# Russians in Ukrainian Folklore from the 20th and Early 21st Centuries: The Dynamics of the Images and Contexts

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ABSTRACT. The article presents the genesis and dynamics of the ethnostereotype of Russians in Ukrainian folklore from the 20th and early 21st centuries. The object of the interdisciplinary research is texts from printed sources, archival collections, and texts recorded during the author's latest fieldwork between 2013 and 2018. The subject of the article is the variability of the ethnostereotype and its features. The goal is the semantic-structural analysis of three main images (*moskal*, 'executioner [kat]', *rashyst*), the main meaning of which is 'invader of Ukrainian land'. Based on materials of various genres and the contexts of their functioning, the author proves that the image of the *moskal* was the most common in the folklore of the First World War. It preserves the archaic semantics of 'devil' and 'alien' based on folklore models from the 19th century. The image is ambivalent, mainly with negative connotations (uneducated, cunning, treacherous, thieving, rapacious, aggressive, cruel). The emphasis is placed on role changes in the semantics of the image of the enemy, the transition from 'animal' to human'. The change was fixed by the opposition in the formula 'first' (not) second *moskal*. The author examines the image of the 'executioner' based on the motifs of *violence*, *cruelty* and *revenge* highlighted in the insurgent and eviction folklore which formed during the Second World War. It is emphasised that in the folklore formula 'Moscow executioner', one should understand the superiority of the national over the social. The conclusions state that the semantics of the new images of Russians (*rashyst*, *ork*, *rusnia*) and their meaning are determined by the modern context of the Russian–Ukrainian war and the previously formed stereotypical meanings of *moskal*. Constant metaphorical epithets ('scary', 'dark' as uneducated, 'wild', 'vile', 'lying', 'dirty', 'evil', 'fierce', 'Red') verbalise these meanings.

KEY WORDS: folklore of the First World War, folklore of the Second World War and postwar period, Russian–Ukrainian war, Russians, stereotype, image, context.

## Rusai XX a. – XXI a. pradžios ukrainiečių folklore: įvaizdžių ir kontekstų dinamika

SANTRAUKA. Straipsnyje pristatoma etninio rusų stereotipo XX a. – XXI a. pradžios ukrai-niečių folklore kilmė ir raida. Tarpdisciplininio tyrimo objektas – tekstai iš spausdintų šalti-nių, archyvinių rinkinių ir autorės tarp 2013 ir 2018 m. lauko tyrimų metu užrašyti kūriniai.

Straipsnyje siekiama atskleisti etninio stereotipo varijavimą ir bruožus. Struktūrinė semantinė analizė telkiama į tris svarbiausius įvaizdžius (*maskolis*, *budelis (kat)*, *rašistas*) – visi jie iš esmės reiškia 'Ukrainos okupantas'. Remdamasi skirtingų žanrų kūriniais ir jų funkcionavimo kontekstais, autorė parodo, kad *maskolio* įvaizdis produktyviausias buvo Pirmojo pasaulinio karo laikų folklore. Jame išsaugota archajiškų „velnio" ir „svetimojo" semantinių bruožų, ateinančių dar iš XIX a. folkloro. Šis įvaizdis nevienareikšmis, bet vyrauja neigiamos konotacijos (neišprusęs, suktas, klastingas, vagis, prievartautojas, agresyvus, žiaurus). Ypač pabrėžiama vaidmenų kaita, siejama su priešo įvaizdžio semantika – perėjimas nuo „gyvulio" prie „žmogaus". Šis pokytis nusakomas priešpriešą atskleidžiančia formule: „pirmas – (ne) antras *maskolis*". *Budelio* įvaizdį autorė tiria remdamasi prievartos ir žiaurumo motyvais, taip pat atpildo motyvu, ryškėjančiu rezistentų ir tremtinių folklore, sukurtame Antrojo pasaulinio karo metais. Svarbu pabrėžti, kad folklorinę formulę „Maskvos budelis" reikia suprasti ne tiek socialiniu, kiek nacionaliniu požiūriu. Straipsnyje parodoma, kad naujųjų įvaizdžių (*rašisto*, *orko*, *ruskio*) semantiką ir reikšmę lemia ir dabartinio Rusijos karo prieš Ukrainą kontekstas, ir anksčiau susiklosčiusi stereotipinė *maskolio* įvaizdžio semantika. Šie įvaizdžiai nusakomi tolydžio pasikartojančiais metaforiniais epitetais (baisus, tamsus – t. y. neišprusęs, laukinis, niekšingas, melagis, purvinas, blogas, nuožmus, raudonas).

RAKTAŽODŽIAI: Pirmojo pasaulinio karo laikų folkloras, Antrojo pasaulinio karo ir pokario laikų folkloras, Rusijos karas prieš Ukrainą, rusai, stereotipas, įvaizdis, kontekstas.

## INTRODUCTION

Modern Ukrainian folkloristics present folk creativity as an extensive palette of the living culture capable of reflecting every historical stage in the nation's life. It is in line with European research trends, in particular with Lithuanian folkloristics (Būgienė 2021: 167). Ukrainian folklore is fully built into the political and historical process of the very dynamic and complex modern times. Research into its phenomena in the 20th century[1] and modern contexts of functioning are significant to the social discourse. Folklore helps to understand Ukrainians and the foundations of their values. An important research aspect, on the basis of which it is possible to build the prospects of Ukraine's integration into the European space, is a cognition of the Ukrainian spiritual heritage through stereotypes, which is a type of 'everyday conceptualisation of reality' (Bartmiński 2007: 108), connected with the context. Ethnic stereotypes function in the cultural context, the characteristics of which are highlighted by Oksana Mykytenko:

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1   The Legion of Ukrainian Sich Riflemen (USR), a separate Ukrainian unit that fought as part of the Austro-Hungarian army in the First World War, was a unique phenomenon in Ukrainian culture. The cultural and artistic activities of the Sich Riflemen and their songs (see the collection Стрілецькі пісні [Riflemen's Songs], 2005) underwent intensive folklorisation in the interwar period (for more detail, see the monograph: Кузьменко 2009). Riflemen folklore formed the basis for the emergence of new layers of Ukrainian historical and political folklore from 1944 to the 1960s: insurgent songs (composed by fighters in the Ukrainian Insurgent Army [UIA]), songs about Ukrainian partisans, prison and exile songs (Дем'ян 2003; Кирчів 2010), and narratives (ЯПБ [Yavorivshchyna in the Insurgent Fight: stories of participants and eyewitnesses]).

> Ethnic stereotypes [...] are extremely stable categories that enter the consciousness of the nation and stay in the folklore memory for ever, becoming evidence of its challenging history (Микитенко 2019: 431).

Stereotypes are studied within the fields of anthropological research that focus on practices of social interaction or 'cultural intimacy' (Herzfeld 2016), which is important in the era of globalisation. Established forms of behaviour in international relations, features of ethno-stereotypes, have always been present in the interdisciplinary field of research (Berting, Villain-Gandossi 1995). Such studies are especially relevant in times of severe inter-ethnic contradictions and armed conflict, because the way out of wars is determined not only by the strongest prevailing, but also by the development of new dialogue criteria within the framework of the 'discourse of equals', as Jürgen Habermas sees it (Бистрицький et al. 2020: 65).

The exploration of neighbouring nations, 'strangers' and 'others', in the reception of folklore makes it possible to trace the mechanism of self-identification, to see better the nature of ethno-cultural frontiers between Slavs (Kępiński 1995; Белова 2005; Bartminski 2007; Лобач 2015). On this basis, a portrait of one's own people emerges, including positive and negative aspects, as well as communication opportunities and the power of solidarity. The analysis of inter-ethnic relations and origin of nations based on the material of Ukrainian legends and tales (Булашев 1992; Качмар 2015), paremias (П'ятаченко 2006), jokes (Кирчів 2010; Грищенко 2015; Мельник 2017), and fairy tales (Демедюк 2020: 98–103), presents not only foreign ethnic images. Folklore in attitudes to different nations constructs, first and foremost, the image of Ukrainians who:

> have always been and are open to communication, exchange of traditions, and creative cooperation. At the same time, they justly demand respect for themselves and their culture, they do not tolerate violence, arrogance, cunning or opportunism (Мельник 2017: 244).

The First World War and the Second World War, when the Ukrainian dimension of 'history with divided memory' manifested itself, enriched the folklore experience with new connotations of images of foreigners, in particular the Russian invaders. What semantic features of the ethno-stereotype of the Russian persist from the past, and what has disappeared or emerged in the presentation of the centuries-old character of the *moskal* during the new Russian-Ukrainian war? These are relevant questions that we will try to address in this paper.

'BECAUSE MOSKALS ARE LIKE THOSE BEASTS, ALL WEAR BEARDS': TRANSCODING THE MEANINGS OF THE BEAST AS (NON)HUMAN

The word forms *katsap*, *moskal*, *moskalysko*, *moskali*, Muscovites, Russians and *bolshevist* are a series of words traditionally used to describe Russians in Ukrainian folklore. The denomination *moskal* has become one of the most expressive ethical and aesthetic dominants in the folklore memory about the foreign and domestic enemy.

In historical works from the 15th to the 19th century, the lexeme *moskal* did not yet have an ethnically marked connotation and the sema of 'enemy', as it was a noun to signify the mixed army of the Tsar of Moscow. But it was the Russian army led by 'Moscow generals' that contributed to the destruction of one of the most famous formations of Medieval Europe, Zaporizhzhya Sich, the Cossack republic, which became a symbol of Ukrainian statehood. The folklorist Georgy Bulashev (1860 – ?) originated from this part of the country, and in his 'Ukrainian People in their Legends, Religious Views and Beliefs' (1909) he analysed the origin and particular features of the perception of some nations, in particular Russians:

> Ukrainians, by custom, call *velykorosy*[2] *moskals*, *lapotniks*, and treat them with distrust, even with some apprehension, considering them greedy, brutal, insincere, cunning, lazy and vindictive. People avoid having any dealings with a *moskal*, let alone hiring him. A *moskal* [...] will invariably deceive, or one will have to fight with him because of his laziness and cunning, and then he will do something to one that one will regret for the rest of one's life (Булашев 1992: 147).

A little earlier, Mykhailo Drahomanov, in his monograph 'Political Songs of the Ukrainian People in the 18th and 19th Centuries' (published in Geneva 1883; 1885), analysed works about the Pruth campaign of Peter the Great in 1711,[3] in which the army is depicted through the image of a 'cunning *moskal*':

> It's not yet dawn, it's not yet dawn,
> It's not yet dawning
> And the cunning *moskal* is riding round
> the Zaporozhian land.
> Oh, having ridden round the Zaporozhian land,

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2   *Velykorosy*, an ethnonym, 'the same as Russians' (СУМ, 1: 320), a historical name originating in Imperial Russia.

