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**MAGICAL GESTURE IN THE SIGN CULTURAL AND NATIONAL SPACE
OF UKRAINIAN AND RUSSIAN PHRASEOLOGY**

Abstract

The article is devoted to the study of the internal form, semantics, pragmatics and actual use of gestures in phraseology in the conditions of linguocultural contacts. The internal form of a phraseological unit may contain traces of deep layers of universal and national culture, thus acquiring cultural connotation, which is understood as the interpretation of the denotative or figuratively motivated (quasi-denotative) aspects of the meaning of a phraseological unit in the categories of culture. In the focus of attention are the stable phraseological units with the component “fig” in Ukrainian and Russian phraseology. The history of the gesture, its symbolism, its role in the composition of phraseological units, semantics and specificity of its use are studied on the material of the compared linguocultures. The name of the unique transcultural magic gesture consisting of a single word-sign, which has so firmly taken root in many cultures of the world, turned out to be the semantic core and the semantic centre of many phraseological phrases of closely related languages with figurative and situational motivation. The study was carried out on the practical material of dictionary articles and mass media.

Keywords: gesture phraseology, component “fig”, semantics, pragmatics, transcultural, national and cultural specifics

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**УКРАИН ЖӘНЕ ОРЫС ФРАЗЕОЛОГИЗМДЕРІНІҢ СИМВОЛДЫҚ-МӘДЕНИ
ЖӘНЕ ҰЛТТЫҚ КЕҢІСТІГІНДЕГІ СИҚЫРЛЫ ҚИМЫЛ**

Аңдатпа

Мақала тілдік және мәдени байланыстар жағдайында фразеологизмдердегі ым-ишараның ішкі формасын, семантикасын, прагматикасын және нақты қолданылуын зерттеуге арналған. Фразеологиялық бірліктің ішкі формасы жалпыадамзаттық және ұлттық мәдениеттің терең қабаттарының іздерін қамтуы мүмкін, нәтижесіне мәдени коннотацияға ие болады, бұл фразеологиялық бірліктегі мағынаның денотативті немесе бейнелі уәжді (квазиденотативті) жақтарын түсіндіру деп түсініледі. мәдени категориялар. Негізгі назар украин және орыс фразеологизмдеріндегі «дуля» компоненті бар тұрақты фразеологиялық бірліктерге аударылады. Салыстырылған лингвистикалық мәдениеттер материалдары негізінде ым-

ишараның тарихы, оның символизмі, фразеологиялық бірліктердің құрамындағы рөлі, семантикасы мен қолданылу ерекшеліктері зерттеледі. Әлемнің көптеген мәдениеттерінде берік орын алған бір сөздік белгіден тұратын бірегей трансмәдени сиқырлы қимылдың атауы жақын туыстас тілдердің көптеген фразеологиялық бірліктерінің семантикалық өзегі мен семантикалық орталығы болып шықты. бейнелі және ситуациялық мотивацияға ие болады. Зерттеу сөздік жазбаларынан және бұқаралық ақпарат құралдарынан алынған практикалық материалдар бойынша жүргізілді.

Түйін сөздер: ым-ишара фразеологиясы, «дуля» компоненті, семантика, прагматика, трансмәдениет, ұлттық-мәдени ерекшелік

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МАГИЧЕСКИЙ ЖЕСТ В ЗНАКОВО-КУЛЬТУРНОМ И НАЦИОНАЛЬНОМ ПРОСТРАНСТВЕ УКРАИНСКОЙ И РУССКОЙ ФРАЗЕОЛОГИИ

Аннотация

Статья посвящена изучению внутренней формы, семантики, прагматики и актуального использования жестов во фразеологии в условиях лингвокультурных контактов. Внутренняя форма фразеологизма может заключать в себе следы глубинных слоев общечеловеческой и национальной культуры, приобретая, таким образом, культурную коннотацию, под которой понимают интерпретацию денотативного или образно мотивированного (квазиденотативного) аспектов значения фразеологизма в категориях культуры. В центре внимания - устойчивые фразеологические единицы с компонентом «дуля» в украинской и русской фразеологии. На материале сопоставляемых лингвокультур изучается история жеста, его символика, роль в составе фразеологизмов, семантика и специфика его использования. Название уникального транскультурного магического жеста, состоящее из одного слова-знака, так прочно пустившее корни во многие культуры мира, оказалось смысловым ядром и смысловым центром многих фразеологизмов близкородственных языков, имеющих образно-ситуативную мотивированность. Исследование проведено на практическом материале словарных статей и СМИ.

Ключевые слова: жестовая фразеология, компонент «дуля», семантика, прагматика, транскультурная, национально-культурная специфика

Introduction. The study of the internal form, semantics and pragmatics of Slavic phraseological expressions from the point of view of linguistic and cultural contacts has been. It remains a priority direction of modern linguistics. The internal form of a phraseological phrase can contain traces of deep layers of universal and national culture, thus acquiring cultural connotation, which is understood as the interpretation of the denotative or figuratively motivated (quasi-denotative) aspects of the meaning of a phraseological phrase in the categories of culture. In this case, the internal form should be considered as a bilateral entity at the level of semantics and the form of its expression, i.e. the original semantics of the form itself, because the form is also meaningful.

