

**СОЦІАЛЬНО-ЕКЗИСТЕНЦІЙНІ СЕГМЕНТИ ПАМ'ЯТІ
 ПРО ПРЕДКІВ**

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**SOCIAL EXISTENCIAL SEGMENTS OF MEMORY
 ABOUT ANCESTORS**

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Василий Иванчук. Социально-экзистенциальные сегменты памяти о предках. В статье анализируются пределы родовой мемориальной информации, культурная трансмиссия и родовое наследование как элементы антропологии памяти гуцулов о предках. Рассматриваются ассоциативные элементы-символы как средства этнизации и ретрансляции родовой памяти.

Ключевые слова: память, нарратив, культурная трансмиссия, ретрансляция, наследование, этнизация, родовая память, гуцулы.

Topicality of the theme. Due to the gaining of the independence by Ukraine, the reconsideration of historical narrative has been highlighted. Especially acute became the problem of national identity, the paramount part of which is its historic national identity. According to the French researcher Jacques Le Hoff, “memory is basic part of what has recently been called individual or collective identity”, and the search for identity “is one of the main activities of contemporary units and societies”¹.

The structural component of historic memory is ethnic historic memory which can be revealed in the memories about ancestors. In its turn the important part of the identity is the process of ethnization which is provided by intergenerational cultural transmission.

The regional state peculiarities have a major impact on the formation of the memory pattern of Ukraine in general. Since Ukraine consists of several ethnic regions, that due to historic circumstances gained certain distinctive features, therefore beside overall state memory pattern, there are local ones².

In domestic science we have only little information about issues related to the memories about ancestors, ge-

netic cultural inheritance and local memory patterns, that is why the attempt to outline several memory segments about the ancestors based on hutzul ethnographical region is made in this survey.

Aim of the research. The aim of the article is the survey on hutzuls' anthropological memories. The set aim includes solving such tasks as:

To outline the borders of genetic memories about the ancestors;

To find out how cultural transmission and genetic inheritance function;

To analyze associative repetitive elements-symbols of family memory.

Analysis of the last research. The issue of historic memory is the research work of Ukrainian scientists and representatives of foreign Ukrainian centres such as: I. Hrytzak, L. Zashkilniak, I. Shapoval, I. Zerniy, A. Kyrydon, L. Nahorna, I. Hyrych, O. Udod and others³.

In western science the works of the following researchers are devoted to the separate aspects of the issue: M. Khalbvaxa, F. Yeyts, P. Nora, J. Assmann, P. Konneron, Y. Riuzen, A. Assmun, Z. Mink, P. Khutton⁴.

¹ Zh. Le Hoff. Istorii i pamiat [History and Memory], Per. s angl. A. Gronowska, D. Stryjczyk. PAUL Natsionalnyi, Varshava, 2007, P. 155.

² Lyubovets' O. “Natsional'na pamyat' v Ukrayini: rehional'nyy aspekt” [National memory in Ukraine: district aspect], *Natsional'na ta istorychna pam'yat'*, 2013, Vol. 6, P. 117-125.

³ Hrytsak Ya. Zhyttya, smert' ta inshi nepryemnosti: statyi ta eseyi [Life, death and other mishaps: articles and essays], Kyiv, Hrani-T, 2010, 232 p.; Zashkil'nyak L. “Istorychna pam'yat' ta istoriohrafiiya: metodolohichni aspekty vzayemodiyi” [Historic memory and historiography: methodical aspects of interaction], *Natsional'na ta istorychna pam'yat': Zb. nauk. prats'*, Vol. 2, K.: DP «NVTs «Priorytety»», 2012, P. 219.; Shapoval Yu. “Polityka pam'yati v suchasnyy Ukrayini” [The memory policy in modern Ukraine], *Hromadyans'ka osvita*, 2008, Vol. 36, P. 7-11.; Zerniy Yu. “Derzhavna polityka pam'yati v Ukrayini: Stanovlennya ta suchasnyy stan” [State memory policy in Ukraine: Establishment and modern condition], *Stratehichni priorytety*, 2008, Vol. 3, P. 41-51.; Kyrydon A. “Kontsept “istorychna pam'yat'”: varyatyvni definivannya” [Conception “historic memory” variety of definition], *Mizhnarodnyy zbirnyk naukovykh prats'. Seriya: Istoriya, mizhnarodni vidnosyny*, 2009, P. 112-116.; Nahorna L. “Istorychna pamyat': teoriyi, dyskursy, refleksiyi” [Historic memory: theory, discussion, reflexion], Kyiv, IPIEND im. I. F. Kurasa NAN Ukrayiny, 201, 328 p.; Hyrych I. “Kontseptual'ni problemy istoriyi Ukrayiny” [Conceptual problems of Ukrainian history], *Navchal'na knyha – Bohdan*, 2011, 224 p.; Udod O. “Istorychna pam'yat' v Ukrayini ta yevropeys'ki tsinnosti” [Historic memory and European values], *Ukrayina KhKh st.: kul'tura, ideolohiya, polityka*, Kyiv, Instytut istoriyi Ukrayiny NAN Ukrayiny, 2009, Vol. 15, P. 3-10.