3   The infamous campaign ended with the encirclement of the Muscovite army and the Treaty of Pruth.

He started bordering the steppe,

Oh, he started planting

Gardens and lordly estates (Драгоманов 1883: 71).[4]

A hundred years later, other metonymic formulas, 'Moscow corpse', 'Moscow bones' (Драгоманов 1885: 192), were used in songs about the Russian-Prussian-French war (1806–1807). Thus the tsarist army was encoded through the image of the fallen, which included not only 'Muscovites' (ethnic Russians) and Kalmyks, but also Chuhuiv Cossacks for a certain period of time.

According to linguists, *moskal* is a multiple-meaning word, as it may be both an exonym of Russians (or a xeno-ethnonym), and an ethnonym of Ukrainians from the central, eastern and southern parts of Ukraine, which for centuries were under the rule of the Russian Empire. Instead, in folklore of various genres, the image of the Russian is contrasted with that of the Ukrainian within the *one of us–stranger* dichotomy (Лихограй 2012: 169). The connotation of 'the stranger' in Ukrainian folklore from the 19th century is perceived through the sign of the negative, endowed with harmful magical powers, weird, unreasonable, immoral (П'ятаченко 2007: 236; Качмар 2015: 652). In Ukrainian folklore from the mid-20th century, 'strangers' are those who own Ukraine, as it goes in the song chronicle about Carpathian Ukraine: 'Oh, *foreigners* won't any longer own us / Ukraine is our mother, and we are her children' (*Ой не будуть більш чужинці нами володіти / Україна – наша мати, а ми її діти*) (МН: 71).

The development of the stereotype of the Russian is due to the long experience of Ukrainian settlers' interaction with *moskals* the soldiers, and *moskals* the peasants, merchants and craftsmen (П'ятаченко 2006: 64). It is deepened through the traditional bias of the rural community towards military society. The modern ethno-stereotype is based on connotations of the folklore image of the *moskal*, which refers to the historic events of the 20th and early 21st centuries, which we shall analyse in more detail.

In the pieces that appeared during the First World War and spread in the western Ukrainian lands, the vision of the *moskal* as 'a harmful stranger' is reproduced (They came to Galicia and they are *not welcome guests* / Gunners and infantry – *Moscow Cossacks*) (*Приїхали в Галичину та й* не милі гості / *Каноніри і піхота* – козаки московські) (ІМ: 8), which is inherent in legends (Качмар 2015: 652). On the other hand, military folklore emphasises that the *moskal* is an enemy who has attacked the native land (occupied [...] the land, has gone loose) (*край* [...]

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4 Та ше не світ, та ше не світ, / Та ше не світає, / Та хитрий мосаль запорозьку землю / А кругом об'їжджає. / Ой об'їхавши запорозьку землю / Та й став степ межувати, / Ой став городи, панські слободи / По річах саджати.

*зайняв, гойно розгулявси*) (СХН: 189). Folksongs from the time compare Russians with an 'unclean' animal (beast, pig, dog):

> So that we did not fall into the hands of those *moskals*,
> For *moskals are like those beasts*, all wearing beards, so that they would not have power or authority over us (СП: 316);

> *Moskalysko, enemy* ['s] *son*, walks like a *bezroha*[5],
> 'Hurrah, riflemen, hurrah at once!' – those are our alarms (СП: 319).[6]

The folkloric method of comparison with an animal reaches the depths of the archaic cult of the beast–warrior which circulated in military traditions in Ukraine (Бондаренко 2015: 5). It was established by the Ukrainian epic tradition, in particular the etiological legends depicting the evolution of public ideas about images of military society. But later, in the folklore from the time of the Ukrainian revolution of 1917–1921, we also discover a comparison with an animal (wolf, dog), which is associated with treacherous actions. An expressive description of manifestations of the destructive aggression of the *Rusky* (*руського*) identified with the concept of 'the beast' can be found in the narrative of a peasant from the village of Barakhty, now in the Kyiv oblast, which was recorded in 1922:

> And who knows what kind of *beasts* they were? One would say a Chechen or a Tatar: they are *beastly men*, but that's one of us, Rusky ... *Jumps, you know, into the house like a wolf*. You do this and that for him, you are good to him: he eats, drinks, steals whatever he finds, and you cannot say a word, or else he'll beat you up like the worst dog, and turn the house upside down: he will break the pots and smash the windows. How many people have been wasted! [...] (ЛМ: 69).

The comparison of the invader with a dog became the most widely used metaphor in various folklore genres from the 20th century[7] where the space and violence of war are described. Notably, the comparison of a *moskal* with a dog or 'wild hound' is common in chronicles from the First World War where female characters are involved, for example:

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5    *Bezroha* is a dialect form of the word 'pig'.
6    Щоб ми ся тим москалям в руки не дістали, / Бо москалі, як ті звірі, усі з бородами, / Щоби не мали для нас сили і власти над нами (СП: 316).
     Москалиско, вражі [і]й син, іде як безрога, / «Гурра, стрільці, гурра враз!» — то наші тривоги (СП: 319).
7    The metaphor 'fascist dogs' appears in Ostarbeiters' lyrics starting from the Second World War under the influence of Soviet rhetoric and propaganda (Кузьменко 2018: 350).

(1) And our comrades fought so hard

That *moskals like wild hounds* ran away from them.

Comrade Stepanivna had no hope,

So that now she lives in misery in Tashkent in Asia.

May you, *moskalyky*, never know women,

For you took our Stepanivna into captivity (СП: 322).

(2) Don't you, girl, believe a *moskal*, like that *dog*,

He will relieve you of your wreath in the green *mlaka*[8] (БЄ, 16 зв).[9]

In the first illustration from a riflemen's song about Olena Stepaniv[10] (1), it is the motif of a captured female officer in the First World War. In the second illustration from a song that was recorded in 1917, there is a motif of sexual harassment conveyed by means of the folkloric paraphrase of 'losing one's wreath' (2).

The image of the deceitful *moskal* was anchored not only in the ballad tradition of stories about the *pokrytka* (a woman bearing a child out of wedlock) that was popular before the early 20th century, but also in 19th-century fiction which described the phenomenon of the socio-ethical conflict between Ukrainian village girls and recruits in the Imperial Russian army. This social problem, and the image of the *pokrytka*, was described in Taras Shevchenko's poem 'Kateryna' (1839). The plot, where a Russian officer is the cause of the girl's misfortune, contains the expression 'Fall in love, the dark-browed, but not with *moskals*'. Based on the stories narrated by those liberated in September 2022 from the Russian occupation of the Ukrainian towns of Bucha and Izyum, this catchphrase of the prophet-poet inspired a song by the same name [6]. It is worth emphasising that the new military contexts turn out to be more violent and brutal [11]. They enhance the image of the Russian rapist, which has become established not only in Ukrainian folklore, but also in the Polish narrative tradition (Przybyła-Dumin 2013: 215).

The characteristic of 'cruel' inspired a comparison of Russians with wolves, which is one of the most common images in Ukrainian proverbs, sayings, fairy tales and songs. In addition to cruelty, the wolf also represents strength, dexterity and insatiability. The cumulative effect of these meanings is conveyed by the formula

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8 *Mlaka* is 'a marshy lowland'.

9 І так наші товаришки тяжко воювали, / Що москалі, як дикі пси, від них утікали. / Товаришка Степанівна не мала надії, / Щоби тепер бідувала в Ташкенті в Азії. / Бодай же ви, москалики, жінки не пізнали, / Що ви нашу Степанівну в неволю забрали (СП: 322).
Не вір, дівко, москалеви, як тотій собаці, / А він тебе вінка збавить при зеленій млаці (БЄ: 16 зв).

10 See website [30].

'Moscow wolves' used in the riflemen's song of literary origin 'Whether it's a storm or thunder':[11]

> Whether the thunder rumbled, or the wind howled,
> So that hundred-year-old oaks crackled,
> Those were *Moscow wolves* that attacked
> Our dear land like a whirl over the steppe (СП: 109).[12]

The portrait of Russian soldiers in prose non-fairy-tale folklore has mainly not allegorical but realistic and object forms of visualisation. In narratives about the First World War, it often gets caricaturistic features accentuating clothing and ammunition, and aspects of personal hygiene:

> What kind of people were they? They were like those *shmiraks*.[13] *They were in tatters.* That's the army. An army like that. They only had fish to eat. Nothing more. Had a rifle with that long bayonet, and he *did not even have a belt, he had it on a string.* Such were *those first* soldiers. And then they had already got together in Germany, as then [...] *the second ones* came (К [2012], 102).[14]

Descriptive characterisations of the *moskal* as a 'dirty' stranger ('with lice', 'with beards', 'in tatters') may be reinforced by complex metaphorical phrases, such as 'dirty feet'. Implementing the symbolism of an 'unclean' soul, such an image appears in the insurgent song 'The Insurgent's Grave Stands Sad by the Road':

> The mother does not come to water it
> with fine tears,
> For *the enemy is coming* to stamp it down
> With *dirty feet* (ДГ: 30).[15]

Typecasting the Russian as an 'unclean stranger' is in line with trends in global culture. At the beginning of the 21st century, such a mythologised image is still part

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11   For the story of the creation and folklorist revision of this song, see the paper: Кузьменко 2017.
12   Чи то грім загримів, чи то вітер зашумів, / Що столітні дуби затріщали, / То московські вовки на наш край дорогий, / Мов той вихор на степ налітали (СП: 109).
13   *Shmirak* is robber's slang for someone who stands guard during a robbery.
14   А які то люди були? Та-во такі були шміракѝ. *В них обмотки.* То войско. Войско таке. І їдна риба була. І більше нічого. Та вінтовка довга з тим штико́м і навіть того ременя́ не мав, но на шну́рку. Отакі були салда́ти тоті перші. А пото́му вони вже сі в Німе́ччині дороби́ли, як вже [...] ті другі прийшли [...] (К [2012], 102).
15   Не йде мати поливати / Дрібними сльозами, / Бо йде ворог притоптати / Брудними ногами (ДГ: 30).

of the living folklore tradition (Белова 2005: 8). A comparison with songs from the second half of the 19th century shows that the 'unclean' feature likens Russians with the Tatars or the French:

> All of a sudden, Tatars emerged,
> *Shameful, ugly, bad* (ІП: 74);
>
> And the French, *like beasts, even though they have beards*,
> Have no rule nor power over us (ГВ: 144).[16]

The depiction of Russians with beards is characteristic not only of Ukrainian and Belarusian folklore. The Koreans use *mauchje* as a nickname for Russians, which means 'a bearded man', and is associated with a tough character and a strong physique [4]. The appearance that caused fear prompted the mythologising of the image of the *moskal* as someone often endowed with evil, demonic powers. Older storytellers convey these semantics in modern folk narratives with the epithet 'scary':

> My grandmother spoke about the Austrian war. As long as there were Austrians, they were very kind people. Very kind people. And when the *moskals* came, when Austria was at war with Moscow, those *moskals* were scary people. Scary. You can say whatever you like, but that's what my granny told me (Кузьменко 2018: 697).

