

Peculiarities of Expression of the Gender Aspect in the Russian Dialects of the Republic of Mordovia

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Abstract: Ones of the important criteria of evaluation and understanding of the essence of human itself are the age, gender, marital status which determines the stereotype behavior patterns, the attitude of the members of a dialect community to him. The particular group of the phraseological units is formed from the components relating to nomination of human in terms of the gender reference. The study considers the gendered-marked phraseological units used in the Russian dialects of the Republic of Mordovia. The hyponymic relations with in the gender topical groups of the dialectal phraseology are analyzed; the component content of the dialectal phraseological combinations is analyzed from the semantic perspective which allowed describing the phraseological nominations by the age, by degree of kinship, by ethnicity, by the social status, nominations-anthroponyms, axiological nominations. In the Russian dialects of Mordovia the phraseological combinations are presented that represent the stereotyped images of a man and a woman as carriers of the socially assigned properties and qualities at that the physical health, ability to work, maintain housekeeping, provide future generations traditionally play the leading role. Such traits as waste of time, unsociability, bad (nasty) temper, dissolute life are being negatively characterized the consciousness of the dialect carriers. Retreat from the established social principles and moral fundamentals results in blaming men and women in the society, explains the wide spread of nominations with negative evaluation.

Key words: Dialect, lexis, phraseology, linguistic world-image, nomination, semantics

INTRODUCTION

Relationships between people and evaluation thereof are most brightly expressed in the phraseological image of the world due to the ability of phraseological units to figuratively represent the peculiar features of the world perception by an ethnic group, the impact of the cultural, mythological, social-historical and other factors (Akimova *et al.*, 2015).

Ones of the important criteria of evaluation and understanding of the essence of human itself are the age, gender, marital status which determines the stereotype behavior patterns, the attitude of the members of a dialect community to him. And obviously, the fact that in the world a human appears in two incarnations, a man and a woman.

The gender well-formation of content of some Phraseological Units (PU) was firstly noted by L.I. Rojzenzon: "...In the Russian phraseology there is feminization and masculinization of the fixed word complexes, i.e., assignment to one or another phraseological unit of a certain object to which the action

of one or another gender is applied" (Rojzenzon, 1972). Male and female is an ontological opposition underlying the natural language at that it is gender that means 'the set of the social and cultural standards that the society prescribes the people to comply with depending on their biological sex' (Denisova, 2002).

A particular group of PU is formed from the components relating to nomination of human in terms of the gender reference. In this regard, it appears to be topical to consider the phraseological combinations characterizing a man and a woman in the Russian dialects of the Republic of Mordovia.

HYPONYMIC RELATIONS WITHIN THE GENDERED TOPICAL GROUPS OF THE DIALECTAL PHRASEOLOGY

The generic concepts of the topical groups are a man and a woman, respectively. In the dialectal phraseology their synonyms as the components, nomination by gender are *muzhik* and *baba*. In the PU to take a *muzhik* the nomination *muzhik* may be interpreted either in the

traditional-folk meaning as a peasant man or with account for the colloquial-deflated connotation as any man in general (Kuztensov, 2000). However, it is notable that the PU under consideration that contains the nomination of a male person is gendered-marked by referring to the opposite gender as to take a muzhik means 'to marry taking the husband to the own home'. The component baba also in the traditional-folk meaning is understood as a peasant woman or any woman in general (colloquial-deflated) (Kuztensov, 2000), appears in the phraseological units like baba ryazanskaya (disapproving) 'shout loudly, curse', battle-axe 'very feisty woman'.

The specific concepts as they contain the seme 'nomination of male/female persons' are nominations characterizing males and females by a number of attributes.

Phraseological material represents the following from among the possible characteristics: by age by kinship: blood/n-law, by ethnicity, by social status, by presence of anthroponyms, by evaluative criterion. Becoming the PU components, these nominations may be subjected to semantic transformation at the level of the categorical and individual meaning (Georgieva, 2005). Let's consider semantic peculiarities of PU containing the above-mentioned nominations.

COMPONENT COMPOSITION OF THE DIALECTAL PHRASEOLOGICAL COMBINATIONS IN THE SEMANTOC ASPECT

The component composition of PU containing characteristic by age is presented both in the group 'nomination of a man' and 'nomination of a woman'.

