

ТЕОРІЯ І МЕТОДОЛОГІЯ СЛАВІСТИЧНИХ ДОСЛІДЖЕНЬ

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THE ANTROPOLOGIC CONCEPTS OF THE PEOPLE'S FAIRY-TALE OF THE UKRAINIAN CARPATHIANS (based of the material of the Ukrainians' and Hungarians' narrative tradition)

Авторка розглядає поняття картини світу, що належить до фундаментальних понять, котрі виражають специфіку людини та її буття, взаємини зі світом і найбільш важливі умови її існування. Картина світу містить антропоцентричні концепти і бінарні зіставлення.

На основі угорського та українського оповідного матеріалу Українських Карпат авторка розглядає такі концепти і бінарні протиставлення, як багатий / бідний, старий / молодий, свій / чужий, чоловік / жінка, та їх похідні, що належать до основної системи понять добра і зла. Вона доходить висновку, що казки обох етносів демонструють певну однаковість у зображенні людини, її життєвої філософії.

Ключові слова: картина світу, концепти, бінарії, український, угорський, Українські Карпати, багатий / бідний, молодий / старий, чоловік / жінка.

Автор рассматривает понятие картины мира, относящееся к фундаментальным понятиям, выражающим специфику человека и его бытия, взаимоотношения с миром и наиболее важные условия его существования. Картина мира содержит антропоцентрические концепты и бинарные противопоставления.

На основе венгерского и украинского повествовательного материала Украинских Карпат автор рассматривает такие концепты и бинарные противопоставления, как богатый / бедный, старый / молодой, свой / чужой, мужчина / женщина, и их производные, при-

надлежащие к основной системе понятий добра и зла. Она пришла к выводу, что сказки обоих этносов демонстрируют определенное сходство в изображении человека, его жизненной философии.

Ключевые слова: картина мира, концепты, бинарии, украинский, венгерский, Украинские Карпаты, богатый / бедный, молодой / старый, мужчина / женщина.

The author of the research considers the concept of the world's picture expressing the man's specific and being, his mutual relations with the world and the most important conditions of his existence in the world. The picture of the world contains concepts and binar oppositions, connected with assessing in the man's being. Generally speaking, it is fully constructed on opposing good and evil, as it represents an idealized picture of the world and divides everything into the good and the bad.

The author arrived at the conclusion that the fairy-tales of both Ukrainian and Hungarian ethnoses demonstrated almost a kind of unanimity in depicting the man, his philosophy of life,

The anthropologic concepts of the fairy-tale contain traditional people's viewpoints on the man, his surrounding and inner world, provide the best samples of morale and examples, based on general human ideals.

Keywords: picture of the world, concept, binar opposition, Ukrainian, Hungarian, Ukrainian Carpathians, wealthy / poor, young / old, man / woman.

Every person has his own system of coordinates of life fixed by culture that he implements in the so-called picture of the world. The concept of picture of the world belongs to the fundamental concepts, expressing the man's specifics and being, his mutual relations with the world and the most important conditions of his existence in this world. The picture of the world forms a type of the man's attitude towards the world and nature, the other people, himself as a member of this world, lays the norms of the man's behaviour in the world and determines his treatment of living space. It is compared to the «conceptual carcass that includes both non-verbal and verbalized conceptual models. In one's consciousness the world "is filtered" through the net of these models and correspondingly transformed, categorized and interpreted» [1, p. 109].

The concept «the picture of the world» also implies a cognitive sense, that is information on a way of cognizing the world around the people by them. The researches strive to reproduce it as well as to write into it the cognitive instructions of this or that nation, philosophic imaginations, ethic and esthetic norms and religious beliefs.

This picture, represented in the artistic text, reflects the totality of the author's knowledge on the depicted fragment of evidence; the creation of the author's picture of the world reveals the following principle: the author, staying in the centre of some events, shows everything from his own viewpoint and expresses his own understanding of these events. It is first and foremost the conceptual picture of the world, added by the linguistic one (usage of certain linguistic forms and constructions for depicting certain phenomena): «The conceptual space of the text integrates concepts available in it which are instrumental in implementing the author's ideas and plot: concepts of culture (good, evil, truth, love and beauty), concepts of ideology (justice, patriotism, victory), concepts of antropocentrism as well as the concepts – naturefacts, concepts – artifacts (artificially created objects), concepts – archtypes (ego, light, darkness)» [15, p. 247].

So, the concept is an intelligent image in the man's consciousness that has a name and is based on his certain culturally stipulated imaginations about reality itself. The concepts are discrete while the world is continual. Its analysis cannot be in full correspondence with the system of concepts. There are many objects and situations belonging to different concepts, but some of the concepts have none belonging to them. Such are concepts that are on the boundaries of different conceptual fields.

The foundations of the world's picture conceptualize the modelling oppositions which is connected with evaluating in the man's being: «So, the concepts «the good and the bad» stand out of rest of categories with the extraordinary diversity of their

ties and functions. What generally the assessing predicate is designated with, deals with the real characteristics of objects, their conformity or non-conformity to the norm (both existing and ideal one), the perception of objects, feelings they evoke (both pleasant and unpleasant), the man's active psychologic foundations (his desires, strivings, will and duties), the decision and choice out of a number of alternatives, the man's program of life and mankind's ideals, the prescriptive function of linguism, realised in certain types of linguistic acts (such as approval, condemnation, stimulus, recommendation, advice, instruction, order, persuasion, call, prohibition, advertizing, etc). The mentioned ties are divided into the following aspects: ontologic, psychologic, operating and communicative ones. The concept of value performs coordinating (between the man and the world of objects), stimulating (directing activity), didactic and regulating (prescriptive) functions in the mechanisms of life» [1, p. 183].