The mythopoeic perception of the Russian as a representative of the world beyond is expressed most vividly in the comparison with the devil. A common association in the Belarusian tradition (Лобач 2015: 4) has a broad paradigm of the relationship between the two characters:

> [...] in Ukrainian folklore, the devil and the *moskal* often interact ('The devil brewed beer with the *moskal*, and refused malt') [*Варив чорт з москалем пиво, та й солоду відрікся*], they are identified with each other ('When the devil and the *moskal* steal something, say goodbye to it') [*Коли чорт та москаль щось вкрали – то поминай як звали*], they complement each other ('Daddy, Daddy, a devil is breaking into the house. It's OK, son, as long as it's not a moskal') [*Тату, тату, лізе чорт в хату. Дармо, синку, аби не москаль*], and they help each other (Лихограй 2012: 170).

This trend was actively manifested in folklore until the mid-20th century. Russian soldiers who captured the strategic city of Przemyśl are depicted in a short song as devils:

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16  Де не взялися татари, / Стидкі, бридкі, погані (ІП: 74).
    А французи, *яко звірі, хоть ви з бородами*, / Не мають до нас моці ні сили над нами (Гнатюк: 144).

They shot for Zhovkva,
They gave money for Lviv,
They shed their blood for Zolochiv,
But the devils took Przemyśl (НТШ, 7).[17]

The comparison of *moskals* with devils actualises the semantics of an 'unclean' soul in relation to the image of a *moskal*. It also functions in a local traditional story about a *moskal* who died an unnatural death, by drowning:

A deep meadow, where a *moskal* and his horse drowned during the First World War (ВПС: 297).

This short story explains the origin of the 'Moskaliv Lug' locus in the village of Horodyshche[18] in Volyn'.[19] The historical event, which could have happened in reality, is connected with Ukrainian beliefs, in particular about the impure or unquiet dead. In Ukrainian demonology, drowned people usually are people with a sinful nature who lived an unworthy life.

Other common features of the *moskal*, fraud and thievery, are also connected not only with routine, but also with military facts. During the First World War, Don Cossacks stole and destroyed the property of Galician peasants.[20] In folklore, the themes of 'a *moskal* takes a cow away' and 'a *moskal* sets a house on fire' convey the higher degree of the crime of destroying the means of living and a sacred place, which, in a traditionally patriarchal world, refers to the parental home:

Father left a cow for his children to have,
There was not much bread, the *moskal* took it away.
There was an old house where we lived together,
The *moskal'*s army came, and they set it on fire! (ГІ, 1).[21]

It is not by chance that Russian robbers are worse than Tatars in folklore: 'Tatars looted Rus, and *moskals are worse* / Oh merciful Lord, will it be better?'

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17   За Жовкву стріляли, / За Львів гроші дали, / За Золочів кров проляли, / А Перемишль чорти взяли (НТШ, 7).

18   A village known for the discovery of an ancient Rus settlement dating from the 11th to the 15th centuries, located on the border between Volyn' and Poland. Marshy swamps are part of the local landscape.

19   Volyn' is an ethnographic and folklore region in the northwest of Ukraine.

20   In Boykivshchyna there are also stories about how the Don Cossacks raped a Jewish woman and her servant, a priest's wife and her daughter (К [2009], 69–71).

21   Лишив тато коровину, щоби діти мали, / Було хліба не багато – москалі забрали. / Була хата старенькая, де ми разом жили, / Прийшло во[й]ско москалеве — і ту запалили! (ГІ, 1).

(*Зрабували Русь татари, а москалі гірше / Ой Господи милосердний, чи буде то ліпше?*, БЄ, 17).

The theme 'an enemy takes the bread away' is a way of describing the essence of any war of aggression. That is why the allomotif '*moskal* robs' as a structural component is repeated in pieces about the introduction of collective farms in western Ukraine. It was the same 'hybrid' war against the single Ukrainian peasant that Stalin launched in Soviet Ukraine in the 1920s. After the Second World War, it continued in another part, as is conveyed in a song from the Rivne region:

> *They will rob all the villages*, come to the district.
> *Each carrying a bag of lard*, a bottle of moonshine.
> One, two, three, four, creeping to the pantry,
> Turn over chests – looking for Bandera[22] (НПБ: 183).[23]

In 1915, during the occupation of Galicia by the tsarist army and the first acquaintance with Russian-speaking people, a large proportion of the local population started to develop the stereotype of the Russian '*osvoboditel*'.[24] This word was reinforced by contexts of Imperial colonial propaganda and the replacement of the concept of 'occupation' with 'liberation'. The ironic word acquired a universal meaning, having anchored the historical experience of prolonged action:

> One of the values of humor is that it transcends time and place to reveal the universality of the human experience, but there are also connections between the humor that a society creates and cherishes and what is occurring at the moment to affect living conditions and the cultural beliefs and values of the society (Nilsen, Nilsen 2018: 127).

The schematism of the character description through language oppositions forms the basis for the construction of another formula, 'the first *moskals*'. In historical narratives, this phrase marks the Russians:

> But the first *moskals* were good *moskals*. Because they said, 'If there are *moskals*, there will be bread on the table.' So they said. They were good at first. They were *moskals* from the Kuban. They were rich! They fed sugar to horses (K [2014], 165).

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22  'Looking for Bandera' is a motif that became topical in the first month of the Russian-Ukrainian war (Kuzmenko 2022: 2).

23  Пограбують усі села, їдуть до району. / Кожен везе торбу сала, бутель самогону. / Раз, два, три, чотири, лізуть до комори, / Скрині вивертають — Бандеру шукають (НПБ: 183).

24  *Osvoboditel* is a calque from Russian corresponding to the word 'liberator'.

Based on additional characteristics, according to which the 'first *moskals*' were 'rich', 'with bread', and even 'good', the folklore antithesis of 'first *moskals* – second *moskals*' became apparent. The dynamics of the ethnocultural stereotype, its positive and negative semantics, manifested itself in the negative formula '*the first ones are not the second*':

And *the first moskals* were also rich. They used to bring such large bread. Wow. While *the second moskals had lice* already [laughs]. But we must bear in mind that they had large bread from Ukraine, not from Russia (K [2013], 81).

The cliché was formed based on the experience of the mental and behavioural traits of Russian military groups of various origins. It is obvious that the invasion by troops of the tsarist army in 1914, against the contrasting background of the Red Army of 1939–1940, was perceived by the bourgeois community of west Ukrainian territories with a certain idealisation. The mythological traits of Russians were characteristic of benevolent heroes who bring order to chaos: the life and living space degraded by war. In the minds of Ukrainian peasants, such actions are accompanied by motifs of 'planting land', 'showing mercy':[25]

*The first moskals*, they were in Austrian times, you see, in Austria … They were absolutely *different moskals*. Those were people, as they say … The *moskals* were here for a long time, soldiers even planted vegetable gardens. Made gardens. They planted cucumbers and tomatoes here, in the garden. And they stayed here for a long time, so … Well, those *second moskals*, God forbid! (K [2014], 71–72).

The stereotyping of Russians after the First World War was based on features reflected through a number of motifs: the *moskal* shows excessively aggressive intentions ('And Russian soldiers occupied the whole of Lviv' [*А вояки росіянські весь Львів обостали*] [СХН: 194]; 'As the moskal attacks us / The defeated one gives everything away' [*Як москаль нас нападає / То розбитий все вертає*] [СП: 342]); shows strength and military power ('As the *moskal* advanced, as the *moskal* advanced / it was hard for everyone' [*Як москаль наступав, як москаль наступав / всім було тяженько*] [СП: 359]); does harm ('The Russians retreated and poisoned the wine in barrels' [*Руські відступали і затрули вино в бочках*] [К (2009), 55]); and intimidates with the size of their army:

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25   In some Ukrainian fairy tales recorded at the end of the 19th century, the function of the character's assistant is assigned to the figure of a *moskal* benefactor (Демедюк 2020: 100).

The *moskal* is gathering an army, Lord save us!

There are already four million standing at the border.

Gathered four million, started threatening (СХН: 200).[26]

A specific feature of the Great War in Europe was a change in outlook that conditioned the transition from the stereotype of the beastly enemy to the human enemy. The recoding of meanings was clearly noticeable in the folklore of the mid-20th century, where the human/non-human opposition was established. The human-defining criterion impacted the characteristics of other ethno-images as well. Semantic equivalence between '*the second* moskals' and the Nazi Germans was established based on folklore about the Second World War, where they personify cruel invaders:

Those *nimaky*,[27] they were not humans. They had no heart for our people. They pushed us around as they wished. That Adoltsyo taught them so wildly that they treated our people like toys, like a cat plays with a mouse. It is hard to recall how those *nimaky* observed with satisfaction their beastly mockery of our people. And to tell you the truth, there was no worse scum than those Volksdeutchers (HO: 320).[28]

The emotionally charged epithet 'mean' also connects Nazi Germans and communist *moskals*, which are components of the collective image of the enemy. The Ukrainian insurgents (from UIA[29]) fight communists in the insurgent song:

New joy has come

As the UIA has risen,

Which has destroyed a lot

of *mean* communists (ДГ: 12).[30]

Likewise, in the song 'You have Desecrated your Native Land', which comes from Soviet partisans and was recorded in 1944, the image of the German is associated with an arsonist, someone who brings grief and death:

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26  Москаль військо ізбирає, Господи борони! / Уже стоїт на границі штири міліони. / Зібрав штири міліони, зачив си грозити (СХН: 200).

27  *Nimaky* is a derogatory form of the word for 'German'.

28  Ті німаки – то не були люди. Жодного серця не мали над нашим народом. Збиткувалися, як хотіли. Так їх дико виховав той Адольцьо, що робили вони собі з нашого брата забавку, як кіт з мишею. Тяжко згадувати, як ті німаки задоволено дивилися на свої звірські насмішки над нашими людьми. А вже гіршого стерва, як ті фольксдойчери, скажу вам правду, не було (HO: 320).

29  Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UIA) (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ukrainian_Insurgent_Army).

30  Нова радість стала, / як УПА повстала, / Яка підлих комуністів / знищила немало (ДГ: 12).

The *mean* German sows grief,
And is in a hurry to set everything on fire.
To everyone, old people and children,
He brings a violent death (БП, 130).[31]

The enemy prone to unworthy acts is subject to condemnation, but at the same time, they are cursed, since 'mean' is also used as a term of abuse (СУМ, 6: 450). The universalism and expressiveness of folklore words endowed with magically targeted power can be recognised in the polysemy.

