

EdCW 2020**International Scientific and Practical Conference Education in a Changing World: Global Challenges and National Priorities****SOCIOCULTURAL PHENOMENON OF CHILDHOOD IN PSKOV
FOLKLORE DISCOURSE**

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Abstract

The article is devoted to the issues of the functioning of the sociocultural phenomenon of childhood in the Pskov folklore discourse. The work was carried out in the aspect of the problems of philological regional studies – the study of Pskov folk speech and Pskov folklore. Pskov fairy tales were chosen as the object of study as the most important units of communicative dialectology, explicating traditional culture. The article examines the traditional model of the family and its hierarchy as the basis for the constancy of folk culture, forms a collective image of the child, focuses on the issues of ethno-pedagogy. The specificity of the material sharpens the discursive aspect of the topic and allows one to study the verbal forms of being in the sphere of “childish”, the ways of its representation in the language. The authors conclude that fairy-tale texts reflecting the world of childhood, because of collective creativity, are built according to the principle of oppositional relations, traditional for folklore genres, around which private transformations reflecting the semantics of “childish” are built. The subculture of childhood of the rural population of the Pskov region appears as a complex socio-cultural phenomenon, organized according to the principle of binary oppositions, which is an integral part of traditional culture.

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1. Introduction

Folk pedagogy as an integral part of collective folk art originated in ancient times. It reflects popular ideals, views, ideas about a person, family and upbringing of the younger generation. In the miniatures that exist today (sayings, proverbs, fairy tales, legends, songs, applied arts), the invaluable wealth of the people's pedagogical culture has found its vivid expression.

The article is based on raw folk tales and songs of a fabulous nature, published in the monograph "Folk Tales of the Pskov Territory" (Bolshakova & Ploshchuk, 2016), which contains extensive material from expeditionary data, texts, comments on them and research.

Folk tales, along with mythology, preserve the integrity of the child archetype. An archetype is the psychic energy accumulated by generations of people, stored in the sphere of the collective unconscious, it is a tool for cognizing being (Boyko, 2016). "The archetype of the child also determines the foundations of content in the construction of various pedagogical systems, revealing the essence of the object of care of adults who are preparing a replacement for themselves" (Nefedova, 2016, p. 40). Fairy tales from the child's ideas about the world, "facilitate the child's entry into the adult world, show what is bad and what is good" (Basharova, 2016, p. 24), they accumulate the pedagogical culture of the people and become the child's first source of information about life.

The monograph "Folk Tales of the Pskov Territory" contains 215 fairy-tale texts, of which the theme of childhood is reflected in 83 texts. Folklore texts as one of the specific manifestations of dialect discourse sharpen the problems of establishing the territorial specificity of the socio-cultural phenomenon of childhood, studying the image of a child in the picture of the world of rural society in the context of historical and social transformations of the 20th – early 21st centuries. The characteristics of the methods of raising children in rural society and the analysis of their verbal representation remain relevant.

This work is the first to study the Pskov folk tales, reflecting the sociocultural phenomenon of childhood, and the study is built as an integrated study of folklore, dialectal speech and childhood psychology.

2. Problem Statement

Currently, a large number of works on ethnography, philosophy, cultural studies, folklore studies, folk pedagogy are devoted to the study of the phenomenon of childhood (Abramenkova, 2019; Lopsonova & Mansheev, 2020). The idea of an all-encompassing study of childhood is naturally considered the most difficult to implement. Perhaps that is why researchers are looking for a format for a multi-aspect description of this cultural phenomenon (Bankova & Ugryumova, 2016, p. 22). At the same time, the studies demonstrate gaps in the study of the world of childhood in general and the image of the child in particular, and the representation of empirical material is not exhaustive. For the first time, theoretical coverage of the issues of the socio-cultural phenomenon of childhood based on the material of Pskov fairy tales.

3. Research Questions

- What are the features of the perception of the world of childhood in the family?
- What is the collective image of the child based on the materials of the Pskov fairy-tale texts?
- What are the specific features of the manifestation of folk pedagogy in a fairy-tale text?

