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The Representation of Water in Polish and Belarusian Phraseology and Paremiology

Obraz wody we frazeologii i paremiologii polskiej i białoruskiej

Вобраз вады ў польскай і беларускай фразеалогіі і парэміялогіі

Abstract

The issues associated with the vision of water in the Slavic languages are prominent. The linguistic perception of water in the Polish language, especially in folk Polish, has been explored from many sides. Also noted is the linguistic representation of water in the Belarusian language. The object of this article is to present the representation of water, fixed in the language, in the light of phraseological and paremiological profiling as applied to Polish and Belarusian dictionary units within the plan of interlingual comparison. The gathered material allows to recognise the fundamental perspectives in the vision of water in the building of its linguistic representation and to distinguish the elementary profiles together with their many specifying facets. The analysis reveals the colloquial description of water as such and – especially – the connections between water and various concepts, particularly the links to the human being. Reflected is the indication where water comes from, specified its amount in particular expressions, provided information about water at a given time and in a given place as well as about its availability. Portrayed is life underwater and on the water. Recorded are the attributes of water and its impact on some objects, the water's quality of being fit or unfit to drink or harmful, as well as relating water to something else. The value and qualities of water are noted. The presence of water in the functioning of the human being and in the life of animals is recorded. Presented is the demand for water. The reconstruction of the linguistic representation of water

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performed in comparative terms on Polish and Belarusian phraseological and paremiological material illustrates the prevalent analogies and fairly considerable dissimilarities.

Keywords: phrasemes, proverbs, Polish language, Belarusian language, linguistic representation of the world, linguistic representation of water

Abstrakt

Problematyka oglądu wody w językach słowiańskich jest zauważalna. Wielostronnie przybliżone zostało językowe postrzeganie wody w polszczyźnie, zwłaszcza ludowej. Zaznaczone jest też językowe przedstawienie wody w języku białoruskim. Przedmiotem niniejszego artykułu jest przedstawienie utrwalonego w języku obrazu wody w świetle wyprofilowania frazeologicznego i paremiologicznego na materiale jednostek słownikowych języka polskiego i języka białoruskiego w planie konfrontacji międzyjęzykowej. Zebrany materiał pozwala dostrzec w budowaniu językowego obrazu wody zasadnicze perspektywy jej oglądu i wyróżnić podstawowe profile z wieloma specyfikującymi je fasetami. Analiza ukazuje potoczne opisanie wody jako takiej oraz – w szczególności – powiązań wody z różnorodnymi pojęciami, zwłaszcza związków z człowiekiem. Odzwierciedlone jest wskazanie, skąd się bierze woda, precyzowana jest ilość wody w określonych przejawach, są informacje o wodzie w danym czasie i miejscu oraz o jej dostępności. Odtworzone jest życie w wodzie i nad wodą. Zarejestrowane są atrybuty wody i jej oddziaływanie na niektóre obiekty, zdatność, niezdatność bądź szkodliwość wody, a także odniesienie wody względem czegoś. Odnutowywana jest wartość i walory wody. Utrwalona jest woda w funkcjonowaniu człowieka i życia zwierząt. Ukazane jest zapotrzebowanie na wodę. Dokonana rekonstrukcja językowego obrazu wody w ujęciu porównawczym na materiale frazeologiczno-paremicznym języka polskiego i języka białoruskiego unaocznia przeważające zbieżności i dość znaczne odmienności.

Słowa kluczowe: frazeologizmy, paremie, język polski, język białoruski, językowy obraz świata, językowy obraz wody

Анотацыя

У славянскіх мовах вобраз вады зарысаваны мовазнаўцамі даволі выразна. Моўная карціна вады ў польскай мове, асабліва ў дыялектах, дачакалася шматбаковага аналізу. Моўная катэгарызацыя вады ў беларускай мове таксама была прадметам даследавання. Мэтай гэтага артыкула з'яўляецца выяўленне замацаванага ў мове вобразу вады ў святле фразеалагічнага і парэміялагічнага прафілявання (спосабу ўспрымання канкрэтнага суб'екта) на матэрыяле слоўнікавых адзінак польскай і беларускай моў у плане міжмоўнай канфрантацыі. Сабраны матэрыял дазваляе ў мадэлі моўнай карціны вады прасачыць асноўныя перспектывы яе ўспрымання і дапамагае распазнаць асноўныя профілі/ідэалагічныя варыянты са шматлікімі катэгорыямі/прыкметамі, якія іх вызначаюць. Праведзены аналіз выявіў найўняны веды пра ваду, а таксама ўзаемадачынненні вады з іншымі паняццямі, у першую чаргу з чалавекам. У матэрыяле знайшлі адлюстраванне наступныя характарыстыкі: адказ на пытанне адкуль бярэцца вада, удакладненне колькасці вады, інфармацыя пра ваду ў гэты час і ў гэтым месцы, а таксама даступнасць да яе. Паказана

жыццё ў вадзе і над вадой. Выяўлены атрыбуты вады і яе ўздзеянне на некаторыя аб'екты, прыдатнасць/непрыдатнасць/шкоднасць вады, а таксама супастаўленне вады з нечым іншым. Звернута ўвага на тое, што вада разглядаецца як каштоўнасць. Падкрэслена значэнне вады ў жыцці чалавека і жывёл і, у сувязі з гэтым, адзначана запатрабаванне на ваду. Рэканструкцыя моўнай карціны вады ў параўнальным аспекце на фразеалагічна-парэміялагічным матэрыяле польскай і беларускай моў наглядна паказала, у першую чаргу, пераважную колькасць агульных рыс, але выявіла таксама і даволі істотныя адрозненні паміж даследаванымі мовамі.

Ключавыя словы: фразеалагізмы, парэміі, польская мова, беларуская мова, моўная карціна свету, моўная карціна вады

The importance and the role of water, apart from its obvious significance for the life of the human being and every living organism, are noticeable in a variety of areas, above all in mythology, in culture, especially folk culture, in rites, as well as in the sphere of the sacral, etc. Namely, 'вада, у народных уяўленнях адна з асноўных касмічных стыхій. У многіх міфалогіях, у тым ліку і ў беларускай, вада звязваецца з пачаткам стварэння Сусвету, дзе яна сімвалізуе Хаос'¹ (San'ko, 2006, pp. 9, 57). Water 'jest jednym z najważniejszych elementów w ludowej wizji świata'² (Majer-Baranowska, 1993, p. 277). Among the records 'of commonsensical life wisdom'³ fixed in the language, one can find many exemplifications of aquatic folk texts – riddles, odes, fables, legends, poems, cf. 'детсадовский стишок *Солнце, воздух и вода – наши лучшие друзья*'⁴, as well as maxims and popular non-folk clichés, e.g. *Без воды и ни туды, и ни сюды* (It's neither here nor there without water), non-established, non-clichéd generalising judgements, e.g. *Человек не проживет без воды и трое суток* (A human can't survive without water even for three days), and non-proverbial utterances-stereotypes, in which 'нет собственно стереотипов, однако к ним по своей природе близка [...] оценка 'воды' как вещества мало ценного и имеющегося в изобилии'⁵ (zob. Mečkovskaâ, 2005, p. 232). The elemen-

¹ 'Water is one of the main cosmic elements in folk beliefs. In many mythologies, including the Belarusian one, water is associated with the beginning of the creation of the Universe, where it symbolizes Chaos'.

² 'is one of the most important elements of the folk vision of the world'.

³ For example "najczęściej w kącie, w miejscu, gdzie na ścianie przymocowana była półeczka z przyborami do mycia, z haczykami na ręczniki, wisiała zasłaniająca owe ręczniki makatka z wymalowanym bądź wyhaftowanym napisem: «Świeża woda zdrowia doda», «Świeża woda, sama uroda» ('most often in the corner, in that spot where a small shelf with washing accessories and towel hooks was mounted on the wall, there was a tapestry covering said towels and featuring a painted or embroidered inscription: «Świeża woda zdrowia doda», «Świeża woda, sama uroda» ('Fresh water will bring you more health', 'Fresh water, only good looks') (Kowalski, 2002, p. 7).

⁴ 'kindergarten rhyme *The Sun, Air and Water – Our Best Friends*'.