A similar comparison of Germans and Russians was suggested by the Polish science-fiction writer Stanislaw Lem, who in 1977 wrote in a letter to the American translator Michael Candle:

The cruelty of the Germans who entered the occupied country during Hitler's times is not comparable in terms of the breadth and depth of the experience with the Soviet one [...] The Russians were a spawn aware of their meanness and infamy in a speechless, deaf way capable of any disrespect: raping 80-year-old ladies, handing out death out of reluctance, casually, among other things, knocking down, destroying, and eliminating all signs of prosperity, order, civilised dependence [...] they took revenge on the whole world outside their prison with the meanest revenge possible [10].

It is important that the social sign of humanity retains its power and socially defining categorical nature in the narratives of Russia's current war against Ukraine. The opposition of the ethical standard *good* vs. *evil* has been actualised in narratives about captivity. Recalling manifestations of the wild behaviour and uncontrolled aggression of the Russian military against prisoners of war of the armed forces of Ukraine, a marine Mykhailo Dianov speaks directly:

In captivity, the essence of each one is revealed [...] An individual may be a warrior. It is the warrior who is revealed in war: I am brave, powerful. While in captivity it is completely different: humanism is revealed. You are a human or you are a brute [11].

Modern military contexts of the inhumane treatment of defenceless civilians and prisoners of war, and numerous facts of physical abuse, actualise the general knowledge about Russians. They are encoded in matrices of centuries-old folklore texts. They contain the motif 'a *moskal* tortures a captive': 'The *moskals* beat me there, they pushed me around / And didn't let the poor soldier sit down' (*Там москалі мене*

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31 Підлий німець горе сіє, / І спішить спалити все, / Він усім: старим і дітям – / Смерть жорстокую несе (БП, 130).

*били, там сі збиткували / І бідному жомнярови ше сісти не дали*) (СП: 320). The depiction of the inhuman qualities of the *moskal* is achieved by various techniques developed in folklore poetics. A key technique is not only comparison, but also derogatory vocabulary, emotional and psychological epithets ('As the conceived *fiendish sons*, *moskals*, started shooting' [*Як зачали* вражі сини*, москалі стріляти*] [СП: 193]), hyperbolisation, and opposition. For example, the bravado of the Russian character is revealed through the antithesis *sing* vs. *cry* in the *kolomyika* song from Boykivshchyna:[32] 'A *moskal* came to the Carpathians singing and cheering / And when he left the Carpathians, he was crying and wailing' (*Ішов москаль у Карпати, то співав та гойкав / А як ішов із Карпатів, то плакав і йойкав*) (БЄ, 17). In folk narratives, the opposition of *us* vs. *them* is often used as well. For example, in memoirs by Sich Riflemen, the central conflict between the protagonist and his antagonist reveals the motif of 'a rifleman deceives a *moskal*.' Linguistic clichés in interjections in the narratives indicate the practical knowledge of Sich Riflemen:

> *But I already knew* that *moskals* fight by deception, because I had already *come across* situations where one seemed to give in and come to me without a gun, while several approached from the sides. Therefore, I kept a close eye on them and as soon as I saw what they intended to '*markyruvaty*',[33] retreated quickly, for otherwise they would have beaten me (Назарук 1916: 72).[34]

The front-line experience of riflemen is complemented by the folklore image of the cunning and insidious *moskal*. For example, in fairy tales from the Dnipro region, a swindler *moskal* steals shirts from the backyard and lard from the house (Демедюк 2020: 100). The same situation, where he wants to steal a symbolic product of Ukrainian cuisine (lard), is depicted in choruses from the time of the First World War:

> A *moskal* went to the house,
> *Wanted to steal corned meat*,
> The old woman screamed so hard she turned white.
> Our patrolya[35] arrived fast (В, 3 зв).[36]

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32 Boykivshchyna is an ethnographic region in the Carpathians in western Ukraine.

33 *Markyruvaty*, 'to fiddle', '*markyrant*' in the riflemen's army for 'those who evade military service'.

34 Recorded by the rifleman Goryansky on 3 June 3 1915 in the village of Varpalanka in the Trans-carpathian region from Oleksa Sadzhenitsa, who was born in 1891 in the village of Bystya in the Zhovkivsky district.

35 *Patrolya*, a dialect form of 'patrol'.

36 Пішов москаль до хатини, / Хотів вкрасти солонини, / Баба кричит аж збіліла. / Наші патроля прилетіла (В, 3 зв).

The standard feature of Russians as robbers is present in local folklore pieces, e. g., a song from Berezhanshchyna:

Austrians, Germans, come back to us,
For *Russian soldiers are robbing us*.
They took away cows and drive away sheep,
They take young girls to torture them (ССД: 103).[37]

The connotation of 'thieves' is transferred to later folklore, where the image of a Bolshevik robbing a peasant farmer appears. It is important to emphasise that in this socionym the national prevails over the social, as Yevhen Pashchenko wrote:

In oral prose, it is emphasised even to a greater extent: the bearer of bolshevism is not ours but a stranger. He is usually a communist '*moskal*' or just a Bolshevik. This character is a personification of the antichrist, as brilliantly illustrated in the 'Prophecy about Lenin' recorded in 1931 in the Luhansk region. There 'an old woman in her eighties read in the Bible that such a fierce enemy of all people, animals and birds would come' called Lenin (Пащенко 2008: 9).

The correlation of the concepts Russian = Bolshevik for a large part of the population of Ukraine is connected with the tragic experience of the introduction of the collective farm system in Ukraine. Researching the language and the terms of Soviet totalitarianism, the linguist Larisa Masenko speaks bluntly:

[...] in Ukraine, the fight of the Bolsheviks with the wealthy peasantry transcended the class struggle. It was a war with the entire Ukrainian nation. Confirmation can be found in the idiom of indictments of the time (Масенко 2017: 73).

The political context of the Bolshevik regime, and its criminal essence, are conveyed through the expression 'the kind ones among us', used ambiguously in anti-collective farm satirical *kolomyikas*:

Oh, those *Bolsheviks* are so kind among us:
Take away tons of bread, we are left with grams.
Tons of bread are scooped up: rye and wheat.
We have two hundred grams of what's left, like medicine in a pharmacy (ГДА СБУ, 2).[38]

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37   Австрійці, германці верніться до нас, / Бо русскі солдати рабують нас. / Корови забрали і вівці женуть, / Молоді дівчата на муки ведуть (ССД: 103).

38   Ой, які ж ті більшовики добрі поміж нами: / Забирають хліба тонни – нам лишають грами. / Загрібають хліба тонни: жита і пшениці / Нам посліду двісті грамів, як ліків в аптиці (ГДА СБУ, 2).

The artistic technique of mocking Russians (*moskals*, Bolsheviks) is used in a variety of folklore genres. Derogatory features attributed to strangers are typical of jokes about a shrewd trickster character. In military folklore, they consistently appear in riflemen's jokes, in particular in a story about a disguised reconnaissance rifleman:[39]

> A disguised rifleman goes to inspect the Russian positions. He passes a sentry and does not even pay attention to him.
> 'Stop!' the soldier shouts. 'Where are you going?'
> 'I'm going to check what's sticking out there,' the rifleman responds casually.
> 'You fool. Don't you understand? That's a gun!'
> 'What gun?'
> 'The kind that shoots: a cannon.'
> 'But the Austrians will defeat you.'
> 'Why?'
> 'Because you only have one gun, and they have many.'
> 'Fool!' the indignant soldier muttered. 'Only one? Look down there in the valley.'
> And he showed him a whole battery in a ravine covered with fir trees.
> Shortly afterwards, the Austrian artillery responded and smashed the battery of the *moskals*. The *moskals* could not help wondering how our artillery knew so much about their positions (K [2009], 148).

The protagonist hides under the mask of deliberate stupidity, which is the most effective means of achieving the laughter effect in order to expose the uselessness of the anti-hero. The word 'fool', crudely thrown out by the *moskal* in the eyes of the Sich Rifleman, is used as a pun, it becomes a self-name and contributes to the self-identification of the enemy. The catchphrase of the joke shows the integration of meanings in the *stupid* vs. *smart* opposition. The semiotics of the word 'fool' in relation to the *moskal* can be shown not only based specifically on Ukrainian folklore. For example, in Polish culture, 'stupidity' is one of the stereotypical features of a Russian (Bartminski 2007: 281).

Metaphorical and occasional epithets become formulaic when describing Russians, in particular 'obscure' meaning 'ignorant' is an immanent constant. Historians have repeatedly written about the low level of literacy in the population

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39   There are widespread legends and stories in the 20th-century Ukrainian epic about a character in disguise which is typical of historical folklore. There is a narrative in the Ivano-Frankivsk region 'about Petliura' (the prototype is Symon Petliura, chief *otaman* of the Ukrainian People's Republic [UPR] troops), who goes to *moskal* (= Bolshevik) troops to scout their positions disguised as a beggar (see the full text in: Кузьменко 2020: 154).

of the Russian Empire, especially among the peasantry. According to official data, in the early 20th century only 21% of those under the Russian emperor had reached primary education level, and they lived mostly in the cities. Such poor literacy did not contribute to their obtaining rational information about the outside world (Поршнева 2011: 317). In the memory of Galician burghers and peasants, in local folklore, this fact was reflected in stories where 'Russians' die en masse from the electric current connected to wire fences:

> [Father] told me how those Austrians stayed near Przemyśl. They stretched the wires and let the current there. And the Russians did not know what a current was. They were still so [pause] *obscure* they were.
>
> [A comment from the group]: Yes, Asians.
>
> And they would go against that [current]. A grave of corpses fell there. And [the Russians] said: 'We will step over corpses, but we will take Przemyśl, no matter what' (K [2013], 82).

The semantic field of the image of the *moskal* keeps expanding thanks to regional works. An example is the ballad 'Oh, the Hazel Grove is Rustling and Buzzing', which spread from the Carpathian region to the Podniprovia region. One version, which was recorded in 1988 in the Kyiv region, demonstrates the method of embedding the image of a man-eating *moskal* in the matrix of a recruit song:

> *Moskals* are coming along the beaten path,
> Oh, they are leading my husband's horse.    (2)
> They lead the horse, the saddle shines,
> Oh, my husband is not there    (2)
> You, *moskals*, are *man-eaters*,
> Oh, where did you take my husband?    (2) (IA: 333).[40]

We believe that the genesis of the alogism can be traced back to the development of the beastly enemy image, and as a continuation of the traditional motif of the 'hungry' one drinking human blood. The archaic semantics of the epic motif 'to drink blood' can be seen in lyric and epic compositions from the First World War ('There *moskals* drank blood instead of pure water' [*Там москалі замість щири води крови ся напили*] [СП: 317]). The rudimentary motif appears in folk narratives from the Second World War in the images of '*bloodthirsty* fascist', '*bloodthirsty*

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40  Битим шляхом москалі йдуть, / Ой да мого мужа коня ведуть. (2) / Коня ведуть, сідло сяє, / Ой да мого мужа десь немає (2) / Ви, москалі, людоїди, / Ой да де ж ви мого мужа діли? (2) (IA: 333).

executioner', '*bloodthirsty* beast', which were often conditioned by the rhetoric of Soviet propaganda and the contexts of the development of ideological stereotypes of employees of the Soviet special services (Голик 2012: 195).