4. Purpose of the Study

The aim of the work is to reveal the socio-cultural phenomenon of childhood based on the Pskov folklore discourse in the aspect of the ontological values of the rural population and ethno-pedagogy.

5. Research Methods

The purpose of the work determines the nature of the methodological base. The issues of the subculture of childhood are considered in an interdisciplinary aspect using the methods of ethno-linguistics, folklore studies, ethno-pedagogy, psychology, and social ethnography.

The main method for developing theoretical aspects of a topic is the descriptive method. When working with text material, the methods of communicative dialectology, the systemic-structural method are used. The work uses elements of the statistical method.

6. Findings

6.1. Traditional family model

The most important category of traditional folk culture is the family, in which children play a central role. The standard for traditional culture is the family model, which has a father, mother and children. The figure of the mother is key, the connection of children with the mother is much stronger than with the father. This is also fixed in the fabulous fund. In a family, parents are opposed to children, older children are opposed to younger ones. “Duality is a fundamental principle of perception characteristic of traditional culture as a whole. It is on it that the perception of a person by a person is based: our own and others' are the main characteristics by which people were primarily assessed in antiquity and continue to be assessed at the present time” (Krayushkina, 2019, p. 34). The division of the universe into two worlds, **we / the others**, is one of the fundamental semiotic dichotomies (Lomakina & Mokienko, 2018; Osokina, 2018), which has many private representations. In addition to the traditional understanding of *the other*, as not related to one's own world, the opposition between **relatives and strangers** stands out: *And the boy went to strangers to earn for himself a piece of bread, from yard to yard, from village to village* [Martin the Orphan]. The world of children with the depth of a child's soul, the peculiarities of the worldview turns out to be alien to the world of adults and at the same time inscribed in this world according to the principle of entering the family.

In the traditional view, having children, and even more so **having many children**, is a sign of the usefulness of a family, the norm of its existence: *Ўзял еѣ заму́ж. И наро́дила двена́дцать сыно́в, го́лос в го́лос и во́лос в во́лос. Э́то двена́дцать сыно́в* (He married her. And she begat twelve sons, voice for voice and hair for hair. These are twelve sons) [River of Tears]. But there are many children in the family – this is also a difficulty caused by the need to feed them: *Ря́бят ку́чка и ничо́х нет. Ре́бяткам пое́сь да что!* (A handful of children and nothing else. Kids have to eat, so what!) [Two Brothers]. **Childlessness** is a deviation from the normal family structure, and the popular consciousness seeks to overcome this lacuna: *Those who had no children took a cradle and shook it. And they knocked out their son Cheryoshechka* [No. 34 The Tale of Chereshechka]. *They had no children. Grandfather took a piece of wood, cut it, wrapped it and put it on the stove. The grandfather and the woman heard that the child was crying on the stove. They came and looked: a boy!* [№ 35 (24) Tereshechka-s-poleshechka]. The long-awaited child becomes the owner of wonderful properties, but they are assessed as positive if they are used in work: *The father was pleased that now he has such an assistant. But the trouble is, an assistant did not come out of his son: for whatever he undertakes, he will break everything – there is too much strength in him* [The Priest and the Worker].

The opposition between **having many children and having no children** actualizes the opposition between **poverty and wealth**, since a large family is materially not prosperous: *But before they lived only from their own household. If you earn somewhere your penny, then you will live* [How Vanyushka the Fool Went to the City to Sell Firewood]. “In dialectal culture, wealth is associated, first of all, with utilitarian values and everything that ensures human life. Transformations of ideas about wealth are caused by economic, political, social, and territorial factors” (Voloshina & Tolstova, 2018, p. 25).

The gender aspect is manifested in the opposition **son – daughter**, where *the son* acts as a marked member, since the appearance of a son in the family has always been considered a special event in traditional folk culture. The Pskov material also reflects the social component that accompanies the birth of a son: *In the old days ... a girl is born in a family, she is born – they did not give land for her, they gave land only for sons* [The King and the Stone Cutter].

