило** – *lit. Enough, old greazer, to hang around as a swift* (A.F. Pisemsky); **Кишки выпущу, наматаю на поганое мотовило...** – *lit. I will run you through the guts and wind them onto a damn swift* (Mikhail Uspensky).⁷⁸

The word combination *мотаться как мотовило* – *lit. to rush about like a swift* is registered in dictionaries of similes in two meanings: ‘about a man wandering idly to and fro, especially drunken’, ‘about a restless, fidgety person’ (Yaroslavl subdialects); its lexico-grammatical variant *драгаться как мотовило* – *lit. to jerk like a swift* has a derogatory shade of meaning ‘about a person wasting time, loitering away’.⁷⁹

Concerning the symbolism of weaving and related folk conceptions and stereotypes, let us pay attention to the etiquette formulas of wishes and greetings addressed to weavers in different Russian and Ukrainian local traditions: **Зев в бердо!** – *lit. A shed to your reed!* ‘greeting to a weaver’ (Ural region),⁸⁰ or a curse which in its primary meaning is associated with weaving tools and implements: **Коловорот тебе (вам, ему и пр.) в рот!** – *lit. The reel into your (his, etc.) mouth* (vernacular, abusing) ‘the wish of misfortune and troubles to somebody’.⁸¹ In some figurative units, semantics of size (big size) correlates with lack of intelligence, which is expressed by comparing a proper name and a yarn swift: **Данило с мотовило, а ума не с шило** – *lit. Danylo is like a swift in size, but his smartness is not even compared to / less than /an awl* ‘about a big, tall, but stupid man’,⁸² where **мотовило** (swift) is a handheld tool for winding yarn in the household (usually in the shape of a stick with a crossbeam at one end and a fork at the other).

Certain laboursome, monotonous and time-consuming technological processes connected with the operation of weaving mechanisms underlie the image of a hard work, lack of rest, which determines the negative pragmatics and expressivity of some corresponding phraseological units in Ukrainian: **Щоб крутило вами як мотовилом, ми вам розповімо оце зараз, як ми мучити будемо діточок...** – *lit. For you to be wound like by the swift, we’ll tell you now how we’re going to torture the kids...* (Nataliia Doliak, Tha Black Board, 2014). **На вугіллях пектиму день у день. Мотатиму на мотовилах жили ...** – *lit. I will bake [it] on coals every day. I will wind the veins with the swift...* (Mykhailo Starytsky, Destiny, 1893). Let us consider the origin of the love magic formula created along the structural scheme as...as: **А з цнотливої жони хай не насміхається. Кручу, кручу веретено... Як ся крутить веретено, бодай би його так крутили пестощі його любаски.** – *lit. How dare [he] mock at the honest wife. Spin, my spindle, spin... As this spindle spins, so may his mistress’ lovemaking screw him* (Yurii Vinnychuk, The Chemist, 2015) (GRAK).

⁷⁵ Франко, І.: Галицько-руські народні приповідки, р. 611.

⁷⁶ Krzyżanowski, J. – Swirko, S. (eds.): Nowa księga przysłów i wyrażeń przysłowiowych polskich. Vol. 1, p. 422.

⁷⁷ Mokienko, V. – Wurm, A.: Česko-ruský frazeologický slovník. Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého, 2002, p. 298.

⁷⁸ Национальный корпус русского языка, <http://www.ruscorpora.ru/ngram.html>.

⁷⁹ Мокієнко, В. М. – Никитина, Т. Г.: Большой словарь русских народных сравнений, р. 405.

⁸⁰ Мокієнко, В. М. – Никитина, Т. Г.: Большой словарь русских поговорок, р. 251.

⁸¹ Мокієнко, В. М. – Никитина, Т. Г.: Большой словарь русских поговорок, р. 301.

⁸² Мокієнко, В. М. – Никитина, Т. Г.: Большой словарь русских народных сравнений, р. 405.

The lexeme *kolowrotek* appears to be polysemantic in Polish. It is confirmed by some modern Polish dictionaries.