⁵ 'there are no actually stereotypes, but the evaluation of 'water' as a substance of little value and available in abundance is close [...] to them in nature'.

tary classes of ‘высказываний здравого смысла’⁶ about фрагменте мира ‘вода’⁷ also include proverbs and proverbial phrases – ‘в паремиях о воде появляются смыслы, которые не заданы языком, т.е. они находятся за пределами языковой семантики (при этом некоторые из них не только собственно о воде): *Вода всему господин: воды и огонь боится; Тихая вода берега подмывает*’⁸, as well as phrases – ‘языковой концепт выражен номинативными средствами языка (словами и фразеологизмами)’⁹ (see Mečkovskaâ, 2005, p. 232), in which water ‘jest siłą zarówno dobroczynną, jak i niszczącą: podtrzymuje życie, oczyszcza, uświęca, leczycy, pracuje na człowieka, ale też topi, przenosi złą moc na ludzi’¹⁰ (Majer-Baranowska, 1999, p. 153).

The linguistic vision of water is explored from many sides in the study of the Polish language, especially of folk Polish language, including, above all, the presentation of the profiles of the term water (see Majer-Baranowska, 1993, pp. 277–291), the representation of water from the perspective of its stereotypical and symbolic perception (Majer-Baranowska, 1999c, pp. 153–235), of spring water in the Polish folk culture (Majer-Baranowska, 1999b, pp. 275–278), the linguistic-cultural representation of the spring fixed in the Polish folk culture (Majer-Baranowska, 1991, part 1, pp. 17–20; part 2, pp. 73–75), the linguistic stereotype of the living water in the Polish folklore (Majer-Baranowska, 1999a, pp. 416–426), the contemporary connotations of the word ‘river’ capturing the movement of water (Bartmiński, 2000, pp. 41–54), the stereotypical characterisations of the river understood as a symbolic border in the colloquial and folk representation of the world (Niebrzegowska-Bartmińska, 1999, pp. 12–15). The issues associated with the linguistic representation of water in the Belarusian language were addressed especially in the examination of the phraseology considered alongside some of the Slavic languages (see e.g. Volodina, 2013, pp. 207–213; Korina, 2013, pp. 342–349; Levčenko and Kul’čickij, 2013, pp. 362–369) as well as alongside the English language (see Artemova, 2013, pp. 117–122). The representation of water in other languages is also noted, especially in the analyses of Slavic phraseological and paremiological material¹¹. In reference to our illustration of the fusing of terms with the word ‘water’ in the Polish and Slovakian phraseology and paremiology (see Wysoczański, 2013, pp. 219–226), the object of this

⁶ ‘common sense statements’.

⁷ ‘water’ as a fragment of the world’.

⁸ ‘in paroemias about water, there are meanings that are not set by the language, i.e. they are outside the language semantics (and some of them are not only about water itself): *Water is the master of everything: even fire is afraid of water; Still water undermines the bank (or Still waters run deep)*’.

⁹ ‘the language concept is expressed by the nominative means of the language (words and phrases)’.

¹⁰ ‘is a force both benevolent and destructive: it sustains life, purifies, sanctifies, heals, works for the human being, but it also drowns, passes an evil power on to people’.

¹¹ Cf. in this context, the publications in the conference proceedings «*Voda*» v slavânskoj frazeologii i paremiologii. A víz szláv frazeológiában és paremiológiában. *Water in Slavonic phraseology and paremiology* (Zoltan, Fedosov and Ânurik, 2013, vol. 1–2).

article is the reconstruction of the representation of water, fixed in the language, in the light of the phraseological and paremical profiling as applied to Polish- and Belarusian-language material. The gathered dictionary material¹² – selected out of the existing wealth of this resource – allows to recognise the fundamental perspectives in the vision of water and to distinguish the elementary profiles with its many specifying facets¹³.

The indication of where water comes from is an important element: water coming from a spring, from the mountains: *Zawsze woda skąd idzie, źródło swe wskazuje* (Water always points to the spring it comes from); *W górach początek wody, a koniec chleba* (In the mountains, there is the beginning of water and the end of bread); *Woda nie ciecze ku góróm, jyny od gór* (Water does not go up the mountains but comes down from the mountains); the potentiality of water appearing in its primary waterway: *Gdzie woda była, tam będzie; gdzie ciemno było, tam widno będzie* (Where water was, it will be; where it was dark, it will be light). In this context, one can cite references to the identification of the value of the water with the value of the spring: *Jakie źródło, taka woda* (What the spring is like, that's how the water will be); the impossibility of clear water coming from a murky spring: *Z mętnego źródła czysta woda płynąć nie może* (Clear water cannot come from a murky spring). When it comes to the location of the water, its presence is recorded in a place where it should not be – in the head: *któs ma wodę w głowie* (somebody has water in their head).

Specified is the amount of water in particular aspects: it is very abundant with regard to conversations: *разгавораў/ гутаркі як вады* (conversations/ talks as much as water); inexhaustible when compared to the finiteness of money: *Mieszek nie krynica, a pieniądze nie woda* (The purse is not a fount and money is not water); it is inexhaustible in spite of its constant presence in the well: *Tym więcej wody w studni przybywa, im więcej jej czerpamy* (The more water we draw, the more there is of it in the well); it is exhaustible in the well: *I w studni się wody przebierze/ wyczerpie* (Even in the well the water will overflow/ run out); *I вада ў студні вычэрпваецца; I ў студні вада выбіраецца* (And the water in the well is bailed out; And the water in the well even is taken away). A drop is contrasted with the rest of the ocean's waters: *Kropla wody w oceanie* (A drop in the ocean).

¹² The material exemplification comes from the following sources: Adalberg, 1889–1894; Aksamiłow and Czurak, 2000; Ānkoŭski, 1973; Bahan'koŭ, Gajdukevič and Šuba, 1996; Gaŭroš, Lepešaŭ and Ānkoŭski, 1978; Grynblat, 1976; Kiselëv, 1991; Kłosińska, Sobol and Stankiewicz, 2005; Korab Brzozowski, 1896; Krzyżanowski (ed.), 1969–1972; Lebda, 2005; Lepešaŭ and Ākalcëvič, 2011; Lepešaŭ, 1993; Mäcel'skaä and Kamaroŭski, 1972; Skorupka, 1967; Sudnik and Kryŭko (eds.), 2005; Ūrčanka, 2002; Valodzina and Salavej, 2011; Varlyga, 1966.

¹³ Not taken into account are representations of water identified with rain, watercourses, and water reservoirs, nor specific liquids, cf. units such as: *Będzie pogoda, jak się nie poleje z nieba woda* (The weather will be fair if water does not fall from the sky), *Gdy woda zimą w rzekach huczy, to na wiosnę mróz dokuczy* (If the rivers roar with cold water, there will be tiresome frost in the spring), *rozmowna woda* (talkative water) 'vodka'.

There is information about water at a specified time. This concerns water in a given season: the vastness of water in the early spring: *Ранняя вясна – шмат вады* (Early spring – lots of water); the large amount of water in the winter, indicating the weather in the spring: *Im więcej zimą wody, tym więcej wiosną pogody* (The more water in winter, the more fair weather in spring). Specified are particular months. Namely: in January, water freezes: *Styczeń, styczeń wszystko studzi: ziemię, wodę, bydło, ludzi* (January cools everything down: the ground, the water, the cattle, the people); the abundance or scantiness of water in January has its specific consequences: *W styczniu wiele wody, nie ma z wina wygody; mało wody, dobre gody* (Plenty of water in January, no comfort from wine; little water, good mating season); towards the end of February, appears water from the melting ice and snow: *Kiedy luty schodzi, człek po wodzie brodzi/ chodzi* (When February ends, one wades/walks in water); March collects the water poured in February: *Люты вады падпусціць, а сакавік падбярэ* (February will release water and March will pick it up) the abundance of water in February bodes ill for the summer: *W lutym wody wiele, w lecie głodne i ciele* (There is plenty of water in February, in summer even the calf is hungry); water still sporadically freezes in March: *Czasem i w marcu zetnie wodę w garcu* (Sometimes even in March the water in a pot will freeze); April, gathering the water, releases colours: *Красавік ваду падбірае, красачкі пушчае* (April picks up water, releases colours); stagnant water in May is not good for meadows: *Wody w maju stojące szkodę przynoszą łące* (Stagnant waters in May bring harm to the meadow); December is characterised in half by water and in half by ice: *Pogoda grudniowa – wody połowa, lodu połowa* (December weather – half water, half ice). Mentioned are specific days, first and foremost, feasts of saints. On Candlemas, water for the hen is already available: *Gromnica, napije się wody kuryca* (Candlemas, the hen will drink some water), there is water for the rooster: *На Грамніцы нап’ецца пяхух вадзіцы* (The rooster will drink water on the Candlemas Day); the rooster can now drink some water, therefore on Saint George’s Day the ox can fill up on grass: *Як на Грамніцы нап’ецца певень вадзіцы / Калі на Грамніцы певень не нап’ецца вадзіцы, то на Юр’я наецца вол травыцы* (The rooster will drink water on the Candlemas Day/ If the rooster doesn’t drink water on the Candlemas Day, the ox will eat grass on Saint George’s Day); a thaw portends the continuation of winter as well as ice on Easter: *Gdy na Gromnice woda z dachu ciecze, to się jeszcze zima długo przewlecze; Kiedy na Gromnice chodzi gęś po wodzie, to będzie na Wielkanoc chodzić po lodzie* (If water pours from the roof on Candlemas, winter will last a long time still; If a goose walks in water on Candlemas, on Easter the goose will walk on ice). After the day of St Elijah, water flows on the ground: *Пасля Ільі вада з зямлі*. On the day of St Magdalene, water reaches up to one’s knees: *Магдалена – вады на калена* (Magdalene – water to the knees). On the Intercession of the Theotokos, water becomes covered with ice: *Пакроў, накрыў ваду лёдам, а пчалу мёдам; Святыя Пакровы накрываюць траву лістам, зямлю снегам, ваду лёдам, а дзяўчат шлюбным чэпкам* (Pokrov (Intercession of the Theotokos) covered the water with ice, and the bee with honey; The Holy Pokrovs cover the grass with leaves, the earth with snow, the water with ice, and the girls with wedding caps). If it is freezing