So, assessing is connected with the phenomenon of opposition and, in particular, of binarism. Generally binar outlook is considered to be a certain system of viewpoints on the world and the man, the «philosophy of life», according to which the individual-creature was formed by the binar ties that came into being in society. The principle of binar opposition, obligatory as the system-creating basis of the world, becomes autonomous and self-meaning in the collective unconscious and the phone which is felt intuitively and penetrates all levels of the man's being.

The «dzen» mystics have a *coan*: they ask their pupils to meditate on the sound of one hand applause. It is absurd, for there is no one palm applause, two hands are needed for this goal, they are contrarities but basically they produce one applause. Therefore they are united in their efforts and don't contradict but add each other.

Solving this task is impossible. Meditation is given to the pupil for him to trespass the intellect's boundaries and rise to the highest

level of consciousness as well as to comprehend that in the man's life no example, illustrated with one palm applause, can be found. The whole world is the applause of two palms: man and women, day and night, life and death, love and hatred.

Binarism belongs to the most ancient and archaic way of thinking and forming the world's picture and, as scholars (P. Maclin, G. Foster and others) believe, it reflects the functioning of the most ancient system of the brain, namely the limbic one, which forms strong emotions as well as the control over reproductive and defensive activities and other vital functions. The perception of the external objects and the interconnection with them at the «old brain» level is first and foremost guided by the physical self-preservation instinct, inherent in all animals, and distributes communicants among two categorial poles – «safe» and «unsafe» and «favouring» and «unfavouring». In human society the binar opposition model functions at the level of unconsciousness. The new cerebral cortex – that of semi-spheres – came into being much later and performs research and evristic functions.

French antropologist and philosopher K. Levi-Strauss reproduces his in works the in-depth structures of myths and their coding, arranging codes in geographic space, sociologic and techno-economic areas. He determines the peculiarities of mythologic thinking, in particular, the logics of generalization, classification as well as the analysis of natural and social phenomena. At the same time this thinking is concrete, figurative and sensitive; it makes a wide use of methaphors and symbols, turning them into a means of cognizing the world and the man. The scholar believes that ancient logics is based on double binar oppositions (tall-short, day-night, right-left, man-woman, earth-sky, etc.).

When studying myths, E. Meletins'kij arrived at the conclusion that primitive mythologic interpretations are based on elementary semantic oppositions which in the first place correspond to the man's sensitive orientation (up/dawn, left/right, big/small, etc.) and

which later are «objectivized» and added by the simplest ratios in the cosmic space-time continuum (sky/earth, day/night, winter/summer, etc.), in socium (my/strange, male/female, older/younger, etc.), or on the boundary between socium and space, nature and culture (water/fire, raw/boiled, house/forest, etc.) up to the more abstract figure oppositions (paired/unpaired, three/four, etc.) as well as such fundamental antinomies as life/death, fortune/misfortune, etc.) and the main mythologic opposition of sacral/laical» [11, p. 230].

Russian scholars V. Ivanov and V. Toporov outline the following four great groups of oppositions in the ancient man's picture of the world: «I. The most general and abstract characteristics which aren't localized in space, time and social aspects. 1. fortune/misfortune, good fate/bad fate; 2. life-death; 3. paired/unpaired (right/left). II. Characteristics, adjusted to relations in space. 4. right-left; 5. up-down; 6. sky-earth (earth-underground kingdom); 7. south-north; 8. east-west; 9. sea-surface. III. Characteristics, adjusted to time, colours and elements. 10. day-night (spring-winter); 11. sun-moon; 12. light-dark (white-black); 13. fire-moisture (dry-wet, earth-water). IV. Characteristics of social relations in a broad sense. 14. my/strange (close/far); 15. man-woman; 16. older-younger (main/secondary, ancestor/heir)» [6, p. 64].

Mythologic imaginations have been preserved in folklore. The peculiarity of the world's folklore picture is stipulated by the ethnos' peculiar vision of the world. It is created by reflecting mythologic and ethnographic elements through the specific folklore system of codes with the help of generalization, typization and translation of cultural senses into the language of symbols and into that of poetry.

The folklore concept, being a special type of the linguafolklore one at its conceptual level practically coincide with its general cultural concept. Differences arise at the figurative and acsiologic levels, the forked network of various associations and connotations, which may not be available in the general cultural concept, being connected with it. The assessment of this or that conceptually

formed object and phenomenon in the folklore text may be presented at an angle which differs from that of general linguistic use. Besides, the folklore concept has a brightly expressed polarity of assessments.

So, the assessing and binar approach to the man's characteristics and his outlook is especially typical for the people's fairy-tale. Generally, the whole fairy-tale is based on opposing the good to the bad, as it represents an idealized model of the world and divides everything into the good and the bad. The further distribution of the oppositions takes place according to this very scheme. The good means to correspond to the idealized model of the micro- or macroworld, comprehended as the goal of the man's being and, correspondingly, of the man's activity. The bad means not to correspond to this model or one of its parameters [1, p. 187].