For instance, in the dictionary by B. Dunaj,⁸³ this lexeme is represented by two meanings – the older meaning, even archaic one ‘simple mechanical equipment for weaving which is set into motion by a pedal’: *Dziewczęta zasiadły przy kolowrotkach*, and the newer one, extended, purely technical meaning ‘a special mechanism with a metal spool attached to it for winding thread or string’: *Na rybackim kolowrotku wełny nie zrobisz*.⁸⁴ The following transferred meaning developed on the basis of the direct one ‘exhausting and monotonous repetition of the same actions or processes, the state of being busy with many things, usually about a person’: *Ostatnie dni to istny kolowrotek zdarzeń*,⁸⁵ *Kręci się jak w kolowrotku*,⁸⁶ cf. Russian simile крутится, как белка в колесе.

The lexeme *kolovrátek* (*kolovrat*), as it is registered in the Czech phraseomatics, is also exposed to semantic derivation resulting in certain shades of meaning: 1. ‘a wooden tool for flax spinning’; 2. ‘a portable musical instrument’; 3. (jocular) ‘stomach’.

Figurative expressions with this term are mostly represented by the common archiseme ‘intensive movements of details and mechanical accessories’; they generate a number of figurative-metaphorical meanings and mark the following:

- physical and intellectual abilities and processes,
- pragmatic attributes and situations,
- intellectual and life values and strivings, like, for example, ‘to get into a difficult situation close to a deadlock, death’: *To je smrtí naši kolovrat* ‘things look bad’,⁸⁷ *Jde/šlo to jako na kolovrátku* ‘work which is done easily and quickly’;⁸⁸
- intellectual and communicative abilities of a person via the idea of talking, gossiping, badmouthing, making a false accusation, chattering mostly with pejorative connotation: *Má jazyk na kolovráte/jako kolovrátek, Jazyk mu běhá po kolovráte*. Cf. Polish equivalents *Miele językiem jak w żarnach/jak na kolowrocie*,⁸⁹ *Miele językiem jak baba kolowrotkiem, Języki się wam obracają niby kamienie w żarnach*,⁹⁰ *Gada jak kolowrotek, Pleciesz jak na kolowrotku, Gęba mu jak kolowrot lata*. A fixed simile in the Polish language with the identical semantics is objectified with the help of another weaving device: *Szczeka jak międlica*⁹¹ ‘talks a lot, speaks into the air’. Cf. Russian simile: Ни ткаха, ни пряха, а язык как плаха.⁹² – *lit. Neither a weaver nor a spinner, but has a tongue like a half beam.*

Stereotypes and folkways connected with weaving in the language of the traditional folk culture

The representatives of Russian ethnolinguistics focus on the folk beliefs related to the weaving works (spinning, weaving, some bans concerning the time of the work, limitations and regulations concerning the ways of performing certain actions) in different local traditions. The other topical issues of this type are described in works by N. Vladimirskaia,⁹³

⁸³ Dunaj, B.: Słownik języka polskiego. Warszawa: Wilga, 2005, p. 230.

⁸⁴ Krzyżanowski, J. – Swirko, S. (eds.): Nowa księga przysłów i wyrażeń przysłowiowych polskich. Vol. 2, p. 102.

⁸⁵ Dereń, E. – Nowak, T. – Polański, E.: Słownik języka polskiego z frazeologizmami i przysłowiami. Warszawa: PWN, 2008, p. 161.

⁸⁶ Krzyżanowski, J. – Swirko, S. (eds.): Nowa księga przysłów i wyrażeń przysłowiowych polskich. Vol. 2, p. 204.

⁸⁷ Zaozálek, J.: Lidová rčení: Praha: Academia, 2000, p. 139.

⁸⁸ Čermák, F. – Hronek, J.: Slovník české frazeologie a idiomatiky. Praha: Leda, 2009, p. 163.

⁸⁹ Krzyżanowski, J. – Swirko, S. (eds.): Nowa księga przysłów i wyrażeń przysłowiowych polskich. Vol. 3, p. 789.

⁹⁰ Krzyżanowski, J. – Swirko, S. (eds.): Nowa księga przysłów i wyrażeń przysłowiowych polskich. Vol. 3, p. 871.

⁹¹ Krzyżanowski, J. – Swirko, S. (eds.): Nowa księga przysłów i wyrażeń przysłowiowych polskich. Vol. 3, p. 376.

⁹² Мокшенко, В. М. – Никитина, Т. Г. – Николаева, Е. К.: Большой словарь русских пословиц, p. 907.

⁹³ Владимирская, И. Г.: Материалы к описанию полесских народных представлений, связанных с ткачеством. In: Полесский этнолингвистический сборник. Материалы и исследования. Москва: Наука, 1983, pp. 225-248.

