

Natural Symbolism and Ecology: The Ecological Consciousness of Russian Popular Lyric Songs

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ABSTRACT

Some have argued that we must emphasize ecological, that is, nonanthropocentric values at the most fundamental level of our educational system. But traditional culture—particularly literature—has long been a vital part of our curriculum at the secondary and university levels, and some forms or genres of traditional literature clearly express or presuppose an ecological (nonanthropocentric) consciousness. Thus in literary teaching, at least, we need not introduce ecological thinking as something new and revolutionary; rather, we need merely go back to the “classics” with a clearer understanding of their philosophical foundations. Here I explore a particular case drawn from Russian folklore—by definition a form of “national” expression—the lyric song, and its use of natural symbolism, or rather the presupposed understanding of nature implicit in this symbolism. A crucial point here is the tendency of the traditional lyric folksong to foreground a “sad” humanity (or human nature) closely paralleled with a “suffering” natural world; associated with this, and perhaps lending support to an ecofeminist viewpoint, is the predominance in these songs of sad or suffering female figures.

KEY WORDS

Russian folklore	natural symbolism
Russian popular lyrics	anthropocentrism
ecological consciousness	personified symbolism
V. Propp	thematic stability



Ecological consciousness is no longer a purely scholastic problem. In this age of “sustainable development” it now has become a practical problem and a vital element in the education of the new generation. Ecological education, according to Russian scholars, presupposes the building a universal ecological culture and sets for its objective an ecological awareness extending in several directions.¹ There remains a serious problem: How is this new consciousness formed, that is, how can we teach it? Obviously, nobody is satisfied with the current culture of late capitalism and everybody wishes to change it to a more ecologically friendly direction. Some experts propose abandoning anthropocentrism in order to work out a new methodology of ecological education.² The question remains: How to get rid of anthropo-centrism? Others are more specific and urge us to go back, probe deeper into our historical past and look for the answer there. They see the source of ecological consciousness in a national folklore, for traditional culture, which is considered to be already “ecological.”³ Which means, presumably, that it is nonanthropocentric.

In this paper we address the view of those who would like “to go back.” We are going to examine the “ecological potentiality” of one of the Russian folklore genres—lyric songs. This genre has a special place in Russian folklore. In contrast to legends, fairy tales (folktales), and so-called “historical songs,” the lyric does not lay much stress on plot, so it has to rely on a developed system of symbols rather than narration. Unlike the riddle and proverb, this genre appeals to the core of national consciousness, so it has a much more stable and developed symbolic system; it need not refer to particular similarities, homophonies or consonances, common-sense truisms. Compared to Western European popular songs, Russian lyric songs are really national in character, they

have almost no regional variations. Taking into consideration all these features of lyric songs, one may expect that the texts of this genre would be a rewarding object for the study of Russian traditional consciousness in general, and its ecological component in particular.

The semantic study of Russian lyric symbols is the main objective of our analysis. It is widely accepted in Russian folklore studies that it is nature symbolism that provides popular lyric songs with their original artistic properties and special poetic appeal. This might explain the fact that lyric songs have been primarily studied *via* the implementation of critical literary methods. This also justifies to some extent the idea implicit in many works on folklore that transformation or development of nature symbolism in this genre had "literary reasons" since it tended to increase the emotional impact on a listener. In this paper we are also going to discuss the literary properties of Russian popular songs, especially what we call "natural symbolism," but we will also try to look at the wider cultural context and especially the development of a national mentality as the source of transformation of nature symbolism. Finally I will draw some conclusions regarding the ecological consciousness of traditional Russian culture.

Materials for this paper have been drawn mostly from the major collections of songs recorded by Russian scholars P. V. Kireevsky, A. I. Sobolevsky, P. V. Shein⁴ and others in the 19th and early 20th centuries. Collection and publishing of popular songs and other folklore started in Russia as early as the mid-17th century. Lyric song symbolism has certain historical features, and researchers believe that popular poetical symbols were brought to life at the time of the erosion of primitive society and the emergence of feudal society.⁵ Many Russian lyric songs existed in the 18th century already, though some of them were recorded and published in the 19th and 20th centuries only. Analysis of the song contents and language features, as well as particulars of the song performances prove that lyric song as a genre had formed not earlier than the 14th century, most probably within a period between the 14th and the 17th centuries.⁶ It is noteworthy, that all these songs are purely peasant songs, and therefore reflect the situation of a very close human contact with a rural setting. Since the 18th century, Russian lyric songs have

started to develop toward the city and city life direction. First it was temporary work in cities in order to earn additional cash, and then peasants settled in the towns and cities and became working people, etc.⁷ Nevertheless there was no cardinal rupture in the symbolism of the lyric song, because it absorbed all the preceding (including ritual) genres.⁸ By the 18th century, when many recorded Russian songs already existed, the song genre underwent considerable transformation; it became more complex and multifaceted, was influenced by bookish literature and Christianity. That is why the chronology of songs poses a problem that goes closely together with the problem of the scientific classification of Russian popular songs.

Genre classification, generally speaking, is one of the most important directions of folklore studies.⁹ There are still several different approaches to or systems of classification, and disputes on the principles of classification are not over in Russian folklore studies. Although this is not a point of discussion in this paper, we should mention here that some results of our analysis have shown a sort of relation between the particular kind of song and its symbolism. Mainly, we have examined songs, which are indexed in different classifications as peasant, wedding ritual, *khorovod*¹⁰ non-ritual, family non-ritual, love non-ritual, dashing non-ritual, lyric in general and lyric lingering in particular, soldiers', men's and women's songs. The major number of the songs analyzed should be classified as non-ritual family, very often love, lingering lyric songs.

Classification and detailed cataloguing of Russian lyric song symbols has not been done yet. There are a number of research works on symbolism, but mostly they deal with poetics.¹¹ It is neither possible nor necessary to analyze the whole bulk of lyric song symbols in this short paper.¹² Rather we should draw upon the available results of Russian folklore and literary studies. The illustrative examples quoted in the works of Russian scholars can be considered an original artistic sampling, as the quintessence of lyric "natural symbolism," and the scholars' findings could serve as speculative material for our study.