⁴ Khal'bvaks M. Sotsyal'nye ramky pamyaty [Social memory frames], M., 2007, 348 p.; Yeyt-s F. Mystetstvo pam'yati [Memory art], Universytet-s'ka knyha, 1997, 167 p.; Nora P. Vsemyrnoe torzhestvo pamyaty. Neprykosnovenny zapas, 2005, 41 p.; Nora P. «Pokolenye

The weighty contribution to the conception studies belongs to the contemporary Polish historic science. The works of M. Kurkovska-Budzan⁵ are valuable.

Report of the main material. The survey has revealed that the memory about the past generations consists of two basic parts:

1) Open memory (living) – the one which exists in a living ethnophore and reflects the information about separate family members and their relatives. Such type of memory, as a rule, remains at the subconscious level. Reminiscence about the life of a separate relative is a revelation of such a memory segment. The exception of a living memory practical act is a commemoration within Christian-church traditions. This memory finds its source of vitality in the remembrance places as well as in personal things of the ancestors namely accessories, clothes photographs and others.

2) Closed (hidden) memory is contained in ritual customary culture and is based on ancestors' culture. The cult of the deceased takes its origin in mythological conscious and reaches back to the prehistorical times⁶. Major part of today's rituals functions as commemoration and immortalization of the progenitors involuntarily. Hidden memory is reflected in rituals and is contained in a family as well as in calendar rites.

Thus by memory about ancestors we understand not only memoirs of a single ethnophore about his deceased relatives but also all hidden and open segments of memorial information (culture).

In the process of research, the following memory segments about the ancestors were singled out: the memory about the first ancestor, memory about a concrete person, cultural transmission and genetic inheritance (a house, land, personal things, photographs, professional occupation, name and surname).

The given division is quite conventional because in order to take into account the whole specter of memorial revelations that contains information about the deceased relatives, one needs to understand that it is a lengthy and massive process which demands unknown amount of field trip.

One of the basic features of the memory phenomena is its time and space limits. The theoretical explanation of the given thesis can be found in Moris Khalbvax's works who states that the memory has certain limits⁷.

Our research highlights any saved information about whole generations or its separate representatives. In this case the information about the first ancestor serves as the furthest point of memory about ancestors.

Our survey shows that most asked respondents (8 out of

10) lost the memory about their first ancestor, some of them knew about the fourth more rarely the fifth generation (3 out of 10). It should be mentioned that only 2 out of 10 have some half legendary information about their ancestors – the founder of the pedigree. Thus Iatzeniuk Halyna is convinced her first ancestor comes from Zaporizhska Sich. Not considering that her theory is based on stories, so it can not be verified, the point here is the ethnophore's belief in this story, as the last one is the product of the memory. The respondent told her own version of her pedigree origin: "Father told us that his lineage came from those men who managed to escape from Zaporizhska Sich. When Kateryna destroyed Sich many of the kozaks settled in the Carpathians"⁸.

It should be pointed out that some of the questioned people researched and are still researching their genesis. Such research is stimulated by interest in the history of their origin that is why it is not about proving their inheritance or other rights.