on the day of St Martin, St Catherine, St Barbara, or St Bartholomew, water will not be frozen during the Christmas period: *Święty Marcin/ Święta Katarzyna/ Święta Barbara/ Święty Bartosz po lodzie, Boże Narodzenie po wodzie* (Ice on St Martin's/ St Catherine's/ St Barbara's/ St Bartholomew's day, water at Christmas). On the day of St Martin water freezes: *Na Marcina woda się ścina* (On Martin's day the water freezes), water heralds ice on Easter: *Gęś na Marcina po wodzie, wół na Wielkanoc po lodzie* (A goose in water on St Martin's day, an ox on ice on Easter). On the day of St Agnes, the thaw already comes: *Na świętą Agnieszkę wychodzi woda na ścieżkę; Świętej Agnieszki, wylecą z wody pliszki* (On St Agnes's day water covers the alley; On St Agnes's day wagtails will out of the water). There is a lot of water on the Epiphany if there was ice on the day of St Martin: *Na świętego Marcina lód, na Trzy Króle wody bród* (Ice on St Martin's day, plenty of water on the Epiphany). Around the day of St Matthias the ice breaks and the water freezes: *Przed Maciejem jak połamie lody, po Macieju szukaj pod lodem wody* (If the ice breaks before St Matthew's day, look for water under the ice after St Matthew's day). On the day of St Gregory the waters flow to the sea: *Na świętego Grzegorza idą wody do morza* (On St Gregory's day the waters run to the sea). On the day of St Mark water grows warmer: *Święty Marek rzuci do wody ogarek* (St Mark will throw a candle-end into the water). On the day of St Bartholomew a deer can already jump into the water: *Na Bartłomieja jeleni w wodę wskoczy* (On Bartholomew's day a deer will jump into the water). On the day of St George a deer can get into the water, chickens rush towards it: *W dzień świętego Jerzego wstępuje jeleni w wodę; Na święty Jury, jak/ aż popędzą do wody kury* (On St George's day the deer enters the water; On St George's day how the chickens will rush to the water). Kites lack water until the day of St John, afterwards they have it in abundance: *Do świętego Jana woła deszczu kania, a po świętym Janie chodzą po wodzie kanie* (Before St John's day the kite cries for the rain and after St John's day kites walk in the water). On Kupala Night devils bathe in the water: *На Купала чэруі ў вадзе купаюцца*. On the Epiphany devils are driven out of the water: *На вадохрышчачарцей з вады выганяюць*. On the day of St Joseph ice pours down with the water: *Święty Józef kiwnie brodą, idzie zimno na dół z wodą* (When St Joseph nods his head, the cold comes down with the water); flowing waters presage grass for the cattle on the day of St Adalbert: *Na święty Józef gdy płyną wody, na święty Wojciech rznij trawę dla trzody* (If waters flow on St Joseph's day, cut the grass for the flock on St Adalbert's day); the abundance of water is observed: *Po świętym Józwie, to woda w bruźnie* (After St Joseph's day, there is water in the furrow).

There are indications of water in a specific place: water is in every village: *Kędy wioska, tam i woda, kowal pijak i gospoda* (Where there's a village, there's also water, a drunkard blacksmith, and an inn); indicated is the correlation between the abundance or scarcity of water and the fertility or barrenness of the soil: *Kiedy ziemia bogata, to woda uboga, a kiedy woda bogata, to ziemia uboga* (If the soil is rich, the water is poor, and if the water is rich, the soil is poor); in Powiśle, inundations are common: *Na Powiśle woda topi, jednak piją dobrze chłopi, na Dąbrowie chleb się rodzi, a niejeden z torbą chodź* (In Powiśle water drowns, but the peasants drink well, in Dąbrowa bread is born,

but many walk around with a sack [are beggars]). There are places in which there has never been any water: *Od pokonów świata, gdzie nie było kropli wody* (Where there has not been a drop of water since the beginning of the world).

The general availability of water, as well as of the air, woods, and maids, is recorded: *Powietrze, woda, bór i panna wolne każdemu* (Air, water, the woods, and a maid are obtainable for all).

The illustration of life underwater and on the water is distinct. The aquatic environment is associated especially with the symbiosis of the fish, birds, and frogs: fish feeling excellent in the water: *czuć się/ poczuć się/ żyć gdzieś jak ryba w wodzie* (feel/begin to feel/live somewhere like a fish in water); *адчуваць сябе як рыба у вадзе; як рыба у вадзе* (feel like a fish in water; like a fish in water); fish forming a bond with the water – about getting accustomed to misfortune, poverty: *звыкся з бядою, як рыба з вадю* (used to trouble like a fish to water); fish cherishing water: *kochać się jako rybka z wodą* (be in love like a fish with water); geese, ducks, and herons liking water, taking delight in it: *Syta gęś o dwie mile do wody trafi; Wodę tylko gęsi lubią; Pluska się jak kaczka/ czapla w wodzie* (A satiated goose will get to the water from two miles away; Only geese like water; Splashes like a duck/heron in water); a teal enjoying water: *Cieszyć się kimś jak cyraneczka wodą* (Enjoying something like a teal enjoys water); a duck not disposing of water: *Od kaczki wodę kupować* (Buying water from a duck); not only fish but also frogs liking water: *Odważnyś jak żaba na wodę* (You are brave like a frog faced with water); *І жаба ў вадзе сядзіць, а не рыба* (And the toad is sitting in the water, but it's not a fish). Water and the quantity of fish: there are fewer fish in the waters than there are harms caused by feminine tricks: *Nie ma niebo gwiazd tyle ni w sobie ryb wody, ile chytra niewiasta z swych sztuk czyni szkody* (There are not as many stars in the sky nor fish in the water as there are damages caused by a cunning woman using her arts). Water unsuitable for fish: the salmon does not occur in dirty water: *W kalnij/ brędnij wodze ni ma lososi* (There are no salmon in filthy water). Walking by the water: a stork struts with dignity by the water: *хадзіць як бусел ля вады*. Swimming in water: the excellent swimming of the fish: *плываць як рыба w wodzie* (to swim like a fish in water); the superb swimming skills of ducks: *Спрытны, як качка на вадзе* (Smart as a duck on water); the beaver's skilful wading in water: *Brodzi jak bóbr w wodzie* (Wades like a beaver in water). Fish not swimming upstream in rapid water: *I ryby to przeciwko bystrej wodzie nie płyną* (Even fish do not swim against the stream of swift water). The crayfish is not jumping out of the water: *Заўтра ў тую пару, калі рак паляціць з вады ўгару* (Tomorrow at the time when the crayfish will fly out of the water). Fish not drowning in water: *Ryba w wodzie nie utonie* (A fish will not drown in water). The pike being invisible in water: *Wpadł jak szczupak do wody; Zginął jak szczupak w wodzie* (Fell in like a pike into water; Disappeared like a pike in water). Devils residing in calm water: *У ціхай вадзе чэрці водзяцца* (Still waters are inhabited by devils).