The death of a child is a common motive for fairy tales. Death occurs due to the deliberate action of evil forces or enemies, often the relatives of the family, and sometimes the mother herself. But the genre features of the tale allow the child to be resurrected, which removes the sharpness of perception of the very fact of mortification. Thus, the traditional opposition **life – death** receives a private representation of **death– salvation**: *А жана, пока ён ездил, сынка-той ихнего взяла, да камушком головку пробила. Ён и помёр* (And the wife, while he was away, took his son, and struck his head with a stone. And he died) [About Sister, Brother and Wicked Wife]. *Жана-то заела мальчыка!* (The wife had tormented the boy!) [Marco the Rich]. *So I was expecting, and she [my husband's sister] made me kill the child!* [About the Merry Fun].

A child's absence of parents/parent is perceived by traditional consciousness as an explosion of family foundations. The natural model of the family is also violated by the appearance of an “alien” element in the family – children from previous marriages of one of the parents and their stepparents. This is how the opposition between **native children and step-children** is built: *Alyonushka's mother died. Her father married another woman. And there were already two girls from this stepmother. And they began to*

offend Alyonushka [Sad Tale about Alyonushka], *The stepmother did not love the one who wasn't her daughter. And she kept thinking: how can we get rid of her?*) [Stepmother, Daughter and Stepdaughter].

The interaction of older family members with younger ones was based on a rational approach to preserving the clan, when everything that burdens the life of a small social group was eliminated. The fabulous text retains traces of the difficult social conditions of the rural population - the inability to feed the children, hunger pushed people to leave their children: *They lived very poorly. Her father and mother say: "We need to take the children into the forest and leave them there. Let them at least eat berries there. We have nothing to feed them"* [Thumb Boy]. The ending of the tale shows that this decision of the parents was forced to bring the children back to the parents.

The roles of the participants in the situation can change when the younger ones get rid of the older ones: *Раньше завозили в овраги старух. Вот повезуть в овраг куды-нибудь; дадут хлеба на три дня – и повязли! Видють, что старушка савсим дряхлая или старичок, и повязли* (*They used to take old women to the ravines. Took them to the ravine somewhere; gave bread for three days – and off they went! They saw that the old woman was decrepit or the old man, and off they went*) [Grandfather and Grandson].

So the difference between a child and an old man is leveled, the semantics of helplessness and inability to resist the decisions of active members of the human community is actualized. The archetype of the child receives its completeness when the "old" also becomes "as little" (Zlobin, 2009).

Thus, the theme of childhood, considered in the context of the universal opposition of **ours and others**, actualizes the private opposition of **parents (adults) – children (little)**, which is hierarchically presented in more private oppositions: having many **children – childlessness, father – mother / woman / stepmother, daughter – son, native – non-native (your own – not your own), poverty – wealth.**

In fairy-tale texts, the words *parents / adults / elders* are not used, but there is a differentiation: *mother / father, husband / wife or grandmom (grandmother) / granddad (grandfather)*. The world of children is verbalized as *children, boys / bunch of children, child, daughter / daughters, girl / girls, son / sons, boy / boys*.

6.2. The image of a child

The Pskov tale reveals a collective image of a child. Indications of the child's appearance and age are noted as single fixations, they reflect the technique of identification, when the narrator deliberately introduces into the fairy tale plot elements characteristic of the listener: *And she had a grandson, Vasyatka. White linen hair, blue eyes, ruddy cheeks* [Vasyatka and Baba Yaga]. *And the father-in-law lives with the mother-in-law, and their son is married, and their grandson was five years old* [About Daughter-in-law, Father-in-law and Grandson]. This information is of a private nature for a fairy-tale text, it is aimed not only at maintaining the listener's interest, but also designed to ensure the listener's meeting with himself (Vachkov, 2011).