Methods and materials. Linguoculturology, which closely interacts with phraseology, tries to explain the figurative basis of phraseological units, to find out what cultural essences are embodied in their semantics and form, and by what means and ways they are fixed in them. A phraseological unit's internal form can be composed of components of sign character (not in the sense that V. P. Zhukov put into the notion of sign character of a component of a phraseological unit) [1, 36-46], but in the sense of a sign as a symbol of certain situations, representations, emotional states, etc.), translating the meaning of a phraseological unit into the plane of interaction between semantics and

semiotics of its internal form components. We are talking about gesture phraseological expressions, where the name of gesture as a component of the internal form has powerful cultural connotations and is a centrally forming element of both formal and semantic space of the phraseological unit.

In gesture, phraseological expressions as a prototypical situation are a sign of non-verbal communication, a unit of a special semiotic system, which has, like all signs, a plan of expression and a plan of content. The plan of expression is the external structure of the gesture, and the plan of content is the information that is subject to visualisation within the boundaries of a specific communicative situation. Due to the typification of a gesture, the connection between its expression plan and the content plan becomes conventional, because, in the process of communication, it is firmly 'tied' to a communicative situation of a certain character. Unlike the linguistic system, where the asymmetry of the language sign stimulates the development of language, contributing to the expansion of its capabilities to express an unlimited number of thoughts and appropriate responses to a huge number of new and new situations, the system of non-verbal means of communication includes a limited number of units, and the phenomenon of asymmetry of the signifier and signified is very weakly manifested here [2, 90-94]. A non-verbal sign as a symbol of a certain situation in a particular linguoculture most often has one or a very limited number of meanings.

The linguistic (verbal) representation of the human inner world is characterised by synsemantism – the insufficiency of linguistic expression to convey emotional states, and, consequently, the actualisation of a whole complex of means, among which gesture has an important place. It is known that non-verbal communication differs from verbal communication both by means and form of their expression. In this case, these two types of communication closely interact: non-verbal communication often serves to strengthen the verbal sign, and non-verbal sign sometimes fully takes over the functions of the verbal. Gestures, or kinesic means of non-verbal communication, as expressive-expressive movements most often reflect the emotional state of the addressee, and his intentions and serve as a means of their expression. Gestures broadcast a wide range of communicative codes and symbols in every culture.

Results and discussion. The hand has a special place in the system of non-verbal communication. Various positions of the hand (hands), and fingers of the hand are a unique means of transmitting information, different states, and human attitudes to the facts of the extra-linguistic world. There are more than 2 thousand symbolic hand gestures in other cultures. Such gestures can be transcultural, intercultural and intracultural, in general, they are commonly used, communicatively acceptable and non-conflictogenic. However, there are some gestures that in different cultures are orientated towards a conflict situation, are incorrect in 'normal' communication or are considered indecent. Such gestures in many nations of the world include *dulya*, aka *shish*, *kukish*, *figa*, euphemistically *a combination of three fingers*.

We have different opinions about the status of this gesture in "cultural" intracultural and intercultural communication. For example, in one of the "Dictionaries of Symbols", we read: "The *kukish* gesture is a figure of three fingers: the finger of Mars is placed between the fingers of Saturn and Jupiter. Earlier this gesture was considered like a magical amulet, nowadays it denotes a meta-gesture of refusal" [3], and the "anti-etiquette" of the gesture is left without attention. A. K. Baiburin and A. L. Toporkov, on the one hand, write that "a demonstrated fig is perceived as a direct insult", on the other hand, conclude: "The change of the cultural context and the general deritualisation of everyday life has led to the fact that the *kukish* is gradually ceasing to be understood as an indecent gesture" [4, 103-104]. E. Levkievskaya reads: "According to the rules of etiquette, a *kukish* is an obscene gesture intended to insult and humiliate the one to whom it is shown, as well as a way to express extreme rejection, sharp refusal mixed with disdain" [5, 10], [5, 26-27]. The authors of the "Dictionary of Russian Sign Language" write about this gesture as rude and used by children and communicators with a low cultural level. It reduces the status of the addressee, and in this case, it is especially rude and offensive, so it is condemned not so much by etiquette, but by ethical norms. In many cultures, this gesture is forbidden outside of specially specified situations [6, 101-102]. The

statement on the pages of “Metagazeta”: “Nowadays “shish” (figa) in Russia, as a rule, has no offensive or vulgar meaning” (<http://magazeta.com/2008/06/chinese-fuck-you/>). We find a similar idea in the works of Ukrainian authors, in particular N. Makhniy: the Russians use *dulya* as mainly a childish offensive gesture, something like sticking out one's tongue [7].

It is curious that the manuals on Ukrainian communication etiquette and behavioural culture do not mention *dulya* as a non-verbal anti-etiquette sign for unknown reasons [8], [9], although, according to our data, this magical gesture in terms of its use in modern Ukrainian society breaks all records [10, 10-66]. According to linguo-country dictionaries, we do not find it among the gestures characteristic of Russians' communication [11].

Of course, this gesture, known in both Ukrainian and Russian culture, is indecent, all thanks to its primordial phallic symbolism. Only inattention to this fact can lead one to think that it is no longer recognised as indecent in modern society.