The qualities of water are fixed in its linguistic representation. What follows is their enumeration. Wetness – water is never dry: *Zimny ogień, suchą wodę i gazeciarską*

prawdę kto by znalazł, niech się zgłosi, a otrzyma sowytą nagrodę (Let that who finds cold fire, dry water, and truth in a newspaper speak and they will get a lavish reward). Lack of contamination: absolute purity: *чыстай/чысцейшаі/найчысцейшаі вады* (clear/pure/the purest water); – crystal: *woda czysta jak kryształ; вада чыстая як крыштал* (water clear like a crystal); – spring water: *чысты як крынічна вода/ jak woda zdrojowa/ jak woda w źródle* (clean like spring water/ like water in a spring); *чысты як крынічна вада* (clean like spring water); – from the Nemen: *чысты як німеńska вода* (clean like water from the Nemen); – from a deep well: *Im głębsza studnia, tym czystsza вода* (The deeper the well, the cleaner the water). Turbidity, density, silting: *вада як жур* (water as a cream soup). Taste – if sugar is added to it, it has a bland taste: *mdły jak woda z cukrem* (bland like water with sugar). Weight – it is heavier than a feather: *Pióro lżejsze od wody, powietrze od pióra, kobieta od powietrza* (A feather is lighter than water, air lighter than a feather, a woman lighter than air). Colour – it is lighter closer to the spring: *Im bliżej źródła, tym woda jaśniejsza* (The closer to the spring, the lighter the water); – it is dark in the clouds: *цямна вада ва облацэх* (dark water in the clouds). Power – along with fire, it is a tremendous power: *Вада і агонь – усяму сіла* (Water and fire are the power of everything). The occurrence of sounds and movement: the quiet, the calmness of water: *Cichszy od wody, niższy od trawy* (Quieter than water, lower than grass); *цішы вады і ніжэй травы; ціхі як вада* (quieter than water, lower than grass; quiet as water); the humbleness of stagnant water or water in a puddle: *ціхмань як стаячая вада/ як вада ў лужыне* (quiet as stagnant water / like water in a puddle); the quiet of deep water, the swish of water in brooks: *Głębokie wody cicho korytem płyną, a małe strumyki wielkim szelestem hałasują* (Deep waters run quietly in their beds, and small brooks make a noise with their great swishing); it performs rotational movement, also about a whirl: *віхром вада ўе*. The specified qualities of water cause particular results. It is possible for something to be lost in water: a complete disappearance, a loss of something after a fall into the water: *Прапаў, як у ваду ўпаў; як у ваду ўпаў/ пайшоў; Што ў воду ўпала, то нішы прапала* (Disappeared as fell into the water; as fell into the water/ went; What fell into the water, is lost); a stone disappearing, vanishing, becoming lost without a trace, irretrievably: *kamień w wodę; przepaść/ zginąć/ zniknąć jak kamień w wodę/ w wodzie/ jak gdyby ktoś kamień w wodę rzucił; Kamień w wodę wrzucony już nie wypłynie* (a stone in water; to vanish/ become lost/ disappear like a stone in water/ as if someone threw a stone into the water; A stone thrown into the water will not emerge again); *як/ нібы/ што у ваду кануў; Прапаў, як камень у ваду* (as/as if/ as if disappeared in water; Disappeared like a stone in water); the vanishing of salt: *przepadł jak sól na wodzie; Kto się z kościoła zбоgaci, wnet to, jak sól w wodę, straci* (Vanished like salt in water; Who becomes rich on the Church will soon lose it like salt in water); the disappearance of fire: *як агонь у ваду* (as the fire in the water); a drop vanishing without a trace in a sea or a river: *Zginiesz jak ta kropla wody w morzu/ w wielkiej rzece* (You will vanish like that drop in the sea/in a great river). In the water, the devil disappears: *прапаў як чорт у ваду буркнуў* (disappeared like the devil mumbled

something into the water). Not vanishing: there are things that do not drown in the water and do not burn in fire: *у агні не гарыць/ згарець і ў вадзе не тоне/ не затоне/ не патоне/ не топіцца/ не утопіцца* (it does not burn in fire/ to burn and does not sink in water/ will not sink/ will not drown/do not sink/ do not drown). Something becomes silent in water – silence, a stone becoming silent: *Мілчы як камень до воды wrzucony* (Silent like a stone thrown into the water). Some of the qualities of water are favourable or unfavourable to something. In a murky water, it is easier to fish, especially for loaches: *Ловіць рыбы в мętnej водзіе; В мętnej водзіе прэ́дзей сія піскорзе ловіа* (To fish in murky water; In murky water, loaches are quicker to catch). The phenomenon of something becoming marked on the water is stressed: a shadow is poorly visible: *слабы як цень на вадзе* (weak as a shadow on the water); the lack of a trace, not leaving a trace: by objects floating on the water – a dugout: *Чо́лно по водзіе плы́нае, птак по повіетрзу лата́ячы, панна чысто́сь тыра́яча – еднакі знак по собіе зоста́яячы; Якбы чо́лнем прэ́з водо́ прэ́жечал* (A dugout floating on the water, a bird flying in the air, a maid losing her chastity – they leave the same trace; As if he went across the water in a dugout); by swimming animals – a dog: *Якбы піс прэ́з водо́ прэ́плына́л* (As if a dog swam across the water); by objects submerged in the water – a stick: *На воде кія вса́дзіць і вы́яніць – то не зна́ць* (To put a stick in the water and take it out – does not leave a trace). The bubbles appearing on the water are a peculiar feature: the bubbles disappear instantly: *Зніка́л як ба́нка на водзіе* (Disappeared like a bubble on the water); the bubbles are weak – about the human weakness: *Чло́віек ба́нка на водзіе* (A human being is a bubble on the water); *Мо́цы, як у бурба́лцы на вадзе; мо́цы ў каго/ дзе як у бурба́лцы на вадзе* (Power like a bubble on water; power in someone/somewhere like in a bubble on water). Water becomes stormy, stereotypically in a glass: *бу́рза в шкля́нцы воды* (a storm in a glass of water); *Бу́ра ў шкля́нцы вады* (A storm in a glass of water). The homogeneity of water particles is emphasised, whereby water drops being identical implies: sameness, identicalness: *як две кроплі воды* (like two drops of water); the absolute resemblance of two people: *Подобны як две кроплі воды* (Looks like two drops of water); *як у кроплі вады; падобны як/ нібы дзве кроплі вады* (as in a drop of water; similar to/as if two drops of water); the homogeneity of two people: *Добра́лі сія́ як две кроплі воды* (Made a match like two drops of water); *Роўныя, як две кроплі вады* (Like two drops of water). Water is characterised by substantial immutability: boiling water without adding some product does not cause its transformation into a dish: *Водо́ вары́ць/ готу́я, вода́ бэ́дзе як кру́п не всы́піеш; З са́мей водо́ не навары́ш піва́* (Boil water and it will still be water if you do not add any groats; You will not make beer out of water alone); *Ва́ры ва́ду – ва́да бу́дзе/ ва́да ва́дою бу́дзе; Ва́ду га́туючы, усё ва́да бу́дзець; Ва́да ва́дой, ско́лькі яе́ ні ва́ры; Як ва́ду ні ва́ры, то ўсе́ ва́дою бу́дзе* (Boil water - there will be water / water will be water; When water is prepared, all in all there will be water; Water is water, no matter how much it is boiled; No matter how much water is boiled, everything will be water); even if it is in a different glass, the water is still the same: *Са́мая та́я ва́дзічка, то́лькі ў дру́гім ста́канчыку* (The same water only in a different