Other signs of childhood are becoming essential. An important sign of the well-being of a family is not only the presence of children, but also how children grow up in the family. So in the popular consciousness, the conceptual opposition is **smart – stupid/fool**. A marked member of the opposition in fairy tales about children is *a fool*, since it is he who turns out to be the most prosperous of all members of

the children's community. Verbally, this opposition in relation to a male person is realized either in the traditional ratio *smart – fool*, or in a milder form as *clever – stupid*, which is more common for Pskov texts. In relation to a female person, only the opposition *smart – stupid* is used, and the opposition *normal – stupid* is actualized. The concept of the norm in the popular consciousness is determined precisely in relation to the deviation from it: *They had three daughters. Two normal girls, and the third, the youngest, was very downtrodden, it seemed like she was stupid* [Silver Saucer and Ripe Apple].

Labor is a natural accompaniment to a child's life and growing up. Verbal presentations of the opposition **industrious– lazy** show a wide range of skills related to the sphere of child labor: *He drags water, carries firewood, and sweeps the yard! Well, he doesn't sit idle a little! He got up early, as soon as the sun shone the first ray of the earth, and went to the river* [Vasyatka and Baba-Yaga]. *My father worked far away in the field. And the boy brought him food to the field* [Ivashka]. *You will shake my feather bed, sweep the floors* [No. 56 About Stepdaughter and Stepmother's Daughter]. *“Yes, I'll stay with you, I'll pick mushrooms, pick berries, bake pancakes!”* [A Fairy Tale for Irinka's Granddaughter]. *Go graze the goat!* [Koza-Strekoza].

The universal signs of childhood are manifested in the desire to tease: *He wants to tease her [the witch], and says: “Roll about for a while, wallow about, you've eaten your daughter!”* [Vasyatka and Baba Yaga]; to celebrate the holidays: *Winter has come, and the children began to celebrate the New Year* [Snegurochka and Baba Yaga].

In the popular mind, a difficult relationship has also been noticed that is developing within a group of children, where the opposition between **the elders (children) and the younger ones (children)** is manifested: *Once upon a time, there were two smart brothers, and the third, the youngest, was Ivanushka the Fool. They lived uncomfortably, always offended Ivanushka, they beat him for every offense. They gave him the worst clothes, the most torn* [About Ivanushka the Fool].

Childhood in the culture of society is not a sign of helplessness, on the contrary, the popular consciousness emphasizes the quick-wittedness, ingenuity of children, and in some cases, foresight: *Как же мне ево манить, чтоб ён менé к бабушке отпустил с дедушкой? (How can I beckon, let me go to my grandmother with my grandfather?)* [Mashenka and the Bear]. *[The poor boy] seemed to be throwing stones along the road, making some signs* [The Tale of Churilushka]. A common plot is when a child asks adults to set an example and turns out to be the winner in confronting evil forces: *Tereshechka-s-poleshechka and tells her that she is doing wrong. – How do you need it? – asks the sister of Baba Yaga. – Show me! She sat on a shovel, and he shoved her into the stove!* [Tereshechka-s-poleshechka]. Hearing “not his mother's” voice, the child saves his life: *The boy says: “This is not my mother's voice, it is Baba Yaga calling me!”* [Tereshechka-s-poleshechka].

The conceptualization of the special mental properties of the child is manifested in the opposition **little – smart**: *The Thumb Boy, even though small, was smart* [Thumb Boy]. The external sign (height) underlies another opposition with the component *little*: **little – real**: *He had seven children. Six real boys, and the seventh was little Thumb Boy* [Thumb Boy]. Being a child means having special security functions: *– Listen, girl, I'll eat you! – She says: – Don't eat me, I'm small!* [Bychok-dristunok]. This is how the opposition is actualized: **little – big/adults**.