A. Gura,⁹⁴ M. Pavlova, A. Plotnikova, T. Sveshnikova, T. Tsivjan⁹⁵ devoted to calendar rituals and feasts, as well as different magical practices of ancient Slavs (E. Levkiyevskaya, L. Vinogradova). O. Boryak considers the issue of the reconstruction of ancient Slavs' mythological world picture in the context of folk views on saints, in particular, beliefs in St. Friday, correlated with different bans on performing spinning and weaving works in the Ukrainian traditional household life.⁹⁶

E. Vielmiezova pointed out that the symbolism of spinning and weaving in some Czech charms is connected to the practice of dehelminthization.⁹⁷

Various weaving actions and products, according to M. R. Pavlova, have also the meaning of „attracting somebody to something, forming a bond to a certain place, inflicting the inroad of wolves, rabid dogs, frogs, snakes, cockroaches, flies, spiders, worms and other vermin”.⁹⁸

According to the information by N. Tolstoy and M. Pavlova *бердо* (reed) is a part of a weaving loom, serving to separate the warp threads. Like other weaving tools, this object has magical functions: it protects from the evil spirits. It is a symbol of multiplicity, richness, wealth, which is embodied in its multiple dents. Indicating rich symbolism of *the reed* in different local traditions, let us focus on some taboos. In Western Belarus, for example, it was banned to carry the reed on the back of a mare: **бо тая кабыла было б уже неплодна** – *lit. otherwise the mare should become infertile*, or it was forbidden to carry *голага берда* – *lit. bare reed*, it had to be wrapped into the armful of flax. It was supposed to make the flax *bare*, *i.e. not coarse*.⁹⁹

According to E. Levkiyevskaya, the people of the Russian North and Poliessia region used to spin the thread „to the left side” (*i.e. spinning the spindle in the opposite direction*) and encircle the yard by this tread thrice in order to prevent the cattle mutilation in the summer. This ritual was performed on Maundy Thursday before the sunrise; the Bulgarians put the spindle into the cradle of a new-born baby to prevent it from hex and evil forces.

In Galicia region (Staryisambir district) the spindle was stuck into the field under crop on Christmas Eve so that the moles could not spoil the ground; the Slovaks stuck the spindle at the cattle shed door on St. George's Day to save the cattle from charms of witches (*bosorka*).¹⁰⁰

The motivations of these and similar bans contain explanations which are directly connected with analogous actions of the evil forces. It was forbidden to rewind the thread on the spinning wheel or the reel and further into the clew during the first week of the Lent. In the South Poland it was believed that to wind the thread on Shrovetide is prohibited, especially in the evening, *bo sie dyabli wtedy kreca*. In the Southern Masovia, according to M. Moshynskiy, the prohibition to spin on holidays can be explained by the threat of the evil spirits that „are reeling and spinning” hovering about at this time.¹⁰¹

As A. Plotnikova rightfully notices, the actions of rotating, twisting, twining that can be referred as „the most mythologized and ritually marked actional elements” are rather meaningful. The corresponding terminology of the traditional folk culture connected with **viti* and synonymous with it **vʹrteti*,

⁹⁴ Гура, А. В.: Материалы к описанию народных представлений, связанных с ткачеством в зоне полесско-подлясского пограничья. In: Восточнославянский этнолингвистический сборник. Исследования и материалы. Москва: Индрик, 2001, pp. 105-118.

⁹⁵ Сवेशникова, Т. Н. – Цивьян, Т. В.: Исследования семантики балканских фольклорных текстов. In: Структурно-типологические исследования в области грамматики славянских языков. Москва: Наука, 1973, pp. 270-278.

⁹⁶ Боряк, О.: Ткацтво в обрядах та віруваннях українців, р. 12.

⁹⁷ Вельмезова, Е. В.: Чешские заговоры. Исследования и тексты. Москва: Индрик, 2004, р. 91.

⁹⁸ Павлова, М. Р.: Полесская терминология ткачества на общеславянском фоне. Автореферат дисс... канд. филологических наук. Москва, 1990, р. 40.

⁹⁹ Павлова, М. Р. – Толстой, Н. И.: Бердо. In: Славянские древности. Этнолингвистический словарь в 5 тт. Т. 1. Москва: Международные отношения, 1995, р. 154-155.