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Analysis of song symbolism proves its national and geographical

origin. Objects of symbolism in the lyrics are a woman and man with their relations, actions, thoughts and emotions. The basis of the symbolism lies in a comparison between the common features of human life and natural phenomena, expression of the former by means of the latter. Here is a short introduction of one of the songs:

One cannot break
Unripe rowan tree,
One cannot marry
Immature girl.¹³

Russian folklore studies accept in general, though with some reservations, A. Potebnya's idea of the origination of natural symbolism. A primitive person not having abstract notions had to look for some signs to express his/her inner state, and he/she could find these signs only in the outside natural world.¹⁴ The main characteristic feature of a lyric song is that it reflects the emotional sphere of the human, and very often that is achieved with the help of the compositional principle of "poetic parallelism" elucidated by A. Veselovsky: two motifs, natural and human, are compared in some way; one hints at the other, and they clarify each other.¹⁵

Russian songs as a rule express their emotions by means of common natural objects and phenomena. Rather often birds are used as symbols of humans in the Russian popular lyric songs: nightingale, falcon, drake, and he-dove stand for male characters; white pen-swan, gray duck, and she-dove for female characters. Gray cuckoo serves as a symbol of a sad girl or a woman's bitter lot. Trees and plants are present even oftener as symbols in popular songs. White birch tree, snowball tree, raspberry bush, and "sweet" cherry tree as a rule symbolize a girl. Common woman's symbols are pear tree, pine tree, rowan tree, and aspen. In contrast to that, for example, the rose as well as some other plants common not only in European, but also in very geographically close Ukrainian songs, are practically unheard of in the Russian popular tradition.

The poetic symbols are used in relation to the characters within a

given song. One symbol may correspond to one character, two to two, and three to three characters. Russian songs as a rule do not mention more than three characters. There is a sort of relation between the number of characters and the song's sub-genre or classificatory category. Double and triple symbols (characters) are common in ritual (wedding) lyric songs. This fact indirectly proves their relative antiquity. One character is often found in non-ritual lyrics. In this case it is rather hard to define the symbol's semantics, because it is difficult to say definitely if the symbol symbolizes the character herself/himself (and that means the symbol is a personified one), or it symbolizes a non-personified action or state of the character. Comparison with two-character and three-character lyric songs may be of some assistance to analyze one-character symbolism.

In a wedding lyric song a birch-tree symbolizes a father, an apple-tree stands for a mother, and a "bitter" aspen is a daughter. The other quite common three-symbol set with the same meaning is the sun (mother), moon (father) and dawn (daughter), though sometimes the last element here may be stars, designating either children or bride's nurses. The personified characteristic of triple symbols is quite obvious; specification is done not only according to sex, but also according to age. Most probably these symbols represent the most ancient layer of Russian symbolism, because these symbols are common not only in wedding lyrics, but in the so-called calendar ritual songs as well. Triple symbols as a rule are limited to the theme of family. The symbol of "bitter aspen," for example, is motivated by daughter's marriage and parting with her own family.

Russian popular lyrics mostly talk about two characters (a girl and a boy, wife and husband, etc.), which is why there are often two symbols in such songs: drake and duck, goose and pen-swan, falcon and cherry, falcon and white pen-swan, oak and aspen, oak and birch tree, he-dove and she-dove, moon (a boy) and dawn (a girl), etc.¹⁶ Sexual symbolism in a one-specie couple is self-evident. If it is a two-specie couple (different birds, a bird and a plant, two different plants), sexual symbolism is supported with the grammatical gender of nouns. For example, the noun "oak" in Russian is of masculine gender, and

"birch-tree" is of feminine gender. There are only a few cases when this rule is not observed in a double character song. The song may mention the twining of a birch-tree and linden (both are nouns of feminine gender),¹⁷ and birch-tree most probably symbolizes the male character here (cf. "birch-father" in a triple-character song). The other example is the twining of feminine *bylinka* and *travinka* (blade and stalk of grass). Relations of symbols, if they are mentioned in a song, usually imply harm or damage inflicted on a feminine symbol. A falcon attacks a flock of birds and takes away a "white pen-swan" or "gray duck"; a falcon or nightingale (or a bird in general) pecks fruits of a cherry-tree or any other tree. The symbolic meaning of both these actions is love or a marriage proposal.

A certain degree of symbol personification can be seen in one-character lyric songs, though many Russian scholars agree that it does not dominate a symbol's semantics. A brief account of this personified symbolism is given below.

Grass is the most common symbol.¹⁸ Lawn or garden is its other possible version. The most often and rather transparent meaning of the symbol is "unmarried girl." Proposal to a girl, young man's love to girl in general is interpreted as trampling of the grass (lawn, garden). The same is true about mowing the grass: young man mows the grass—loves a girl. In all these cases "grass" remains passive. It is very seldom, but "grass" may symbolize a married woman—but only a young and beloved one: "grass" is green in this case. "Grass" activity is very rare in Russian songs. In this case it twines about a girl's feet and hence symbolizes a young man.

Wormwood, stinging-nettle, sedge and feather-grass¹⁹ are more specific symbols of grasses, but all of them are less personified and all of them have negative, sad semantics. Although wormwood sometimes may serve as a personified symbol (scoundrel or hateful wife), in this case, and it is quite understandable, it does not refer to the main character (lyric heroine) of the song. Feather-grass is rather often present in the songs sung by men, but there is still no certain personification of this symbol: feather-grass serves as a deathbed for a dying warrior and rather should be identified as a symbol of sorrow and sadness, which is

also not rare in women's songs. If trampling of grass generally describes love, then burning (the same harm and damage) of feather-grass in the steppes implies sorrow.

Flowers in the most general sense (without an attributive adjective) also have a meaning of young girls.²⁰ But this symbol is less personified than "grass." There are many songs in which a "flower" is an object of love whatsoever (young man or girl). Specification of the symbol takes place according to color of the flower: crimson (red) refers to girls, and azure to young men (sometimes sons). It would be interesting to mention in this connection, that a concrete flower, cornflower (a blue flower in Russia) lacks any sexual characteristics as a symbol.²¹ This symbol's specification is done by action: "pick cornflowers" means "look for a girl." Poppy (a red flower), on the contrary, has a narrow meaning of girl (bride)²² without its connection to any action. Taking into consideration the absence of red color identification with male sex or gender, it can be supposed that a blue flower, as a masculine symbol, is a later derivative from the feminine symbol of red flower.²³

The berry in general is a feminine symbol.²⁴ The berry is always passive; it is eaten, and eaten even by a lyric heroine, for instance. The quality specification is reached with the help of taste or color. Bitter berries or black-colored berries (for example, blackcurrant) symbolize sadness; sweet and red berries symbolize joy, youth, and health. Raspberries, cherries, snowball-tree berries can be the concrete versions of the "berries" symbol.²⁵ Like trampling the grass, eating berries means love. In particular, berries may be pecked by a nightingale or other bird (groom, young man). It is noteworthy that grapes²⁶ are also one of the "berry" symbols, though they do not grow wild and are not cultivated in Russia. "Grape" does not have any personified meaning; mentioning "grapes" means happiness, joy and love. "Grape" semantics are only rarely specified positively²⁷ and cannot be transformed into their opposite by epithets. We do not come across sour or bitter grapes in popular Russian lyrics.