The researched genealogical tree allows to claim the existence of a separate genealogical historic narrative. This kind of narrative forms memory monolith, as the last one is written on a paper or other material object and is able to live during dozens of generations unlike the oral memory.

In most cases the informants, talking about the previous generations, refer to exclusively oral information transference, which means there is a major addition of subjective part in the narrative.

It should be highlighted that the saved mythologized oral retellings and half-legends about the origin of the family accomplish two tasks. On one hand they reinforce the memory about the great-grand relatives and on the other hand, they make the characters of the ancestors heroes⁹.

The practical aim of such kind of everyday life populism lies in social family strengthening within village community limits.

Only one out of thirty respondents, appealing to the family past tried to search the history of the ancestors with the help of scientific techniques. In particular, the resident of Verkhovyna town Krechunyak Iuriy made an attempt to track the etymology of his own surname. Using the method of onomastika he discovered that his surname is connected with the residential area of Krechuneve (Horodenkivkuy district of Ivano-Frankivsk region) which was burnt down by the Tatars in the 60-s of the 16th century¹⁰.

It goes without saying that the respondent's memory contains the largest amount of information about the ancestor with whom the informant had the lengthiest

Vsemyrnoe torzhestvo pamyaty. Neprykosnovennyi zapas, 2005, 41 p.; Nora P. «Pokolenye kak mesto pamyaty» [Worldwide memory celebration], *Novoe lyteraturnoe obozrenye*, Kyiv, Vol. 30, 1998, URL: <http://magazines.russ.ru/authors/n/nora>; Assman J. Cultural memory: letter, memory about the past and political identity in developed ancient cultures. Moskva, Movy slov'yans'koyi kul'tury, 2004, 368 p.; Konnerton P. Yak suspil'stva pam'yatayut' [How societies remember], Kyiv, Nika-Tsentr, 2004, 184 p.; Ryuzen Y. Novi shlyakhy istorichnoho myslennya [New ways of historic thinking], L'viv, Litopys, 2010, 358 p.; Assman A. Prostory spohadu. Formy ta transformatsiyi kul'turnoyi pam'yati [A memoir space. Forms and transformations of cultural memory], Kyiv, Nika-Tsentr, 2012, 440 p.; Mink Zh. Pereosmyslennya paradyhmy sotsial'noyi pam'yati [Rethinking of paradigm of social memory], *Mizh prymyrennyam ta reaktyvatsiyeyu konfliktiv mynuloho v Yevropi*, 2008, URL: <http://www.day.kiev.ua/258034>; Khatton P. Ystoriya kak yskusstvo pamyaty [History as a memory art], Sankt-Peterburg, 2004, 422 p.

⁵ Kurkovska-Budzan M. Informator, świadek historii, narrator: kilka wątków epistemologicznych i etycznych "oral history", Warszawa: Wrocławski Rocznik Historii Mówionej, 2011, P. 9-34.

⁶ Zelenyn D. Vostochnoslavyanskyykh etnografyia [Vostochnoslavyanskaya etnografyia], Moskva, "Nauka", 1991. P. 230.

⁷ Khalbvaks M. Sotsyal'nye ramky pamyaty [Social memory frames], P. 38.

⁸ The respondent's testimony of Yatseniuk Halyna, villager Iltsi, Verkhovyna district, Ivano-Frankivsk region, 1962, secondary education, private entrepreneur, Recorded by Ivančuk V. P. 16.07.2015, P. 2.

⁹ Ibid., P. 3.

¹⁰ The respondent's testimony of Krechuniak Yurii, resident of urban-type settlements Verkhovyna, Verkhovyna district, Ivano-Frankivsk region, 1954, secondary education, regional ethnographer. Recorded by Ivančuk V. P., 08.05.2015, P. 3.

amount of information about the ancestor with whom the informant had the lengthiest relationship and also about the one who died relatively recently. So it is quite natural when the respondent recounts rather less amount of memorial information, telling about his grandmother or great-grand mother than about his own mother.