Initially, *dulya* is a magical symbol, a means of non-contact influence on the interlocutor and the surrounding world. In the most ancient ideas of man magic possessed both word and gesture. Scientists consider the *dulya* to be the oldest phallic sign, apotropaic: it “diverted trouble”. According to Academician V. Peretz, the *dulya* was a symbol of a pagan deity protecting from evil spirits, unclean power, evil eye and witchcraft. It was believed that the unclean force, spirits, demons, and so on. - are sexless creatures, so they are afraid of any sexual innuendo [12]. In Slavic folk culture, *dulya* (shish, kukish) had the character of an amulet. To strengthen the protective and healing “influence” of *dulya*, the gesture itself, its name and image (amulet) were used, the openly shown *dulya* from the left and right hand, two *dulyas* and *dulya* “from under the floor” were combined in different ways.

The *dulya* (shish, kukish) is a gesture known to many cultures, where its semantics vary in an extremely wide range - from a cruel sexual insult (Arab countries) to a warning that a representative of the most ancient profession is ready to serve a client (Japan) or a man is going to milk a goat (India) [10, 19-21]. This gesture is mentioned in Dante's “Divine Comedy”: “Po okonchanii rechi, vskinuv ruki / I vypyativ dva kukisha, zlodei / Voskliknul tak: Na, Bozhe, obe shtuki!” (Ad. transl. by M. Lozinskii).

Ethnosemantics of *dulya* in different nations can become a significant problem in intercultural communication: here its erroneous interpretations are possible due to the visual coincidence of the gesture. In Ukrainian and Russian cultures such as Slavic and “*dulenosnykh*” there can be no such error. However, a detailed study of the transformations of the *dulya* image in Ukrainian linguoculture and Ukrainian phraseology in particular leads to the idea that the *dulya* in the linguistic consciousness of Ukrainians and Russians has a different status. In Ukrainian society, *dulya* is surrounded by such a peculiar and powerful background halo that the comparison of this gesture as a component of Ukrainian and Russian phraseological expressions can be interesting. In the report, the object of comparison will be *dulya*, although in Ukrainian we have other equivalents of *dulya* - *figa* and *kombinatsiia z tryokh paltsev* (expressions that are practically not used in comparison with *dulya*), in Russian - *shish*, *kukish*, *figa*, *combination of three fingers*. It should be noted that in Russian the synonyms *shish*, *kukish*, and *figa* differ in their compatibility, formal and meaningful properties, and word-formation potential [13, 11–20], [14, 23–30]. A special place among the “record holders” of word formation belongs to *fig*, which, according to L. Voborzhił's observations of the National Corpus data [14, 24], has given rise to 60 derivative units of the substantive, adjectival, adverbial, and verbal types. It should be noted that this list accidentally did not include the feminine *pofigistka* (from *pofigist*) and *fig-vam* (This is an Indian national folk hut called “fig-vam” an aphorism from the beloved cartoon “Winter in Prostokvashino”), which are quite common today. It is noteworthy that all derivatives carry a powerful emotional-expressive charge, but only a few derivatives of *fig* are oriented toward a positive assessment (*ofigitelno*, *ofigenno*, *ofigenskiy*) [14, 30]. For the “purity” of the experiment, we focus on the comparative study of phraseological expressions with the component *dulya*, using the principle of one-line comparison (according to R. Sternemann), in which

one of the languages will play the role of *tertium comparationis*: in our case - Ukrainian. The choice of this direction of comparison is not accidental.

Let's start with the fact that another name for this well-known gesture, the fig sign (*dulya*), was obviously borrowed by the Russian language from Ukrainian. Our linguistic "investigation" of how *dulya* entered the Ukrainian language revealed the following. According to etymologists, *dulya* (*bdulya*, *gdulya*) 'possibly related to *dulya*, a type of pear (**kъdulja* < **kъdunja*, originating from Latin *cydōnea* (*māla*) which in turn is borrowed from Greek κυδώνια μάλα), used in a figurative sense [15, 144]. Researchers consider the word *dulya* to be an indirect borrowing in Russian from Polish [16, 192] and date its appearance in the Russian language in *Shansky's Concise Etymological Dictionary of the Russian Language* to the late 18th century however, our observations show a different picture. This word first entered the Ukrainian language. Dictionaries of the Ukrainian language from the 14th-15th, 16th, and the first half of the 17th centuries (*Slovník Staroukrayinskoyi Movy XIV–XV*, *Slovník Ukrayinskoyi Movy XVI – Pershoyi Polovyny XVII*) do not confirm this unit. However, after 1720, in the books of the Cossack courts of Hetmanate, Prof. N. Yakovenko finds the phrase "Не оборонить тебе твоїй гетьман, скурвий син, ось йому дуля!".

In the second half of the 18th century, we find the word *dulya* in the meaning of "shish" in I. Kotlyarevsky's (*Sobranie Malorossiyskikh slov*). The dictionary of P. Biletsky-Nosenko (*Slovník Ukrayinskoyi Movy*) in 1840-1842 records two phraseological phrases with the component *dulya*: *вхопив дулю* 'you will get nothing' и *ткнули дулю* 'refused'. However, here we also find *fikgá* (*khvíga*) in the meaning of 'shish, kukish' – *ткнули хвигу* 'to give shish' (in Germ. Felge). Later, the dictionary of B. Grinchenko (1907) already contains the word *dulya* in the meaning 'кукишь, шишь' [kukish, shish]. Nevertheless, in the Dictionary of the Living Colloquial Language by D. Yavornytskyi (1920) we have only the adjective *dulnuvatiy* 'similar to a *dulya* (pear)'.