Mythologising the image of the *moskal* as a man-eater is based on fantastic beliefs that retain their folklore-creating power in modern folk narratives about the First World War (as 'the Austrian War'):

> In the year fourteen [1914], *moskals* came here and scared people. People said [...] 'Run away, because they kill people and eat them.' Yes, the devil knows what. I know it for my family, because in the fourteenth I saved a photograph where my Dad was twelve, and my grandfather, my grandmother, and my Dad's family. And they fled to Austria, to Barakas, or [*pause*] wherever. So they fled there. And then, I know, they somehow returned from there. Everyone was alive and well, it seems that [the *moskals*] didn't eat or kill anyone (K [2014], 162).

The *moskal* = *man-eater* association formed in the context of the Great Famine (Holodomor) of 1932–1933, which was echoed in folklore. The Bolshevik and communist repressive system that persecuted Ukrainians, and took their property, livestock and housing, caused a severe famine, which led to shameful cases of cannibalism. The collective knowledge of the deep cause-and-effect links between the famine, for which people blamed both supernatural forces ('The devil did this to destroy people') and Bolshevism as its reflection, was transferred into Ukrainian folklore (Кирчів 2010: 197).

The image took root and was updated after the Second World War. For example, in the stylised 'Thought about Kempten',[41] the anonymous author resorted to the amplification of 'man-eating executioners-GPUshniks:'[42]

> [...] Great God!
> Shorten our suffering,
> Save us from the Moscow hunt.
> As they heard that holy prayer,
> Three *man-eating executioners-GPUshniks*,
> Plus seven hundred chewers, stupid people,
> Bought with Moscow gold,
> Started coming to the church, besieging it like a black cloud (Маруняк 1985: 61).[43]

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41  Kempten, the largest city in Swabian Bavaria, Germany. After the end of the Second World War, there was a temporary camp for displaced persons (DP) in the city.

42  *GPUshnik*, from the abbreviation GPU, the Russian State Political Administration under the NKVD.

43  [...] Боже Великий! / Вкороти наші страждання, / Спаси-порятуй від московського полювання. / Як зачули про те моління святе / Та три кати людоїди-гепеушники, / Ще й

The symbolic representation of the occupation relations of the two systems centered in Moscow, the autocratic Imperial and the communist Bolshevik one, became entrenched in the folklore consciousness of Ukrainians through the sign of *moskovsky* (adj. 'Muscovite'). The actualisation of the old epithet is especially noticeable in examples of the interchange of 'Moscow' → 'Russian' tsar. The trope *moskovsky* was built into other constructions with the concepts of 'patrol', 'faith', 'army', 'tsarina' and 'Cossacks'. The list of binomials was supplemented by variants from the period of the national liberation struggles of the 1940s and 1950s, namely: 'Moscow front', 'Moscow mercenaries', 'Moscow mercenaries killed the insurgent / And his bones were scattered by grey wolves' (*Убили повстанця московські найманці / А кістки рознесли вовки сіроманці*) (СП: 221). The attribute *moskovsky* acquired the weight of a formulaic word. In folklore, such a word is known to be charged with meaning more than any other.

## 'THE MOSKAL'S TRICKS HAVE CAUSED TORMENT': DESCRIPTIONS OF CRUELTY

The stereotypical attribute of a cruel Russian in Ukrainian folklore from the 20th century is entrenched in the word 'executioner', which contains 'extensive destructive poetics' (Луньо 2015: 782). According to the explanatory dictionary of the Ukrainian language, an executioner (*кат*) is a person who 'carries out death sentences, tyrannises and tortures' (СУМ, 4: 116). The historical context of the concept stems from the Cossack period of the formation of the Ukrainian ethnic identity in the 17th and 18th centuries. According to the ethnologist Vasyl Balushok, back then 'executioner' in the Ukrainian lexicon was considered a swearword, aimed at humiliating and insulting the addressee (Балушок 2008: 259).

This connotation was attached to the image of a Russian soldier in the first third of the 20th century as a result of the folklorisation of riflemen's songs of literary origin (Кузьменко 2009: 115–117). Since then, the metaphorical epithet 'fierce' was actualised in the poetic language of folklore neologisms. It is typical of historical ballads that depict the periods of bloodshed of the Ukrainian national struggle for liberation from 1918 through to the 1920s. For example, in the song 'Near Kyiv, near Kruty', the formula 'fierce enemy' is used to convey the image of the Bolshevik army under the command of the Russian Muravyov, who ordered the brutal execution of the fighters of the Student Corps. The historic battle of January

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сімсот жуйців, нерозумних людців, / За московське золото куплених, / Стали до церкви прибувати, чорною хмарою її облягати [...] (Маруняк 1985: 61).

1918 at Kruty railway station in the Chernihiv region[44] between young defenders of the Ukrainian People's Republic (UPR) and supporters of Soviet Russia is one of the most mythologised episodes:

> You, girls, are all good,
> Embroider blankets for the boys.
> Let *the fierce enemy* know
> That Ukraine is resurrecting (СП: 346).[45]

'Fierce enemy' is a generalised image of the Red Guard, which is a symbolic embodiment of Lenin's/Stalin's policy of terror. With the tragedy at Kruty, it became obvious that global norms of morality and law had been replaced by the cruel norm of 'revolutionary expediency' (Бойко 2008: 53). It is not by chance that during the revolutionary years, the Russian writer Maksim Gorky tried to explain the reasons for manifestations of cruelty among Russians:

> I think that only the Russian people [...] are characterised by a feeling of particular cruelty, a cold-blooded one, which tests the limits of human tolerance of pain, as if exploring the tenacity and resilience for life. In Russian brutality, one senses a devilish fastidiousness, there is something subtle and exquisite in it. This property can hardly be explained by the words 'psychosis', 'sadism', words that, in fact, do not explain anything at all (Горький 1922: 17).

The image of the cruel enemy acquires the highest degree of the emotional and sensual register in pieces where the motif of *the last judgment* over him appears. The righteous judgment of God, as the popular insurgent song 'Autumn Flowers have already Withered' goes, will become possible at a significant moment, the time of an independent Ukraine:

> The time will come, the time will come,
> And Ukraine will rise,
> And the last judgment will start
> Over fierce executioners (ШП: 112).[46]

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44 The story of the killing of Ukrainians by the Russian army in the Chernihiv region was reenacted. See [22].

45 Ви, дівчата всі хороші, / Вишивайте хлопцям ноші. / Нехай ворог лютий знає, / Що Вкраїна воскресає (СП: 346).

46 Прийде той час, прийде пора – / І Україна встане, / І розпічнеться страшний суд / Над лютими катами (ШП: 112).

Folklore researchers single out a number of other formulas and nomena that marked Russians of the Soviet period. The words 'communist', 'commune', 'fierce enemy', 'Red executioner' and 'damned *moskals*' are used in political satire, nationalist songs and insurgent folklore. The semantics of the 'hostile' link the expression 'fierce executioner' with the formula of the 'evil *moskal*' in insurgents' chronicles: 'And the *evil moskal*, *evil moskal* trembles in Bukovina' (*І тремтить на Буковині злий москаль, злий москаль*) (Дем'ян 2003: 299).

In Ukrainian, the word 'evil' (*злий*) denotes a person full of anger, enmity, unkindness and cruelty (СУМ, 3: 592). This folklore epithet expresses the deep roots of the image of a serial killer, which was transformed as the two-part phrase 'executioner *moskals*'. The stability of the image was supported not only by the influence of information about 'maliciousness' as a mental trait of Russians, but mainly as a response to actual events. Ukrainian folklore of the 20th century includes 'the enemy tortures the protagonist' as a typical motif. A mandatory item of the folklore biography of the protagonist is his experience of extraordinary trials. Narratives about repressions by the Soviet authorities in the 1940s and the 1950s, with episodes of physical and psychological abuse, and inhuman torture, no longer required artistic hyperbolisation. In these texts, the metaphor of 'living blood' is frequently used; the image of blood flowing down walls, over the body:

> As *moskals* came to kill Banderas,[47] that garrison was in my house, and I was kicked out of my house. I stayed with my children at my mother's house for two weeks [...] And they would take people to my house and beat them there. And *the walls were covered in blood*, that's why they didn't let me into my house. And they took away everything that was in and around the house (УНК, 15: 415).[48]

Episodes describing the suffering of the characters, motifs of the martyrdom of Ukrainian insurgents present in narratives, and songs about the anti-Soviet underground, highlight an important information component. It is the artistic generalisation of the Ukrainian experience of the Stalinist terror. Erich Fromm wrote about the particular intensity and sadism of the terror (Фромм 1994: 248–250). The cult of armed violence was formed based on it:

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47  Banderas and Banderivtsi are colloquial forms for followers of the Ukrainian nationalist movement, members of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), in the interwar period, which was led by Stepan Bandera, and a name for the population of west Ukrainian lands who supported Ukraine's independence.

48  Як прийшли москалі вбивати бандерів, той гарнізон був у моїй хаті, а мене з хати вигнали. Я була з дітьми дві неділі в маминій хаті [...]. А в мою хату водили людей і били їх там. І стіни були всі з кров'ю, тому мене в мою хату не допускали. І все, що в хаті й коло хати було, в мене забрали (УНК, 15: 415).

Bolsheviks spoke a language that was understood where people lived in hunger and poverty. It was the rhetoric of isolation and violence that coincided with peasant ideas about the world structure [...] the Bolshevik cult of violence arose from a tradition that was based on the belief in the power of arms (Баберовскі 2007: 27–28).

The substantive attribute became one of the leading features of the image of the Russian in the 'Moscow executioner' formula (variations being 'the executioner from the Kremlin', 'executioners of the Red Moscow'), as in versions of the popular insurgent song 'Oh I Know, I Know that Time' (*Ой тямлю, тямлю я той час*):

> Cherry orchards do not bloom
> Frozen by the winds.
> *Moscow executioners* are taking us
> Where they'll torture us.
>
> We will not give up Ukraine,
> Or Kyiv the capital,
> For we will destroy their entire commune
> And we will stand on the border (ПП: 23).[49]

Administrative departments of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Ministry of State Security of the USSR spread terror in western Ukraine through planned punitive actions (round-ups) which began as early as September 1939. Numerous acts of brutal interrogation of arrested insurgents or people suspected of involvement in the Bandera movement in the postwar period implemented constructions with temporary images in folklore. It is known that interrogations were often held at night. The image of night in the song 'Oh Cry, Grieve, Old Mother' (*Ой плаче, тужи стара мати*) conveys the archaic semantics of that negative and dangerous time:

> Oh, cry and grieve, old mother,
> A young girl is crying.
> *Moscow executioners* have raided
> Our villages and cities.