Nominations by age: Nomination of a man is realized by the components fellow (guy) and uncle. In the PU walk as fellow 'to be single, unmarried' nomination appears in its direct meaning since a fellow is a male person that came to maturity but is not married '(initially, a young peasant)'. The component uncle in the PU big uncle 'boss' is subjected to re-understanding as the meaning 'mature man in general' becomes secondary with respect to semantics of the definition big, i.e., important, relevant. As the result of this the PU acts as characteristic of the social status of a man as a boss.

The component composition of the PU containing the characteristics of women by age is represented by nominations of young women that are not married: maiden and maid that are synonyms, moreover, the obsolete meaning 'peasant young girl' is recorded with respect to the lexeme maid that is naturally realized in the dialectal environment. In the PU to get

while being a maid 'bastardize' a maid that is about to leave 'marriageable girl', to bind as a maid, 'to put a kerchief on the head having tied the edges from the back' the components being considered maintain their meaning.

Nominations by degree of kinship: The components nominating men and women by degree of kinship are represented by the following nominations. By blood relationship: dad, son, brother; mother, mom, mommy, grandmother, grandma; the in-laws, fiance, son-in-law; bride, daughter-in-law. At that it shall be noted that distinguishing nominations by blood relationship/relatives by marriage is rather conditional as the names of the blood relatives in the PU structure may lose their literal meaning upon actualization of the components' secondary semes.

In the group of PU with nomination of a man the component son in the PU the idol's son (swear-word), functioning as swear expressions does not actualize its central meaning 'a male person to his parents' while emphasizing the seme of belonging to a particular, figuratively speaking, class. The component dad in the phraseological combination old dad 'grandfather' maintains its meaning 'father', i.e., literally old father; the component brother does not actualize the seme of kinship while putting to the foreground the meaning of proximity, community of interests in the PU your (our, etc.) brother. Note that this PU features a narrower meaning 'your our relative' (with respect to age only) as compared to the common folk phraseological combinations your kind, you and your sort, our brother, we and the likes of us.

In the group of PU with nomination of a woman by the blood relationship the components mother, mom, mummy realize their direct meaning. The component mother is incorporated in the correlative phraseological units constituting opposition by means of the constituent antonymic definitions: young mother 'a woman with respect to her children' and old mother 'the mother of the father or mother, grandmother'. The nomination mummy- porodushka (by blood) realizes by means of the word-forming component the term of endearment to the mother. The PU helped like mother acts as the direct synonym to the PU helped like grandmother 'about something that discontinued suddenly', vanished as if by magic which allows interpreting the nomination grandmother according to its primary meaning. At the same time, the same meaning is realized by the PU bewitched like grandma where the name of the action itself point to the fact that the nomination grandma implies the seme 'wise woman, white which' or just an old woman, the same like (in the 2d meaning).

The semantic syncretism in the nomination grandma is expressed in the phraseological unit the grandmother's loss 'about something that was lost but then was suddenly found'. In the other PU the nominative component grandmother actualized the 'age' seme to be tied up like a hempen old woman and the obsolete seme indicating the occupation (wise woman, canny wife) the grandmother tore shame off together with the belly button (expressive) 'about a dishonest person'. As it follows from the factual material the component grandmother fulfills its semantic potential in the most differentiated and active way as compared to the other nominative components as the result of which it may at the same time be considered within the groups of nominations characterizing both the age and the social status.

Nomination of the in-law relationships can be found in the 'male' group of PU: a fancy man 'to be adult, mature, reach lawful age', to move to the fiancée 'to get married (for a girl)'; to go in son-in-law 'having married, move to the wife's parents' house'; in the 'female' group the PU: spent bride 'the husbanded girl', to drink the bride away 'to arrange celebration on the occasion of the successful marriage proposal', to the daughter-in-law in revenge 'in return for the ill caused'. All nominations maintain their primary meaning realizing it in the phraseological units relating to the process of conclusion of marriage and transition of the dialect carrier to the status of a married person. Nevertheless, in the PU be a fiancée the seme of the young age is being primarily actualized and in the PU to the daughter-in-law in revenge the cognitive component representing the peculiarities of the Russian world-image. Semantics of origination of the set expression is quite clear and is based on the traditional perception by the Russian language speakers of relationships between the mother and daughter-in-law as hostile ones. By comparing this phraseological unit to the vulgar to the daughter-in-law in revenge it may be assumed that the origination thereof is related to transformation and further re-thinking of the phonetic complex of the lexeme revenge (cf. *otveska*).