The memory about a particular person in ethnophore's narrative is linked to a certain family event. Respondents, telling about their ancestors, involuntarily pay attention to the four aspects of a person's life: birth, marriage, housekeeping (land) death (high rate of death). Systematic repeat of these moments is caused by the fact that the ethnophore loses the track of historic time and often replaces the chronology with the order of events. Taking this into consideration, the most life turning moments of the past are stored most vividly in the memory. Getting deep in their memoirs, the respondents link certain events to the family history. For example, talking about innovation into the customary culture of a particular element, the following is said: that happened before the wedding and this – before the death of a relative, etc¹¹.

It should be mentioned that the respondents' narrative is filled with the concept of land. Mocan Halyna's story is the example of association of the past events with the previously mentioned notions: "My ancestors mainly worked in the field. My father's grandmother comes from the Yurinchuks. There were thirteen members of the family. Thus three of them died and ten grew up to be adults. They got married, went to the weddings. Most of them worked in the field and live on their piece of land"¹².

In the respondents' stories we can see exaggeration and glorification of their ancestors' image, the attempt to give them features which are valuable in the hutzul community. Similar exaggerations become most visual in the memory segment about a particular person. The most spread theme, that contemporary hutzuls are proud of, is the theme of fight for motherland, Ukrainian sovereignty and opposition to foreign conquerors¹³.

The idealization of an ancestor's image is supported by the fact that none of the questioned respondents criticised his great grand relatives in their narrative¹⁴.

Answering the question of topicality of the studied theme it would be a mistake to omit the concept of passing cultural everyday life experience. We are not going to talk about enculturation or ethnization as holistic phenomenon but only about those segments which are connected with their ancestors¹⁵.

The means of transference of memory about ancestors genetic communication which is realized through the re-translation of information from teacher to pupil, from parents to children from the elder generation to the younger one. Translation or channel of passing genetic information is lineage representatives as memory bearers.

By cultural transmission we understand the process due

to which culture is passed from previous generations to next ones by learning. Consistent change of cultural development cycles within a certain people limit or a country, must happen in the way that only basic elements must be passed from one generation to the next and changed only the secondary ones¹⁶.

As a rule, cultural-domestic inheritance in the hutzul ethnic environment is realized through the definite formula: from father to son from teacher to pupil. In the research the main attention is focused on a father as an ancestor, the bearer of ethnical information as well as on pupil as the elder ones pass on traditions and customs and the younger ones recreate them in the modern practice and retranslate them in memory.

One of the forms of passing domestic customary and family memory in the hutzul environment is family gatherings. Family meetings are and remain hutzul form of leisure. This kind of rest was only possible on holidays that was caused by society traditions. Routine and regulation of workdays made such gatherings impossible. Some of them were possible on family celebrations (childbirth, Christianization, weddings) family gatherings and communication are designed to regulate and fill the routines of holidays as well as weekends. According to it we can state that intergenerational communication was the form of leisure and rest.

Focusing on family communication is conditioned by the fact that such gatherings accelerated cultural transmission and to a great extent were devoted to memory about ancestors. The evidence of the last thesis is the story of Martyschuk Vasylyny: "we gather on holidays and name days. My grandchildren often ask me about the past, about grandfather and grandmother or how people used to live..."¹⁷.

Living family representatives and relatives are favourable for saving memories about the ancestors. Family celebrations nourish memoirs about unity of origin and for new family members become the so called initiation into family social space. Summing up, the family communication is the source of saving memory about the past generations.

A separate form of transmission between generations is genetic inheritance meaning material as well as spiritual and moral part. In particular, we have singled out the following categories of intergenerational inheritance: house, land, personal things, photographs, occupational activity, spiritual culture (music, songs, theatrical acts, moral values, religious believes, names and surnames).

House and land are analysed by us in other scientific survey, thus the main part of attention is paid to the rest of segments of family transmission.

Inherited personal things are considered by ethnophores the symbols of family and are visual association with a particular ancestor. Among the personal things we consider

¹¹ The respondent's testimony of Mogan Halyna, resident of urban-type settlements, Verkhovyna district, Ivano-Frankivsk region, 1969, secondary education, museum guide. Recorded by Kostyuchok P.L. and Ivanchuk V.P. 07.05.2015, P. 2.

¹² Ibid, P. 3.