.........................

49 Сади вишневі не цвітуть, / Зморожені вітрами, / Кати московські нас ведуть / Знущатися над нами. // Ми України не дамо, / Ні Києва столиці, / Ми всю комуну розіб'єм / І станем на границі (ПП: 23).

At night they fall like those ravens
And take sleepers out of their sleep.
'Goodbye, girl, forget about me,
I am going to die for the Motherland.'

At night they take them out one at a time,
And a machine gun is heard.
Once again: 'Glory to Ukraine!'
What torments he suffered there (ПБ, 296).[50]

Those Ukrainians who bravely resisted the Bolshevik system and set an example to others who were gripped by fear were subjected to torture. For example, the eviction song 'On Thursday, on Mykola, Early' describes the torture suffered by a boy whose family was deported to Siberia:

As the young boy woke up, wiping his eyes from sleep:
'Oh where are you, *cursed executioners*, oh where are you taking my family?'
When the executioners heard the words that the young man called out to them,
They handcuffed him and took him to prison.
I still remember well how the enemies took him to prison.
They beat his heels, prodded him in his back, put turpentine[51] up his nose,
And they hung him upside down and stuck needles under his nails.
They beat his chest, lungs and liver with revolvers (НПР: 232).[52]

The poetic toolkit for depicting the hero's martyrdom involves the amplification of somatic images and the naturalistic visualisation of torture methods. According to the observations of folklorists, in war songs of Slavs from the mid-20th century the image of the enemy is 'extremely violent' (Wasiuta 2014: 305).

In insurgents' narratives that were recorded in the 1990s and early 2000s, images of physical pain are depicted in detail, developing into an image of the

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50  Ой плаче, тужи стара мати, / Плаче дівчина молода, / Кати московські надлетіли / На наші села і міста. // Вночі спадають, мов ті круки, / І сплячого беруть зі сну. / 'Прощай, дівчино, забудь за мене, / Я йду на смерть за Вітчину'. // Вночі вивозять по одному, / І скоростріла чути стріл. / Іще раз: 'Слава Україні!' / Які він муки там терпів (ПБ, 296).

51  *Turpentine* is a dialect word derived from turpentine oil.

52  Як проснувся юнак молоденький, протираючи очі від сну: / «Ой куди ж ви, катюги прокляті, ой куди ж ви везете сім'ю?» / Як почули кати такі слова, що юнак обізвався до них, / Закували його у кайдани і повели його до тюрми. / До сих пір я ще добре пам'ятаю, як вели вороги до тюрми. / Били в п'яти, штовхали у спину, терпетину до носа клали. / А ще вішали вниз головою і за нігті пихали голки, / Ліворверами били у груди, відбивали легені, печінки (НПР: 232).

spiritual anguish of Ukrainian insurgents. The aesthetics of the 'physiological' are influenced by the personal feelings of the narrators, who are determined to describe as truthfully as possible the tragic moments of the protagonist's life 'on the edge'. The 'other' world is marked by the foreign Russian language of the chastisers, which the narrators convey word by word. The body seems to be under the powerful lens of a movie camera, which catches the figure of the protagonist:

> The grenade in Oak's[53] hand exploded, but God helped me stay alive again. I was stunned and covered with soil. I heard them shouting: '*Vylezay!*' (Get out!). More and more of them were coming. Covered in blood, I said: 'Finish me off!' But I heard some of their officers, apparently some of their sergeant-majors, say: '*Ne nada, ne nada, zhivyom.*' (Don't, don't, take him alive.) I saw Oak dead. The hand in which he had held the grenade was torn off at the wrist, blood was pouring from the stump (HO: 355).

Often, the narrator is the protagonist who suffers sophisticated methods of sadistic beatings by NKVD investigators, who, judging by their surnames, were mostly ethnic Russians:

> My investigator was Horokhov. They had a log carved out of wood and used it to beat me like that. They put me on a stool, and the stool was chained, I had to keep my legs straight, and they hit me like this on the throat and on the heels, on the larynx and on the heels. Then they turned me towards the wall, and spread my legs so that I held on to the wall with my teeth. But can you stand like that? You fall. And they would bang my head against the wall until the wall gave way. They knocked out my teeth [...] They would beat me as they wished. They would beat and torture me so that I didn't have an intact spot on me (HO: 379).

> They took me to Sudova Vyshnya. There they locked me up in a *sizo* (pre-detention facility). There was Captain Zuev, oh, but he was hard on me. And a Shandura was there. There was no intact spot on me. He put out cigarettes on my face for two months. It is just impossible to convey all the abuse that I suffered. They jumped on me, stamped on me: 'Who, where, who were you with?' (ЯПБ: 138).

Based on an analysis of folklore texts from the 20th century, it is possible to speak objectively about the emergence of informatively complex verb-based formulas 'beat and tortured', 'jumped and stamped'. Not only can new clichés implement a generalised image of the executioner in autobiographical stories, but they can also demonstrate the flexibility of the epic tradition, its influence on the lyrical epic. Folkloric amplification is an artistic means to portray systemic terror, for example,

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53   Oak, an army nickname.

in the song 'We were Going to Battle through Dark Woods': 'They beat us, shot us, *beat and tortured* / Red *moskal* executioners (*Нас* били, стріляли, били-катували / *Червоні кати-москалі*) (ДГ: 16).

In other thematic layers of folk art from the 20th century, the epic picture of the 'hero trial' is achieved by the symbolism of the uncountable expressed through traditional anaphoric structures: '*Many* Ukrainians died in agony' (*Не один українець у муках загинув*) (МН: 84). The context of mass terror introduced into folklore language formulas with the 'to excruciate' predicate: 'terrible torments', 'people were excruciated'. The motif 'Stalin excruciates Ukrainians' appears in political folklore. The image of the odious historical figure emerges in the insurgent carol 'Good News Spreading all over the World':

A damned Herod has come to Ukraine,
He has turned the state into a great ruin,
For thirty-three years the Herod has been reigning,
Excruciating Ukrainians all over Ukraine (Луньо 2015: 13).[54]

Note that the character of the leader as Herod in the carol is derived not so much from the Gospel story but rather from folklore typology of the image of the Russian Tsar Peter I. In some legends from the 19th century, this historical enemy of Ukrainians is likened to Herod in the motif 'Peter I orders the killing of Ukrainian babies' (Іваннікова 2011: 95).

The folklore reception of the executioner's image is represented by pictures of blood and death. The image of blood is traditionally associated with the symbolism of red, which in folklore is one of the key colour designations in the universal triad 'white–black–red'. Neologisms from the 'Red 20th century', as historians call it, preserve the semiotic function of the word, but its semantic content acquires a purely political sense. The epithet becomes an element of the metaphorical images of the 'Red broom', 'Red executioner', based on which the reverse motif developed, that of *bloody retaliation* against the enemy/executioner:

You, *Red executioners*, you have nowhere to escape,
We are preparing bloody retaliation.
For Solovki and Siberia, for the famine years
We are fighting the *Red executioner* well (ПП: 5).[55]

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54  Ірод проклятий прийшов на Вкраїну, / Зробив з держави велику руїну, / Тридцять три роки, як Ірод панує, / На нашій Вкраїні українців мордує (Луньо 2015: 13).

55  Ви, червоні кати, вам ніде не втекти, / Ми готуєм криваву відплату. / За Соловки й Сибір, за голодні роки / Гідно б'ємо червоного ката (ПП: 5).

'NO MATTER HOW MUCH YOU FEED AN ORC,
IT STILL LOOKS TOWARDS THE HAGUE.' NEW FORMS
OF THE ENEMY/INVADER IMAGE

Proverbs and sayings, jokes about *moskals*, ditties as spells 'for victory' or as curses 'for the death' of the occupiers, oral dream interpretation narratives with motifs of 'prophetic' dreams with the symbolism of 'bolshevism', 'war' (Kuzmenko 2022: 1), original songs with elements of folklorism, oral life stories about escaping from Russian soldiers [18]: these are the most productive genres of neologism from the first months of the Russian–Ukrainian war. All the texts are examples of folk creativity in situational contexts. They reflect the pace and the rhythm of the ongoing war, which has shown the criminal nature and impact of the *russkiy mir* concept. This political concept is folklorised in military images, in particular in the metaphor of the 'Russian warship'[56] and in the collective image of the Russian soldier.

A vocabulary of folk terms to signify Russians has developed originating from the new military contexts [10]. Along with age-old xenoethnonyms, original names have appeared: *russcist* (derived from 'fascist'), *rusnya* (based on derogatory word-formation models, also *katsapnya*), *orc* (after the folklorised character from the works of J. R. R. Tolkien[57]), *chmonya* (to signify a captured Russian collaborator [7], from the slang word *chmo*, 'an unpleasant person who provokes disgust'[58] (УЖ: 365), the word-form neologisms *okupadlo*, *mudyatly* (as a fusion of literary and slang words: 'occupation' + 'scum', 'asshole', *crim.* 'stupid, worthless, harmful person' + 'woodpecker', *slang* 'fool, informer' [УЖ:133]). Even the long-established nomina *moskal* and *katsap* [6, 7] among the military, first among the combatants of the ATO/UFO,[59] and now in the armed forces of Ukraine (AFU), get emotional and reactive meanings:

> *Katsap* ('Kak Tsap', like a goat). A derogatory name for Russians who behave like goats (Піддубний: 60).
> *Moskal* [...] is a *moskal* even in Africa.[60] It is a brute that eats, defecates, boozes, lies, bows to its masters, and despite all this considers itself belonging to a 'great empire' (Піддубний: 76).

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56  The image originates from the Russian-language catchphrase 'Русский корабль иди нахуй' ('Russian warship, go f*ck yourself') [23].
57  See website [24].
58  Note that there is the popular idiom *chmo bolotne* ('swamp chmo') in the Ukrainian language, which conveys the meaning of 'unclean', 'demonic'.
59  ATO/UFO – ATO: anti-terrorist operation (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anti-terrorist_ Operation_Zone), UFO: Joint Forces Operation.
60  An allusion to the well-known proverb 'Moscal is Muscal in Africa as well.'

The attitude towards Russians is expressed with the help of dysphemisms, vulgar and jargon vocabulary. Such texts are not only a form of verbal weapon against the enemy (Lysiuk 2016: 143), but also a form of marginalisation. The negative features ('eats, defecates, boozes, lies and bows …') define the paradigm of senses for people lacking normative behaviour within the parameters of modern European hygiene and ethics, without human dignity.

The new names function in oral everyday speech and in written format. A feature of short anonymous and amateur compositions about the war (poems, jokes, sayings, memes) is the visual and digital form of their distribution via social media, i.e. the Internet, Facebook, Instagram, Email, Tik-Tok, etc. Ukrainian revolutionary folklore of the first decade of the 21st century, the 'Maidan folklore' of 2004 and 2014, showed for the first time how important new forms of exchange and transmission have become:

> Facebook was a key space for sharing emotions, personal stories, humour and expressive forms of protest, making allusions to known literary works, historical events and world public figures (Bezborodova 2018: 104).