Nominations by ethnicity: The dialectal phraseological world-image of the inhabitants of Mordovia is to a large extent uniform; however, there are components that impart it the 'national overtone'. In the composition of the phraseological units under consideration there are the ethnonyms the Tartar (he and she) and a Mordvin woman. Taking into account that the world model in any language is based on the system of binary oppositions that include also the social categories in particular 'own-alien' we may assume that the nominations Tartar man, woman in the PU (God forbid the evil Tartar). Very difficult, hard. Very much

actualize not as much the seme of nationality as the cognitive, historically determined component 'alien, strange'. This is also made possible due to the semantic potential of nomination since in the 2d meaning the Tartars is the 'name of various Turkic, Mongolian and some other tribes united in the 13-15th centuries in the single state, the Golden Horde'. Nominations a Mordvin young woman, Mordvin bride function in their direct meaning emphasizing the ethnic features of behavior of the Mordovian dialect speakers represented in the PU or taken as the basis for its origination: to oblige (commit oneself) to be a Mordovian woman 'to put a kerchief on the head having tied the edges from the back'; burst into tears like a Mordovian bride (humorous) 'start crying often and for no reason'.

Nominations by the social status: The group of PU with the component nominating a man or a woman by the social status is quite representative and diverse. This may include the phraseological combinations like hardened bachelor 'confirmed bachelor'; straightforward fellow of preinduction age 'a fellow that will be called up for military service soon'. However, these are primarily nominations of persons by occupation. Note that nominations of females semantically constitute a PU without changing their meaning: walk in servants 'hire oneself as a housemaid', to go to saleswomen 'to hire oneself as a seller'. By nomination of males the semes are actualized that represent the specifics of one or another kind of activities or the related mental stereotypes: like a miller 'dusty, dirty', to reach zero like a smith 'experience the extreme poverty', a priest's worker 'diligent, earnest worker'.

In both groups there are nominations indicating reference to the nobility: the titles baron and madam, the wife of a landowner in tsarist Russia. However, both components don't actualize the semes of the class affiliation: master baron 'a man enjoying unrestricted power', like barin's wife in the paradise 'to live in plenty'. In the male nomination master rather loses the seme of the deliberately suave, polite address and activates the meaning host, master with respect to servants which allows developing the semantics of nomination with a certain degree of exaggeration (unrestricted power). The nomination barin's wife may become a member of the conditional binary opposition on the basis of the fact that being the landowner's wife she also enjoys power and lives in plenty.

Nominations-anthroponyms: The specifics of the group of PU containing anthroponyms consists in the fact that the male and female proper names while designating any

attribute of the dialect speaker in the PU structure gain a denominative nature. The following names are used as phrase-forming components anthroponyms: Akulya, Andron, Ivan (Van'ka, Vavila, Mikola, Petr, Misha, Makar, Fevronya, etc. At that the most frequently used in the dialects under investigation were the phraseological combinations with masculine names. Thus, in the group of male nominations the name Ivan is found. This is one of the common Russian names that is associated with the nomination 'a Russian man' in general: one and a half Ivan, 'about a very tall man', like Van'ka Vetrov, 'about a shallow person'. The denominative nature of the components is also conveyed graphically: the dictionary does not contain the capitalized spelling of the name. But if ivan is the fragment of the common Russian language world-image then the component misha puetkin (of denominative nature as well), 'about a stupid, narrow-minded person', belongs to the national world-image of the speakers of the Russian dialects on the territory of Mordovia as evidenced by the kind of surname. The name Ermoshka, the diminutive form of the canonic masculine name Ermolai, is fixed as part of the expression like on ermoshka used for characteristics of the ill-fitting clothes. In this case the gender markedness of the phraseological unit is lost and the negative characteristic of a person that does not comply with the traditional views of a man's appearance is brought to the foreground. Thus, the names-components contribute to creation of the phraseological characteristic of appearance, physical qualities and mental capacities and the emotional state of a person: Andron sat (on smb.), Androns had a go at smb., 'someone's in a bad temper'.