6.3. Folk pedagogy

The educational function of a fairy tale is manifested in its connection with real life, in the formation of ethical foundations (Aleksyenkova & Andreyeva, 2006). Acquaintance of children with fairy tales that reflect the traditional way of the family, relationships within a small social group, both between adults and children, and along lines children – children, adults – adults, describing the dangers that a foreign world conceals in it self– outside the family, prepares the child to enter the world of adults. “The world of adults in relation to the child is still a closed world, into which, at the cost of great efforts of growth and development, the child and children will have to enter in the future. The world of adults, thus, was thought both from the outside and from within, as a world determined by the aggregate plurality of adults, and the world of the child was thought only from the outside, from the standpoint of the world of adults who have lost their belonging to the world of children” (Nefedova, 2016, p. 27).

The Pskov folklore discourse (as part of auto-comments) also contains information about how children were raised, what replaced the dummy: *They put it [a child], and they gave the hole a large gauze with food so that he suck (children sucked such dummies then: some bread in a gauze or something [Tsar Dadon (about Basil the Hapless)]; what they fed the children: Here they brought firewood, they brought a bear. Well, they took off the bear and ate it all winter! All winter and fed the kids! [A Mananda Bear].*

Punishment is an important part of the child's upbringing system. In the Pskov material, the traditional understanding of punishment as a way of realizing the boundaries of what is permissible is transformed and borders on the manifestation of cruelty and injustice towards the child: *–Oh, you! Granddaughter! What have you done?! Why didn't you save up?! – And he began to beat, and began to beat! He beat, beat her. Finished beating. The granddaughter began to cry [Koza-Rogoz]. Grandpa was angry, daughter was beaten [Koza-Strekoza].*

The moral foundations of the family remain unshakable for the system of raising children: *He seduced, promised to marry, ... and when the master found out that she would have a child, he kicked her out of the workers. Where to go? From the maids. Where to go? I went home to my parents. And then the laws were strict. It was considered a great shame if a girl had a child [About the Handless].*

7. Conclusion

Based on archival texts of fairy tales as a genre of folk prose, a corpus of texts has been formed that reflects the world of childhood. According to the Pskov folklore and ethnographic archive, the phenomenon of childhood organically fits not only into the traditional cultural constants inherent in folklore – the dualism of good and evil, life and death, one's own and another's, but also reflects their transformations, based on the specific semantics of childhood. This is how the oppositions are actualized: native people – strangers, parents (adults) – children (small), having many children – childlessness, father – mother / woman / stepmother, daughter – son, native – non-native (your own – not your own), poverty – wealth, smart – stupid / fool, industriousness – laziness, older (children) – younger (children), small – smart / “real” / big (adult).

The verbalization of the world of childhood in this work is considered primarily at the lexical level and studied taking into account verbal markers within the identified oppositions.

The overwhelming majority of fairy tales embody the moral standards inherent in the people: love for one's home, resisting evil, hard work, and condemnation of laziness, the victory of reason and justice, giftedness. The embodiment of the positive traits of the people in fairy tales made fairy tales an effective means of transmitting them from generation to generation.

The study of the socio-cultural phenomenon of childhood based on folklore discourse has great potential, since it broadcasts the system of educating new members of the community, fixed in the people's consciousness. Fairy tales reflect the individual and collective experiences of childhood. Children are brought up through fairy tales, since the connection with life is the most effective feature of folk pedagogy. It should be noted that the perception of the beautiful and the terrible in the perception of a child is significantly different from the view of an adult. Some fairy tales are naturalistic and belong to the category of "terrible", the plots of fairy tales, the development of the action are deliberately exaggerated, and the denouement does not always have a positive, so to speak, happy outcome.

... It is difficult for a child to imagine the past, future, present. Until about nine years of age, children develop causal relationships and the exact meaning of temporal concepts. Children do not measure life by future events, which is why the concept of death is incomprehensible to them, since the phenomenon of the end directly has a temporal context. (Basharova, 2016, pp. 27-28)

The subculture of childhood of the rural population of the Pskov region appears as a complex socio-cultural phenomenon, organized according to the principle of binary oppositions, which is an integral part of traditional culture as a whole and is significantly represented in such spheres of its functioning as language, folklore and folk pedagogy.

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