Common Russian agricultural plants, hops and cabbages, on the contrary, are very clearly identified with male and female sexes.²⁸ If a girl plants cabbages, it means she is seeking marriage (watering grass is

another close symbol). Non-personified hops can also symbolize joy, especially wedding joy. As one may expect hops can twine around a girl.

The birch tree is the most common and most beloved tree in Russia. The habitual epithet for birch is "white."²⁹ "White birch-tree," of course, symbolizes a girl.³⁰ Pine-tree may be used with the same meaning, but only as a single symbol. "Green pine-tree" is common in married women's songs, when they recollect their unmarried youth. Aspen is a sad woman or a sad girl symbol. Regarding fruit trees, the apple tree symbolizes mother.³¹ The pear tree as a rule does not serve as a single symbol, but the pear tree with a broken top stands for an orphan girl.

There are many personified bird symbols, but not that many single symbols. Falcon is a symbol of a young man.³² Nightingale can also be used outside a double symbol with the meaning of young man,³³ though quite often it plays the indefinite role of a messenger, carrying a message from a girl to her parents or her sweetheart. The cuckoo is a symbol of the lonely (rejected) woman, or sometimes girl.³⁴ The pen-swan and exotic peahen stand for a young woman or girl. It is remarkable that the peacock is not among the symbols of Russian lyric songs, and that cob goes together only with pen-swan.

Moon is an independent personified symbol of a young man.³⁵ The Russian word for the moon on the wane or a new moon is a masculine noun (*mesyats*). There is another feminine noun in Russian for the full moon (*luna*). The latter is a feminine symbol in modern Russian poetry.

We can see from the above that the most common Russian lyrical symbols are plants and birds. It is remarkable that lyric songs do not mention big animals (bears, wolves, etc.). There is only one bird of prey among other birds, and that is the falcon. All the rest are images of relatively small, harmless birds or plants. The brief list of Russian personified symbols given above quite clearly demonstrates thematic definiteness and constraint among Russian popular lyric songs. Russian scholar S. Lazutin is right in pointing out that

family occupied the central place in the popular lyric song. . . . The theme of love in the songs is resolved not in general, but in a concrete way, in its relation to a family formation, marriage. . . . Family, according to popular beliefs, should rest on the foundation of mutual respect, friendship, and love. That is why a great number of traditional lyric songs are devoted to the love theme. Many songs speak about love, the tactful attitude of a young man toward a girl.³⁶

Thematic content and personified symbolism indicate the certain historical relations between song and ritual. A human in general is never present in the earliest triple and double symbolism: a song's character has a definite sex, age, and social (family) status, and these features are all as different and constant as those in birds or trees. Lyrical poetics in ritual songs is achieved by means of parallelism in the song's parts. Symbols of plants or birds just "stand," "swim," "fly," etc.; they provide a character's orientation, and position it. With this technique the situation of the "human" episode is deliberately reproduced in the setting of a "natural" parallel. The emotionality of a song is translated by means of personifications from the natural world which are described as being in the characters' real situations.

E. Artyomenko has defined this kind of parallelism as "situational parallelism."³⁷

The suffering of feminine symbols, like the trampling of the garden (lawn, grass), eating of berries by a bird, attack of one bird by another, and so forth, also speaks very definitely of a wedding ritual as the source of this symbolism. Destruction and rupture stand for death, and death and future revival were seen as the only way of transition or change in the mythological mentality.³⁸ In order to become a married woman (i. e., to change her social status), a girl had to die first as a girl and then to be resurrected as a woman.³⁹ A well-known song, for example, speaks about a "curly birch tree" and expresses pity that there was nobody to "break" it;⁴⁰ actually, it regrets that there was nobody to love the girl. In the above-quoted introductory lines of the other song, the

immaturity of the rowan tree is regretted, because one cannot break the wood just as one cannot marry a girl who is too young. So, ritual suffering did not presuppose the emotional suffering of a symbol, it represented only a standard love situation of young people, and consequently could only have a positive meaning. I leave it to the reader to judge how much ecological consciousness may be found in such a “traditional ecological culture.”

Non-ritual lyric songs moved far ahead in their attention to a human and his psychology; personification of symbols does not look that prominent in them and, it is supposed, occupies only the background of the poetics. A “natural” situation is not created deliberately according to a “human” one, but selected so as to match or be close to some human emotional state. Natural symbols still point to an analogy of natural and human lives, but accentuate the psychological basis of a lyric emotional experience. In non-ritual lyrics, plants and trees are not so much symbols of some particular human characters (lyric heroines and heroes remain practically the same), but represent an emotional or psychological condition, and this may be perceived from the state of a plant. The symbols help to produce a desired mood in the listener. As T. Aki-mova has pointed out, in a lyric song, “regular natural phenomena, correlated with characters’ feelings, could help to disclose and understand these feelings; besides, the feelings were understood as a result of development of the biological, sensual in a human.”⁴¹

State or action per se also acquires additional emotional complexion and meaning. In non-ritual lyrics in the majority of cases, a symbol does not just exist; a lot depends on its state. For example, blossoming of plants means happiness—and their withering, misfortune:

Oh, flowers on the lawn bloomed,
 Bloomed, but faded;
 A boy loved a girl,
 Loved, but deserted.⁴²

In N. Kolpakova’s opinion, the importance of the symbol state allows us to classify all symbols into two big categories: symbols of

happiness and symbols of misfortune,⁴³ because the content of popular lyrics actually limits itself to two major cycles of human emotions, i.e., gladness and sadness in their particular manifestations. Russian symbols of happiness are light (sunlight in particular), flowers at the time of growth and blossoming, twining of plants ("stalk with blade," "white birch tree with linden tree"), moon, stars, grapes, apples, ripe berries, deer, doves and prophetic birds.⁴⁴ There are more symbols of sadness than happiness in the Russian songs: more often one comes across withering, not blossoming of plants. Sadness symbols are fog, black cloud, wormwood, dew, murmur of the forest,⁴⁵ and so on. Trees like the birch tree, snowball tree, pear tree and others may serve as symbols of love and happiness, but they also may symbolize sadness and misfortune. The pear tree with a broken top stands for a girl who lost her parents; the birch tree with a cuckoo on it is a symbol of sadness. The aspen, pine tree, rowan tree, and bitter wormwood always symbolize sorrow and misfortune (cf. married woman symbols). The same symbols may be realized in a different song content. For instance, wormwood can be used in a song about a girl betrayed by her lover, in a song about a boy and girl parting, and in a song about the hardships of military service. Sometimes symbols of happiness and misfortune come together as opposite states or situations. For example, meeting takes place under a "white birch tree" and parting happens under a "bitter aspen"; when the moon is bright, a young man loves a girl, but when there is no moonlight, lovers' parting is predicted.⁴⁶