Common names of a frowsy woman are created with the use of phraseological units with the components of female names Matryona guzynskaya, Akulina, to dress oneself like akulya (akul'ka), etc. (disapproving) (Akulya, Akul'ka, contemptuously from Akulina); like okshanka 'About a frowsy woman, about a rude woman'. The dialectologist assume that the process of transformation of proper names into the common names as a rule for nomination of negative features is related to their pronounced social characteristic since back in the day these were the most frequently used names in the countryside everyday life. According to the onomastic sources, they were the top ten of the most common peasant names in serfdom Russia. This is also confirmed by the fact that this phenomenon is to be found in different Russian dialects, for example, the Tambov dialects.

Within the group being considered it is interesting to pay attention to the PU containing the masculine and feminine names as the common characteristic of a couple: like kazepa with parasha, 'about spouses that live with

one accord'; like kirya with marya (disapproving), 'unwise or drunken people'. It is curious that the last phraseological unit notwithstanding that Kirya is short for Kirill does not feature clear differentiation when used with respect to male or female referents. The dialectal contexts do not provide the exact indication whether it is referred exactly to a couple of a man and woman.

Axiological nominations: PU with a nominative evaluative component represent both positive and negative features of a man and woman, at the same time tendency to negative evaluativity is to be observed in both groups. In the factual material there are PU with the component fool that explicitly states the derogative evaluation in the dialectal community of a stupid man (fool without underwear). Remarkably, the gendered opposed nomination dumb woman is absent in phraseological units in general, it shall be noted that evaluation and characteristic of mental capabilities is to a greater extent presented with respect to a man.

There are nominations of men by the nature of their behavior in the society: naked mischief 'prone to mischief, disorderly and insulting behavior', convict 'mischief, hooligan'. Note that the nomination convict transforms and partially narrows its meaning. According to the Ushakov's Explanatory Dictionary, the lexeme convict of local use means 'the one that escaped katorga or is used as a swear word'. Using the nomination idler a very lazy person is characterized, ignorant idler, according to the contexts of usage means a man. The same component is contained in the PU pose as an idler, 'to lounge' that does not feature a gender-marked referent. It is obvious that this phraseological combination is the alternative to the vulgar to idle, to loaf. It is interesting to note that the nomination idler (that is proper name by origin) is a culturally marked component since the phraseological transfer occurred by means of a historically known fact.

At the beginning of the 19th century in Moscow the German doctor Loder opened a hydropathic. There his patients were taking bath, drinking mineral water and were promenading around a park for at least three hours a day. Observing such treatment, the ordinary Muscovites called the patients of the clinic lodyrts, i.e., loafers and to promenade meant to loaf.

As to female nominations, the nomination of evaluative nature is to be found in those PU only that contain the component indicating belonging to the 'transcendent-mystic spheres' (Teliya, 1996): like a wise woman (cf.: wise woman, 'witch') 'with loose, wild hair (about a woman)'. In the folk conscious such bare-headed woman was often associated with the dark forces, the other world, magic.

GENDERED PHRASEOLOGY AS A FRAGMENT OF THE DIALECTAL IMAGE OF THE WORLD

As it follows from the above-said, the dialectal phraseological images of the world just like the linguistic world-images of speakers of different languages in general proves that to be a man or a woman in a society does not only mean to have some or other anatomic features, this means to fulfill some or other of the gender roles assigned (Semikolenova and Shilina, 2003). Along with the PU containing the components nominating the male and female persons and therefore, indicating their referential relatedness, the dialectal material includes the phraseological combinations that semantically without pointing at a person contain the gender-oriented component and imply the initially inherent gender characteristic.

Thus, a family has traditionally been the prerequisite of the material and moral well-being of a human; therefore, in the conscious of the dialect speakers the following features have been the most relevant in terms of evaluating a woman's position within the society: ability to work, maintain the household and give birth to next generations. No wonder that in the dialects the phraseological combinations characterizing a pregnant woman-the bearer of family are common: to become full, 'get pregnant', on a living foot, 'pregnant', in the throes, 'at the last month of pregnancy'. At the same time the rural people disapprove of a woman that bastardized (get a baby while being a maid) or bearing lots of children without thinking (breed like rabbits).