In Russian, even V. I. Dal's dictionary (*Tolkovyí Slovar Zhivogo Velikorusskogo Yazyka*) does not yet record this word in another meaning than 'pear, kukish (pear)', and only in D. Ushakov's (*Tolkovyí Slovar Russkogo Yazyka*) dictionary the word *dulya* has the figurative meaning 'kukish, fig'. M. I. Mikhelson's dictionary, on the contrary, records the presence of this component, though only in two units: *дулю подносить* and *дулю под нос*. There are good reasons to assume that Russian borrowed *dulya* from Ukrainian. At the same time, Russian had 'its own' words for this gesture - *shish*, *shishok*, *kukish* (*figa* is borrowing through Polish *figa* from *víge*, *figa* from Lat. *ficus* and also without figurative meaning). It is unclear how Ukrainians themselves called this gesture before the Ukrainian language borrowed the word *dulya*. The Russian names *shish*, *kukish* are attested in Ukrainian paremi only in isolated cases: *Кому купиш, а кому шиши!*; deceptive gifting in a conspiracy against barley on the eye *Ячмінець, ячмінець, на тобі кукиши! Що хочеш, те й купиш. Кобилку купиш, кобилка здохне, а ячмінь усохне; Ячмінь – ячмінь, на тобі кукиши!* There is no doubt that this gesture had been widely used by the Ukrainian people before (comp. *Дати дулю в кишені; Дати дулю через кишеню; Горе тобі, воле, коли тебе корова коле. Горе тобі, чоловіче, коли жінка тобі дулі тиче!; Однією рукою здоровкається, другою – дулю показує; Ти йому меду, а він тобі дулю; Дуля не цибуля – очі не виїсть; Цибульку, дулю, хвигу дати під ніс; Забудь ласоці, паслін та цибулю, а за гірку твою працю візьми під ніс дулю!; Кому талан, тому й дуля; Не штука справнику дати дулю в кишені; Дістати дулю з маком, та ще й з пастернаком* etc.). Russian names of gesture *dulya*, *shish*, and *kukish* are not recorded in the composition of modern Ukrainian phraseological expressions.

According to our observations, *dulya* today can be attributed to the signs of Ukrainian linguoculture: it is equated to *national, nation-forming and people-protecting symbols, signs of Ukrainian mentality, to the instrument of the struggle for independence*, etc. It is an existential symbol of Ukrainian self-consciousness, which has all the features of a national-cultural concept with clearly delineated subconcepts, *дуля в кишені, обмін дулями, дуля сусідові та однією рукою здоровкається, другою – дулі тиче* [10, 37-54]. In Ukrainian linguoculture, not only the unclean force, which should be afraid of *dulya*, is given a *dulya*: here devils also poke *dulya*, generous, huge,

which cannot be shat on in a week, and special: “The devil's paw is six-fingered, and not just one, but two fingers stick out of the offensive figure, and both of them move in a non-human way” (G.L.Oldi. Rubezh).

Ukrainians poke each other's dulyas with enthusiasm, selflessness and lust, and they always return other people's dulyas in good order. In contemporary word usage, we find the following attributes of the dulya: national, miraculous, blessed, cherished, noble, great national, dulya of truth, conscious Ukrainian, dulya “on the right side of the barricades”, OUR (as an antithesis to ЇХНЬОМУ [THEIR] (read: Russian) kukish). Dulya is an anthropomorphised symbol. Ukrainians have the dulya: *мовчазна, промовиста, тверда, ляклива, спітніла, кишенькова, нахабна, весела, сумна, ліниво-байдужа, щира, з іскоркою, гарна, волохата, викрутасиста*. But it also comes *з хвостом* [with a tail]. It has a colour and taste: *велика помаранчева дуля, біло-блакитна, смачна, солодка, солонка*. It can be made [with] *з маком, з червоним маком, без маку, з маковим зернятком, з маслом, без масла, з лампадним маслом, з родзинкою, з перцем, з тмином*. In the Ukrainian community of speakers, dulya can be *дати (давати), тицяти (тицьнути), крутити (скрутити), складати (скласти), показувати (показати), наставляти (наставити), бгати, пхати, гнути, вліпити, віцїлити, засвітити, завести (заводити)* and addressed to *горобцям, сорокам, воронам, собакам, лисиці, сонцю, вітру, життю, смерті, долі, ясній зорі, вітчизні, недугам, самому собі, ближньому, сусідам, ворогам, усім підозрілим суб'єктам, москалям, російському кулакові, целюліту, крему, гламуру, зайвій вазі, Лувру*, and most importantly – *each other*.