Unlike the myth which deals with universal oppositions (life-death, fire-water, dark-light), the fairy-tale also includes dihotomias not so general, but more considerable in social, moral and psychological aspects (weak-strong, poor-rich, foolish-clever): «The fairy-tale is aimed not at depicting and explaining the state of the world and its changes as a result of the character's activity, but at showing the character's state and changes in this state as a result of his successfully overcoming troubles, misfortunes and obstacles. Therefore magic fairy-tale, firstly, operates on the oppositions, essential for defining the character's interactions with his antagonists and, secondly, it interprets these very oppositions in a far more subjective manner than the myth. Unlike the myth, the semantic oppositions of the fairy-tale figure not as general coordinators-classifiers, but as assessing indicators of the movement from the negative state to the positive one. In the fairy-tale every opposing member is ascribed to a constant positive or a negative assessment (often from an ethic viewpoint)» [12, p. 101].

We conducted this research of the antropologic concepts of the people's fairy-tale on the basis of the narrative data of the

Ukrainian Carpathians, singling out the following concepts and binars.

The opposition rich/poor, met almost in every fairy-tale, is very characteristic of the fairy-tales. In fairy-tales the poor one is always good, a character of the fairy-tale is frequently a poor man, a poor boy, a soldier, a hired labourer, a shepherd, etc. The rich man is opposed to the poor one as bad, he is often greedy and avid. According to the mentioned oppositions own brothers are opposed to each other. It is explained first of all by the fact, that the creators and performers of folklore were peasants who lived predominantly in poverty and need; the positive character of the fairy-tale represented a descendant from their social stratum and, correspondingly, was an ideal hero and a bearer of the best qualities. The definition «poor» as to the character becomes something like a calling and assessing one in the fairy-tale.

The wealthy one represented another and a higher social stratum. Money provided him with power over others. Representatives of the wealthy – landlords, priests, judges, etc. – were exploiters in the peasants' opinion, and the words «wealthy» and «wealthy person» acquired a truly negative meaning. There are many proverbs about this: «The wealthy person is damned too», «The body in gold means the soul in dirt», «The landlord's rib hit means good for people», «Money makes a clever man a foolish one», «Every landlord's head is hit with a sack out of a corner».

At the same time poverty is a negative term in the peasants' opinion. The character gets riches and magic things at the end of the fairy-tale not in vain, for dreams of rich life are reflected here; gold-silver and pearls are an equivalent to the riches; in fairy-tales there appear beautiful golden clothes, palaces and castles. The man isn't to live in poverty, he is to have a decent living, a hard-working person is to get a compensation, a decent and honest man will be able to reasonably dispose of his property. Such ideals sound in the fairy-tale.

Poverty makes the man's life worse. It spoils relations in the family, the husband and the wife often quarrel, children leave their home in search of a better fortune and earnings; sometimes the husband escapes from home himself.

The fairy-tale includes daily rural realities: a poor guy has little chances to find a good bride: «Even the most handsome young man, having no plot of land, horse and cow isn't worth a sack of chopped straw» [7, p. 123]. But a girl, however beautiful she may be, is to have a good dowry in order to get married. The wealthy person is no match to the poor one. A similar marriage is said to be the unification of two beggars or that of two beggarly sacks. In the wealthy's opinion such a guy is a ragamuffin and a poor creature.

Each of the married couple is to bring something to the joint household, and parents are to watch it. «In a village there lived a married man. He had a good household, for, you know, long ago, when the guy was to get married, he expected the bride to bring a dowry. The girl presented as a bride was to have at least some land, bulls and a sterile cow. But her chest shouldn't be empty either and she wasn't in lack of money. But the girl also looked whom she was to marry. If she was given a dowry, then the guy shouldn't be empty-handed either. They went for a fiance show; they wanted to see with their own eyes what prosperity he had» [4, p. 375].

In the fairy-tale poverty is often depicted rather visually; it is connected with famine, troubles and beggary. «In a village there lived two neighbours. One was a wealthy person, while another had misery which had made friends with a trouble – they are unwilling to leave the house» [25, p. 184]. In Maxim's house beggary is seated so, that it prevents one from breathing» [17, p. 42]. «Hát bizony nagy baj a szegénység, de nem magok tanálták ki, így túrni kell» [28, p. 288]. In this case poverty corresponds to the concepts of bad luck and misfortune.

The beggarly state of the poor man is accentuated by the reiterations of the words «very poor», opposed to the definition

«very wealthy»; he happens to be «as poor as a church mouth»; he often has nothing to eat; but the worst thing is his having nothing to feed his children with, who are born in great numbers; in the Hungarian and Transcarpathian fairy-tales he has «as many a child as holes in the sieve and still more. The children seem to have been poured out of a sack of potatoes – small, bigger and still bigger ones» [19, p. 91]. The children are as many as the grass on the meadow, as hair (hung). «One day at the end of the day a poor man didn't have even a handful of flour left. The hungry children are crying and asking for something to eat, and the only way out for him is to hang himself» [25, p. 184]. The poor man's children are pale and fall from the wind. The situation becomes worse when the poor man's wife dies and he is left eye-to-eye with his children. Or, on the contrary, when the family lose its breadwinner.

The children suffer themselves. «Once upon a time behind blue seas and glass mountains there lived a man, very, very poor and very, very miserable. He had a son named Uirka. And the poor man has always had a trouble with something. So, this poor creature had a trouble too. At school the children teased the boy: «Uirka, Uirka, would you like to some hurka (sausage). He, a poor creature, would like to have it, but where will he take hurka?» [19, p. 56].