¹³ The respondent's testimony of Slyvchuk Dmytro, villager Iltsi, Verkhovyna district, Ivano-Frankivsk region, 1930, primary education, pensioner. Recorded by Ivanchuk V.P. 17.07.2015, P. 2-3.

¹⁴ The respondent's testimony of Kravchuk Maria, villager Kosmach, Kosiv district, Ivano-Frankivsk region, 1935, primary education, pensioner. Recorded by Ivanchuk V.P. 13.07.2016, P. 4.

¹⁵ Sadokhin A. Ethnology: Textbook for university students, 2th edition. M.: Publishing center «Academia», 2003, P. 260.

¹⁶ Kravchenko A. Culturology: Textbook for university students. 3th edition, Moskva: Academic project, 2001, P. 87.

¹⁷ The respondent's testimony of Martyschuk Vasylyna, villager Zelene, Verkhovyna district, Ivano-Frankivsk region, 1956, secondary technical education. Recorded by Ivanchuk V.P. 05.04.2015, P. 4.

The research discovered that there is a small amount of hutzul family accessories which is connected with the low financial way of life in this region. The respondent Potiak Halyna explained the absence of family accessories this way: "Expensive things did not remain but also there was nothing to be remained. There were eight children in our family, we did not have gold, besides, gold was not fashionable at those times"¹⁸.

We should remember that personal accessories are elements of burial ritual. In particular, even nowadays the custom to put wedding ring on a deceased person or other jewellery is preserved. This is motivated by the belief in afterlife. This is supported by Semchuk Hanna's story, the resident of Kosmach village: "My aunt had a gold bracelet. As she was dying she told us: "I leave you all the land the house, the animals but this bracelet must be with me, because it will seem to me that my brothers, who presented me with it, are there with me. So we put that bracelet into her tomb"¹⁹.

The meaning and value of relics-symbols is also supported by Semchuk Hanna's narrative: "My son has got silver zhardy from his aunt and they are relics and he would not sell or change them for the world. They must be passed from generation to generation"²⁰. Things that were left for descendants depended on ancestors' occupation. Respondent Mukoviychuk Olena described her inheritance from her ancestors: "From my grandpa I got wooden deer horns. He was a carpenter. From grandma I got sheepskin coat because she was a skinner"²¹.

Hutzuls try to save inherited things because they can be used in practice. Hutzul uniforms continue to play one of the most important parts in family and calendar rituals. According to the research hutzul ancient clothes is far more valuable than the modern one in their social community. According to respondents, hutzuls take pride in their inherited ethnoclothes as a part of affirmation.

The element of memorial genetic culture is hutzul embroidery which also retranslates the genetic information and is a means of ethnization.

Taking into consideration the local variety of techniques and multimeanings of patterns, all of them become the object of genetic memory as they were directly connected with the ancestors. Martyshchuk Vasylyna the resident of village Zelene told about her inherited embroidery: "I have got an embroidered shirt from the last generations. Later I will pass on this shirt to my grandchildren"²².

The narrative of Kravchuk Mariya the resident of Kosmach village is also evidence of clothes inheritance: "My grandparents left me Sardak from 1892. I wear it on Christmas holidays when it is really cold"²³.

Actuality or practicality of genetic clothes is revealed in

Cherkaliuk Halyna's story, the resident of Zelene village: "I have got zhardy from my grandma, also coins with Maiya Theresa's image. They were called Austrian around here. We wear them together with hutzul clothes and they are passed from generation to generation"²⁴.

It can be stated that modern Hutzuls understand the meaning of cultural inheritance, especially ethnoclothes as a part of it. Proper care for the inheritance and the passing of it to the future generations is considered to be contemporaries' duty.

Symbols, which contain information about a certain lineage representative and are exposed to genetic transmission, are awards. Taking social political events of the 20th century into consideration, the prevalence of this memory attribute is understood. As the received medal or order is politically motivated the authority change in the country could bear certain consequences for its owner. The resident of Verkhovyna Iliniychuk Volodymyr told us about such case: "Around 1923 my grandpa was awarded with the highest order of Rich Polspolyta Vinituri Military. That is why I was not accepted to the KDB... they put blame on me that my grandpa betrayed hutzul rebellion in the 20s and that is why he was awarded by the Polish"²⁵.