The portrait of a Russian in the mass media space is popular, bright and versatile. Here, I shall focus on a few of the most notable phenomena of an obviously folkloric nature. It is already possible to highlight several thematic blocks of new paremias, among which proverbs about the Russian occupiers, depicted in an ironic and satirical manner, make up a separate group.

There are two types of war sayings according to their origin: original ones and adaptations of traditional samples. We observe the immanent openness of sayings and proverbs to semantic and stylistic changes. They make it possible not only to logically emphasise a new keyword, but also to reveal its semantic potential and double meanings. In proverbs, we can see the changes that Dalia Zaikauskienė observed based on Lithuanian material. She rightly states 'the tendency to improvise on and re-phrase traditional sayings, to modify them and create so-called anti-proverbs' (Zaikauskienė 2020: 136).

Popular modern sayings have become a basis for revision, e. g.: '*Water does not flow under a lying <u>stone</u>*' → '*Water does not flow under a lying <u>rusnya</u>*', '*It is easier to beat the <u>father</u> together*' → '*It is good to beat a <u>moskal</u> together*'.[61] In the first illustration, we see the deconstruction of the idiom with the keyword 'lying'. The expression 'lying *rusnya*' visualises Russians as fallen soldiers. The motif of stagnant (dead) water conveys the symbolism of death. In the second illustration,

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61  «Під лежачий <u>камінь</u> вода не тече» → «Під лежачу <u>русню</u> вода не тече», «Гуртом і <u>батька</u> легше бити» → «Гуртом і <u>москаля</u> добре бити».

the core meaning is conveyed by the verb 'to beat'. The polysemy of the word, which is a component of a number of Ukrainian idioms, allows us to change the meaning of the sema 'to deal blows to someone', and to emphasise the meaning of 'to defeat someone, to defeat the enemy in battle, at war' (СУМ, 1: 168). Thus, the semantic potential of the saying emphasises the image of a strong Russian who can only be defeated by joint efforts.

Modifications are often based on the replacement of a keyword that expresses one or several semantic dominants of the ethnostereotype, e. g.: '*No matter how much you feed the <u>wolf</u>, it keeps looking at the <u>forest</u>*' → '*No matter how much you feed an <u>orc</u>, it still looks towards the <u>Hague</u>*'.[62] In the revision of the two-part proverb about the wolf and the landscape of its habitat (the forest), the first part actualises the semantics of the 'hungry' *moskal*, and the second one the subject's action. In this way, the direction of movement is re-coded from 'desirable' for the wolf ('to the forest') to 'undesirable' for Russians, 'to the International Criminal Court', which the high-level criminal deserves.

Given that, according to Viktor Raskin, 'most ethnic humors are functionally deprecatory, or disparaging' (Raskin 1984: 180), in the new military folklore, it is also aimed at exposing negative features of 'the alien'. A stereotypical trait of Russians, 'spite', intensifies the connotation of 'destroyer' in the revision: '*Consent builds and <u>disagreement</u> destroys*' → '*Consent builds and rusnya destroys*'.[63]

Russians who are passive to organised rebellion and resistance are subjected to ridicule. Tamara Hundorova describes this type of text as 'figures of anti-colonial resistance [...] aimed at national liberation' (Гундорова 2012: 59). The traditional idea of a *moskal* known from fairy tales is one who associates himself with the authorities, and strives 'to be one whole in a mass' (Лихоґрай 2012: 174). Paremias and jokes with the motif of warring Russia (a variant, 'Moskovia'), through which the image of the total belligerence of Russians and of brave Ukrainians is recognised, became popular in the first weeks of the war:

> 'Well, we have lived to see the Third World War, my friend.'
> 'But why is it a World War if only two countries are at war.'
> 'This is why: Moskovia is at war with the whole world, and Ukraine is at war fighting for the whole world' [2].

The caricature image of the Russian state as a bear that has been replicated for centuries[64] is used in the new saying: '*If Russia is a bear, Ukraine is a hive of*

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62  «Скільки <u>вовка</u> не годуй, а він <u>в ліс</u> дивиться» → «Скільки <u>орка</u> не годуй, а він <u>в Гаагу</u> дивиться».

63  «Згода будує, а <u>незгода</u> руйнує» → «Згода будує, а <u>русня</u> руйнує» [25].

64  The image of a bear to denote Russia and Russianness has been used in Latvian culture to support the positive collective identity and unity of Latvians (Гайлите 2013: 19).

*bees!*'[65] This saying was probably inspired by a video that explained the difference between Russians and Ukrainians, who are ready to sacrifice their lives, like a bee that stings the enemy [17]. Another paremia of the same kind is '*A country with a chicken on its coat of arms will never beat a country with a fork on its coat of arms*'[66] [6 no. 4695]. This arose based on a more complex multi-level association: the Russian coat of arms includes an eagle, but the eagle is not an eagle, but a chicken; one can eat chicken with a fork, and a fork is a trident, and a trident is the Ukrainian coat of arms. The waspish irony is aimed at disparaging the Russian Empire and its key symbol.

Another saying, '*Every <u>Russian</u> obtains his swamp*' (*Кожен <u>росіянин</u> своє болото хватить*) comes from the traditional version '*Every <u>frog</u> praises its swamp*' (*Кожна <u>жаба</u> своє болото хвалить*) (ПМ: 230). The replacement of the lexical component is based on the association of the invader with a frog and a hidden comparison of the Russian land with a swamp. The paronymy *khvalyt = khvatyt* (praises = obtains) (derived from the Russian verb *khvatat*, 'to be punished for a wrongdoing') not only expands the paradigm of meanings of the stereotype, but also reproduces the motif of spelling for 'death'. The proverb '*Call oneself a mushroom – get into borscht*' (*Назвався грибом – лізь у борщ*) (ПМ: 126) → '*Call oneself a moskal – get into a sack*' (*Назвався москалем – лізь в мішок*) alludes to new forms of the partisan struggle by Ukrainians that developed in the first months of the war [1]. Black plastic sacks have become a common euphemism for where occupiers' bodies are dumped. In the functioning of new examples of short folklore genres, we observe 'the fundamental polysituativity, polyfunctionality, and polysemanticity of proverbs in actual contexts' (Mieder 2015: 69). For example, the joke phrase about Russians who entered the territory of the Chernobyl zone appeared in April 2022 on the eve of another anniversary of the disaster [18]:

> New ranks have already been invented for orcs in the Chernobyl zone. For those who stayed there for a week 'your lightness', for those who stayed for two weeks 'your brilliance'! [15 no. 6524].

The portrait of 'radiated' soldiers implicitly reminds us of the old image of 'obscure *moskals*'. The conceptual pun and the contrast of 'light' and 'dark' is recognised through the Russian-language lexemes of *siyatelstvo*, *svetlost* (verbatim 'lightness', 'brilliance' in the sense of 'excellency', 'highness'). The satirical grotesque verbalises the ethno-cultural concept of 'light'. Mircea Eliade wrote about this universal experience of light that brings one closer to the spiritual

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65   «Якщо Росія – ведмідь, то Україна – вулик з бджолами!».

66   «Країна, на гербі в якої курка, ніколи не переможе країну, на гербі в якої виделка».

world (Еліаде 2001: 549–550), while an absence of light is the path of spiritual emptiness.

Russian soldiers are humiliated in many other examples of 'black humour' where vulgar vocabulary is often used. According to researchers, the genesis of such pieces lies in the sublimation of accumulated social and national grudges, which transform 'the desire of fair revenge to the "brothers" for the numerous betrayals and violence, it is a peculiar manifestation of protest and a means of self-preservation' (Мельник 2017: 244).

The multiplicity of situations where new figurative expressions are used has caused proverbs to become parts of larger texts, in particular jokes and anecdotes. Ethnocultural differences are often expressed in opposition, e. g., *our guys* vs. *orcs*:

> Our *guys* from the armed forces, they are like coffee, either strong or nice,
> While *orcs* are like tea, either loose or in bags [8 no. 5268].

The proverb shows how front-line realities and public opinion are typified in the semantic structure of a joke. Soldiers of the armed forces of Ukraine are idealised and Russians are denigrated, for example, in new metaphors ('loose' = disoriented) and euphemisms ('in bags' = dead[67]).

Jokes about Russians spread in social media reflecting the folklore-making process, which started actively in 2014 with Russia's 'hybrid' war against Ukraine. Even then, in Donbas, personal contacts deepened the gap between the opposing parameters *our guys–strangers*, *us–them*. Political jokes created in Soviet times have been updated. They mostly play with the theme of the partisan national liberation struggle of the 1940s and 1950s 'about *banderivtsi*' and 'black humour' about 'dead *moskals*' [13]. As rightly noted by Salomėja Bandoriūtė:

> The persistence of certain themes for over a century reveals a tendency to laugh at jokes that are based on stereotypical views about certain social groups. It can also be argued that joking is a certain form of bullying that arises when people see things from the perspective of the *we—they* opposition (Bandoriūtė 2020: 208).

An important ethnic determining factor is the language, which expresses the national specificity of each nation. The marker of linguistic affiliation, the difference between the Russian and Ukrainian languages, and the poor linguistic competence of the Russians, are factors that influenced the actualisation of the image of the uneducated *moskal* in wartime satirical humour:

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67    The expression is an allusion to the black plastic sacks in which corpses are placed.

based on scenarios of national superiority, antagonism, enmity or 'denigration' (Raskin 1984: 180–230). It is rather a particular means of psychological support and unification of Ukrainians as a national community. Alleen and Don Nilsen look at the important compensatory function of modern humour:

> Some people refer to these kinds of jokes as 'survival humour' because they relieve tensions about issues that are difficult to talk about. Other people, like Boskin, use them as evidence of what's happening in a culture (Nilsen, Nilsen 2018: 129).