The idea of classifying symbols according to the expressed states, although it seems to be well founded, does not always work. Negative symbolism constraints are quite obvious. The vigorous growth of wormwood, stinging-nettle, sedge or "bitter aspen" absolutely cannot symbolize a joyful mood, and withering of these plants is absent in the songs. Does this prove that these symbols are "one-directional" and cannot transform into their opposite by means of describing an opposite state? If one examines the pattern of being of the above mentioned "negative" symbols in Russian folklore as a whole, one will discover that stinging-nettle, wormwood, rowan, and aspen (etc.) are used as guards against witches and evil spirits at large.⁴⁷ In modern thinking

this function would definitely be considered positive, at least useful to a human. But, we know that the mythological way of thinking (the “savage” mind) does not distinguish between an object’s attribute and the object itself, between the result and object of the action.⁴⁸ The personified character of “bad plant” symbols does not lie on the surface, but it dominates these symbols’ usage. It does not mean that the mythological “negative” semantics of some symbols are absolute, though it is true about the genre of the lyric song.

It seems N. Kolpakova has applied V. Propp’s idea about priority of (stable) function over (unstable) character in folklore.⁴⁹ But that idea was set forth for the fairy-tale genre, and it may be true about some other narrative genres, too. Regarding lyric song, narration is not important here; some scholars even deny this genre has a real plot⁵⁰ (owing to that importance of symbolism). In this case its main character is generically stable, since in its last approximation it refers to a person’s “I,” and in this case symbol personification cannot be irrelevant.

In sharp contrast to negative symbols, originally positive or at least neutral ritual girl’s symbolism we have mentioned above (eating of berries, trampling of grass, breaking of a tree) looks very different in the non-ritual lyric songs. The symbol’s suffering is humanized and dramatized here; it is clearly specified as sad in the second part of the natural–human parallel. This change in symbolism appreciation clearly indicates transition from the previous historical stage. Evolution of both negative and positive symbolism of lyric songs suits well V. Propp’s idea of folklore changes when he explains the method of folkloric studies by stages:

We cannot ascertain all the processes that occur in folklore with the transition to new forms of social structure, or even with the development within the existing system, but we know that these processes occur everywhere with surprising uniformity. One of them is that inherited folklore comes into conflict with the old social system that created it and denies this system. It does not deny the old system directly but rather the images created by it, transforming them into their

opposites or giving them a reverse, disparaging, negative coloring. The once sacred is transformed into the hostile, the great into the harmful, evil, or monstrous. But sometimes the old is preserved without any noticeable changes and gets along peacefully with new forms and relations.⁵¹

But let us look closer at what is so sad in the Russian lyric song. Is it sad that a tree is broken, or is it sad that a certain situation of love did not actually bring about the desired result (marriage)? Even cursory inspection of the sad song's content reveals that unrealized expectations and parting cause sadness. Thus, by adopting an old ritual attitude, one can rather see contrast in a sad song but not a parallel in the nature and lyric heroine states. Formation of the sadness of "detriment" as we understand it now historically must have gone in some way through a stage of antithesis. This conflict of situations is resolved in a very peculiar fashion in the non-ritual lyric song. The old natural symbol stands (albeit it could have been replaced with flourishing, blossoming, twinning or whatsoever), and an old human situation (wedding, for example) withdraws and is replaced by a sad one (parting, for example). Here once again we face a delicate question about ecological consciousness underlying this historical change and, what is more important, trends of future possible transformation of this genre for the purposes of ecological education. The prevalence of sad intonations and the changes that happened in lyric song unequivocally speak for the great value of "detrimental" symbolism embedded in Russian culture, in spite of which (past or present) rationalization actually takes place. To put it in plain words, Russians would rather sing about breaking a tree and specify it as sad or joyful than sing about blossoming and specify it as sad or joyful. Russian classical literature of the 19th century provides us with another inkling. Romantic literature with its sad main character placed in flourishing exotic natural settings was short-lived in Russia. Pushkin, for example, ridiculed his own "Byronic" poems. On the other hand, the most famous Russian novels by Dostoevsky and Tolstoy all elaborate on suffering and sacrifices of the main feminine characters.⁵²

The quite regular use of natural phenomena (like wind, noise,

darkness, etc.) to describe emotional conditions of a lyric character in non-ritual songs is noteworthy. These natural phenomena are not that common in double-character and triple-character songs. The majority of Russian folklorists point out that the use of several symbols in the same song is a common feature of Russian popular lyrics. The probable purpose of different symbols in the same song is to increase the emotional impact on a listener. A plant or tree symbol is given, as a rule, first, and then followed with an introduction of natural phenomena, which is supposed to intensify the emotional atmosphere. For example, first the withering grass is described, then it is explained that it withers because of "cold dew" (another symbol of sadness), and only after that it is said that there is a girl longing for her lover.⁵³

An increase in emotionality when using several symbols (as a rule not more than three) does certainly take place, but even in the example quoted above one can see certain a motivation of the second symbol. It clarifies the first symbol, so we can establish a sort of logical relation between symbols. N. Kravtsov, when discussing problems of composition in Russian songs, has drawn our attention to the fact that "not any arbitrary element can follow any other element."⁵⁴ Elaborating on his idea we can come to the conclusion that amplifying of emotionality is not the only possible explanation of simultaneous use of several symbols in the single-character lyric songs. If we accept the historical evolution of the genre, we should understand that the old semantics of the usual symbols are being forgotten over time, and their symbol requires new explanation and clarification. For example, the original positive meaning of breaking a tree nowadays has been lost already, and a modern person can perceive this action as a negative image only. A symbol in some period of time of its development from an old semantic content to a new one must become equivocal. Why this ambiguous symbol did not disappear from popular song is not a question to be discussed here. It is enough to say that it is the way culture works and exists.

Another clue can be found in the personified character of the symbol that still must be very important at the time of transition. A conflict of opposite semantics in the symbol could require a new clari-

ifying symbol. The abstract character of a natural phenomenon symbol kept it from encroaching on the domain of the personified character of the old symbol, and at the same time a non-personified symbol could better serve the purpose of illuminating the much more complex psychological condition of a new lyric heroine or hero. Explanation and clarification are common forms of folklore development, especially in the period of ritual genre disintegration. To corroborate our opinion, we should quote here the outstanding Russian scholar, A. N. Veselovsky, who long ago drew our attention to symbolism of polynomial parallelism:

One-sided addition of objects in one part of a parallel indicates the greater latitude of movements in it: parallelism became a stylistic-analytical method, and that had to bring about a decrease in its imagery, all kinds of mingling and transference. . . .