According to the observations, such information as height, eurythmy, constitution features is relevant to evaluation of a woman's appearance. The dialect speakers take not of the excessive leanness or fatness of a woman. At this it is interesting to note that the phraseological characteristics of lean women significantly exceed the characteristics of stout women by number and are presented in a much more differentiated manner. Among them there are the phraseological synonyms, doublets: as skinny as a rake, tart (derogatively) 'a slim, lean woman', there are PU emphasizing the degree of the attribute manifestation: as a plate 'about a waif-like girl' as a fallen cat as a catty otter, 'slim, exhausted woman'; by characterizing a stout woman the expression of an attribute may feature a positive connotation: as a cake 'about a stout woman', like kudasikha 'about a stout, corpulent woman'. At that a person pays close attention not only to the woman's appearance (height, constitution and other features of appearance) but also to the clothes, dress sense.

The information function of dress consists in the fact that dress communicates various information about

the carrier. By characterizing a woman the following features appear to be relevant to the positive evaluation: beauty, tidiness, neatness and cleanness. These features are taken as right and fitting, consistent with the views of a woman. If the attribute demonstrated is below the commonly accepted norm then a woman is characterized negatively. Thus, such traits as untidiness (evlesha evleshei, dirty as a broom as a rag), inability to dress with elegance (like a nyurbay, 'about a woman that out a few skirts on') are negatively evaluated. As we can see, in the Russian linguistic consciousness beauty is traditionally closely related to the moral qualities of the assessee.

The dialects provide the negative evaluation of such woman's qualities and behavior features that do not comply with the generally accepted norm, violate it: purposeless time like an orphaned beggar, triperda 'about a lazy woman'.

In the dialects under investigation there were also found the other PU characterized by the gender markedness and representing a female image: one and the same, 'about women enjoying the same positive features'; like an unenclosed haystack, 'helpless (usually about a single woman)'.

In the Russian linguistic consciousness a man was traditionally considered to be the head of the family, therefore, he had to be healthy, physically strong and enduring, smart, be able to provide his family with all the things it needed. In the dialects being considered they say of a healthy and strong man like a human bull. A man had to have his own house where he would bring his wife and they would run their household together this is why the rural people disapproved persons that moved to the bride's parent's house when get married: to live as worm. In order to provide for the family, earn much money men had to leave to Prussia, i.e., to work by hire, beyond the place of permanent residence.

In the Russian dialects of Mordovia by evaluative classification of men such features as the age, mental capabilities, behavior features, social status are relevant to the rural people. Thus, there are common fixed expressions nominating a man by age (as above), at that they may be correlated to assessment of his health (nice falcon, 'an elderly but still vigorous man').

If the nomination of women by the appearance prevails in the dialects then for characteristic of a man this factor does not appear to be relevant. There was recorded only the single phraseological combination like a picture nominating a handsome man. The height was also relevant by evaluation of the male appearance at that the attention is focused on his height in case if this attribute diverges from the commonly accepted ideas: five-foot-one, 'of small size'.

A person maintaining a reserved lifestyle is also criticized (like a marmot) with a bad temper (oaky wallet), the one who likes to court women (to run after every petticoat). At the same time, the same action to pay attention to a lady making a bid for sympathy, does not cause disapproving attitude if it expresses sincere love and does not violate the moral fundamentals (like a playboy).

The zoomorphic concepts quite often underlie the characteristics of both a man and a woman: a peculiar feature of any animal serves as the ground for the evaluative nomination of a person by this attribute: like a gelt horse, 'about a healthy, strong woman'; like a human bull 'about a healthy, strong man'; like a fallen cat, catty otter, 'slim, exhausted woman'; like a grazed chicken (disapproving) 'with loose, wild hair (about a woman)', nice falcon, 'an elderly but still vigorous man'.

CONCLUSION

In the Russian dialects of Mordovia the phraseological combinations are presented that represent the stereotyped images of a man and a woman as carriers of the socially assigned properties and qualities at that the physical health, ability to work, maintain housekeeping, provide future generations traditionally play the leading role. Such traits as waste of time, unsociability, bad (nasty) temper, dissolute life are being negatively characterized the consciousness of the dialect carriers. Any slight retreat from the established

social principles and moral fundamentals results in blaming men and women in the society, explains the wide spread of nominations with negative evaluation.

By the example of the gender-oriented dialectal PU one may trace and establish the hierarchy of cultural values determining the speech and physical acts of a person with respect to the other people. Further, investigation of the peculiarities of relationships between the dialect speakers will promote to identification of the logical links in design of various linguistic and cultural patterns within the mental space of the speakers of Russian dialects in the Republic of Mordovia.

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