In the first month of the Russian invasion, various websites continued publishing military humour and satire, the thematic area of which was determined by the title 'Jokes about our victory' [2; 3]. A joke about the occupation experience was published on one of the web pages:

> Four Russian tanks enter a village in the Sumy region. The locals sit around their houses and observe the life of the mammals with interest. The tanks stop, the crew get out, pour fuel from two of the tanks into the other two, and leave, while the two empty tanks are left in the middle of the village. The locals run out, stick Ukrainian flags on the tanks and rush back to their houses, sit and wait. The first two tanks come back (maybe, they've dug for some fuel), they see the two tanks with Ukrainian flags and start shooting at them. They smash the tanks, drive up, realise they were theirs, and get upset. The locals are quietly choking with laughter.
>
> The two tanks that remained on the move go around the village (apparently, they get lost). And there is a five-ton bridge for passenger cars. One tank drives on, and the bridge collapses, the tank hits the river, and the entire crew sinks. The locals are roaring. One tank remains. It drives around, finds a ditch, and turns over in it. The crew climb out, push it and push it, leave the tank lying there, and walk away.
>
> This is how, with only two Ukrainian flags, a village defeated four tanks of the Russian invaders without firing a single shot.[71]

In the text, we see an allusion to Ukrainian folk tales about the clever *naimyt*[72] and the stupid landowner (priest), where the culminating episode is structured as 'the protagonist's act → the protagonist's escape'. In the plot of the joke, in fact, the conflict between the protagonist and the antagonist is replayed in the version of 'peasants outwitting a tank crew'. The antinomy of the *strange/own* space highlights

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71  The text was published on 8 March 2022 on the Facebook page of Marysia Nikityk [27]. Her post has been shared by 13,000 people. Today, the story already has variants entitled 'Stories about Douches' and an animated version [28].

72  *Naimyt*, means 'a hireling'.

the feature of dull-witted Russians who lose their way in the unfamiliar area of a Ukrainian village and are 'strangers'.

Other key stereotypical features that have been actualised during the war are 'poor' and 'dirty' Russians. In verbal and visual folklore, the first semantics is coded with the image of a Russian peasant who traditionally wears bast shoes.[73] The image is repeated in the motif of 'losing one's bast shoes' in the popular song 'Our Father Bandera, Our Mother Ukraine': '*Moskals* were running away *losing their bast shoes /* And our guys were shooting behind them' (*Москалі тікали, аж лапті губили / А наші за ними постріли били*) (Харчишин 2022: 248–249). In the new texts, the same motif is a marker of Russianness, e. g., in the opening part of the satirical poem stylised as a spell with an allusion to 'The Testament' by Taras Shevchenko:

> Oh you *bastfooted orcs*,
> Let you drop dead,
> Go back, *miserable*,
> To your slums!
> Until all of you haven't yet been laid down
> By our armed forces
> In the wide field
> In raw graves.
> Do not look at Ukraine,
> Do not champ lustfully,
> We'll lay all of you in coffins,
> Like cannon fodder.
> And you mustn't encroach
> On our freedom,
> We are great grandchildren
> Of the Cossack family.
> Ukraine has not yielded –
> Tied up her military boots.
> Every mother has a javelin
> In her heart.
> Every mother prays to God
> For her child.
> You are on your way to the next world
> When you come to Ukraine [13].[74]

..........................

73 From the Russian *lychaky*, meaning peasant shoes made from bast, or some other material, that were worn with footwraps by tying them to the leg with string; figuratively, 'a poor person' (СУМ, 4: 501).

74 Ой, ви, орки лаптєногі, / Поздихали, щоб ви, / повертайтеся, убогі, / у свої трущоби! / Поки всіх вас не поклали / Наші Збройні Сили / Серед поля широкого / У сирі могили. /

The second feature was actualised in the plots of oral narratives about Russian occupiers, who 'defecate on pillows in every occupied house'. The kind of 'animalistic' behaviour model, ritualised revenge through the release of excrement in inappropriate places forms a grotesque image of the 'shitty' Russian. Contexts gave rise to anonymous texts, for example, cross-language satirical anagrams:

> Decoding the markings on Russian scrap metal: V – **v**mer (dead), Z – **z**doh (croaked), O – **o**bisravsya (shat himself) [8 no. 4721].[75]

## CONCLUSIONS

Ukrainian folklore of the 20th and early 21st century is very helpful material for studying ethno-stereotypes. Folklore actualised the old set meanings for a Russian as a 'stranger' which had formed by the end of the 19th century. New thematic layers of folklore from the 20th century (riflemen's folklore, folklore from the period of the Ukrainian revolution, insurgent, anti-collective farm, eviction folklore) significantly modernised the ethno-stereotype. However, the ancient nomen *moskal* remains the most widely used. This image has mostly negative connotations (ignorant, cunning, insidious, sinful, thieving, rapacious, cruel, destructive), which are attributes of a Russian soldier.

The language of folklore uses a vocabulary of tropes and a number of attributive formulas that verbalise the folkloric portrait of a Russian. He is 'wild' → 'dirty' → 'obscure' → 'mean' → 'scary' → 'angry' → 'fierce' → 'red'. A number of comparisons with an 'evil' force (the Devil) or an animal (a dog, a wolf, a frog) extend the strategy of metaphorising and transmitting the traditional knowledge of Russians as 'strangers' and 'invaders'. Key connotations of the image conveying fauna symbols are 'dangerous' and 'disgusting'. It is important that the Ukrainian folklore model of the stereotype is not so much about appearance in the sense of a 'disgusting enemy', as Umberto Eco reflected when he wrote that 'the enemy is supposed to be ugly, since the beautiful is identified with the good' (Эко 2014: 9). Russians are perceived as 'disgusting' in a metaphorical sense, based on their essential behavioural characteristics.

In modern social vision, the stereotype of a Russian continues to change. It is formed as a combination of information from the new military and political contexts

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Не дивіться на Вкраїну, / Не плямкайте ласо / Всіх положим в домовини, / Як гарматне м'ясо. / І не треба зазіхати / на нашу свободу, / Ми є правнуки великі / козацького роду / Не схилиася Вкраїна – / Зав'язала берці. / Кожна мати з джавеліном / у своєму серці. / Кожна мати молить Бога / за свою дитину, / На той світ у вас дорога – / Через Україну [13].

75  Розшифровка позначок на рф-ському металобрухті: V – вмер, Z – здох, О – обісрався [8 no. 4721].

and based on connotations established in the historical and political folklore of the 20th century. The image and its key variants (*moskal*, 'executioner', *russcist*) are associated with a subject who shows evil caused by his aggression, senseless rage, revenge, lying, disorientation and ignorance. A peculiar feature of the folkloric image of Russians and 'Russianness' is their connection with the concepts of 'dirt' and 'physical impurities', with the focus on the destruction of the material and spiritual values of 'others'.

EPILOGUE

I had to complete this paper on the morning of 10 October 2022 in a basement when Russian missiles were targeting major cities in Ukraine: my native city of Lviv and the capital. In Kyiv a good friend of mine lives who I met during the first month of the war. For the next three months, the woman and her two daughters and her husband lived in my house as internally displaced persons. To the typical morning question for most Ukrainians after 24 February 2022: 'How are you?' she responded unexpectedly clearly. Let me illustrate our short Viber correspondence dialogue verbatim:

> OK: I feel I am exhausted by the war. I'm going down [to the bomb shelter].
> KS: We have to hang on. We have no right to be exhausted. Let's hang on, because we are strong, and they [the Russians] are devils (11 October 2022).

It is obvious that the pragmatics of the response is determined by the context of the exchange, but the symbolism of what was said corresponds to the folklore memory standard. She revived the stereotypical image of the Russian devil. The form of the response is one of the facts manifesting 'inner understanding' between participants in traumatic situations. This is the concept that Modesta Liugaitė-Černiauskienė focuses on (Liugaitė-Černiauskienė 2021: 52). Exploring the liminal aspect of songs of Lithuanians displaced to Siberia,[76] the researcher not only emphasises the power of the positive impact of songs on deportees, but also proves the productivity of the anthropological perspective of research into all historical and social folklore.

In the third decade of the 21st century, Ukrainians are once again involved in an active phase of folkloristic activity. New social, political and national contexts provide fresh material, in which traditionally established knowledge about 'others' and 'strangers' is updated. Despite the schematicity of the stereotype, the set of meanings regarding Russians remains the basis for the construction of the ethno-image of the *moskal* in new pieces, in particular in amateur poems:

..........................
76   The tradition of singing eviction songs is rich in Ukrainian folklore (Дем'ян 2003: 347–450).

And we have no light and are in the cold …

Who are you *intimidating*, *devil*? Lviv?

We were in Siberia and in famine.

And now we are without *m\*skals*!

Such *darkness* like you – has never been seen.

And the darkest night is dawn!

No, we have not forgotten or forgiven!

God forbid us from *moskal*![77]

Undoubtedly, the folk creativity of Ukrainians, awakened by the spirit of resistance to Russians showing aggressive intentions and actions, acquires a mass nature. The presentation of the folklore ethno-stereotype has been one effective way of verbalising the idea of national solidarity.

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# Tarprūšinė patirtis sergant. Antropologinė prieiga prie kelių Janinos Degutytės tekstų

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SANTRAUKA. Paprastai, siejant žmogų ir gyvūną, apie juos kalbama *bendrai*, t. y. numatant optimalią jų dviejų padėtį. Autentiški poetės Janinos Degutytės (1928–1990) tekstai įsiterpia į intensyviai plėtojamą tarprūšiškumo diskursą specifiniu aspektu: jie susieja gyvūno ir ligos, senatvės, skausmo ir nujaučiamos mirties patirtis. Pasitelkiant Donnos Haraway *tapsmo su* gyvūnu sąvoką, straipsnyje rodoma, kaip keičiasi sergančiosios tapatybė jai būnant su kate. Galima sakyti, kad katė išveda ją iš gūžimosi savyje ir užsisklendimo ligoje. Būdama su kate, kalbančioji pamažu priima save sergančią, o gyvenamąjį pasaulį – kaip tokį, kokiame ji gyvena.

Vakarų filosofijos tradicijoje būtent skausmu ir mirtimi dažniausiai argumentuojamas neperžengiamas žmogaus atskirumas ir individualumas: skausmas ir mirtis, teigiama, nėra intersubjektyvūs. J. Degutytės aprašoma katė, skaudant ir iki mirties būnanti kartu, leidžia permąstyti mirties ir skausmo išgyvenimo individualumą. J. Degutytė, panašiai kaip fenomenologas Alphonso Lingis, atskleidžia žmogaus juntamą būtinybę mirti būnant kartu su kitu. J. Degutytės atveju šią galimybę žmogui atveria katė.

RAKTAŽODŽIAI: tarprūšinis santykis, katė, tapsmas su, Janina Degutytė, liga, skausmas, mirtis.

## Interspecies Experience of Illness. Anthropological Approach to Several Texts by Janina Degutytė

ABSTRACT. Usually, when associating humans and animals, they are discussed *in general*, i. e. presupposing the optimal status of both. Authentic texts by the Lithuanian poet Janina Degutytė (1928–1990) enter the intense interspecies discourse in a very particular way – by juxtaposing experiences of the animal, illness, age, pain, and the anticipation of death. Using the notion of *becoming with* the animal, introduced by Donna Haraway, the author of the article describes the identity of the ailing person, changing while the latter is with the cat. It could be said that the cat takes her out of the state of cowering inside and shutting herself in her illness. While being with the cat, the subject of the texts gradually accepts herself as an ill person, along with the lifeworld as it is.

In the Western philosophy, pain and death are primarily perceived as a proof of the insurmountable solitude and individuality of a human being; allegedly, pain and death are not