The recipient of a dulya can *дістати, ковтати (глитати), проковтнути, отримати, схопити, взяти, побачити, обнюхати, облизати, з'їсти, погризти, скуштувати, поцілувати, ухилитися від дулі*, and *повернути дулю* to the person who sent it. You can *подавитися дулей*. The location of the dulya is also worthy of surprise: *під ніс, в саму(ю) пику, по всій морді, в око, межі очі, в зуби, в душу, в небо (небеса), у ніч, у монітор, у бік когось, в усі боки, у бік Росії, у бік заокеанської напасті*. Dulya can be *мати в кишені, рукаві, штанях, у рясних шароварах, за пазухою, за спиною, у вузлику, за душею, наготові, смачно скрутити, міцно тримати, надійно ховати в кишені; флегматично (сміло, рішуче, грізно, з любов'ю, з ненавистю, тайкома, підступно) крутити, елегантно сучити*. And most importantly, dulyas can be **ПЛЕКАТИ**. In Ukrainian topical speech, we find the following quantitative and parametric characteristics of it: *дуля (дві дулі, чотири дулі), мала дуля, маленька дуля, маленька дулька, малесенька дуля, півдулі, крупна, отакенна, здоровенна; царська; всім дулям дуля; дуля Кремлю довжиною в кілометр; величезна, на 23 млн. гривень дуля; така щедра, що і за тиждень не обгидиш; така дуля, що – о!* What other nation has *дуля всенародної краси*, the verb *дулювати* ‘to exchange dulyas’, special terms “dulesoderzhaschey” communication *тримач дулі* and *отримувач дулі, дуленосець* ‘a person who constantly carries a dulya in his pocket’? *Наша українська дуля – всім дулям дуля, їй кукиші – що моська слону, краще не напрошуватися...* - Ukrainians are convinced. That is why there is every reason to believe that the background information accompanying the image of a dulya in the minds of Russians and Ukrainians is far from equivalent. Can the Russians boast that they have had an inflatable dulya flying under the dome of the State Duma building, or that MPs disperse guests on talk shows with it (like Oleg Lyashko on Savik Shuster), or that they threaten all “dissenters” with two charmingly twisted dulyas (like Irina Farion) at a meeting of the Verkhovna Rada? Or that traffic police officers use their dulyas as an “alternative ID”? It's too early to put an equal sign between the Ukrainian *dulya* and the Russian *kukish*.

Dulya, of course, has a place in Russian culture, in Russian language in Russian phraseology. Usually Russian dictionaries equate dulya and kukish: *dulya* - shish, kukish. Dictionary interpretations differ only by a remark: D.N. Ushakov's Dictionary - *fam.*, T.F. Efremova's Dictionary (*Tolkovo-Slovoobrazovatelnyi Slovar*), A.P. Evgenyeva's Dictionary of Russian Language, Kuznetsov's Dictionary (*Bolshoi Tolkovyi Slovar Russkogo Yazyka*) – *colloquial-diminutive*, S.I. Ozhegov's Dictionary - *colloquial*, D.I. Kveseleovich's Dictionary (*Tolkovyi Slovar Nenormatyvnoy Leksiki Russkogo Yazyka*) - *coarse*. In M. I. Mikhelson (*Sbornik Obraznykh Slov i Inoskazaniy*) **дулю**

подносить [to give dulya] (allegorically) ‘to insult, humiliate (by giving a fig)’; **дулю под нос** – ‘shish, kukish (nothing)’. In modern dictionaries **дуля с маком** colloquial, jokingly, ironically. ‘Absolutely nothing (V.M Mokienko, T.G. Nikitina, Bolshoi Slovar Russkikh Narodnykh Sravneniy); completely nothing’ (Kuznetsov); ‘you’ll get nothing’ (Ozhegov), **закатить (дать) дулю** 1. Sib. ‘To strike (in a ball game)’. // to whom. Obl. ‘To hit sb.’ 2. Colloquial ‘The same as to show a dulya’; **поднести дулю** to smb. Colloquial ‘To refuse sb. something’; **показывать/показать дулю** to smb. Colloquial ‘To express (usually with the help of an appropriate gesture) a contemptuous refusal, jeering, etc. to someone’; **съесть дулю** Volg. Iron. ‘To fail, to be refused’; **дуля под нос (колет)** Colloquial, Iron. ‘Absolutely nothing’ (Mokienko, Nikitina); to whom. Roughly colloquial ‘To give nothing, not to pay anyone’. In the ‘Dictionary of Russian Argo’ we find the expression **торчать (болтаться, висеть) как дуля в компоте (in the anus)** ‘to disgrace oneself, to lose, to fail’. In the “Dictionary of Computer Jargon” *dulya* means ‘chord, three-finger exit Ctrl-Alt-Del’, in the “Dictionary of Thieves’ Jargon” - ‘pistol’. The attested *dulka (dulya)* in the “Dictionary of Comparisons of the Russian Language” by Mokienko, Nikitina are clearly related to the primary phytonymic semantics of dulya: *убогая как дулька собачья* Bryan. disapproving ‘about a very thin person (dulka is a small pear). Canine is a common epithet (like wolfish) for wild fruits’; *мягкий как дуля* Mosk. ‘about very soft steamed turnip, rutabaga (dulya - pear)’.

Thus, the semantics of Russian phraseological units with the component dulya can be reduced to refusal, the meanings ‘you won’t get anything’, ‘something didn’t work out or won’t work out’, ‘to strike; to hit’ and the semantics of absolute zero. At the same time, we could not find a phraseological unit with the internal form *дуля в кармане [dulya in a pocket]* in dictionaries: in a pocket (mitten) Russians keep *a shish, a kukish* and *a fig*.