Here the emotional phone is created by repeating the words «poor» and «miserable» and arranging them in the form of separate sentences as well as by characterizing «the poor creature» as the one having problems and troubles. The depiction of the concrete example from the boy's life strengthens the realism and psychology of what is depicted.

Poverty manifests itself in the description of the house, food and clothing. His house is small, with tiny windows, at the brink of the village. It is covered with grass instead of a roof. In Hungarian fairy-tales the poor man's house is like the beetle's back», it has neither table, nor chair, nor bed, just a heap of straw in a corner. The poor man always has either an ill wife or ill children.

The only thing the poor man has in great numbers is children. «Vót egy szegény ember, annak annyi gyerekek vót, mint a rostán a juk. Mindig akarta megszámolni: egy, kettő, három..., de belezavorodott, mán akkor nem tudta megszámolni azt, hogy hány gyereke van. Hát mán nem tudta üköt tartani, azt mondja: – El kell nektek menni szógálatot keresni. Sorba állította az udvaron üköt. Ippen tizenkettő – tizenkettő jutott egy sorba. Úgyhogy huszonnégyszermeke vót» [35, p. 114].

All his life is difficult and bitter. His food is a bulb and a pie, his clothes are rags, bigger than his sizes. He would be even happy to get rid of his own child which is unnatural for a father. «The older son grew and said: «Nurse, I am going to the world. Perhaps, I'll be hired to serve somewhere. The man became happy and thought: «At least one of them will fall off my shoulders. A maize pie was baked, several bulbs were found in the kitchen garden and guy left his father, his mother, his brothers and his sister. The guy put on father's torn rags he took such boots that dragged soil, and went about the world.

In Hungarian fairy-tales the poor man sees green and red of hunger and the great torments makes him climb the wall. «Volt egyszer egy szegény ember, de olyan szegény vót, hogy még a mindennapi kenyere se került ki. Nagyon sokat bucsálódtak, gondókoztak a feleségivel, hogy is tudjának megélni hat gyerekükkel. Rájuk jött a hideg tél, de még egy kis fájok se vót, hogy megmelegedjenek. Mit vót mit tenni, az ember vett egy üres tarisznyát, nyakába akasztotta, és elindul világgá szerencsét próbálni» [34, p. 152].

The poor man labours like a black ox day and night, from morning till night, but in any case he has nothing, sometimes even a shirt. The poor man can make both ends meet with accidental earnings, go to the forest for firewood, catch fish, but he doesn't live, he drags out a miserable existence.

The main opposition poor/wealthy admits another ones, in particular little/much, as the poor man has nothing but children,

but the wealthy one has even too much gold. If the poor man even has nothing to eat, then the «wealthy landlord slept in gold and covered himself with gold» [7, p. 18].

In a Hungarian fairy-tale the shepherd tends the landlord's big herd of sheep, but he himself has a big zero.

As it has already been mentioned, the fairy-tale always renews social justice, so derivative from the main opposition may be the oppositions short/tall and humiliated/extolled. The opposition short/tall isn't direct, but paradoxal (reverse), for it means a visuality that doesn't correspond to the character's inner state. In the course of the plot the shirt turns out to be his disguise (as well as the essence of the false character) and turns into the tall in the end of the fairy-tale. It touches upon both his air, features, talents and his status; in the end he often becomes a tsar. It is confirmed by the oppositions genuine/false, secret/obvious.

The opposition poor/wealthy, landlord/peasant keeps distributing to one's appearance: fat/thin as well as to the man's characteristic features and moral, qualities, namely clever/foolish, kind/evil, courageous/coward.

Dreams of the abolition of serfdom and a kind tsar were reflected in the allegoric plot about a tsar's son and three horses. The tsar's son wants to know how people live and becomes a landlord's worker. He sees the landlord treating the people cruelly and forcing them to work twelve hours a day without giving them anything to eat. The tsar's son buys three horses: blind, thin and fat ones – and brings them to his father. He sets a riddle to the tsar – to look at the horses, for they are his people. The thin horse appears to be toiling people, the fat one – landlords, and blind one – the tsar himself, who doesn't see the real state of his subjects. The tsar divides the land among peasants and puts an end to serfdom.

Haughty and arrogant ones in the fairy-tales are Polish landlords and, more rarely, those of different nationalities. In this case the opposition poor/wealthy is determining like it is in the narrations

about opryshkys whose forest comrades were closer to them than the well-to-do representatives of their nationality. In tale-teller Ui. Jegza-Poraduk's interpretation the plot about the «smart thief», generally known in the folklore of the European countries, started sounding in a new way. Here it is told about opryshkys Rusin and Rumun who «as twins loved each other very much and went to work in different places together».

So, we see that the opposition my/strange occurs under more real circumstances. Here may be opposed a strange and native land, a stranger and a fellow countryman, there being many proverbs about this: «It was long ago, as early as under the first cesar. There lived soldier Ivan. He fought what he ought to fight at war, he served what he ought to serve in the army. The corporal patted him on his shoulder, foisted three kreisers on his palm and drove him behind the gate of the barracks. Ivan spat at it and rubbed it with his foot. He set off to Kolomyja in search of good things among his people, for in a strange land a man is an orphan even if he is a man of respect» [17, p. 104]. «Don't ask for my daughter, for you may not marry her: you are Slavic while she is Lurkish» [8, p. 83]. «Staying in strange palaces is boring. Where I was born, nettle is nice. Let's return to the village, for here the world has been nailed with planks for me» [7, p. 147].