glass); it is impossible to make cheese out of water: *Z wody sera nie wyciśniesz* (You will not squeeze cheese out of water). The indication of the flow of water is especially distinct. The flow of water is an immanent characteristic, while a characteristic of a stone is to lie motionlessly: *Niechej kamiynia leżeć, a wody bieżeć* (Let stones lie and water flow). The swiftness and energy of water are related to a young wife: *Żona młoda to bystra woda* (A young wife is a swift water). The speed of the flow: the fast passing (about youth): *Młodość płynie jako woda* (Youth flows like water); the fast flow (about goods): *coś idzie jak woda* (something gets used up like water); *ідзе, як вада* (gets used as water); the fast diminishing (about money): *pieniądze płyną/ idą jak woda* (money flows/ is used like water); *грошы як вада; Грошы – вада* (money like water; Money – water); the quick running down (in a lavatory): *bystry jak woda w klozecie* (swift like water in a lavatory). The continuity of the flow: the steady flow (about time): *Czas płynie jak woda/ jako woda ciecze/ ucieka jak woda/ płynie jako woda na młynie* (Time flows like water/ leaks like water/ flees like water/ flows like water in a mill); the continuity of flowing (about years, months, hours): *Lata płyną jak woda; Rok za rokiem jak woda potokiem* (Years flow like water; Year after year like water in a stream); *Гады ідуць, як вада плыве* (The years go by like water flows); *Miesiące płyną jak woda* (Months flow like water); *гадзінкі ідуць як вада плыюць* (hours go by like water flows). The irrevocable flow of water: once it passed, it does not return: *Nie wraca się назад upłyniona woda* (The water that has gone does not come back); having flowed, it does not return, just like the time, the hours that have passed do not come back: *Czas i woda nie wróci/ nie wrócą; Godziny się nie wracają, jako woda upływają; Słowo wyrzeczone, dziewictwo stracone i czas, który minie, z wodą co upłynie, nigdy się nie zwracają.* (Time and water will not return; Hours do not come back, they pass like water; The said word, the lost virginity, and the time that has passed, together with the water that has flowed, never return). The amount of the water that flows: the flowing of a large amount of water starting from a specific moment: *Wiele jeszcze wody upłynie* (A lot of water will still flow); *многа вады ўцякла; шмат/ многа/ нямала/ колькі/ столькі вады сплыло/ сплыўе* (a lot of water flowed away; a lot of/ lots of/ much/ how much/ so much water flowed away/ will flow away)¹⁴; the passage of a large amount of water until the moment of something taking place, coming into being: *dużo/ wiele wody upłynie (zanim...); Wiele jeszcze wody upłynie nim to lub owo się stanie; Uciecze wody ze cztery kłody, nim to nastąpi; Nie jedna konew wody uciecze, nim się jego rok przewlecze* (a lot of water will flow [before ...]; A lot of water will still flow until this or that happens; Some four logs of water will run until it happens; Many water-jugs will run before his year drags through); *Многа вады ўпадзе, пакуль тое будзе; Многа вады ў мора ўплыве, пакуль гэта будзе; Шмат ў мора вады ўвойдзя пакуль гэта будзе; Многа ў моры вады ўпадзе, пакуль мы*

¹⁴ Cf. also: *вада не бяда* ‘говорыцца ў сітуацыі, калі вада трапляе куды-н. І хутка сцякае, высыхае, вычэрпваецца і пад’ (water is not a trouble ‘it is said in a situation when water gets somewhere. And it drains quickly, dries up, is bailed out and so on’).

таго прыжджэм (A lot of water will fall before it happens; A lot of water will float in the sea before it happens; A lot of water will enter the sea while this is happening; A lot of water will fall in the sea, while we wait for it.); the flowing of a large amount of water until the moment of the evil coming to an end: *Dużo wody upłynie, nim zle minie* (A lot of water will flow until the evil passes). The direction of the flow of water: it flows from the mountains: *Woda nie ciecze ku góróm, jyny od gór* (Water does not go up the mountains but comes down from the mountains). The difficulty of water flowing uphill: *coś idzie jak woda pod górę* (something is going like water uphill). Water is not flowing under a lying stone: *Пад ляжачы камень вада не цячэ/ не пацячэ/ не бяжыць/ не пабяжыць* (Under the lying stone water does not flow / will not flow / does not run / will not run). The rolling down of water: the free flow over stones and rocks: *Splywa jak woda po kamieniu/ po skale* (Rolls down like water over a stone/ rock); the easy flow over glass: *Splywa jak woda po szkle* (Rolls down like water over glass); rolling down over a goose, a duck, a dog, without obstruction, without leaving a trace: *coś splywa/ splynęło po kimś jak woda po gęsi/ z gęsi; umo/ як/ нібы з гусі вада з каго/ каму* (it drips off/ like/ water off a goose's back); *coś splywa po kimś/ ciecze z kogoś jak woda po kacze/ jako woda z kaczi; Jak z kaczi woda opadło to z niego; splywa jak woda po psie* (something is/ was like water off a goose's back; something is like water off a duck's back; It fell from him like water off a duck's back; it rolls like water off a dog). There are people whom neither water nor fire affects: *nic się go nie ima, ani ogień, ani woda* (nothing affects him, neither fire nor water); people on whom water does not remain: *вада не трымаецца/ не трымалася/ не ўстоіць на кім* (water does not hold/ did not hold/ did not remain on him).

Water affects some objects. What follows is a specification of the effects of water: the shrinking of the rope and the lengthening of the leather strap: *Jedna z woda sprawuje, że powróz się kurczy, a rzemień wolnieje* (One water makes the rope shrink and the strap slacken); the total washing off, carrying away, moving of something by water, understood as the disappearance of something: *як/ быццам вадою змыла; як вада змяла/ панесла/ ўнясла; як вадою згладзіла/ разліўся* (as/ if being washed away by water; how the water crushed/ carried away/ brought in; how the water smoothed/ spilled); the hollowing out of a stone, even by the feeblest but frequent activity¹⁵: *Чэсто капіац мякка вода најтwardszy камень выгłода; Чэсто спадаяц кропля воды камень длубіе; I камень вода капіаца przedлубіе* (If it drips often, soft water will smooth out the hardest stone; If it falls often, a drop of water hollows a stone; Dripping water will hollow even a stone); *Вада на аднэй капца капая, а і ў каміні дзірку прабівая; Вада камень прабівае* (Water drips one drop at a time, and hollows a stone; Water hollows even a stone); coming down from the mountains, it contributes to the fish coming to the surface: *Вада з гор – і рыба з нор* (Water from

¹⁵ Cf. 'woda zniszczy kamienie, fala podmyje glebę', *Księga Hioba*, XIV, 19, see Pismo Święte, 1988, p. 548 ('As water wears away stones, And as torrents wash away the soil of the earth', Job 14:19, The Holy Bible: New King James Version, 1982.).

the mountains – fish from the burrows). A considerable and important group of the units which are taken into consideration is connected to water's effects on the human being. The effects of fresh water amount to the beneficial impact on: the health, looks, and strength: *świeża woda zdrowia/ urody/ sił doda* (fresh water will bring you more health/ good looks/ strength). The effects of cold water are connected to pouring water on somebody: *oblać kogoś zimną wodą; wylać komu kubel zimnej wody na głowę; Jakby go zimną wodą oblał; Jakby dostał na głowę dzbanek zimnej wody; Jakby mu na głowę wylano strumień zimnej wody* (pour cold water over somebody; pour a bucket of cold water on somebody's head; As if one poured cold water over him; As if he had a jug of cold water poured on his head; As if he had a stream of cold water poured on his head); *абліць халоднай вадоў каго* (pour cold water on someone); with health: *Zimna woda zdrowia doda* (Cold water will bring you more health); it affects the looks: *Zimna woda to uroda/ urody doda; Zdrowsza daleko, kiedy ciecze woda, kto się przechadza, zdrowsza w nim uroda* (Cold water will bring you more good looks; When water flows, it is healthier far away, the one who walks there has healthier good looks); it is associated with strength: *Zimna woda sił doda* (Cold water will bring you more strength). Health, vital strength, and good looks are associated with the beneficent effects of clean water: *Czysta woda zdrowia/ sił/ urody doda* (Clean water will bring you more health/ strength/ good looks). Dark water comes over the eyes: *Цёмная вада на вочы нахадзіць/ найшла* (Dark water comes/ came over the eyes)¹⁶. Water may also be unhelpful to a human being; together with soap, it will not help for ugly looks: *Nie pomoże mydło, woda, kiedy brzydka uroda* (Soap and water will not help if the looks are ugly); it does not help a black man: *Nie pomoże Murzynowi woda* (Water will not help a black man). Somebody's contact with water is equivalent to: becoming soaked in the vicinity of water: *Каля/ ля вады ходзячы намочышся; Каля вады ходзючы намочышся, а каля мукі ходзючы ўпылішся* (Passing near the water you will get wet. Walking near water you will get wet, near flour you will get dusty); coming out of water dry: *выходзіць/ выйсці/ выбрацца сухім з вады; пабыў у вадзе і мокры нідзе; ён і з вады сухім вылязя* (get out/ come out/ get out of the water dry; he's been in the water and wet nowhere; he'll come out dry even of the water).