This narrative demonstrates that deeds and acts of the previous generations are directly connected to the contemporaries and slow down the memory loss about the ancestors.

One part of the intergeneration inheritance are things for housekeeping and everyday usage. The example of such kind transmission is testimony of a resident from Verkhovyna Krechuniaka Yuriya: "My parents left me tools: scythe, rakes, dishes. They left things they were working with"²⁶.

This kind of inheritance is not subjected to division between family members and are left for those who inherit family house.

Great importance in memorial as well as in practical dimension have objects of house interior and this can be supported by the statement of Yurashchuk Anastasia from Chornohe Potocky: "I have got a chest from my parents. We call it susik. We used to put clothes there because we did not have wardrobes and later we stored wheat there"²⁷.

A form of generational contact is passing or inheritance of occupation. In this case we are talking about the memory which reflects domestic or housekeeping relations between an ethnophore with his parents or more rarely with ancestors. Passing over of a profession or a certain trade is realized according to a certain formula: from father to son, from grandfather to grandson. Ethnization or enculturation, therefore, happens in the way of passing skills thus involving an ethnophore to housekeeping.

¹⁸ The respondent's testimony of Potiak Vasylyna, villager Zelene, Verkhovyna district, Ivano-Frankivsk region, 1961, secondary technical education. Recorded by Ivanchuk V.P. 17.07.2015, P. 5.

¹⁹ The respondent's testimony of Semchuk Hanna, villager Kosmach, Kosiv district, Ivano-Frankivsk region, 1935, primary education, pensioner. Recorded by Ivanchuk, V.P., 11.07.2016, P. 10.

²⁰ Ibid, P. 10.

²¹ The respondent's testimony of Makoviichuk Olena, villager Verkhniy Yaseniv, Verkhovyna district, Ivano-Frankivsk, 1969, secondary technical education. Recorded by Ivanchuk, V.P., 05.04.2015, P. 5.

²² The respondent's testimony of Martyshchuk Vasylyna, P. 4.

²³ The respondent's testimony of Kravchuk Maria, P. 4.

²⁴ The respondent's testimony of Cherkaliuk Halyna, villager Zelene, Verkhovyna district, Ivano-Frankivsk region, 1975, higher education, headteacher. Recorded by Kostyuchok P.L. and Ivanchuk, V.P., 16.07.2015, P. 7.

²⁵ The respondent's testimony of Iliniychuk Volodymyr, resident of urban-type settlements Verkhovyna, Verkhovyna district, Ivano-Frankivsk region, 1967, secondary education, pensioner. Recorded by Ivanchuk V.P. 05.04.2015, P. 7.

²⁶ The respondent's testimony of Krechuniak Yuriy, P. 5.

²⁷ The respondent's testimony of Yurashchuk Anastasia, villager Chorny Potik, Nadvirna district, Ivano-Frankivsk region, 1942, primary education, pensioner. Recorded by Ivanchuk V.P. 30.06.2016, P. 8.

Here is what Semchuk Hanna from Kosmach village told us about it: "Parents taught us to do everything about the house from the very early age. All of us worked in the field and with hay"²⁸.

The technique of passing of family trade is supported by the narrative received from Makviychuk Olena: "My grandma sewed sheepskin coats, especially for knyazs' weddings and my mom got this occupation from her, and I learned it from my mom"²⁹. The transference of domestic experience can happen aimlessly or unplanned as learning can be realized involuntarily through observation³⁰.

Thus, according to the survey, ancestors are equaled to the image of home teacher in the ethnophores' memory. Ancestors acted as teachers for respondents they were in direct contact with. Ancestors passed on their own domestic housekeeping experience which promoted enculturation, socialization and adaptation of an ethnophore that meant skill formation for housekeeping or a certain trade specialization.

Inheritance of family experience is retranslated in such an everyday element as cooking. We should point out the absence of gender division in passing this domestic skills according to the witness Slipenchuk Hanna: "when we make dough to bake paska, so does our father and he makes us to do that too"³¹.