These imaginations are connected with auto- and hetero-stereotypes. V. Gnatjuk wrote: «Novels are distinguished for a variety of topics and drawings of love, showing different social strata, both our and strange ones. We meet in them peasants, lower middle class citizens, merchants, craftsmen, policemen, priests, warriors, landlords and tsars. It is this possible to meet with all of them even in this collection, though it is very small. In the same way we meet in novels representatives of different nations our people contact or contacted. In these collections we see Jews, Gypsies and Volokhs. Out of these collections we meet Poles, Russians, Byelorussians, Lithuanians, Tatars, Hungarians, Germans, Slovaks,

Serbs etc. In novels (as well as in proverbs) people's life illuminates like in a kaleidoscope (among the songs it is kolomyikas that are distinguished for their comprehensive coverage of life). In them we see like in drawings love and hatred, hope and leave-taking, passion and extreme greediness, perfidy and cunning, naivety and plainness, mildness and fury, kindness and avidity, courtness and roughness, truth and lie, brigandage and nobleness, – in short, everything that can move the alive man's soul» [2, p. 202].

A character of the region's fairy-tale may be the generalized image of the Gutsul – a poor guy from Verkhovyna and a Rusin who can find a way out of any situation and who is always full of cheer and optimism. «The tsarevna will be sought in marriage by nobody. This one will cope even with devils» [17, p. 120, 122]. «Ivanko serves in a strange land. There are vaskaings, herkaings and frauikaings around him, but he cannot grasp anything... Ivanko was ordered to rub down horses. «Let it be so» – replied Ivanko. Gutsul with trouble is like with his own mother. The wind always waves into his eyes» [Ibid, p. 110].

A character of everyday and, more rarely, magic fairy-tales and anecdotes of the Ukrainians and Hungarians is the Gipsy. «The guy took a handful of ash and handed it to the tsar. Sinse that time they started calling him Labardo Yanchi, or in Gipsy the Burnt Yanko» [8, p. 196]. The smith in the village frequently happens to be a Gipsy too, it is his typical occupation: «The village without a Gipsy isn't a village, as where the Gipsy is, the forge is available too, but where there is no Gipsy, the forge isn't available either. The village cannot dispense with the Gipsy» [4, p. 298].

The Gipsy's main feature is slyness, by means of which he deceives people: «There was a Gipsy among the soldiers. Courageous and sly gyu» [3, p. 177]. «One day he meets a Gipsy. And the Gipsies are used to handling and deceiving people» [4, p. 82]. The Gipsies go about villages and «mislead» people. The fairy-tales depict the Gipsy predominantly as a deceiver and a thief who is frequently not

brave and rather funny. Being sly, he pretends for inventing delicate and smart fables, but ends as a loser.

But he also may be very witty, can tell a successful lie, fool one's head and thus become the winner, which occurs especially often in the foolish devil plots (ATU 1903–1199). One day a Gipsy went with a devil to steal piglets. Having stolen them, they divided them, and the Gipsy took the animals with twirled tails, saying, that he had marked his ones that way. The devil got only one ill piglet with a straight tail. The devil took an oath not to go to steal with a Gipsy any more. «Since that time there has been people's proverb: the Gipsy can deceive even the devil!» [25, p. 191]. Dömötör wrote: «In our fairy-tales the Gipsy never arises any fear, but is a boastful, sly and inventive guy who by miraculous means defeats extremely powerful dragoons, giants and smart devils» [27, p. 84].

The Gipsy deceives greedy landlords too. Thus, in one of the fairy-tales the landlord thinks that the Gipsy has a thing that fools which he orders to bring to him. The Gipsy promises to and in the process gets the landlord's fur-coat and horses by deceiving him. That's what appears to be a thing that fools.

In his turn, a lazy Gipsy may be taught to work.

Jews in fairy-tales are mostly innkeepers, merchants and handlers. These are Moshko, Yankel and others, who make «geshefts», that is want to extract profit from everything.

The region's fairy-tales also have a classic image of the Russian soldier –moskal' who fears nothing and is sly and inventive. He is feared by devils who entice him out of hell he got to. The soldier boils porridge of the axe and mocks at the unfaithful wife. He happens to use in his speech Russisms like «popushka», «babushka», et.

Age characteristics are also of importance for fairy-tale heroes. «Old ones» act mainly as testers and advisers while «young ones» act as heroes or their adversaries, the circle of actions for the hero-child being confined to moving from «the loss of the native house» to «the return home», while for the adult «the loss of the family»

is made up with «the creation of a new family, that is with the marriage» [14, p. 224].

The binar opposition old/young in the fairy-tales is complicated. On the one hand, old age is the twilight of the man's life, when the man becomes weak and strengthless. «The magician was old and weak, like a fly in autumn. He lay and scarcely breathed» [25, p. 59]. Signs of old age are grey hair, a long beard and an untidy air. «Ott vót egy kis halászkunyhó, benne egy öreg halász. De mán térdig írt a szakálla. Ősz volt, mint a fehér galamb. Öreg, nagyon öreg» [35, p. 252] The old man may be so old that he grew with moss all over like a stump; in this case old age may be «profound». In Hungarian fairy-tales an extremely old king's eyelids are raised with an iron pitchfork like those of the witches in Ukrainian and Hungarian fairy-tales. In one of the compositions the years of old age are called the monkey's; the man has no former strength, ungrateful children may drive old parents out of the house.