Let’s turn to Ukrainian phraseology. Here we have according to dictionaries of Ukrainian language: **взяти дулю під ніс, дулю з’їсти** vulg. ‘to get nothing’, **давати горобцям дулі** slang. ‘to wander around, to loaf around’, **дуля з маком (під ніс)** 1. Absolutely, nothing at all’. 2. Used to express negation, disagreement, etc.; it won’t be like that, not at all’; **мати дулю** ‘to achieve nothing, to receive nothing, to possess nothing, etc.’; **показати дулю** vulg. ‘To refuse someone something, to give nothing, to not help’; **матері твоїй дуля** ‘used to express disagreement, indignation about something’; **скрутити дулю** vulg. ‘used as a sign of contempt, disrespect for someone else’s opinion’. In the substandard dictionaries of L. Stavitskaya “*Ukrayinsky Zhargon*”, “*Ukrayinska Mova bez Tabu*” we find expressions **дуля в кишені** 1. joking. ‘A complete lack of money’. 2. iron. ‘A cowardly, timid, carefully hidden expression of disagreement with someone; carefully disguised sly, mean or insidious thoughts, intentions’. 3. contempt. ‘A cowardly threat, often unspoken out of fear, disagreement with someone, hypocritically hidden or well-disguised malicious intent’, **дуля з маслом** iron. 1. ‘An expression of categorical refusal, negation, disagreement; nothing of the sort’. 2. ‘With the verbs *отримувати, давати, мати* – absolutely, nothing at all’; **скрутити дулю** ‘a sign of refusal and humiliation’; **сорокам дулі крутити** derogatory ‘to loaf around’, ‘to do nothing’. Only one example with this component is marked with the slang label in her dictionary: **дуля з рота** jarg. ‘about the protruding tongue’.

It is interesting that the word “dulya” and phraseological units with this component are almost not represented in modern dictionaries of Ukrainian folk dialects. Here we have the meanings of *dulya* ‘large pear’ (Korotky Slovnyk by Ya. Zakrevska); ‘women’s braid, knotted on the head’; ‘tied pennant on a sheaf’ (P.G. Lysenko. Slovnyk Poliskykh Govirok”), *dulka* – gesture and ‘small pear’ (SZPG/Akush.). In the dictionary of the Lviv lexicon (Khobzei E. et al “*Leksikon Lvivskyi: Povazhno i na zhart*”) we have a reference to the lexeme dulya only in the meaning of ‘pear variety’, in the Dictionary of Dialect Words on the website proridne.com *dulya (dulka)* is also attested in one meaning ‘pear variety’ “*Korotky slovnyk lvivskoi gvary*” and “*Batyarskyi slovnyk: Lvivska govirka vid A do Ya*”, as well as in the Naddnistriansky Regional Dictionary by G. Shylo the word *dulya* is absent. The exception is the Phraseological Dictionary by V. D. and D. V. Uzhchenko where

expressions such as *сорокам (голубам) дулі крутити, собакам дулі давати (тикати)* in the meaning of ‘loafing around’, *дулі з маком їсти, в животі кишка кишиці дулю тиче (крутить, показує), жолудок дулі тиче, кишки в дулю згорнулися (скрутилися)* meaning ‘to be very hungry’, *груші дулі їсти, дулі з маком та пироги з таким* meaning ‘nothing; to get nothing’, *крутити ногами дулі* meaning ‘to be drunk’, as well as comparisons like *потрібний як сліпому дуля* meaning ‘completely unnecessary’ and *тупий як три дулі* meaning ‘completely or very dull’. Two euphemistic expressions: *горобцям дулі крутити* (response to the question “where are you going?” when one does not want to admit it) and *один серед чотирьох* euphemism for ‘dulya’, as well as two ethnographic expressions: *цибулі дулю давати* (humorous phrase meaning to tie onion feathers in a knot to prevent them from being used for arrows) and *Даю три цибулі, щоб не тикала свекрусі дулі* (part of a wedding ritual of giving gifts).