Recorded is water's quality of being fit or unfit to drink or harmful. The usefulness of water: it drives mills: *Woda młynem, wiatr śmigami, a złą babą diabeł obraca* (The mill is driven by water, the wind by the blades of a windmill, and an evil woman

¹⁶ In connection with the emphasised reference to blindness, cf. 'польск. *czarna woda* 'катаракта'. Любопытно, такой же образ использован в белорусской фразеологии для описания слепоты уже не физиологической, но душевной, психологической: *чорная вада на вочы нахадзіць* 'об утрате владения собой', 'о неясности в мыслях' (Polish *czarna woda* (black water) 'cataract'. Curiously, the same image is used in Belarusian phraseology to describe blindness no longer physiological, but mental, psychological: *dark water comes over the eyes* 'about the loss of self-control', 'about ambiguity in thoughts') (Volodina, 2013, p. 208).

by the devil)¹⁷; roaring, it drives the mills, although the milling is modest due to poor crops: *W Dorohuczy woda huczy, młyn miele, chleba niewiele* (In Dorohuczca the water roars, the mill grinds, the bread is scant). The harmfulness and usefulness of water: it brings something or takes something away: *Woda jednemu ujmie, drugiemu doda* (Water will wash something away from one person and give something to another); *Вада дала, вада ўзяла; З вады прышло, у ваду пашло* (Water gave, water took; From the water came, went into the water); it takes and it gives, like war: *Wojna jako woda: jednemu da, drugiemu bierze* (War is like water: it will give to one person and take away from another); the benefit and harmfulness of water and fire: *Ogień i woda dobrzy służą, lecz źli gospodarze; W jednej ręce nam ogień, w drugiej niesie wodę: Rzeczy sobie przeciwne, pożytek i szkodę* (Fire and water are good servants but bad hosts; Has fire in one hand and water in the other: Things that are opposite, benefit and harm); as opposed to fire which does not leave anything behind, water flows away – it abandons the occupied places: *Вада вузлы пакідае, агонь нічога* (Water leaves the corners, fire leaves nothing). Harmfulness: it is possible to overturn a mountain with a frequent and slow action: *Woda wielką górę obali, gdy często i wolno obmywa* (Water will overturn a huge mountain if it washes it frequently and slowly); the washing away of banks, lands by calm water: *Cicha woda brzegi rwie; cicha woda brzegi/lądy podrywa/ podbiera/ podmywa/ myje* (Calm water tears at the banks; calm water scours/ tampers with/ washes away/ washes the banks/ lands); *Ціхая вада берагі мые* (The calm water washes the banks)¹⁸; the scouring of bridges by calm water: *Cicha woda mosty rwie/ podrywa/ podbiera/ podmywa/ myje* (Calm water tears at/ scours/ tampers with/ washes away/ washes bridges); the destruction of mills and levees: *Вада і мельніцу ламае; Ціхая вада грэблю рве/ рья; Вада млыны і грэблю рве* (Water breaks even the mill; The still water breaks/ tears down the dam; Water breaks the mills and the dam); the drowning, not by sea waters but by a puddle: *Не мора тониць – лужа* (It's not the sea that drowns you – it's the puddle). Harmlessness: it is not a misfortune if, having come and settled, it retreats: *Вада не бяда: настаяла ды й пайшла* (Water is not a trouble: it stood and left); swift water not damaging stone banks: *Kamiennych brzegów bystra nie rwie woda* (Swift water does not tear at stone banks); it will not make one drunk nor does it require expenses the way vodka does: *Woda głowy nie zawróci i kieszeni nie zasmuci* (Water will not turn one's head and will not sadden the pocket); even a needless drop of water on the plate will not do harm: *Лишняя кропля вады ў талерцы не пашкодзіць* (An extra drop of water in the plate will not do any harm); it does not intoxicate. *Вада толькі не ўпойць* (You won't get drunk on water). Benefaction: if spilt, it contributes to the abundance of hay: *Снегу навее – хлеба*

¹⁷ Cf. also: *woda na młyn* 'coś sprzyjającego, odpowiadającego czyimś planom, zamiarom, oczekiwaniom' (water over the mill 'something favourable, suiting one's plans, intentions, expectations'), for more, see Bała, 2002, pp. 15–19.

¹⁸ Cf. also: 'О человеке спокойном, но настойчивом белорусы говорят *Ціхая вада берагі рве*' (Belarusians speak about a calm but persistent person *Still water undermines the bank*) (Volodina, 2013, p. 211).

прыбудзе, вада разальцеца – сена набярэцца (There will be snow – bread will come, water will split – there will be hay). Hindrance: water is an obstruction in travelling: *Na piesze woda, a na jezdne trzaczka* (Water for those on foot, diarrhoea for those riding). A destructive force: the fear of the equivalent destructive effects of the elements of water and fire: *Ogień i woda, największa trwoga* (Fire and water, the greatest terror). A non-destructive force: neither water nor fire will annihilate science: *Nauki woda nie zabierze, a ogień nie spali* (Science will not be taken away by water nor burnt by fire). Insatiability: water and fire know no moderation: *Woda, ogień i niewiasta nigdy nie powiedzą, że basta* (Water, fire, and a woman will never say ‘that’s enough’).

Essential is relating water to something else, which illustrates specific relations. Adequacy: the parameters of water define the quality of the mill, such a relation exists between the father and the son: *Jaka woda, taki młyn; jaki ojciec, taki syn* (Like water like mill; like father like son); if there is general harmony, dumplings with water are acceptable: *Przy zgodzie to dobre i kluski na wodzie/ można kluski warzyć w jednej wodzie* (If there is harmony, even dumplings with water are fine/ dumplings can be cooked in the same water). Oppositionality: water and fire are opposed to each other: *ogień i woda/ z wodą* (fire and water/with water); *агонь і вада/ з вадою* (fire and water/with water); water and blood are dissimilar, completely different: *krew nie woda; Krew nie woda, serce nie kamień/ jajecznicia nie twaróg/ twaróg nie polewka/ majtki nie pokrzywa/ spódnica nie pokrzywy; Grzmot nie piorun, krew nie woda* (blood is not water; Blood is not water, the heart is not a stone/ scrambled eggs are not curd cheese/ curd cheese is not soup/ underpants are not nettle/ a skirt is not nettles; Thunder is not lightning, blood is not water); *Кроў людская/ чужая не вадзіца* (Human/others’ blood is not water). Discordance, nonuniformity of water and fire: *Trudna zgoda: z ogniem woda; jak woda i ogień; zgadzają się/ niezgodni/ przeciwni/ nie cierpią się jak ogień z wodą; woda z ogniem nigdy się nie zgodzi; ogień z wodą, wiatr z ziemią zawsze wojnę wiodą* (A difficult agreement: of fire with water; like water and fire; they get along/ do not get along/ are opposite/ cannot stand each other like fire and water; water and fire will never agree; fire with water, air with earth are always at war); *Нязгодныя, як агонь з вадою; Пагадзіліся, як вада з агнём; Агонь з вадою не дружыць; Вада агню не таварыш* (Disagree like fire with water; Agreed like water with fire; Fire and water are not friends; Water and fire are not companions); the incompatibility of water and fire is equal to that of an old man and a young wife: *Stary z młodą – ogień z wodą; jako ogień bywa z wodą, tak i stary z żoną młodą* (And old man with a young woman – fire with water; like fire is with water, that is how an old man is with a young wife); water and oil not mixing: *Oliwa nie brata się z wodą* (Oil does not fraternise with water); dumplings with water are not recommended: *Zgodą jak kluski z wodą* (Harmony like dumplings with water). Water is/ is not dematerialised by fire: *Schnie jak od ognia woda; Boi się jak woda ognia* (Dries like water dried by fire; Scared like water of fire). Looking for fire in water is in vain: *W wodzie ognia szukać* (To look for fire in water). Conditionings of water: it pours in a strong stream from a trough: *вада ліецца як з латака* (water pours like from bucket); it leaks from an overfilled

pond: *Z pełnego stawu woda się nazad wraca* (Water comes back from a full pond); its presence conditions the occurrence of willows: *Дзе вада, там і вярба* (Where there is water, there is a willow); where it is present, there is also misfortune: *Дзе вада, там і бяда* (Where there is water, there is trouble); if it rains on the Feast of Saints Peter and Paul, the baker needs twice as much of it: *Kiedy Piotr i Paweł deszczem częstują, piekarz dwakroć więcej wody potrzebuje* (If Peter and Paul treat one to rain, the baker needs twice as much water); it is present in many places, therefore drinking it depends only on the human being: *W studni wody, aż dudni, w przykopie aż kopie, w padole gruszy, komu się chce pić, niech se ruszy rzić* (The water roars in the well, kicks in the ditch, churns in the valley, if one wants to drink, let them get their bum up); it must be available nearby for extinguishing fire: *Daleka woda ognia nie gasi* (Water far away does not put out fire); a lack of water results in a lack of comfort: *Bez wody ni ma wygody; Ani wody, ani wygody* (Without water there is no comfort; Neither water not comfort); on the water, something comes to somebody easily – about money that comes easily: *як вадоў пльвучуць да каго* (floats as water to someone); it boils in a pot: *кіпець як вада ў гаршuku* (boil like water in a pot).