If our explanation is true, then polynomial parallelism belongs among the later developments in popular poetic stylistics. . . .

We have said that polynomial parallelism tends toward destruction of imagery; 4) a *monomial* one gives it prominence and develops it, and that determines its [monomial parallelism—V. M.] role in the singling out of some stylistic formations.⁵⁵

We suppose that during the transition from usual positive “suffering” symbols toward new symbols, the emphasis had to be laid on negative, sad semantics. The sadness of “suffering” was particularly new, and its negative character should be stressed and clarified. It is quite reasonable that the second symbols should be clearly negative and sad. It is also quite understandable that sad, non-personified and abstract images of natural phenomena were very suitable candidates for this role. Introduction of natural phenomenon as a second symbol did not obscure personified features of the first symbol, but created an antithetical parallel with the first symbol, and in this capacity provided

an analytical basis for parallelism with the song character's image.

Russian popular-song female characters have the greatest number of symbols. They are better developed and more colorful. It may be evidence that lyric songs were mostly created by Russian women and reflected their spiritual realm, thoughts and emotions. On the other hand, the fact of the prevalence of sad lyric symbolism over joyful lyric symbolism in Russian popular songs is also well established and accepted by all Russian scholars.⁵⁶ In Russian folklore studies, these two specific features of Russian popular songs are traditionally explained as two interconnected sides of one and the same cultural phenomenon. The source of a great number of feminine but not masculine symbols in Russian lyric songs is found in the social and psychological peculiarities of women's life:

As a general rule, a man's thought is broader, more mobile, changeable because of new elements coming into it, than a woman's thought, confined to the circle of slowly changing family life, standing closer to the nature and immobile variety of its phenomena.⁵⁷

The Soviet scholars explained the sad lyric symbolism as a reflection of a woman's low status in the Russian family and society:

Songs on behalf of a woman and about woman's destiny occupy a prominent place among Russian lyric songs. . . . Woman's songs are on par with man's songs in spiritual energy, strength of lyrical drive. At the same time, the tragic note sounds stronger in them; it is the reverberation of the woman's hard living conditions, of that oppression of the woman born in a patriarchal family, especially in the time of feudal serfdom.⁵⁸

We are not going to dispute here positivistic and Marxist views on the relation between culture and life, but there are many facts in Russian history and popular culture, which do not go quite in line with

these opinions.⁵⁹ Of course, there is no doubt that the Russian bride, for example, had reasons to be sad and worried, since after the wedding she had to leave her family, move into her husband's house, and become a new member of his family. However, this problem could be examined from the other end. We will put aside the social and psychological peculiarities of women's life and try to concentrate on the very logic of symbolism transformation and development in the light of our assumption about the clarifying role of the second and third symbols. Why are there more sad symbols in lyric songs?

First, the very logic of old positive symbolism rationalization as detrimental led to its new sadness. At the same time we do not see the transference of old negative symbolism into its opposite, i.e., positive symbolism. The result of these two developments might result in an increase and dominance of sad imagery.

The reason why feminine symbols prevail in Russian lyric songs can be explained by the agricultural character of Russian popular beliefs and rituals. O. Freidenberg has pointed out that in the mythology of the agricultural period, feminine features outweighed the old hunting and masculine features in mythological characters, and that all the main deities became feminine.⁶⁰ Until the mid-20th century, peasants comprised the majority of the Russian population, and old agricultural beliefs could be traced in many facets of rural life. Russian lyric symbolism also had a noticeable change even within the "agricultural period." Some originally masculine symbols manifest evolution into feminine symbols. The important birch-tree image lost its "father" denomination and turned into a girl symbol. Although hops never symbolize a personified feminine character, they may sometimes mean a woman's or girl's passion, intoxication with love. Former personified feminine images progressing into masculine symbolism is observed as an evolutionary trend. Examples are abundant; there are grass, flowers, and when describing the sad emotions of a masculine character, there also may be wormwood, cuckoos and others. The latter sad symbols are common in various men's songs, like recruiting and soldiers' songs.

T. Akimova has made an interesting observation on changes in the role of song symbolism. Ancient symbols gradually lose their plot-

forming role and become a poetic form in traditional woman's non-ritual songs. Ancient symbolism is lost even faster in men's "stirring" songs in spite of the fact that "images from the nature life [must be new, not ancient images V. M.] comprise an organic part of a hero's plot; . . . natural image relations with a character are external [the tempest, for example, helps out a "dashing boy" V. M.] as well as internal, psychological."⁶¹ In our opinion, change in the symbolism of plot function is the result of a change in the symbols themselves. Expansion of agricultural vegetation feminine symbolism brought about the lowering of the masculine symbolism status. Masculine tree symbols (for instance, the oak) are relatively rare in Russian songs. The ancient hunting (as classified by O. Freidenberg) bird symbolism gradually withdraws from men's songs, and in women's songs birds become attributes of feminine symbols (birds on trees, a bird as a girl's messenger, etc.). On the other hand, the second layer of clarifying feminine symbolism (mostly represented by natural phenomena) in the course of time turned into a common (feminine and masculine) source of emotional symbolism, because it did not personify a character's emotions and consequently did not specify character's sex. "Stirring" non-ritual men's songs made use of this "feminine" emotionality, and then another step was made when already weakened but originally personified feminine symbols (wormwood, cuckoos, etc.) were introduced, for example, in soldiers' songs. Thus, the lyric characters of Russian men's songs acquired "feminine" emotions.

Natural symbolism is an important characteristic feature of the Russian popular lyric song genre; and the peculiarities of the symbols' location in the song text could also say a lot about national environmental awareness. We have mentioned above that poetic symbols in Russian popular lyric songs have an important compositional role of plot-image parallelism. E. Artyomenko has pointed to a variety of poetical image associations in popular lyric songs.⁶² She proceeded from the fact that

for the creator (performer) of the songs the semantic relation of the parallels is "determined" not by the first of them, but

by the second one: it is not the natural scene that determines the "human" one, but, on contrary, the "human" situation is the main one and dominates the whole song; or the song's fragments determine the contents of its "natural" part. This determination is achieved by different means; hence one can claim the existence of varieties of parallelism in contents.⁶³

In total, four varieties have been established. Objects of the natural realm are shown in the first part of a song without any presence of a human factor.⁶⁴ A human takes part in both the scenes of a song: the first one shows interaction of a lyric character and nature, and in the next one (main scene) the inner state of a character is revealed. By employing this technique a transfer from the external state to the internal state is provided.⁶⁵ The song may disclose a metaphor, for example, the metaphor of an apple tree (mother) giving birth to children and so on.⁶⁶ The last variety consists in a depiction of a human situation through its perception or message of it by a natural creature. For example, a pigeon may listen to a husband and wife talking, a nightingale gives advice about "three hardships" to a girl, etc.⁶⁷

E. Artyomenko's studies actually prove that there is no equality, at least poetical equality, between a human and nature in Russian popular lyric songs. Nature is not as important as a man is; it does not attain importance for its own sake, but serves as the background for the human's self-expression. Only the songs with human characters in both parts may have a message of equal importance to that of nature, but even here a man is active and dominates. A bird's perception of a human situation also cannot prove the presence of a special ecological awareness; a bird just symbolizes a message or a messenger and stays absolutely neutral in the description of the situation or content of the talk. For example, the symbols of the pigeon and nightingale are interchangeable in different versions of this kind of song, and it does not matter which particular symbol is implemented in a particular version.