¹⁰⁰ Левкиевская, Е. Е.: Славянский оберег. Семантика и структура. Москва: Индрик, 2002, р. 74.

¹⁰¹ Плотникова, А. А.: Слав. **viti* в этнокультурном контексте. In: Концепт движения в языке и культуре. Москва: Индрик, 1996, р. 106.

**krotiti* is characterized by the variety of meanings and reflects the semantic ambivalence of perceptions to denote movement and the relevant symbolic actions and processes. The latter are mostly „correlated with the idea of indirect movement, indirect movement of mythological subjects” expressed via the opposition of direct-curve which correlates with the evaluative poles good-evil, truth-lie.¹⁰²

The *spindle* is an instrument for spinning endowed with magical properties. It is a symbol of female activities and an element of rituals and beliefs of all Slavs. Thus, the eastern Slavs cut the navel string of a new born baby girl on the spindle, spinning wheel, card raddle or hackle; the spindle was used in the healing magical rituals: a person performing the magical actions lightly stuck a patient with the spindle, a special charm was read accompanied by the swinging of the spindle, spindle and knife were put into the water which was given to the patient to drink. In Polissia region people tried to bring the rain with the help of the spindle.¹⁰³

In the Ukrainian culture the spindle is a magical object and performs the apotropaic functions occurred in different rituals, warnings and prejudices, for instance, it may predict the visit of unexpected guests: **Як веретено з рук падає, то гість до хати прибуває** – *lit. As the spindle falls from the hands, the guest arrives at the house.*¹⁰⁴

Some calendar pareomias: symbolism and pragmatics

In the Russian folk calendar, a considerable number of calendar pareomias is registered, the central part of them being khrononyms connected with bans on performing weaving and spinning works in folk agricultural household: **На Гавриила не прядут, а то оттянет руки сухота** – *lit. On Gavriil day one shouldn't weave, otherwise the hands would wither;*¹⁰⁵ **В воскресенье перед Масленой неделей на Заговение ни шить, ни пряхть, ни вязать, так, будут нарывать пальцы** – *lit. On Sunday before Maslyana week you may neither sew, nor spin, nor knit, otherwise your fingers would swell up;*¹⁰⁶ **На Осеннего Егория нельзя пряхть шерсть. А то волки будут овец тягать** (Тамбов). – *lit. On Autumn Yegorii one may not spin wool. Wolves will steal the sheep* (Tambov);¹⁰⁷ **Нельзя на Масленку пряхть, не то мыши осенью весь лён изъедят** – *lit. You may not weave on Maslyana, for mice will eat all the flax in autumn;*¹⁰⁸ **Если пряхть на Маслену, вспряжу мыши источат** – *lit. If you weave on Maslyana, the cloth will be spoiled by mice* (the fingers on this holiday simply cannot be not oily or greasy);¹⁰⁹ **Ежели пряхть на Святки, так Варварка придёт** – *lit. If you spin during Christmastide, Varvarka will come;* **Ежели что затеешь в праздник, тётка моя всегда ругается: „Грех... Смотри, Варварка придёт”** – *lit. If I start doing something on holiday, my aunt is always scolding me: It's a sin...Beware of Varvarka.*¹¹⁰ „Varvarka” is a female character that appears if one spins flax or wool on forbidden days.

¹⁰² Плотникова, А. А.: Слав. **viti* в этнокультурном контексте, р. 104.

¹⁰³ Славянская мифология. Энциклопедический словарь. Издание 2-е. Москва: Международные отношения, 2002, р. 71.

¹⁰⁴ Пазяк, М. М. (упоряд.): Прислів'я та приказки: взаємини між людьми, р. 23.

¹⁰⁵ Моргунова, О. В. – Кривошапова, Ю. А. – Осипова, К. В.: Русский народный календарь. Этнолингвистический словарь. Москва: АСТ-Пресс, 2015, р. 104.

¹⁰⁶ Моргунова, О. В. – Кривошапова, Ю. А. – Осипова, К. В.: Русский народный календарь. Этнолингвистический словарь, р.155.

¹⁰⁷ Моргунова, О. В. – Кривошапова, Ю. А. – Осипова, К. В.: Русский народный календарь. Этнолингвистический словарь, р. 140.

¹⁰⁸ Моргунова, О. В. – Кривошапова, Ю. А. – Осипова, К. В.: Русский народный календарь. Этнолингвистический словарь, р. 256.