In modern usage, we have found examples of both semantic and formal expansion of the components of phraseological units, as well as the emergence of new units with the component *dulya*: *з’їсти дулю* meaning ‘to die’: *У цій мові... навіть умерти значить одкинути ноги або з’їсти дулю* (D. Chyzhevskiy. History of Ukrainian Literature), *скрутити дулю* to smb. meaning ‘to ignore someone’: *Кияни скрутили дулю кандидатам від влади* (Znak oklyku. On elections 31.10.2012), *кишка кишиці дулю крутить* meaning ‘to be hungry’: *З раннього ранку в роті ріски не було, кишка кишиці давно вже дулю крутила...* (“Vkazivnyi palets”. June 2011), *сховати дулю в кишеню* meaning ‘to act or behave hypocritically’: *Я міг би сховати дулю в кишеню, як це роблять інші українські політики* (M. Papiiev. I could hide the *dulya* in my pocket. The Fourth Power, 03.04.2007), *дулі на стіл!* meaning ‘an invitation for the interlocutor to openly express disagreement’: (My head of the court, as soon as we met, said: “When you don’t like something, – *дулі на стіл*” (Velychko O., Yankovska T., Effective Communication. Guide for court staff, Kyiv 2010), *крутити дулі* meaning ‘to be drunk, to stagger while walking and make drunken gestures’: *...водій розмахував руками і, йдучи юзом, «крутив такі дулі» перед працівниками ДАІ...* (Novyny Poltavshchyny. 09.05.2012), *скрутитися в дулю* 1. ‘To become emaciated, to shrink’: *Від важкої праці стара Василиха скрутилася в дулю, аж почорніла* (I. Muratov. Buk). 2. ‘To lose flexibility, to become crooked’: *Коли ставиш за мету через якісь інтервали контролювати поставу, то поступово починаєш помічати, в яких ситуаціях в яку саме дулю норює скрутитися твій хребет* (Ne sutulyachys! CelebrityHQ, 27.05.2012). 3. ‘To lose efficiency, to decline, to fall into disrepair’: *Економіка країни вкрай зачахла, скрутилася в дулю і нічого нікому не дала* (Pelahiya Kukuy. Poetic workshops). 4. ‘To quickly and opportunistically adapt to new circumstances, radically changing one’s views’: *Оце гнучкість – так скрутитися в дулю!* (Interview with S. L. Tyhniuchko - about the party, wealth, equality, and about the traffic police. KorresponT.net, 23.08.2011); *скрутити вітру дулю з маком* meaning ‘to waste energy fighting an unequal opponent’; *дати дулю в зуби* meaning ‘to hit or beat someone’: *А дулю в зуби не хочеш?* (G. Tyutyunnyk. Vyr), *(бути) як дуля на тарілці* meaning ‘to be off, to behave inadequately’: *Всі люди як люди, а ти як дуля на тарілці, залишитися з голою дулею* meaning ‘to end up with nothing; to make things worse’: *Відкинувши всі «російські слова», ви залишилися з голою дулею* (Rosiiany rozvody nas yak lokhiv. Polityka. Komentari, 21.12.2011); *мати дулю в кишені* meaning ‘to have nothing’: *Іду з мітингу і думку гадаю, що краще: нічого чи дуля в кишені. Дуля в кишені матеріальніша наче, її і на хліб покласти можна, а «нічого» і до справи не пришиєш* (Vitalii Kononov. Vybir tviy: vse abo nichogo. Skhidnoukrainskyi Monitory, №6); *скрутити обличчя в дулю* meaning ‘to make an angry grimace’: *Ще про автобуси. Просто краса – підлога низька, я просто возика вкотила... Так зручно! І головне – ніхто з пасажирів обличчя в дулю не скрутив: нічого, мовляв, з дитиною по автобусах шастати* (Etykiet, zvychai, khорoshi manyery, dyvatsva angliitsiv. Forum. 7.06.2011), *стара дуля* meaning ‘an old, angry, quarrelsome, and disliked woman’: *Ти чого крутишся, стара дуля, і спати нам не даєш?* (G. Tyutyunnyk. Vyr).

Analyzing the texts of Ukrainian Russian-speaking (marked as *ua*) and bilingual (marked as *ua/ru*) online publications for the use of phraseological expressions with the component *dulya* in Russian texts, we identified an interesting trend. While the Russian language has equivalent expressions with

the words *shish*, *kukish*, and *figa*, authors of both original and translated articles predominantly use phraseological expressions with the component *dulya* in Russian-language texts.

We also found a phraseological transformation in the title of the article: *Under the dulya of a pistol* (Antikor. Grani.Ru, 11.08.2014), examples of polysemantic use of a set expression with the component barrel in the Russian-language context: *During the parliamentary election campaign, Lyashko got so angry that S. Shuster swore not to let him appear on the show (Shuster-life) anymore, to which the outrageous man replied: «Ви пустите мене рівно через 2 передачі, бо глядачі вмикають телевізора тільки щоб побачити Савіка та Олега Ляшка». He turned out to be right. And his дуля нам в морду is a brilliant confirmation of this* (Nison Roytman, Secretary of the Board of the Kharkiv Public Organization of the National Union of Journalists of Ukraine, Media Group “Objective”, 18.04.2013). The same applies to the name of the fig gesture, which Russian-language Ukrainian online publications do not translate: *A celebrity Potap wants to erect a monument to a dulya in Kyiv. “I would erect a monument to a huge dulya, so that it would look into space and “say”: “You’ll get nothing from us!”* (From-ua.com, 28.02.2014). In Russian-language comments by Ukrainians in blogs and forums, we practically never come across the names of the gestures *shish*, *kukish*, *figa*: *It’s not all that bad with our original dulya: the other day, Ukrainians shoved it in their own noses by bringing “Svoboda” into their highest legislative body! Isn’t that the apotheosis of their native symbol?* (Official website of Oleg Buzina. Zolot, 4 02. 11. 2012).

As for the internal form of stable units with the component *dulya*, their nomination is dual, with a double denotation: phrasemes express both the actual meaning and the specific movement itself [17, 103-107]. Their verbal components in Ukrainian *дати (давати), тицяти (тицьнути), крутити (скрутити), складати (скласти), показувати (показати), наставляти (наставити), бгати, пхати, гнути, вліпити, вцілити, засвітити, завести (заводити)*, in Russian. *подносить, дать, закатыть, показывать* are associated with the typical semantics of the *dulya* as a gesture directed in communication at the interlocutor and express in languages only different degrees of intensity of the action. The “technology” of implementing a gesture is also associated with the components of the internal form of phraseological units, reflecting the local semantics ‘in the face’ (Ukrainian: *під ніс, в само(ю) пику, по всій морді, в око, межі очі, в зуби*, etc., Russian: *под нос*).