In fairy-tells witches are old and ugly, their age may be very long. Witches are perfidious and sly like what often are the other antipodes of the old character, for they have a greater experience of life. Old age is opposed to youth, its beauty, strength and energy. An old tsar dreams of becoming young; he sends sons for the water which makes one young. That is why in Hungarian fairy-tales the decline of life may be ironically called «old age, the second childhood». The inappropriateness of the tsar's desire is accentuated by the character's reply or by that of the tale-teller himself, for in the peasant's opinion the breach of the cycling is impossible and unnatural both in nature and in human life. «Mifene, hát már még az ilyen öregember is házasodni akar? – kérdezte a kocsis magában. De hát parancs parancs. Mit tud csinálni a dudás?» [28, p. 222].

On the other hand, in fairy-tales old age evokes respect, which in particular brings itself into notice during the character's meetings and conversations with an old man or an old woman he shows great respect for like for his parents too.

In fairy-tales wise men are old man, as they have a long life behind, they have endured and comprehended a lot; they give valuable advice and warnings to the hero. «Néhány öreg is akadt közöttük, a többiek pedig az öregektől várták a jó és bölcs tanácsot» [33, p. 40]. Stereotypic is the formula: «I have already lived in this world for 100 (or 120) years, but haven't heard about such a guy (girl)».

The imaginations about old age and youth are generally typical and characteristic for many generations of people and different nations.

In the modern world similar imaginations are more characteristic for the East, where traditions are preserved better, while in Western countries one sees a certain gravitation towards another member of the opposition. It is connected with considerable changes in traditions, and in the established way of life, people's greater opportunities, the cult of youth and beauty, propagated and strengthened by advertizing corporations, the excessive manufacture of articles of consumption, too strong aspirations for pleasures of life, and the sexual revolution as well. The society of consumption orientates people on the ideals which are youth and beauty, offers a plenty of means of implementing these ideals, which gives rise to people's negative attitude to age and their fear to become ill and ugly. The orientation on external beauty and the aspirations for the ideal appearance give rise to the feeling of interiority among both old men and youth, leads to disappointment and tragedies. Don't some of those who take too much interest in plastic operations, resemble the tsar who wanted to continue being young, bathing in boiling milk?

One of the most important concepts in the picture of the world is the gender one, as it is connected with the man's main instinct. The man and the woman, opposed to each other by their natural peculiarities, add each other, producing a certain integrity: «Analyzing the specifics of «female/male», one may trace

the following little chain: the biologic opposition is added by the cultural one, and the result of unification of the characteristics, stipulated by Biology, with the one's, stipulated by culture, is the psychological peculiarities of behaviour of the representatives of both sexes» [13, p. 40].

The main principle of the world's classification in the oriental interpretation is «yan» and «in'», where «yan» symbolizes the man's basis, South, light, life, sky, sun, unpaired figures while «in'» is the female's basis, North, darkness, death, Earth, moon, paired figures.

In Western philosophy since the moment of patriarchy's establishment they started comparing the male and the female as spirit and matter.

According to the scholars, the category male/female characterizes all fields of human and natural life, uniting other dual oppositions: right/left, up/down, good/bad, sky/earthly: «So, in a certain sense the opposition male/female, acts very actively, recodes another oppositions, the initial meaning («sensualization») and the operative one (the main mechanism that gives rise to its being hidden by the truly qualificationary one. Perhaps, the special, «crucial» strength of this opposition may be enrooted in its objective and absolute belonging to the man. Mastering and classifying the world, the man takes himself to be a unit of the counting, using in the process different means and different criteria, in particular the criterium of relativity/absolutism. Thus, space, time and criteria that relate to them depend on where the man places himself not immanently, but in the given situation; they are principally subjective – hence, for example, imaginations about antipodes; hence such a topical current concept as «viewpoint»; hence, at last, the subjectiveness of the language, developed at the level of grammar categories by Benvenist» [24, p. 87].

Gender problems have always evoked society's interest. But it was the discovery by Sigmund Freud on hidden subconscious

instinctive aspirations of the man, the sexual nature of the subconscious, its influence on the man as well as the problems, arising due to the suppression of natural aspiration and desires that became really revolutionary. Freud and his pupils considered it also on the example of folklore works [22; 23; 21].

The sexual revolution of the past century put in its correctives in this problem. At that time there was a change in the viewpoint on certain gender problems, – in particular, on the traditional point of view on the woman as a second rate creature. There were also changes in some established stereotypes as to the woman's talents and calling as well as her relations with the man and her position in the society, ruled by men. It found its extreme expression in the feminist movements for equality.

The hero and his adventures occupy more room in the magic fairy-tale, but the heroine's presence is felt everywhere; it is the woman whom he looks for and eventually finds. The final happy end – the unification of the man and the woman as a norm of human existence, the formation of natural integrity and the harmony of the two bases when the woman doesn't exist without the man and the man doesn't exist without the woman, is natural from both a natural and social viewpoints. The hero looks for, obtains, wins and protects the woman – such is nature's law; in the world of animals the female chooses the strongest one, she is competed for, she is seduced. But apart from the natural aspiration in human society it is added by the spiritual one, that is by love stimulating the hero for his feats.