The fact that nature is estranged from the lyric hero and never exists in unity with him is obvious in the other compositional features of Russian lyric songs. As it was observed by N. Kravtsov, "almost never,

and maybe even never at all does a scene of nature follow an everyday human life picture or detail when describing a plot location."⁶⁸ Sometimes symbols are used to create a narrative part of a song by means of the "step narrowing images" technique (natural setting—house—lyric hero). In this case the natural setting always comes first and is perceived as external. And according not only to Russian, but to general Slavic mythological binary opposition of the worldview, "external" has the meaning "different" and "alien."⁶⁹ To put it in other way, we should agree that nature was not considered a part of a man's inner world in Russian popular songs.

Moreover, the Russian lyric song is very definitely oriented toward the main lyric character and her/his feelings. Not only nature, but other people as well turn out to be external in relation to the lyric heroine or hero. That is why there are few lyric songs of dialogical form; monologue prevails in Russian popular songs.⁷⁰ What we have said above does not in any way imply any special egocentrism to Russian popular lyric songs. Natural life and social life go along with the lyric hero in the songs, just the hero is not absorbed or dissolved in those external lives.

A monologue song as a rule begins with the heroine's address to some external object. Quite often the first words are addressed to a young man, friends, a girl, a mother. No symbols are used in these addresses.⁷¹ But even more often a lyric song addresses natural objects and by this means achieves to a high degree its poetical appeal.⁷² S. Lazutin defined this as a "rhetorical" address. In his opinion, direct and rhetorical addresses, besides poetical appeal and emotional introduction to the content, also serve the purpose of specification:

Emotionality of expressed ideas and feelings is increased by means of address. These ideas and feelings become more concrete since they are addressed to a concrete object.⁷³

That means that there is as much difference between songs addressed to a mother and to a sweetheart, as between songs addressed to a birch tree and to a pine tree. No specifics of nature or person are

missing in the songs; they just do not negate the lyric heroine's independent stand.

The concrete perception of natural objects in a lyric song can be traced in the postposition of epithets used along with the natural symbols. This usage is very unusual in non-poetic Russian speech. Epithet inversion draws the listeners' attention to it, but the epithet itself practically does not describe the symbol, because there is a standard set of these epithets; therefore they do not provide a listener with any new attributive details to the symbols. A birch tree is always white, an aspen is always bitter, a lawn is always wide, a forest is always dark, and so on. Russian scholars agree that epithets are used only to set an emotional background to the song. We would rather emphasize another purpose of epithets in lyric songs. They may reconfirm cultural (mythological) coordinates of a given symbol: white is good, darkness or black is bad, sweet is good, bitter is bad, and so on. Epithet and a specified symbol (actually vice-versa, a symbol and following after adjective-epithet) as a rule come at the end of the address. This position at the end of the line in a versified and rhymed text is very important.

The structure of a common lyric address is revealing as well. The first member of an address is a noun (or a noun-symbol in rhetorical address) without any specifying suffix. The second member is a noun with adiminutive, i.e. the suffix which provides a noun with additional meaning "dear" or "little" (like *mama* for *Mummy* and *mamOCHKa* for *dear Mummy*; *kniga* for *book*, and *knizhECHKa* for a *little book*). The third, and the last member of an address, as we have just said, consists of a noun and following it adjective (a standard epithet). The first noun serves to locate or specify the addressee. The next diminutive helps to establish a sort of relation between a symbol and a song's heroine: the listener understands the intimate closeness, smallness and harmless character of the natural object, since the natural object is perceived as being little, oppressed and pitiful. This feature is very much a characteristic of the Russian lyric song. For example, in culturally and geographically proximate Lithuanian songs, the poetical effect is achieved by just the opposite means—the image of a tree is hyperbolized (exaggerated) there.⁷⁴ The diminutive stresses close relation (as

being friends or relatives) of a lyric heroine with all addressed symbols, including the "bad" ones. A song sounds like a trustful appeal. Emphasized position of the third member with standard epithet refers to the cultural memory and brings the whole address into the system of ancient Russian and Slavic worldviews with opposition of "good" and "bad."

Conclusion

Natural symbolism of the Russian popular song is not chronologically homogeneous; it is mostly represented by plants, birds and natural phenomena. Plant symbolism prevails. Personified features are more prominent in plant and bird symbols. Natural phenomena symbols are abstract and are often used to specify plant symbolism in the later period songs. Feminine images dominate popular Russian lyric symbolism. Original positive mythological semantics of plant suffering are reconsidered in non-ritual lyric songs as negative. The whole emotional sphere of lyric songs acquires a sad complexion. The weakening of personification in non-ritual lyric songs leads to application of feminine symbols to illustrate emotions (mostly sadness) in men's songs as well. All these peculiarities of natural symbolism most probably result from the agricultural character of traditional Russian society.

Natural symbolism is very stable. Probably, this reflects thematic stability of the lyric song genre. Old symbols are neither excluded nor replaced; rather their semantics are specified and reinterpreted. This proves their great value in Russian culture. The very content of nature's symbolic images represents this cultural value, and that dictates its persistent presence detrimental to nature in both the earlier and later popular lyric songs. Compositional principles of lyric songs demonstrate that although the sad state of the later Russian lyrical heroine or hero parallels the detrimental state of nature, they never identify themselves with nature. Lyric songs are obviously anthropocentric. Nature serves only the purpose of expressing human internal feelings. The natural realm and human realm are divided and do not come together.

Russian lyric songs stress suffering, smallness, and the emotional proximity of natural objects. Nature in Russian popular lyric songs is

not dangerous, it is sad and breakable; that is why there is no message of fighting against or conquering nature. However, there is no message of patronizing nature or cooperating with it, either.