The examined phraseological and paremical material reflects the fixed value and qualities of water. Water gives life: *Wiatr ojciec, a woda matka* (The air is the father, and water is the mother); it has life-giving qualities, but it also protects: *Woda żywi, woda broni* (Water nourishes, water protects); it is healthy: *Будзь здаровы, як вада* (Be healthy as water); it is the tastiest when it comes from one's own spring: *Няма смачнейшае вадзіцы, як з роднай крыніцы* (There is no tastier water than from a native source). The usefulness of water: it extinguishes fire: *Nie zgasi ognia olej, chyba woda; Ognia ogniem nie zgasisz, wodą raczej* (Not oil will put out a fire but rather water; You will not put out a fire with fire but with water); hot water, similarly to a young boy, is always useful: *Młody chłopiec i gorąca woda zawsze się zda* (A young boy and hot water will always be useful); the places where it is present are used to give it to animals to drink, especially to horses on their way: *Co karczma, to stój, co woda to pój* (Stop in every tavern, give water [to the animals] every time it is found); its use goes beyond drinking: *Woda tylko nie poi* (Water is not just for drinking). Water's lack of qualities is also observed. The tastelessness of water: if warm, it is not tasty: *dobry jak ciepła woda* (good like warm water). Noticeable is an evaluation of water. Namely: water is dangerous like war: *Na wodzie jak na wojnie* (On the water like in a war).

The examined material captures water present in the functioning of the human being. The significance of water in regards to this issue reveals itself in a variety of aspects. The indication of drinking water is distinct. Securing the existence: it is indispensable to life: *Woda żywym, wino zmarłym* (Water for the living, wine for the dead); its lack, and the lack of food, are a danger to the existence of a human being: *Hi wady, ni jady* (No water, no food); it is important to be able to drink it: *З'еў паўбяды, напіўся вады; Што гэта за бяда, што гэтак п'ецца вада; То не бяда, што п'ецца вада* (Ate half a trouble, drank some water. It is not a trouble, if you drink water like this. It is not a problem that water is drunk). Quenching thirst: it is needed if one is thirsty:

W pragnieniu woda, w żniwa pogoda, jedzenie w głodzie, przyjaciel w przygodzie, kasza osolona i poczciwa żona – rzeczy pożądane (Water when one is thirsty, good weather during the harvest, food when one is hungry, a friend on an adventure, salted groats, and a goodhearted wife – desirable things); *Трэба, як вады напіцца; хоць вады напіся* (It is necessary, as water to drink; at least get some water to drink); one who is not thirsty does not want it: *Kto wody pić nie chce, nie ma pragnienia* (Whoever does not want to drink water is not thirsty). The quantity of the water that is being drunk: water cannot all be drunk away, just like bread cannot all be eaten away: *Świata nie przeżyjesz, chleba nie przejesz, wody nie przepijesz* (You will not outlive the world, eat away all bread, drink away all water); *Хлеба не перажывеш, не пераясі і вады не перап’еш* (You will not outlive and eat away all bread and drink away all water); as opposed to vodka, one will not drink much of it: *Вада не гарэлка – шмат не вып’еш* (Water is not vodka – you don't drink much); there will be plenty of it to drink after death, therefore in life it is preferred to drink vodka: *Dość sie ji po śmierci napijym, dej mi teraz tej prosto z palarnie* (I will drink enough of it after death, now give me the kind straight out of the distillery); drinking it in excess has harmful consequences: *Od wody się żaby w brzuchu lęgną* (Water makes frogs hatch in the stomach). Preferring water: it is preferred to milk or kvass: *Wołowi, choćbyś wina nalał, pewnie w każdej kałuży będzie wodę wolał* (Even if you poured wine for an ox, the ox would probably prefer water in any puddle); *Як з якім малаком, дак лепей з вадою; Як з дурным квасам, дык лепш з вадою* (It is better with water than with any milk; It is better with water than with bad kvass). The circumstances in which water is drunk: not every person eating dinner drinks it: *Усякі абедает, ды не кожны ваду п’е* (Everyone eats dinner, but not everyone drinks water); it is sometimes drunk to wash down tea: *Чай вадою заівай* (Always wash down your tea with water); after a good meal, any water is good: *Po dobrej strawie dobra i woda w stawie* (After a good repast even the water from a pond is good); it is recommended after eating a piece of something tasty: *Po smacznym kąsku wody napić się nie wadzi/ i wodę pić miło* (After a tasty bite it does not hurt to drink some water/it is nice to drink water too); *Па добрым/ Па ласым куся я ў вады нап’юся* (After a good/ after a tasty piece, I'll get drunk on water); after eating something tasty, one only need to drink plain water: *Абы сласна над’еў, то ў вады нап’юся* (If only I could eat something tasty, I'd drink some water); it is drunk by prudents, while the brave drink honey: *Адважны п’е мёд, а раздум ваду* (The brave one drinks honey, and the prudent one drinks water); the drinking of dirty water, water in which somebody's feet were washed: *Trzeba by myć jego nogi i pić tę wodę; nogi мыць каму, чые і тую ваду піць* (One should wash his feet and drink that water); it is not everywhere that one can expect to drink it: *вады не нап’ешся ў кого* (You can't even drink water from him). Swallowing water: swallowing it refers to somebody falling into somewhere: *забегчы як вады каўтнуць* (come running like take a sip of water); swallowing, slurping it while yawning: *Хто зявае, той ваду сярбае; Зязяваешся, дык вады нахлябаешся; Зяваць – ваду хлябаць* (Whoever yawns, he slashes the water; You will yawn, and you will swallow water; If yawned –

swallow some water; Do not keep your eyes open then drink water). Limitations in the drinking of water: the impossibility of drinking it without digging a well: *Не капаўшы студні, вады не піці* (You can't drink water without digging a well); the impossibility of drinking it based on the beauty, good looks of a girl: *З дзявочай красы вады не нап'еўся* (You can't drink water from a girl's beauty); one will not drink it from glory, from a face: *З характава вады не нап'еўся; З твару вады не піць* (You can't drink water from beauty; You can't drink water from face). Not drinking water: it is bad when ones does not drink it: *Бяда, што не п'еўца вада; Біда, калі ня п'еўца й вада; Што за бяда, што не п'еўца вада; То не бяда, што п'еўца вада, а то бяда, што не п'еўца вада* (It is the trouble that water is not drunk either; Trouble if you can't drink water; What's the trouble if you don't drink water; It doesn't matter if you drink water, but it does matter if you don't drink water); in a given city it is not water that is drunk but alcohol: *Сілq браć — w Jasiach wody się nie pije* (To take by force – in Jasio one does not drink water).

A separate group is comprised of units that constitute a comparison of water with another food product, which points to the instrumentality, inseparability, equivalence of water and another thing. Water and white goosefoot denote extreme impoverishment, almost a starvation ration: *Во гатавала, так нагатавала: вада да лебяды* (That's really cooked like this: water and quinoa). Water and bread – and, possibly, salt: are a modest sustenance, but it is enough to survive on: *Chleb i woda nie ma głoda; Przy chlebie i wodzie nie wspomni się o głodzie; Kiedy jest chleb przy wodzie tam głód nie dobodzie* (Bread and water, there is no hunger; Over bread and water one will not mention hunger; If there is bread next to water, one will not be troubled by hunger there); *Хлеб і вада – няма галада; Калі ець хлеб да вада, нету галада; Хлеб, соль і вада, то няма галада* (Bread and water – no hunger; If there is bread and water there is no hunger; Bread, salt, and water, then there is no hunger) – modest life conditions: *жyć o chlebie i wodzie* (to live off of bread and water); *сядзець на хлебе і/ды/на вадзе* (to be (to live) on bread and water); – a modesty of food: *skazać na chleb i wodę* (condemn to bread and water); – sustaining biological life: *Chleb z wodą życie utwierdzają* (Bread and water consolidate life); – a satisfactory minimum, a quite decent meal for specific individuals: *Chleb i woda ludzka wygoda; Chleb, sól i woda kozacka wygoda* (Bread and water, human comfort; Bread, salt, and water, Cossack comfort); *Хлеб да/і вада – мужыкова/маладзецкая яда; Хлеб, соль і вада – маладзецкая яда* (Bread and water – men's/ good fellow's food; Bread, salt and water – good fellow's food). Water with bread is, food-wise, a symbol of poverty: sometimes it is the first or the only sustenance: *Хлеб да/і вада – уся наша яда/первая яда* (Bread and water – all our food/ our first food); consuming it is associated with poverty or is not related to it: *Пакуль/Калі ёць хлеб ды/і вада – гэта не бяда/то не бяда; Хоць з вадою, было бы не з бядою; Хлеб з вадою, але не з бядою; Еш хлеб з вадою, абы не з бядою; Леш хлеб з вадою, як з бядою/чым пірог з бядою; Не вялікая бяда, калі хлеб да вада; Часам з квасам, а парой з вадой, ці то з бядой* (While / If there is bread and water it is not a problem/ then it does not matter; Even