The position of the hero in the magic fairy-tale is that of «yan», the man's position, based on a certain philosophy: life is a struggle, an activity and a conflict; it's a competence for surviving and the postulate that reads: «there is no rest for those living» (Konfutsiy). The man is to distinguish himself, his character and strength of will as well as to compete and to win. This philosophy is dominant in the West.

So, if the man is an active and aggressive basis in the fairy-tale, then the woman who ideally is to be passive from nature, mainly waits till he comes to her, asks for her in marriage, releases her from the dungeon, kills the evil-doer and takes her with him. Her location is predominantly within her house, family and land; she has to leave them owing to certain circumstances – she is driven away, her children and husband are taken away too. She lives in her small world, her interests are focused predominantly on her surroundings. Generally, it is a natural calling of the woman who has to preserve traditional and established things, while the man is called upon to discover the new, pave the way, run a risk and be the pioneer. This natural trend is traced in the gender differentiation of the spheres and forms of activity of the traditional peasant society that can be expressed with the binaria external/internal, where the external, dynamic and cosmic is the man's sphere, and where the internal, static and domestic is the woman's.

So, the hero cannot stand still, he has to go and drive somewhere, cognize new worlds which was repeatedly mentioned (the happiness to look for and to go about the world too). The men take more interest not in their surrounding, but in far-off countries and travellings; in all ages they were the initiators and participants of everlasting wars, while the women waited for them at home. The woman is more earthly (the opposition earth/sky) and closer to the earth, she takes care of her children and husband, her own nest, so to say, «enrootens» it on the ground, cosmic adventures don't avoid her. Modern Ukrainian philosophers define the destination of the sexes as follows: «the soul and cordiality express mathaphysic» femininity while the spirit and spirituality express methaphysic manhood. Really, cordiality concentrates features we traditionally consider as the woman's – her ability to love and to commiserate, focus on today, not tomorrow and comprehend today's self-value while the spirit and spirituality are a sign of the man's basis with its aspiration for future, ignorance of the present, the desire to make progress and transcending» [20, p. 270].

The dependant state of the woman provided her with more patience and mildness which found an especially bright expression in the image of an orphan girl from people's fairy-tale who overcame the difficulties and lies of life without complaining.

The woman's basis brightly manifests itself in the fairy-tale, the heroines are feminine, men are strongly influenced by their beauty which we have already told about. Women are more faithful in love and more trustful, as they live mainly with emotions, their love is sacrificial, they are ready to do their utmost for its sake. The fairy-tale shows this in the wife's searches of the missing husband.

Here the woman is closer to nature which finds its expression in the opposition order/chaos, more spontaneous, her feelings are dominant over logics which scholars explain by the men's more developed left hemisphere that is rational, logic, symbolic, linguistic while the right one is intuitive, space and emotional – figurative. It's not in vain that the fairy-tales happen to have many women and girls-magicians who help men both by giving advice and taking actions. They are able to turn into different things – plants and animals – as well as to prophesy future.

Witches are endowed with supernatural abilities. They know the hero's future fate, see what is unknown to the other people and master the gift of turning into werewolves. «Hej, megijedt a fiú, hogy miféle isten teremtette ez az öregasszony, hogy azt is tudja, ki fia borja ő, meg azt is tudja, hogy mi van a zsebibe» [28, p. 150].

The woman is closer to nature also by being mother, the children's bringing-up is predominantly her occupation. She creates a new life, and it is what evaluated in her most of all. Thus, of the three sisters, each of whom promises the king's son something in exchange for marrying (the first one – to weave clothing for all the army, the second one – to feed the whole army with a grain, the third one – two bear gold-haired twins) the king's son chooses the third sister. Perhaps it is also an ancient echo of matriarchate and the woman's cult based on mother's basis. L. Zueva writes: «According to the

esthetic peculiarities of the janr, the heroine's power is shone with the fantastically similarity of her children, imprinted by a bright fairy-tale formula. This formula, distinguished for its exact sight concreteness, was used by the icon-painters of the Ancient Rus, who depicted saints and heroes «their hands up to the elbow in red gold, their legs up to the knees in pure silver» [5, p. 8].

Generally Ukrainian and Hungarian people's prose reflects the democratic viewpoint on the woman; the heroine is equal to the hero, she chooses the man whom she loves, struggles for him and marries him.

At the same time in fairy-tales one can find also the attitude to the woman as to a second rate creature, which was inherent in the patriarchal family where boys were of greater value as future warriors and defenders. Thus, in the Hungarian fairy-tale «The clever girl» seven brothers are compared with seven sabres, while seven girls are compared with seven pots of flowers.

In accordance with these viewpoints intellect was considered to be an attribute only of the strong sex, it wasn't obligatory for women. In the fairy-tale «God's Finn» for the allegedly insufficient belief in Lord God gives the woman long hair and short intellect while her son is given short hair and long intellect. Therefore, the woman is foolish and unable to do anything without her husband.

Such contradictions in the attitude to women are confirmed by the concrete observations of the woman's status in the traditional peasant society conducted by O. Kis': «To sum up we have grounds to argue that in the people's outlook of the Ukrainians in the 20-th century the man's and woman's basis are thought about dikhotomically and hierarchally, while the man's and woman's social roles are considered to be separate and mutually adding. Sources of the formation of the traditional stereotype of femininity were both archaic and Christian imaginations and values, which led to the formation of the woman's complicated and contradictory image, combining both positive and negative instructions. In the

gender of that time one can simultaneously trace egalitarian and patriarchal trends, the former being supported by the norms of customary law and the latter being backed by the points of the legislation and church regulations» [9, p. 94].