The results of our analysis show that the fundamental importance of natural symbolism for the Russian popular lyric song does not necessarily mean that this genre has any special concern with the natural environment. The opinion that national folklore directly expresses what it speaks about would be too superficial. Folkloric work is an entire poetic system with complex interrelations of its parts and is in constant interaction with society. An attempt to exploit only one part of this system, however useful it might seem to us, cannot guarantee that this will not accentuate its ties with other parts and its other historical forms. The genre of the Russian popular lyric song may look applicable for the purpose of ecological education, but even in its later non-ritual version, where suffering of the natural object implies a parallel with the sad human situation, it has obvious constraints. The composition methods and consequent anthropocentrism, as well as the double and triple natural symbolism, bring about a strengthening of the interest in the human situation, depersonalize the natural symbolism, devalue each particular natural symbol, and especially the first (oldest) detrimental symbols. All in all, these features objectively import an ignorance of "suffering nature." On the other hand, there is a temptation to use only the "hollow form" of popular lyric song, fill it with ecological consciousness, and use it in ecological education as an "ecology-minded genre." First of all, the formal features of the popular lyric song, as we have shown it, are not irrelevant. Then, even today's lyric song cannot disregard the present cultural values, and especially those embodied in modern literature. Culturally valued "sad" human imagery in Russian literature and in other intellectual areas supports a dependence on detrimental and suffering natural symbolism. The main problem here is how "durable" the new contents can be in order to keep the artistic appeal to the audience and preserve its natural symbolism.

NOTES

¹ N. M. Mamedov, *Ekologicheskoe obrazovanie: Suschnost' i printsipy organizatsii/Filosofskie problemy obrazovaniya*. M., 1996. P. 237.

² A. H. Westing, *The global need for environmental education// Environment*. Wash., 1993. Vol. 35. N. 7. P. 45.

³ N. V. Morohin, *Fol'klor v traditsionoy regional'noy ekologicheskoy kul'ture Nizhegorodskogo Povolzh'ya*. Kiev, 1997.

⁴ P. V. Shein, *Velikoruss v svoih pesnyah, obryadah, obychayah, verovaniyah, skazkah, legendah i t. p.* Saint-Petersburg, 1898. Vol. 1. Issue 1; *Sobolevskiy A. I. Velikorusskie narodnye pesni*. Saint-Petersburg, 1895-1902. Vol. 1-7; *Sobranie narodnyh pesen P. V. Kireevskogo*. Zapisi P. I. Yakushkina. Leningrad, 1983. Vol. 1; 1986. Vol. 2.

⁵ Vide: V. P. Adrianova-Peretts. *Sotsial'no-bytovaya narodnaya poeziya XVII veka/Ocherki po istorii russkogo narodnogo poeticheskogo tvorchstva X—nachala XVIII vekov*. M., 1953. Vol. 1. P. 415.

⁶ I. I. Zemtsovskiy, *Russkaya protyazhnaya pesnya*. Leningrad, 1967. P.14-15.

⁷ For a chronology of Russian popular song in the 19th and 20th centuries, see: Lazutin S. G. *Russkie narodnye liricheskie pesni, chastushki i poslovitsy*. Moscow, 1990.

⁸ S. G. Lazutin, *Russkie narodnye liricheskie pesni, chastushki i poslovitsy*. Moscow, 1990 (39).

⁹ V. Ya. Propp was a well known proponent of scientific classification of Russian popular songs (See: V. Ya. Propp *Popular lyric songs*. L., 1961).

¹⁰ *Khorovod* is a Russian circle dance.

¹¹ For a brief bibliography of works about Russian popular symbolism published in Russia, see: *Akimova T. M. O poeticheskoy prirode narodnoy liricheskoy pesni*. Saratov, 1966. P. 103, ff 4.

¹² Just to illustrate the enormous scope of work involved, we should mention here that it took several years to study natural symbols

of the Lithuanian popular song, albeit the considerable part of the study has been done on catalogues rather than song texts. The researcher had to examine about 12,500 cases of different natural image usage. Vide: *Olindaite V. A. Vospriyatie prirody v litovskih narodnyh pesnyah: Avtoref. dis. kand. filol. Nauk/AN ESSR. In-t yaz. i lit. Tallin, 1987. P. 1.* This number may be even larger for Russian song since the latter has a peculiar feature of several symbols' being used in the same song (we are going to discuss this later in this paper).

¹³ Sobolevskiy, Vol. 2, N. 292.

¹⁴ See: A. A. Potebnya, *O nekotoryh simvolah v slavyanskoy narodnoy poezii.* Kharkov, 1914.

¹⁵ Veselovskiy A. N. *Istoricheskaya poetika.* L., 1940 (14).

¹⁶ Sobolevskiy, Vol. 4, N. 94, 110, etc.; Kireevskiy, N. 2137 and others.

¹⁷ Sobolevskiy, Vol. 5, N. 211.

¹⁸ For quotations of source collections see the article by Ya. Avtamonov: *Avtamonov Ya. Simvolika rasteniy v velikorusskikh pesnyah//Zhurnal Ministerstva narodnogoprosvescheniya. 1902. N. 12. P. 243.*

¹⁹ Op. cit., p. 255, 258, 261.

²⁰ Op. cit., p. 247.

²¹ Op. cit., p. 251.

²² Op. cit., p. 274.

²³ In ancient times, shades of red color often symbolized death and were related to agricultural rituals. See: *Freidenberg O. M. Poetika syuzheta i zhanra.* Moscow, 1997. P. 201.

²⁴ Avtamonov Ya. Op. cit., p. 279.

²⁵ Shein, N. 451, 1654, 1978, 2148.

²⁶ Avtamonov Ya. Op. cit., p. 279.

²⁷ For example, *krasno-zelyonoe* in one of "calendar songs" (red-green), vide: *Pesni Pechory/Izd. Podg. N. P. Kolpakova, F. V. Sokolov, B. M. Dobrovolskiy. M.—L., 1963, p. 34.*

²⁸ Op. cit., p. 266, 277.

²⁹ The semantics of white color is life. See: *Freidenberg O. M. Poetika syuzheta i zhanra.* Moscow, 1997. P. 201.

³⁰ Shein, N. 451.

³¹ Rarely, both parents together. Vide: Shein, N. 2158.

³² Kireevskiy, N. 2137.

³³ Kireevskiy, N. 2366.

³⁴ Shein, N. 764.

³⁵ Sobolevskiy, Vol. 4, N. 525. Russian folklore may have a clue to why there is a hare on the moon in Chinese mythology. The hare of Russian popular dancing (not lyric) songs also symbolizes a young man, and girls try to catch it.

³⁶ S. G. Lazutin, *Russkie narodnye liricheskie pesni, chastushki i poslovitsy*. Moscow, 1990. P. 42-43.

³⁷ E. B. Artyomenko, *Printsipy narodno-pesennogo tekstoobrazovaniya*. Voronezh, 1988. P. 138.