¹⁰⁹ Моргунова, О. В. – Кривошапова, Ю. А. – Осипова, К. В.: Русский народный календарь. Этнолингвистический словарь, р. 249.

¹¹⁰ Моргунова, О. В. – Кривошапова, Ю. А. – Осипова, К. В.: Русский народный календарь. Этнолингвистический словарь, р. 61.

According to Galician folk beliefs it is not prohibited to weave and spin on the church feast of St. Savva and St. Barbara, but it is strictly forbidden to do so during the Easter. These prohibitions are represented in the following warnings and prescriptions by different synonymic variants related to the names of St. Sava, Barbara, Yavdokha: **Якби не варварила і не саввила, то би по велицідни кросен не ставила** – *lit. If she hadn't been „barbara-zing” and „savva-izing” (celebrating St. Barbara and St. Savva days), she wouldn't have to start the weaving loom at Easter (the day of St. Barbara is on December, 1 and St. Savva – on December, 5; these are small church feasts when no work is forbidden, especially weaving. A lazy housewife who failed to finish her linen because she hadn't weaved on these holidays would have to continue her weaving during the Lent);*¹¹¹ **Було не савити та не варварити, а сісти та три веретена напарити** – *lit. You were not to be „barbara-zing” and „savva-izing” (celebrating St. Barbara and St. Savva days), but to sit down and wear three spindles out;* **Не савити, не варварити, не сьдошити, но куделю ковдошити** – *lit. Do not be „savva-izing”, „barbara-zing”, or „yavdokha-zing” (celebrating St. Savva, St. Barbara, and St. Yavdokha days), but start towing the tow;* **Хто савит і варварит, той починок не напарит** – *lit. People who do not work on these holidays will fail to produce enough cloth;*¹¹² **Хто пряде в перший день великого посту, у того в сиру будуть хробаки** – *lit. He who spins on the first day of the Lent will have worms in the cheese.*¹¹³ Similar conceptions are also encoded in the Slovak sayings where the notions of good (favourable) and bad (unfavourable) time underlie the regulations of weaving and other works: *Veľkonočná priadka, turíčna tkáčka a sobotná práčka bývajú zlé gazdiné.*¹¹⁴

Polish folk consciousness testifies the existence of recommendations and prohibitions concerning the performance of certain weaving actions and works; one can see that the registered phraseological units related to calendar periods reflect corresponding mythological and everyday conceptions: *Po Bożym Ciele siej przędziwo śmieje*,¹¹⁵ *Na Święty Jędrzej szukają baby przędzy.*¹¹⁶

Phraseologization and figurative nomination of spindle in all contrasted languages appear to be quite noticeable, which is proved by the motivation of the relevant nominative units connected with the repeatedly mentioned concept of movement, its rotationness.

The image of spinning, rotating things is the function of a spindle or sewing spool; it conceptualizes mostly profane meaning of the artifact connected with its utilitarian function of rotation. It should be mentioned that conceptualization of the idea of space and movement is expressed in many fixed expressions connected with reinterpretation of weaving and spinning terms, including the linear image of the thread, thread flexibility, spinning thread.

The symbolism of the spindle is combined with numerous apotropeions and amulets in different local traditions; besides, the spindle serves as remedy in medical magic; rotation attributes of the spindle are reflected in love magic. For example, in Pokuttia and Chervona Rus areas, girls would spin the spindle for boys to be around them; an illustrative example is a Bulgarian custom: on Transfiguration of the Lord Day, married women, with the aim to return unfaithful husbands, would take a sunflower, pierce it in the middle with a spindle, and secretly watch their men through the hole; it was supposed to make the men return to them, as the sun makes the plant turn its face towards it.¹¹⁷

¹¹¹ Франко, І.: Галицько-руські народні приповідки, р. 136.

¹¹² Франко, І.: Галицько-руські народні приповідки, р.76-77.

¹¹³ Франко, І.: Галицько-руські народні приповідки, р. 807.

¹¹⁴ Zátucecký, A. P.: Slovenské prislovnia, porekadlá, úslovnia a hádanky, p. 207.

¹¹⁵ Krzyżanowski, J. – Swirko, S. (eds.): Nowa księga przysłów i wyrażeń przysłowiowych polskich. Vol. 1, p. 138.