The man's chauvinism is also felt in his attitude to the woman's work in the house, considered to be much easier than for example, working in the field. We see a refutation of this viewpoint in the plot about the husband and the wife changing places. These are the Hungarian fairy-tales «The man who miscalculated», «The man who was fond of going to the fair», «The sly wife» (ATU 1408 (The Man Who Does His Wife's Work)). There is a story about a peasant who constantly blamed his wife – to say, while he labours in the field till the seventh sweat, she just refreshes herself at home. Later the wife decided to change places with her husband, took a scythe and started off to the field to reap. She had entrusted her husband with doing housework – thoroughly kneading and baking bread, churning, washing the clothes, letting the pig go to the herd, tending the cow and cooking supper. The man thought that doing all this work would be a mere trifle for him.

But although he tried his best to do everything quickly and well, he attained no result: the pig ate the butter, the bread burnt, his shirt became black with the soot and the cow found itself hanging under the chimney. When the woman returned from the field, she saw the cow with the cord round its neck and its tongue out, she was scared and took the cord off her neck which caused her husband falling through the chimney right into the soup standing on the oven. So the woman had to draw him out of it with a ladle. After that the husband didn't tell any more about women dawdling in the house and men simultaneously earning their living by working hard in the field, and never changed places with his wife.

There is a similar fairy-tale from Ukrainian lands behind the Carpathians about the man who, blaming his wife with his working in the field harder than she cooks dinner, sends her to plough and

remains to keep house. Trying to do everything simultaneously, he ties her to the chickens for them not to flee; kneads butter in the tug, churning in the pot, fastened to his belt. When the woman returned, a raven had stolen the hen and the chickens; running after them, the man had fallen and the pot of sour cream had been broken, and the pig had turned over the tug of dough. Since that day the man has been working in the field without blaming his wife with having rest at home.

The peasant who considers himself to be higher than the women, here finds himself in funny situations due to his want of skills and impracticalness – for the work which was generally considered to be the woman's. The traditional division of labour in the family that was forming for ages, corresponded to the physical abilities and opportunities of the man and the woman, belonging to a certain social strata, historical period, geographic conditions and inclinations and was appropriate in that society. The man and the woman have their established occupations that aren't more difficult or easier. They are simply different and demand certain habits and skills. The woman is a full-fledged member of the family, makes her important contribution to its functioning and is the keeper of the family hearth. These thoughts sound in the fairy-tale.

Summing up the abovementioned and projecting it into future, I would like to note, that the binar perception of the world, inherent in human outlook, isn't positive in many cases and needs to be resolved by meditating and bringing closer the opposite dihotomias that don't exist without each other, forming together an integrity. In particular, the accentuation of one of the poles (good/bad, young/old, male/female) leads to the distorted perception of the world and to the impossibility of finding a compromise in human relations. Nowadays the abiding by the binar opposition my/strange is especially dangerous in the international mutual actions, for it gives rise to numerous conflicts and even wars.

At the same time over the last decades the binar-running process and natural meditation have been taking place inside the traditionally opposed concepts. For instance, the liberalization of sexual policy and the withdrawal from harsh schemes in perceiving sociosexual roles, point to the strive to harmonize the oppositions «male» and «female».

It proceeds from the conducted research that the fairy-tales of both ethnos have demonstrated almost unanimity in depicting the man and his philosophy of life. Therefore it can be argued that the models of development of the antropocentric systems in the plots of different fairy-tales are identical irrespective of their national belonging. The antropologic concepts of the fairy-tale contain traditional people's viewpoints on the man, his surroundings and inner world as well as provide the best moral models and examples, based on general human ideals.

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SUMMARY

The author of the research considers the concept of the world's picture which belongs to the fundamental concepts, expressing the man's specific and being, his mutual relations with the world and the most important conditions of his existence in the world. The picture of the world contain concepts and binar oppositions, connected with assessing in the man's being. The assessing and binar approach to characterizing man and his outlook is especially characteristic for people's fairy-tale. Generally speaking, it is fully constructed on opposing good and evil, as it represents an idealized picture of the world and divides everything into the good and the bad.

The author of the research, basing on the Hungarian and Ukrainian narrative material, considers such anthropologic concepts and binar oppositions as wealthy/poor, old/young, my/strange, man/woman and their derivatives, included in the main system of coordinates of good and evil. For example, wealthy/poor continues distributing on appearance: thin/fat, the characters' state: hungry/satisfied, peasant/landlord, humiliated/extolled as well as on man's features and moral qualities, namely: clever/foolish, kind/wicked, courageous/coward, etc.

The author of the research arrived at the conclusion that the fairy-tales of both ethnoses demonstrated almost a kind of unanimity in depicting the man, his philosophy of life, so it is possible to argue that the models of development of anthropocentric systems in the plots of many fairy-tale are identical irrespective of the nationalities they belong to. The anthropologic concepts of the fairy-tale contain traditional people's viewpoints on the man, his surrounding and inner world, provide the best samples of morale and examples, based on general human ideals.

Keywords: picture of the world, concept, binar opposition, Ukrainian, Hungarian, Ukrainian Carpathians, wealthy / poor, young / old, man / woman.