³⁸ There is extensive literature on this subject in mythology studies. See, for example: *Freidenberg O. M. Poetika syuzheta i zhanra*. Moscow, 1997. A brilliant analysis of the connection between ritual and folklore is given by V. Propp, see *Propp Vladimir. Istoricheskie korni volshebnoy skazki/Morfologiya <volshebnoy> skazki. Istoricheskie korni volshebnoy skazki*. M., 1998.

³⁹ One of the wedding songs recorded in southern Russian Tula province illustrates this drastic change:

[She] approached as a duck,
And sat at the table as a falcon.

N. G. Svadebnye obryady i pesni krest'yan Tul'skoy gubernii/*Moskvityanin*, 1853, N. 14, p. 110-111.

The table mentioned here is very important. Even in the 19th century that was a popular Russian belief that a real marriage begins not with an official wedding ceremony ("crowning ceremony" in Russian) in church but with the wedding banquet at the groom's house.

⁴⁰ *Russkoe narodnoe poeticheskoe tvorchestvo*. SPb., 1993. P. 408.

⁴¹ T. M. Akimova, *O poeticheskoy prirode narodnoy liricheskoy pesni*. Saratov, 1966. P. 98.

⁴² Kireevskiy, N. 2202.

⁴³ N. P. Kolpakova *Russkaya narodnaya bytovaya pesnya*. Mos-

cow; Leningrad, 1962. P. 207-234.

⁴⁴ Sobolevskiy, Vol. 3, N. 369; Vol. 4, N. 149; Vol. 10, N. 311; Kireevskiy, N. 1859, 2383.

⁴⁵ Kireevskiy, N. 1243; Sobolevskiy, Vol. 3, N. 36, 426; Vol. 4, N. 54; Vol. 5, N. 95.

⁴⁶ Sobolevskiy, Vol. 5, N. 453, 662.

⁴⁷ Avtamonov Ya. Op. cit., p. 261.

⁴⁸ The ancient Greek hero, for example transforms from "beast" into "beast-fighter." See: *Freidenberg O. M. Poetika syuzheta i zhanra*. Moscow, 1997. P. 205.

⁴⁹ See: Propp, Vladimir. *Morphology of the Folktale* / by V. Propp. First ed. translated by Laurence Scott with an introd. by Svatava Pirko-va Jakobson. Second ed. revised and edited with a preface by Louis A. Wagner/New introd. by Alan Dundes.—Austin: University of Texas Press, 1986.

⁵⁰ S. G. Lazutin, *Poetika russkogo fol'klora*. M., 1989. P. 52.

⁵¹ Propp, Vladimir. *The Nature of Folklore/Theory and History of Folklore*/Translated by Ariadna Y. Martin and Richard P. Martin. Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by Anatoly Liberman.—Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1985. P. 11.

⁵² The tradition of the Russian novel with its particular typical characters was laid down by Alexander Pushkin in his *Eugene Onegin*. For details of the Russian novel's *formula* see: Lotman Yu. M. Pushkin. *Ocherk tvorchestva/Pushkin: Biografiya pisatelya; Stat'i i zametki. 1960-1990; "Evgeniy Onegin."* *Kommentarii*. SPb., 1997. Pp.196-197.

⁵³ S. G. Lazutin, *Russkie narodnye liricheskie pesni, chastushki i poslovitsy*. Moscow, 1990. P. 51.

⁵⁴ N. I. Kravtsov, *Poetika russkih narodnyh liricheskikh pesen*. Ch. I. *Kompozitsiya*. Moscow, 1974. P. 15.

⁵⁵ A. N. Veselovsky, *Istoricheskaya poetika*. L., 1940. Cited in: *Lazutin S. G. Poetika russkogo fol'klora*. M., 1989. P. 203 (supplement).

⁵⁶ S. G. Lazutin, *Russkie narodnye liricheskie pesni, chastushki i poslovitsy*. Moscow, 1990. P. 53; *Mirskiy V. V. Russkaya narodnaya semeynaya pesnya*. Aftoref. kand. dis. Moscow, 1966. (Russian popu-

lar family song) (Russian). P. 9.

⁵⁷ A. A. Potebnya, *O nekotoryh simvolah v slavyanskoj narodnoj poezii*. Kharkov, 1914. P. 5.

⁵⁸ E Lopyreva, [Vstup. stat'ya]/*Liricheskie narodnye pesni/Vstup. st., podgotovka teksta i primechaniya E. Lopyrevoy*. Leningrad, 1955. P. 34.

⁵⁹ In the early 19th century elegy was one of the most favorite genres in Russian poetry. Russian poets of that time were mostly men and aristocrats. Can we, judging from these facts, jump to the conclusion that Russian male aristocrats were more oppressed than female aristocrats?

⁶⁰ O. M. Freidenberg, *Poetika syuzheta i zhanra*. Moscow, 1997. P. 203.

⁶¹ T. M. Akimova, *O poeticheskoy prirode narodnoj liricheskoy pesni*. Saratov, 1966. P. 116, 118.

⁶² E. B. Artyomenko, *Printsipy narodno-pesennogo tekstoobrazovaniya*. Voronezh, 1988. P. 144-151.

⁶³ E. B. Artyomenko, *Op. cit.*, p. 138.

⁶⁴ Kireevskiy, N. 2189.

⁶⁵ Kireevskiy, N. 280, 1859.

⁶⁶ Kireevskiy, N. 188.

⁶⁷ Kireevskiy, N. 116, 2003a.

⁶⁸ N. I. Kravtsov, *Poetika russkih narodnyh liricheskikh pesen*. Ch. 1. *Kompozitsiya*. Moscow, 1974. P. 15.

⁶⁹ *Mify narodov mira*. Minsk; Smolensk, 1994. Vol. 2. P. 452-453.

⁷⁰ N. I. Kravtsov, *Poetika russkih narodnyh liricheskikh pesen*. Ch. 1. *Kompozitsiya*. Moscow, 1974. P. 28.

⁷¹ N. I. Kravtsov, *Op. cit.*, p. 46.

⁷² S. G. Lazutin, *Kompozitsiya russkoy narodnoj liricheskoy pesni/Russkiy fol'klor*. Moscow-Leningrad, 1950. Vol. V. P. 202.

⁷³ S. G. Lazutin, *Russkie narodnye liricheskie pesni, chastushki i poslovitsy*. Moscow, 1990. P. 55-56.

⁷³ S. G. Lazutin, *Russkie narodnye liricheskie pesni, chastushki i poslovitsy*. Moscow, 1990. P. 55-56.

⁷⁴ См.: Стундиене Б. Medžio ivaizdis lietuvių liaudies dainų mikrokontekste/Lietuvos TSR Mokslu Akademijos Darbai. A serija Visuomenės mokslai. 4(101). Vilnius, 1987. P. 106.

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