¹¹⁶ Krzyżanowski, J. – Swirko, S. (eds.): Nowa księga przysłów i wyrażeń przysłowiowych polskich. Vol. 1, p. 19.

¹¹⁷ Павлова, М. Р. – Толстой, Н. И.: Веретено. In: Славянские древности. Этнолингвистический словарь в 5 тт. Т. 1. Москва: Международные отношения, 1995, р. 340-342.

Other bans, omens and beliefs

In folk consciousness of the Ukrainians, the spindle and thread are associated with some prejudices and warnings, as well as with some magical practices. Thus, in *The Galician Sayings* by I. Franko the following warning is recorded: *Хто мотовило утне, тому жінка умре*¹¹⁸ – *lit. If you hack the swift, your wife will die.*

In Galicia region there exists the following omen: *На Стрітенє пряхи довєта затикають у плїт веретено, аби їм у пряхї не рвалися нитки*¹¹⁹ – *lit. On Candlemas at dawn, women weavers thrust the spindle into the lath fence lest the threads in the yarn should tear.*

Here it is worth mentioning the facts of etymological magic registered in the texts of the Polish beliefs: „*Na Podlasiu jest przesąd, że gdzie znajduje się chłopak na wydaniu, tam przez trzy ostatnie miesiące roku nie snują krosien kobiety, nie robią w poniedziałki płytna, gdyż młodzian nadaremno kręciłby się jak wrzeczono*” – In the Podliashia area there exists a ban: in a house where lives a boy planning to marry, the women do not warp the loom the last three months of the year, because the boy would spin as a spindle looking for a mate.¹²⁰ In the suburbs of Lublin there existed such a belief: „*W kusaki nie wolno było prząść kądzieli, len bowiem później byłby mały, kusy. Należało natomiast smażyć jajka, aby główki lnu były ich wielkości (powszechne)*” – During Kusaki (Butter Week), it was forbidden to spin flax tow, because flax wouldn't grow (the flax will be small – kusy), instead, people were to fry eggs, for the flax heads to be as big as eggs.¹²¹

In the Hutsul highland region they believed that if a hunter or fisher went to hunting, the household people (wife) were not to weave, otherwise they would, literally, *lead him astray by weaving* – *запряднують йому дорогу.*¹²²

According to beliefs of the Russians, tow and yarn can be used in love magic: in the night the yarn should be carded and placed on the card raddle outside the window. Before going to bed, a girl should watch the yarn: the fluttering yarn will indicate the direction where the expected bridegroom may arrive from. In some cases, the colour of the yarn may predict the colour of the bridegroom's hair.¹²³

Conclusion

The comparative analysis of phraseological units, paroemias, and riddles as signs of cultural nomination of weaving craft in the Russian, Ukrainian, Polish, and Slovak languages has demonstrated the following:

1. The artifact (or craft) code of culture (technology of things and utilitarian use) is deeply connected with mental-symbolic, ethical, behavioral, ritual, folkloric, ethnographic etc. phenomena. The signs of material culture simultaneously fulfil social-axiological, magic and mythological functions, represent stereotypes of household everyday lifestyle and ritual behavior of man and, in general, linguistic and cultural image of the traditional craft.

2. The analysis has demonstrated that not alike, different semantic profiles of phraseological nomination of weaving tools (devices, implements, or parts of mechanisms, raw materials etc.) and their symbolic functions are correlated with the subject code, as well as with anthropomorphic, somatic, parametric, socio-cultural codes.

¹¹⁸ Франко, І.: Галицько-руські народні приповідки, р. 554.

¹¹⁹ Франко, І.: Галицько-руські народні приповідки, р. 242.

¹²⁰ Glogier, Z.: *Obrzędy, zwyczaje i wierzenia ludowe na ziemiach nad Narwią i Biebrzą*. Wybór oprac. H. Horodyska. Warszawa: PWN, 1979, p. 180.

¹²¹ *Polska pieśń i muzyka ludowa. Źródła i materiały*. Tom 4. Lubelskie. Bartmiński, J. (ed.) Cz. 1 *Pieśni i obrzędy doroczne*. Lublin: Instytut Sztuki PAN, UMCS, 2011, p. 338.

¹²² Онацький, Є.: *Українська мала енциклопедія*. Літери Д-Є. Буенос-Айрес: Накладом Адміністрації УАПЦ в Аргентині, 1958, р. 1531.