Intergenerational contact also happens through inheritance material as well as spiritual culture. In our opinion gender transmission are in the following cultural elements: music, dance, songs, legends, proverbs and saying etc. the mechanism and formula of inheritance of spiritual culture are identical to other segments of intergender passing and is realized vertically from mother to daughter. The story of Yatzentyuk Halyny the resident of Iltzy village is example of gender cultural transmission: "My polish grandma knew a lot of songs. Her name is Hanna. She passed these songs to her daughter the later to hers and in this way I learned them"³².

The next element of inheritance, with which an ethnophore is in direct contact during all his life, is his name and surname. According to patriarchal hutzul traditions a newly born baby gets its surname from his father's line. It should be pointed out that the surname inheritance is involuntary, unalternative and is constant. On the contrary, the name choice is not conditioned in advance and can be influenced by a lot of factors.

Respondents inform that 40-50 years ago a crucial choice of a name belonged to a priest who baptized a baby. Often the baby was given the name according to the day of a church holiday he or she was born on³³.

It should be stressed that opinions of hutzuls to name inheritance are different. Our survey discovered the existence of two dominant of points of view as for intergenerational name inheritance. In this case we should not talk

about differentiation or popularization of views according to geographical belonging as these distinctive views are traced within one village.

Let us examine the tradition of name passing between generations. The incentive of name passing from previous to next generations lies in two reasons and is realized at ideological levels. The first factor is name passing at the customary level. In this case people choosing name for a new family member do not look for explanation or understanding of its meaning. The second factor is based on the idea of perpetuation of a certain lineage member. At the same time name passing is a way of commemoration of ancestors. To our minds, name passing between generations is stimulated by the belief in existing of living connection with the deceased and is a way to appease the ancestors.

The resident of Verkhovyna Makoviychuk Olena told us the family tradition of name transmission between generations: "We often get names as inheritance in our family. We had grandfather Vasyl and I have a brother Vasyl. My mother's name was Olena and I am Olena too. Our grandmother was Kateryna and now her great granddaughter is called Kateryna"³⁴.

According to the research there is prehistorical belief that names of ancestors have magic power. So Moka Halyna told: "If you live on the same place of your original house, so the name had to remain in the family. They say that farming and animal breeding will be in prosperity."³⁵

However, the resident of Zelene Cherkaliuk Halyna reported that within her family there is no such tradition as name transmission. Moreover, we should point out the existence of taboo on name inheritance. Ethnophores refer to fatalism saying that with the name the ancestor's fated is given to the newborn³⁶. Such understanding of the ban allows to emphasize the dogmatic level of the superstition, as people believe in oral retelling and do not check it on practice. Ideological ban of name inheritance is supported by story of Martyshchuk Vasylyny, resident of Zelene village: "of a person has died then with then together with her name her fate is transmitted to the person who inherits the name and will have a bad life too"³⁷.

Together with belief in fatalism the imagination of existence and inheritance of the family curse is preserved. Such curse is real and is strengthened with the name transmission from the deceased to the newborn. The villager of Zelene, Potyak Vasylyna told about family curse existence: "There used to be a tradition to inherit name of Olexiy in our family. But all of them had a bad fate, because the name was cursed, crying name. and this tradition is lost now. Everybody is persuaded that it had a curse"³⁸.

Yet another form which slows down the memory loss about ancestors is street nicknames. The origin of such names is quite various and included physical features, character traits, person's acts. Street nicknames are often formed

²⁸ The respondent's testimony of Semchuk Hanna, P. 4.

²⁹ The respondent's testimony of Makoviichuk Olena, P. 4.

³⁰ The respondent's testimony of Cherkaliuk Yurii, villager Zelene, Verkhovyna district, Ivano-Frankivsk region, 1948, primary education, pensioner. Recorded by Ivanchuk V.P. 17.07.2015, P. 4.

³¹ The respondent's testimony of Slipenchuk Hanna, villager Kryvorivnia, Verkhovyna district, Ivano-Frankivsk region, 1935, primary education, pensioner. Recorded by Ivanchuk V.P. 17.07.2015, P. 4-5.

³² The respondent's testimony of Yatsentyuk Halyna, P. 2.