The components associated with the gluttonymic semantics of *dulya* (Ukrainian: *ковтати (глитати), проковтнути, обнюхати, облизати, з’їсти, погризти, скуштувати, подавитися*, Russian: *съесть*), are obviously the result of the original semantics of *dulya* = fruit of the fig tree, pear. The attribute ‘sweet’ also gravitates towards the original meanings of *dulya*. T. Shevchuk attempts to explain the epithet ‘sweet’ through the rituals of the cult of Yarilo, their erotic nature and the symbolism of fertilization [18, 189-201]. Regarding the seasonings for *dulya* (*дуля с маком, с маслом, з маком і пастернаком*), contextually Ukrainian *з перцем, з тмином*, it should be noted that this is apparently a Slavic invention, but we were unable to find explanations for them in reliable lexicographic sources. Ukrainian scientists try to justify the presence of poppy seeds in the *dulya* with everyday reality associated with baking *dulya* breads with filling and with poppy seeds (guests, accordingly, were treated to some bread with filling, some with poppy seeds (with nothing inside). It should be noted that we could not find reliable confirmation of the fact that in Ukrainian life there was bread in the form of a *dulya* in reliable ethnographic sources. It is known that the amulet in the form of a *dulya* served our ancestors as an amulet of protection from all misfortunes. Still, it is unlikely that the phallic (obscene) semantics of the gesture in Ukrainian culture applied to bread, which was always considered holy here. In addition, according to G.G. Demidenko, poppy, especially wild poppy, self-sown poppy, was a talisman against evil spirits: they sprinkled it around the house, in the yard in front of the barn, in the barn [19, 21-24]. Perhaps it was the apotropaic symbolism of the poppy that became the basis for the phraseological unit *дуля с маком* - it was a “double protection” from evil forces. But about another seasoning for the *dulya* - *дуля с маслом* - we were unable to find any more or less scientific explanations for the origin of the internal form of expression.

Perhaps, the sexual subtext of the expression and the action itself designated by the gesture is important here. Not least of all, this concerns the gesture of blowing openly shown to the interlocutor.

As for the “hidden” fig, this gesture has long been known in the traditional culture of the Slavs. When meeting a witch or a sorcerer, it was prescribed to show this gesture secretly - in the sleeve or in the pocket, so as not to give oneself away [5]. A fig (or even better - two), given through something that makes it and its addresser invisible, formed the basis of the internal form of Russian phraseological units with a different name for the same gesture, recorded in dictionaries, starting with M. I. Mikhelson: to show (to show, to show) a kukish in a pocket (mitten) in the meaning of colloquial, ironic ‘About someone's cowardly, well-disguised expression of disagreement with someone, reproach, threat to someone’. In Ukrainian phraseology, the components of the internal form (words “adjacent” to the *dulya*-gesture) turned out to be verbs with not entirely identical semantics. On the one hand, these are like Russian verbs of a one-time or repeated, but not constant action (*скрутити, скласти, завести, заводити*), on the other hand, the verbs *тримати, мати*, which imply a constant action (*тримати (мати) дулю в кишені*) and assume (albeit optional) the adverbial component *постійно, завжди, напоготові*. В. Panasyuk explains the presence of the component “constant” in the verbal semantics by the specificity of the Ukrainian mentality [20, 249]: a long stay on the border of the Christian and Muslim worlds, each of which tried to enslave the Ukrainian, led to the latter having no choice but to develop in himself the trait of a “true Ukrainian”: *і нашим, і вашим, і дуля в кишені*.

Conclusion. As we can see, the name of a unique transcultural magic gesture, consisting of a single word-sign, so firmly rooted in many cultures of the world, turned out to be the semantic core and semantic centre of many phraseological phrases of closely related languages with figurative and situational motivation. Tangible differences both in phrase-creative activity of the *dulya* component itself as part of the internal form of the phraseological phraseology, and in its valence, in the perception, comprehension and frequency of use of gesture and gesture phraseology testify, on the one hand, to real language contacts, on the other hand, to the significant influence of the worldview and, most importantly, the mentality of the people on the expansion of the symbolic meaning of this gesture in Ukrainian culture of the post-Soviet period.

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КЛАССИФИКАЦИЯ ТРИГГЕРНЫХ ТЕМ. К ВОПРОСУ ПРОВЕДЕНИЯ СУДЕБНОЙ ЛИНГВИСТИЧЕСКОЙ ЭКСПЕРТИЗЫ

Аннотация

В статье приводится описание триггерных тем, которые транслируются в современном казахстанском обществе через средства массовой информации и средства массовой коммуникации. В данной статье под триггерными темами понимаются не только темы, но и события, которые вызывают эмоциональные реакции или воспоминания у людей, часто связанные с негативным или травматическим опытом. Эти темы могут быть разными для разных людей, однако в казахстанском обществе наметился ряд тем, вызывающих сильный общественный резонанс. В исследовании выделяются и называются такие темы, как коррупция, провластный произвол, насилие над женщинами и детьми, буллинг. При

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