¹²³ Забылин, М.: *Русский народ: его обычаи, предания, обряды и суеверия*. Москва: Эксмо, 2008, р. 36.

3. Semantic and phraseological units of spinning and weaving, being, as a rule, Slavic by origin, in the process of their semantic development as secondary nomination signs acquire a different phraseological productivity, actualize different ethnocultural and semiotic senses and meanings (both general linguistic and narrow local transformations).

The opposition of „native-strange” is also correlated with a symbolic function of a spindle in the Russian and Ukrainian proverbs and sayings. Phraseological relations of such lexemes as *зребень (comb)*, *уток (weft)*, *пряло (distaff)*, Ukrainian *мичка (bundle of hemp)*, Russian *пришвица (fore beam)*, *набилку (flyer lathe)* prove to be sporadic.

The latter, in their semiotic and pragmatic reinterpretation, are objectified by the common sense ‘quick movement of the parts of mechanisms and weaving loom’. Other terms do not produce semantically derived meanings, or are very poor in phraseological relations.

Thus, the term *reed* is correlated with a number of common meanings of likeness, sameness, a part and the whole, which form a common structural-semantic model, a synonymic row represented in different Slavic languages – Ukrainian, Russian, Slovak, and Czech. At the same time the term *reed* is connected with the secondary nomination of personal likings and priorities (insatiability or, on the contrary, unpretentiousness), which is proved by a number of local phrasemes and comparison expressions in the Russian dialect area expressed by multiple phraseological synonyms and transformations.

At the same time, *reed* functions in the situation denoting common actions and efforts to gain a certain aim, and in the Ukrainian local phrasemes the term objectifies bodily, physical characteristics like, for example, thinness. Sharpness of reed’s dents also motivates a number of symbolic connotations in magic and ritual beliefs of the Slavs, in apotropaic magic.

4. A parametric characteristic as a building element of multiple folk dialectal and literary phraseological units, as well as similes of East Slavic languages, as a rule, measures a man being in correlation with the notion of size.

These linguistic units reflect certain lexico-semantic relations, mostly „a part – the whole” (*spindle* – a tool and a man).

Parametric adjectives are correlated with bodily-somatic manifestations, especially when evaluating outer characteristics of a person, his/her appearance and constitution and connected with them value-based, ethical, and social concepts. According to our observations, they are skinny-fat, thick-thin, low-high (*spindle, reed*), much-little, quick-slow, rich-poor (with more concrete semiotic manifestation ‘bare-uncovered-poor’ in the symbolism of *spindle*). Semantics of size (big/small size of an object, in particular *distaff, swift*) also motivates intellectual characteristics of a person (the image of a fool, or carelessness in certain Russian regionalisms).

5. A vividly expressed national-cultural specificity is observed in phraseological and paroemia group of units containing the terms *loom* and *spindle*; in some local traditions and languages they have developed socially oriented and ritually marked meanings such as adultery, declining a proposal in engagement ritual (Russian tradition), timely or untimely marriage, old-maidenhood (Slovak proverbs).

6. Many units have become the figurative-sense center of calendar paroemias with the meaning of ban or warning during weaving works (in connection with axiology of the good and bad time). Connected with them symbolic functions of some objects (*spindle, swift, reed*) is correlated with a number of pragmatic connotations reflected in imprecations, superstitions, bans, threats etc.

Языковой и культурный образ ткаческого ремесла в паремиях и фраземах (восточно- и западнославянский контекст)

Олег Тищенко

В статье осуществлен семантический и прагматический анализ фразем, идиом, паремий и устойчивых сравнений, обозначающих элементы ткачества в западно- и восточнославянских языках, определен комплекс связанных с ними культурных представлений в наивной картине мира.

Выявлены основные структурно-семантические модели, принципы трансформации, оценочности и метафоризации при обозначении ткацких орудий и приспособлений, представлены механизмы языковой, образной концептуализации соответствующих терминов в загадках, а также в разных локальных традициях, диалектах.

Образно-смысловая и мотивационная структура соответствующих знаков культурной номинации соотносена с антропоморфным, соматическим, параметрическим, оценочным, этическим и другими кодами, отражена в обрядах, магических представлениях, запретах, верованиях, приметах, народном календаре, символической функции предметов и действий (концепты движения, Пути, аксиология времени, пожелания и т. п.).