³³ The respondent's testimony of Moka Halyna, P. 4.

³⁴ The respondent's testimony of Makoviichuk Olena, P. 2.

³⁵ The respondent's testimony of Moka Halyna, P. 4.

³⁶ The respondent's testimony of Cherkalyuk Halyna, P. 6.

³⁷ The respondent's testimony of Martyshchuk Vasylyna, P. 3.

³⁸ The respondent's testimony of Potiak Vasylyna, P. 3.

with the help of involuntary modification of a name or a surname.

It can be stated two main views on name inheritance were formed in the hutzul ethnic environment. And each of them has a memorial function which takes place in the process of passing a name between generations.

Conclusions and perspectives for future research.

Thus, memory segments of hutzuls about their ancestors are memorial information about ancestors, memoirs about a certain person, cultural transmission, generic inheritance and visual symbols of memory.

We were able to find the limits of generational memory with the help of memoirs about the person who created the lineage. According to the research results it can be claimed that this kind of memory is preserved to the fourth more rarely the fifth generation and only due to the mythological stories can reach the tenth or further generations.

A means of memory transmission about ancestors is a generic communication, that can be realized through information retranslation from the elder to the younger generations. Translation or the channel for passing of generic information is living representatives of a lineage as memory bearers. As a separate form of transmission between generations and memory segments is generic inheritance. The following categories of intergenerational inheritance are distributed in the hutzul social environment: house, land, personal things, photographs, occupation, spiritual culture (music, songs, theatrical acts, moral values, religious beliefs, name and surnames). Inherited personal things are associational attributes of memory, symbols that bear information about a certain family member.

However, some memory segments about ancestors namely: belief in soul existence, afterlife, dreams with the deceased and memorial places are left out of the research. That is why this issue needs further studies and is quite recent in the time of overall modernization and traditional cultural loss.

Василь Іванчук. Соціально-екзистенційні сегменти пам'яті про предків. У статті викладено результати розвідки елементів меморіальної інформації гуцулів про предків. Аналіз наукової літератури засвідчив, що дослідження пам'яті про предків є перспективним для означення і системного вивчення етністоричної пам'яті, яка як структурний компонент національної ідентичності безпосередньо впливає на формування

української нації.

На основі аналізу, узагальнення й систематизації джерел, отриманих методом польових спостережень, встановлено, що родова пам'ять складається із двох теоретичних частин: відкритої пам'яті («живої»), яка відображає в меморіальному наративі етнофора інформацію про життя окремих членів родини, та закритої (прихованої), яка міститься в обрядово-звичаєвій культурі і базується на культурі предків.

Обидва типи пам'яті формуються сукупністю меморіальних сегментів. У процесі дослідження виділено наступні елементи антропології пам'яті гуцулів про предків: пам'ять про першопредка, пам'ять про конкретну людину, культурна трансмісія та родове успадкування.

На основі вивчення даних про першопредка та конкретну людину прослідковано межі та часовий вимір родової пам'яті. Зважаючи на усний спосіб передачі інформації, ідеалізацію та героїзацію етнофорами образу померлих, можна стверджувати про суб'єктивність даного наративу.

Встановлено, що засобом передачі пам'яті про предків є родова комунікація, яка відбувається шляхом ретрансляції інформації від батьків до дітей, від старшого покоління до молодшого, а каналом передачі родової інформації є живі представники роду як носії пам'яті.

Виявлено форми поколінного контакту, механізми функціонування культурної трансмісії та родового успадкування як засоби етнізації та передачі родової пам'яті.

У публікації проаналізовано ретрансляційні елементи-символи родинної пам'яті: будинок, земля, особисті речі, фотографії, професійна діяльність, духовна культура (музика, пісні, театралізовані дійства, моральні цінності, релігійні переконання, імена та прізвища). Отримані у спадок перераховані категорії є асоціативними атрибутами пам'яті, що містять інформацію про конкретного представника роду.

Ключові слова: пам'ять, наратив, культурна трансмісія, ретрансляція, успадкування, етнізація, родова пам'ять, гуцули.

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Received: 18. 01. 2017

Advance Access Published: April, 2017

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