with water, just not with trouble; Bread and water, but not with trouble; Eat bread with water, just not with trouble; It is better bread with water than with trouble / than cake with trouble; It is not a big trouble, if there is bread and water; Sometimes with kvass, and sometimes with water, or with trouble); it is associated with poverty in those places where the soil is infertile: *Jak się tam macie w Morzygłódzie? – Zaledwie o chlebie i wodzie* (How are you doing there in Morzygłód? – Living only off of bread and water); when one becomes impoverished and starves, it becomes what they consume: *непабівацца/непракідацца з хлеба на ваду* (to live/ to survive from bread to water); in a better situation in life, it is sometimes supplied with or replaced by something else in the diet: *Czasem z kwasem, a czasem i z wodą/ niekiedy z wodą* (Sometimes with kvass and sometimes with water); *непабівацца з вады на хлеб/ з хлеба на квас; жыць часам з квасам, а парою з вадою* (to live from water to bread / from bread to kvass; to live sometimes with kvass, and sometimes with water); condemning somebody to a sustenance minimum limited to its drinking and to eating bread: *O chlebie i wodzie; posadzić/ trzymać kogoś o chlebie i wodzie* (To put somebody in jail/ keep somebody only on bread and water); *садзіць/ пасадзіць на хлеб і ваду каго* (to keep/ to put someone on bread and water); condemning somebody to have it as the only thing they receive: *садзіць/ пасадзіць на ваду каго* (to keep/ to put someone on water).

Well-documented are indications of water being needed for something or as much as something else: it is indispensable in preparing meals: *Wszędzie w wodzie warzą* (Things are boiled in water everywhere); on its own, boiling water is not enough to prepare a meal: *Жар гарыць, вада кіпіць, толькі няма чаго варыць* (The heat is burning, the water is boiling, but there is nothing to cook); it is impossible to cook groats or potatoes without it: *Без вады кашы не зварыш; Хоць повен гарічок картофлі, а без вады не зварыш* (You can't cook porridge without water; Even if the pot is full of potatoes, you can't cook it without water); if one does not go to bring it, they will not cook groats: *І кашы не хачу, і на ваду ня іду* (I don't want porridge and I don't go for water); it is necessary for korovai: *Do naszego korowaju trzeba było wody z Dunaju weselnych* (For our korovai, water from the Danube from the bridal was needed); it is needed like a person one is friends with: *Przyjaciela zawsze trzeba każdemu jak wody/ każdemu trzeba jak wody, jak chleba* (Everyone always needs a friend like water, like bread). Water is present in dishes and drinks, specifically: in a fish soup, it is not the water that can be tasted but the fish: *He wadoю уха пахнець, а рыбаю* (The fish soup smells not of water, but of fish); it is not desirable for diluting milk in cooking groats: *Dobra kaska z mlickiem bywa, jak i wodo nie doliwa, a jak wody nabomboli, to od kasy brzucho boli* (Groats with milk are good if one does not add water to them, while if one adds lots of water, the groats give you a stomachache); it is sometimes part of honey that is not very good: *Dziesięć wód, jedenasty miód* (Ten waters, honey the eleventh).

The presented linguistic representation includes water in the functioning of animals. Emphasised is the drinking of the water, especially: the indispensableness of water for fish: it is necessary for them, without it, they cannot live, they die: *głodny/ ktoś pragnie/ potrzebuje czegoś jak ryba wody; Coś jest komuś potrzebne jak jak rybie*

woda; *Potrzebny jak woda dla ryby; nie móc się obejść/ umrzeć jak ryba bez wody; Rybom woda, ludziom zgoda, bez niej nic* (somebody is hungry/ wants something/ needs something like a fish needs water; Something is needed by somebody like water in needed by a fish; Needed like water for a fish; to not be able to go without/ die like a fish out of water; Water to fish, harmony to people, there is nothing without it); *як рыба без вады; Прапаў, як рыба без вады* (Like a fish out of water; Disappeared, like a fish out of water); quenching thirst: a horse that is not thirsty should not be pulled towards water: *Nie ciągnij konia do wody, kiedy koń nie chce pić* (Do not pull a horse towards water if the horse does not want to drink); the amount of the water that is being drunk: drinking water in large quantities by an ox: *Pij wodę jak wół, a wino jak król* (Drink water like an ox does and wine like a king does); its value in the diet: the skinniness of a dog fed water and turnips: *Chudy jak pies na wodzie i suchej rzepie* (Skinny like a dog kept on water and dry turnip).

Presented is the demand for water: a well-trodden path leads to spring water: *Да чыстае крыніцы сцежка ўтонтана* (A path is trodden to the clear stream). Emphasised is the need for water in the hygiene of the human being and in maintaining cleanness: it is necessary for doing laundry: *Бяла не бяла, а ваду відала; Бяло, ні бяло аб ў вадзе было; та буць: Ня сылепа, бяло, што ў вадзе было!* (It does not matter if white or not white, but it saw the water; It does not matter if white or not white, if only it was in the water; I'm not blind, it's white, that was in the water!); it is indispensable for washing (according to the saying of drunkards): *Woda dobra do mycia* (Water is good for washing)¹⁹. Contrary to the abovementioned quality of water being needed is the pointing out of its uselessness in specific conditions: its utter uselessness in a shoe: *Potrzebny jak woda w bucie* (Needed like water in a shoe); a cooked fish does not need it: *Зваранай рыбе вада не патрэбна* (Cooked fish doesn't need water); it is not needed in a meadow: *Dziura w worze, gość w komorze, piasek w mące, woda w łące, kąkol w życie, złość w habicie – rzeczy niepotrzebne* (A hole in a sack, a guest in a chamber, sand in flour, water in a meadow, a corncockle in the rye, anger in a habit – useless things).

Conclusion

The performed overview corresponds – on the level of the general – with the indications of the interpretative perspectives referring to the folk perception of water:

¹⁹ It is noted that it is possible to wash dirty hands in water (as opposed to the impossibility of washing a soiled soul): *Рукі вымажаш – вадою памыеш, душу вымажаш – і мылам не адмыеш; Рукі пабрудзіш – вадою адмыеш, душу забрудзіш – і мыла не паможэ* ‘ад ганебных учынкаў, амаральных паводзін не ачысцішся’ (If you smear your hands, you'll wash them with water, if you smear your soul, you can't wash it with soap; If you smear your hands, you'll wash them with water, and if you smear your soul, soap won't help ‘you will not be cleansed of shameful deeds, immoral behaviour’).

‘funkcjonalną, wedle której wodę postrzega się jako rodzaj płynu niezbędnego do życia i codziennej działalności człowieka’²⁰ and ‘ontologiczną, wedle której woda to rodzaj płynu, który jest jednym z podstawowych elementów świata’²¹, whereas ‘choć ciągle jest to ten sam desygnat (cechy esencjalne są te same), dostrzega się w nim inne aspekty lub te same aspekty, ale nadaje się im różną rangę’²² (Majer-Baranowska, 1993, p. 282).

The depiction of the representation of water, fixed in the language, in the light of phraseological and paremiological profiling as applied to dictionary units in the Polish and Belarusian language, reveals, in the most general dimension, the colloquial description of water in nature, as a drink and as a functional liquid, as well as – especially – the connections between water and a variety of concepts, particularly its importance for humans and for animals²³. The comparative perspective illustrates the prevalent analogies and the fairly considerable dissimilarities in the building of the representation of water in both of the discussed languages in reference to the perception of water and to the emphasised fusions of water and particular objects and phenomena as well as in terms of their component fulfilment²⁴.

Translated into English by Lingua Lab s.c.

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²⁰ ‘functional, according to which water is perceived as a type of liquid indispensable for the life and the everyday activity of the human being’.

²¹ ‘ontological, according to which water is a type of liquid which constitutes one of the primary elements of the world’.

²² ‘although it is still the same referent (the essential attributes remain the same), what is recognised in it are different aspects, or the same aspects which, however, are given a different rank’.

²³ And thereby confirms the premise (see Grzegorzycowa, 1998, p. 12) that the ‘profile’ of water distinguished on the basis of linguistic facts (e.g. *woda żywa*, *lać wodę* [living water, to pour water] etc.) ‘może stać się podstawą odrębnego znaczenia bądź wariantu znaczeniowego’ (‘can become the basis of a separate meaning or a semantic variant’).

²⁴ The continuation of these deliberations (in the next paper) will consist of, as it were, an inverted arrangement – a depiction of the fusions of objects, phenomena and water, the connections between animals and water, and the relationship between the human being and water.

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